St Helena Records 1765-1766

Introduction: This is the 44th 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/EAP1364-1-1-44.

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.

Text Loss: A number of the early pages are tattered with some loss of text.

Pagination: The pages are unnumbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 6 is designated as page 1 (location 6/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 11 August 1764, with the final meeting occurring on 21 April 1766. All the sessions were convened during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The Council met at the Castle eight times between 12 August and 16 September 1765, on 23, 27 and 30 September and 7, 10, 14 and 21 October 1765, 13 times between 21 October 1765 and 20 January 1766,

weekly from 27 January to 7 April 1766 and on 9, 14 and 21 April 1766. Governor John Skottowe presided with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling (also written Burling and Furling) and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, and the same four signed every meeting. Each meeting read, approved and signed the previous minutes, beginning on 12 August 1765 with those of 5 August 1765, and noted deaths, arrivals and passing ships for the Court of Directors. [Film No. 6, 12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29, 32, 59-60, 64, 68, 71, 74, 77, 156, 164-165, 169, 171, 176, 178, 180-181, 185, 188-189, 191-192, 194, 198, 256, 258, 260, 268, 277, 293, 303-305, 308-309, 313, 317, 319, 366]
The quarterly accounts for 1 July to 30 September 1765 were entered under 21 October 1765, a date written on about half their pages. Those for 1 October to 31 December 1765 were entered on 20 and 21 January 1766, and those for 1 January to 31 March 1766 were passed on 14 and 21 April 1766. A binder, C. Blame, returned loose sheets on 20 October 1926 with a note that they did not belong to the volumes sent to him; one frame is blank and one page was filmed twice. The Seven Years' War had ended with the Peace of Paris in 1763. [Film No. 10-11, 106-155, 206-305, 313, 319]

Governance and Administration
The Council audited the gunner's and steward's accounts and counted the Company's cash monthly, and passed the plantation, storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts quarterly. Steward Thomas Perrin left the service at his own request once his July 1765 account had passed, and George Bazett replaced him on 13 August 1765. [Film No. 6-9, 18, 29, 32, 64, 98, 162, 165, 169, 185, 194, 198]

A notice of 26 August 1765, signed by Secretary Matthew Bazett, required every inhabitant to deliver a signed return of household, land and cattle to the Secretary's Office by 20 September 1765 and to pay the year's rents and dues at the Castle on 30 September 1765. The Company's warehouses closed from 7 September to 7 October 1765, and on 9 September 1765 Corneille and Purling were named for the customary yearly inspection of stock. [Film No. 22, 31]

The pay list came to £3,006 15s 3½d for the quarter to 30 September 1765 (£5,036 15s 3½d on the cash account page), £3,078 18s 1d to 31 December 1765 and £3,050 17s 11d to 31 March 1766. Each quarter Skottowe drew £125 0s 0d with £31 14s 9d for servants and Corneille £62 10s 0d with £25 0s 0d diet money. Purling drew £62 10s 0d in four payments as councillor and accountant, including diet money and a gratuity. Kirkpatrick had £10 0s 0d as councillor and £45 12s 6d as captain of the First Company, and Captain Archibald Mitchell £77 10s 0d as engineer and £45 12s 6d as captain of artillery. Writers received £5 0s 0d and factors £7 10s 0d, each with £10 0s 0d diet money, and the master mason William Holbrook £30 0s 0d. Chaplain John Thackeray (also Thackery) received £40 0s 0d to 30 September 1765, his salary being £25 0s 0d. [Film No. 77, 79, 94, 97, 106, 228-229, 245, 248, 337-339, 351]

Kirkpatrick was councillor, captain, paymaster and holder of the treasury. Richard Beale was judge advocate at £12 6s 9d, schoolmaster at £3 0s 3d (£3 8s 3d from October 1765) and captain of the Third Company. John Price was marshal and gaoler at £7 10s 0d, Sergeant Phillip Mahoney clerk of the peace at £10 0s 0d, Sergeant Thomas Payne overseer of the Company's workmen and Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice master at arms. Henry Bazett commanded the Second Company, Thomas Bazett was a lieutenant in the Third, John Bazett was sergeant and superintendent of the Company's slaves at £10 0s 0d a quarter, and Henry and Matthew held 178 and 205 acres. [Film No. 78-80, 83, 87, 229-231, 234, 238, 249, 338-339, 342, 345]

Storekeeper James Powell (also written Bowell) signed the store accounts on 30 September 1765, reserving the right to correct errors. He divided issues among general charges, diet, garrison, slaves, Malays, plantation, boats, hospital, fortifications and two vessels, and named the gang or place drawing each. The cash account paid him £2 17s 0d for 15 waistcoats and 10 pairs of trousers for the Company's slaves. [Film No. 106, 125, 142]

General charges for 1 July to 30 September 1765 included timber at £56 9s 5d, with 129 single deals and 13 bundles of laths, and 332 bushels of coal at £23 7s 0d for the armourers' shop and lime burning. They also covered 172½ gallons of arrack for workmen at £28 3s 9d, scales, beams and weights for the stores at £32 4s 10d, 80 lb of candles for the Castle, 90 lb for the Council and window glass for the Company's houses. The diet account took 24 gallons of arrack with flour, tea, sugar candy and Florence oil. [Film No. 125-130, 136, 139, 145]

The Council proved the will of soldier Evan Knowles on 28 October 1765 on the oaths of witnesses and registered a mortgage bond for Captain John Howard on 25 November 1765. The accountant reported on 4 November 1765 that the books were balanced to 30 September 1765, two days after a homeward ship arrived, and copies were ordered as quickly as possible. Corneille signed the inventory of 30 September 1765 in place of Powell. [Film No. 162, 165, 167, 169, 180]

General charges for 1 October to 31 December 1765 included arrack for Sunday issues and general work at £57 14s 6d, more than timber, oil and coal combined, and candles at £35 11s 0d, with 150 for the Council and 90 for the Castle. Also charged were a hair comb for the Lieutenant Governor, canvas for Mitchell, tea for the gardener, hooks, lines and sheet lead for the Governor's fishermen and six rat traps for Plantation House. The diet account included 60 gallons of arrack. A carry-forward of £119 11s 8d reappears on the next page as £130 9s 4d, an unexplained gap of £10 17s 8d. [Film No. 213-218]

Corneille reported on 13 January 1766 that Thomas Warne, the Company's overseer, was unfit through irregular conduct and neglect of duty, and no reply from Warne was minuted. Warne was dismissed, and Daniel Torque (also written Jongue), overseer at Longwood at £2 10s 0d a quarter, took both posts at the usual £60 0s 0d a year and was released from the garrison. [Film No. 197, 252]

On 24 February 1766 the Council proved two wills on the oaths of witnesses. Thomas Mudge, a garrison soldier, made his by mark on 10 February 1766 and left everything to his cousin Thomas Burkham. Aaron Asdon of His Majesty's 79th Regiment, a passenger in the *Earl of Middlesex*, made his on 19 February 1766, leaving his wife Ann in Cumberland £60 0s 0d, his pay arrears and prize money, four silk handkerchiefs and silver shoe buckles, with £6 0s 0d to George Johnson as administrator. Draper's 79th had taken Manila in 1762. [Film No. 267, 272-273]

The dating of early March 1766 is confused. One meeting is dated Saturday 7 March, which fell on a Friday, and two entries are headed Monday 10 March with different preceding minutes, one of them a meeting of 3 March that does not survive. Packets from the Court of Directors arrived in the *Plassey* and the *Prince of Wales* between 6 and 9 March 1766, and the Council told Mitchell and Beale in person what the Company had decided about them without minuting the substance. John Bland, newly arrived from England, was warned that his right to remain depended entirely on his conduct. [Film No. 275-277]

A notice of 24 March 1766 summoned the inhabitants to a vestry at the chapel in Jamestown valley on 31 March 1766. They nominated three men for sheriff, four churchwardens and two overseers for each of the East, West and South Divisions, a coroner and a constable. The Council appointed Samuel Alexander sheriff and Powell coroner, and issued warrants to two churchwardens and one overseer for each division. [Film No. 296, 304]

In the quarter to 31 March 1766 Thomas Harper, clerk of the market, took a fee of £1 2s 10d on beef supplied to the garrison. General expenses included 343⅓ gallons of arrack for workmen at £67 1s 2d and 1,510 lb of cordage, with 150 lb of candles for the Council and 60 lb for the Castle. [Film No. 326-330, 358]

Military Affairs and Defence

Mitchell laid his plans and report on the fortifications before the Council on 13 August 1765. The councillors judged the report accurate, called Sandy Bay almost undefended, thought the batteries so weakly built that repair was essential and praised a proposed mortar battery covering Rupert's Bay and James Bay. Skottowe asked whether the valleys between Horse Pasture Point and the Needles needed more than walls, and Mitchell answered that further works would only spread the garrison more thinly. Corneille thought the route from Rupert's Valley to Banks's unsafe because it ran outside the defences; Mitchell intended a road across the rock inside the Line once the lower battery at Banks's was repaired, but had omitted it from his report as too minor. [Film No. 14-15]

Corneille also proposed to flatten the redan in the lower Line across James Valley into a straight face carrying one gun, arguing that the surf-damaged outer wall of the ditch could then be strengthened and that

a sharp point would be breached quickly. Mitchell replied that the wall could be strengthened without touching the redan and doubted that the redan and its six guns had ever been needed, since the bastions would have covered a straight curtain of no more than 200 yards. His view prevailed in the only disagreement minuted. [Film No. 15-16]

The report, addressed to the Governor and Council in August 1765 and copied into the minutes on 16 September 1765, was written after a short time on the island, part of it without a boat. The coastal survey was unfinished, so Mitchell referred to the plan in the *English Pilot* while admitting its errors. He had served mainly as an artillery officer for eight years, left his plans undecorated and had remarked at a meeting of the Court of Directors that the island had no mortar. [Film No. 34-36, 38-39, 46]

Mitchell described a coast of about 30 miles, almost wholly cliff and rarely under 400 or 500 feet high. A steady south-east wind drove heavy surf on to the windward shore from the Needles to Sugar Loaf Point, roughly two-thirds of the coastline. Landing was possible only in the narrow gullies that islanders called valleys, where he claimed 500 defenders would match 10 times their number. Sandy Bay was the one windward exception, because its two headlands sometimes sheltered it from the surf. [Film No. 36-38]

Ships reached the island's latitude well to the east, sailed due west and rounded Sugar Loaf Point to the anchorage. The wind then failed, so they kept close under the cliffs or were carried off the bank, and each battery could fire on them in turn. A ship coming past the Needles met shifting gusts from every valley and would have to warp in for the last mile under fire. Westerly winds blew perhaps once in five or six months, sometimes for a week. The plan marked the course with a dotted line and the gun directions in red. [Film No. 39-41]

The upper battery at Banks's stood about 200 yards from Sugar Loaf Point and some 60 feet above the sea, with six 9-pounders behind a thin wall bound with mud instead of lime mortar. Mitchell advised demolition and a new work with 18-pounders and merlons 9 feet thick instead of 3 feet, faced with brick over a core of earth, sand and a little lime, because the island stone splintered under shot. He was already trying to make bricks from local clay. The lower battery on the beach mounted two 32-pounders and five 18-pounders at the mouth of a gully about 3 miles long. Floods had damaged it through a badly designed channel, and he was building a wider arched culvert. [Film No. 41-43]

Rupert's Line carried 23 guns: five 32-pounders, one 24-pounder, four 12-pounders and 13 of the 9-pounder size, behind a ditch 18 feet wide and 10 feet deep. Mitchell asked only for new gun openings and a better outer slope. He rejected the battery at Chubb's Rock that a Mr Hutchinson had proposed to the Directors, because Banks's and Munden's already covered the approach. Munden's stood about 80 feet above the sea with one 32-pounder and 16 guns of the 9-pounder size, and he rated it the most important position on the island. Hutchinson had noted its crumbling rock; Mitchell wanted it demolished and rebuilt with 18-pounders and three more guns, and remeasured both headlands to confirm that the gun platforms would not overlap. Three 13-inch mortars were to stand about 80 feet above Munden's guns behind an earth bank about 4 feet high. [Film No. 43-46]

Two lines ran about 250 yards across the beach of James Valley. The outer line had a bastion, a half bastion, a central redan, a ditch and a gate with a drawbridge to the landing place. It mounted 25 guns, 20 of them 32-pounders, behind sound masonry and merlons 9 feet thick, but stood so close to the beach that surf damaged the ditch wall. Mitchell proposed only a small outwork before the gate once more pressing works were done. The inner line stood about 18 feet higher with 38 guns, 19 of them 2-pounders that he called old, corroded and fit only for salutes. He wanted 9-pounders and 6-pounders, a new parapet and rebuilt half bastions, the left one extended about 10 yards to reach the rock face. One passage gives the inner line openings for 80 guns and another 50, to be cut to 30. He judged the Castle useless for general defence and of value only if the slaves revolted. [Film No. 46-48]

West of James Valley, one of three small gullies before Lemon Valley needed its rocks cut sheer and a wall built. The Lemon Valley battery of six 6-pounders was to be extended to the hills on either side, with 9-pounders or 12-pounders added in front. Single walls were to close the few gullies between Horse Pasture Point and the Needles. [Film No. 48-49]

Sandy Bay measured about 200 yards across at its narrowest. An old work on the right mounted three guns and the new Blund's battery at the head four, of illegible calibres. Mitchell proposed a continuous line from the flanks of Blund's battery across the bay, with a wall about 10 feet high, a rampart and a ditch. Two side inlets were to be walled and the streams passed under the line in two channels closed by portcullises. He preferred a closed line because troops fought more steadily when safe from surprise. Sandy Bay was to be built first, then the upper battery at Banks's and each work westward in turn. [Film No. 49-51, 53]

All gun platforms needed relaying, and Mitchell complained that islanders had never learnt the purpose of a firing step. Several bomb-proof magazines existed and more could be cut into the dry coastal rock. The barracks were too cramped, the officers' quarters unfinished and most storehouses in poor repair, and he wanted one or two storehouses made bomb-proof for provisions and valuable goods. He supplied returns of the slaves and of the hired workmen with their cost but declined to estimate the time or cost of the works, because most of the slaves had only recently come from Africa and had no experience of building. [Film No. 43, 51-54]

Returns entered on 16 September 1765 counted 99 men on the fortifications and public works: four Company servants, 44 sergeants, corporals and soldiers, two inhabitants, 25 slave men and 24 slave boys. The 46 hired men cost £846 19s 6d a year, under two sergeants and a corporal as overseers. Mitchell then estimated about three years for the fortifications and two to three more for the military and civil buildings, and expected the growing skill of the Company's slaves to cut the hired men sharply. His list of guns and ammunition was withheld until the works were approved. [Film No. 56-58]

The garrison comprised four infantry companies under Kirkpatrick, Henry Bazett (written Prozett between October 1765 and January 1766), Beale and Howard, and an artillery company under Mitchell. Each infantry company had a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, about 70 sentinels and two drummers, or three in the Fourth Company. A sentinel received £3 16s 0½d a quarter, or 10d a day, a corporal £5 6s 5½d (1s 2d) and a sergeant £7 12s 1d (1s 8d). In the artillery a matross received £4 11s 3d (1s 0d), a gunner 1s 4d a day and a sergeant £9 2s 6d (2s 0d). Military pay was about £2,235 in the quarter to 31 December 1765. [Film No. 79-80, 83, 87, 90, 94-95, 230-231, 234-235, 238, 241-242, 245-246, 248, 339-354]

Emanuel Bunner and David Belford enlisted on 4 August 1765, Belford four days after his post as Company gardener ended. Five men, at least four of them artillerymen, each took £10 0s 0d between 14 July and 26 August 1765 to serve five more years. Captain Hardwicke carried home three invalids for £15 0s 0d, named as Robert Bosely, Henry Davis and William Snelson, although the pay list discharged a Robert Davis. [Film No. 79, 81-82, 85, 92, 97-98]

The gunner's accounts recorded the following guns fired and powder used; the December 1765 powder total and the January 1766 figures are not given. The headings were read as charge weights in July 1765 and as gun sizes in August 1765, the July account is signed P. Mitchell and Mitchell signed the later returns. [Film No. 8-9, 24, 30, 60, 76, 172-173, 179, 186, 192, 196, 262, 278, 315]

Month	**Guns**	**Powder**
July 1765	61	99 lb 2 oz
August 1765	93	164 lb 13 oz
September 1765	63	102 lb 12 oz
October 1765	43	85 lb 14 oz
November 1765	26	67 lb 8 oz
December 1765	6	-
February 1766	58	225 lb 13 oz
March 1766	106	196 lb 8 oz

Company ships received nine guns on arrival and departure. Alarms were fired on 16 July, 19 July, 4 August, 15 August and 31 August 1765, the last repeated at Turk's Cap before a boat from the *Calcutta* reached Banks's at 8.15 pm. In July and August 1765 powder also went to the mason for blasting limestone at West

Rocks and rock at Banks's, to the Main Guard and to soldiers shooting goats, while sponges went to the baker and paper to the Secretary's Office. In September 1765 Captain Jackson and Major Munro each received 13 guns on landing, and an alarm of six guns on 25 September matched the arrival of the *Bute*'s boat at Banks's at 3.15 pm. Limestone was blasted on 4, 6 and 11 September, and the overseer at Longwood drew powder and 30 lead balls. [Film No. 8-9, 24, 30, 60, 76]

In the quarter to 30 September 1765 the paymaster paid soldiers for 850½ days at Banks's portcullis (£42 10s 6d), 891¾ days quarrying and burning limestone (£44 11s 9d), 206½ days of brickmaking (£10 6s 6d) and 134 days assisting at it. Planters sold rafters, purlins and bamboo for the brickworks. Day rates were 1s for labourers and 1s 6d for tradesmen, including the plasterer Samuel Gates and the bricklayer John Wibly. The civilian carpenter Simon Whaley earned 5s and the mason Sutton Sandys 2s 6d, for 31½ days on the portcullis and 40 on the Castle. The fortifications account supplied 259 lb of iron for the portcullis, 12 pieces of oak plank from 4 to 6 inches thick and 124 sandbags. [Film No. 100, 102, 104, 106, 140-141, 177, 254]

Garrison stores for the same quarter furnished the gunners' barracks and the new barracks with 46 wooden bowls, 34 platters, benches and blankets, and supplied 85 lb of Bohea tea. Twine and sail needles made a target, Florence oil was issued for the field guns and the magazines received 4 lb of candles across two accounts. The warehouse held 140 hat cockades, and men were paid £2 0s 0d for carrying alarm messages at speed. [Film No. 106, 126, 131-132, 140-141, 148]

In October 1765 Munro received 13 guns on going aboard on 14 October and the *Bute* nine on sailing. The anniversary of the King's accession on 25 October 1765 drew 21 guns and musketry using 28 lb 4 oz. Salutes came almost wholly from 2-pounders at 1 lb a gun, and one of two copies of the return lacks the gun sizes. An alarm on 1 November 1765 was repeated at Turk's Cap, and 28 lb of powder went on blasting at Rupert's and for the Black Hospital. The six guns of December 1765 were an alarm on 28 December for a ship passing far out to sea, and powder was issued four times that month to remake cartridges at the Main Guard. [Film No. 172-173, 179, 186, 192, 196]

A field carriage was reported rotten and a 9-pounder bed broken in November 1765. Three carriages for 32-pounders were condemned and a 12-pounder carriage found rotten in December 1765. [Film No. 186, 196]

Mitchell reported on 11 November 1765 that his brickmaking trials had fallen short through salt in the clay, which made the bricks brittle, unskilled men and the lack of drying sheds. The Council found few bricks in a sample fit to use and ordered a further trial with the clay dug and left to weather for some months. [Film No. 175, 177]

Corneille wrote on 2 December 1765 that a man named Arthur had found limestone at Sandy Bay, where the supply had been thought exhausted, and judged it enough for as long as the island needed. Islanders built with mud mortar, which he thought far worse than anything he had seen elsewhere. He proposed that the Company sell lime at 18d a bushel and asked that the plan go to the Court of Directors. Burning with wood needed three white labourers at 1s a day, 11 slaves and 25 kilns of wood, costing £206 19s 0d for 12,500 bushels, or about 4d a bushel. Coal needed two labourers, six slaves and 30 chaldrons at £2 4s 0d, costing £157 6s 0d for 12,060 bushels, or about 3d. He doubted that wood could be relied on for long, noted that the engineer had already ordered the coal and omitted blasting powder as unknowable. The Council set the price at 1s 3d and agreed to sell whatever its own works could spare. [Film No. 181-184]

The artillery was reshuffled between 2 and 10 December 1765. Six men left it for the infantry, among them Corporal James Long, the bombardier Andrew Barton and the gunner William Fletcher, and six infantrymen entered as matrosses. Nicholas Houghton rose to corporal, John Ferrier and James Purfett to bombardier and John Smith, Thomas Tyler and Thomas Yates to gunner, Yates within four days of joining. Each move was entered as a transfer and a fresh enlistment without reasons. Sergeant John Stewart resigned on 5 December 1765 and served on as a private, Corporal Henry Howell taking his place, and a John Stewart was also listed as a cadet on private's pay. The gunner Evan Newland took £10 0s 0d to serve five more years. [Film No. 231-232, 234, 236-237, 240-248, 252]

The garrison account for 1 October to 31 December 1765 included train oil at £22 17s 0d, 45 gallons of arrack for drams on muster days, yellow ochre and whiting to colour the accoutrements and a half-hour glass for Banks's guard. The fortification account was chiefly 733 lb of iron for Banks's cullis and 107 lb of cordage for raising stones. Paint and linseed oil went on the shed, the guns, the gun carriages and the flanks, and arrack was given to a private owner's slaves who painted the carriages. General charges carried 279 bushels of coal for burning lime and iron for a forge and stonecutters' hammers. The paymaster paid for 463 days of lime burning, 170½ days of brickmaking, 51 days of masonry at Banks's, 921½ days of labouring and 37 of stone blasting at Rupert's, and 687¾ days and 32½ of blasting at the slave house. Masons repairing the houses of the chaplain and officers earned 3s a day. [Film No. 215, 217-219, 226, 254, 256]

The January 1766 gunner's account names posts at Lemon Valley, Rupert's, Banks's and Sandy Bay. In February 1766 blasting took 130 lb of powder, including 100 lb sent to Sandy Bay on 16 February. The 2-pounders fired 11 guns for the *Admiral Stevens*, nine each for the *Earl of Middlesex* and the *Plassey* and 13 for a Dutch governor on landing. Alarms on 15 and 28 February each took six guns, the first also bringing two 9-pounders into use at Banks's. Powder and shot were issued for shooting goats at Munden's Point. [Film No. 262, 278]

On orders from London the Council directed Mitchell on 12 March 1766 to begin the fortifications at Sandy Bay at once, following the plan he had sent to London, reporting quarterly and letting nothing else distract him. At his request Lieutenant Bridgwater was appointed resident overseer of the soldiers and slaves employed, at 3s a day, a cost the Council defended to the Directors because the duty could not be left to sergeants alone. [Film No. 287-288]

Alarms were fired on 2, 10, 13, 16, 22 and 23 March 1766, those of 10, 13 and 16 March for one, three and four ships that passed without calling. The Dutch governor received 13 guns on going aboard on 3 March 1766, and the works took 39 lb 8 oz of powder. Soldiers were paid £0 15s 0d in the last quarter of 1765 and £4 15s 0d in the first of 1766 for bringing express word of ships to windward. [Film No. 254, 315, 358]

William Fletcher, an invalid with three years served, was discharged on 24 February 1766 after supplying a substitute, Hendrick Assenius, a discharged Madras soldier entered among the seamen of the *Earl of Middlesex*. Richard Goulding was discharged on 31 March 1766 with his term complete, and seven sentinels whose terms had ended were discharged at their own request on 7 April 1766, while two China ships lay in the road. Nineteen soldiers took bounties between 30 January and 23 March 1766 to serve five more years, 13 of them on the last date, at £10 0s 0d or £5 0s 0d for John Twaits, a native of the island. Six invalids went home with Captain Hindman at £5 0s 0d each. The garrison account for the quarter charged 166⅓ gallons of arrack for drams, and cloth, trimmings and 16 hats for the officers' clothing made up most of its total. [Film No. 271, 274, 298, 308, 333-334, 356]

Mitchell's letter of 21 April 1766 opened the quarterly reports, which he had himself proposed. His instructions from England had confined him to repairs during his first year. The essential repairs to the Castle were finished, the main leaks at Plantation House stopped and the Company's other houses refitted. Materials had been gathered for a hospital for the Company's slaves, which the Council had put off without stated reason. The lower battery at Banks's was the first fortification repaired: part was pulled down, a long channel was built to carry flood water beneath it, a path was cut along the rocks to Rupert's Bay and a gully between the two batteries was walled up. The quarter's stores charged 248 lb of iron and 116 lb of sheet lead to the cullis at Banks's. [Film No. 336, 364-365]

Mitchell also reported that he had examined the island's stone soon after arriving and found a very large limestone deposit at Sandy Bay, close to the sea and beside a main work he proposed. A road to the quarry was finished, and the lime burned there needed less sand than English lime and very little coal. Ground, clay, fuel, sheds and a kiln for brickmaking were well advanced. His abstract counted 210 men and boys employed: 114 at Sandy Bay, 64 at James's Valley and 32 at Plantation House. They included 72 white labourers, 52 men slaves, 11 slave craftsmen and 26 slave boy apprentices, the Council having tripled the labourers after the store ships arrived. Tools, wheelbarrows and an officer's cot for Sandy Bay were charged to general expenses. [Film No. 328-329, 336-337, 365-367]

Paid labour in the quarter to 31 March 1766 included 1,320 days at the slaves' house, of which 982 were labouring and 160 plastering, 333 days of limestone quarrying, 236 days at Sandy Bay and 51½ days of brickmaking. The Castle, the Lieutenant Governor's house, a storehouse on Ladder Hill and stone for a wheat mill were also charged, and a mason's day cost 3s 6d. [Film No. 327, 360, 362]

Land, Settlement and Agriculture

On 26 August 1765 Holbrook petitioned for waste Company ground in the valley to build a house, and Lieutenant St Maurice received a James Valley plot of 15 feet by 95 feet at £0 15s 0d a year. Holbrook received 40 feet by 68 feet at the same rent on 23 September 1765, when Matthew Bazett leased 15½ acres in the East Division. On 9 September 1765 Benjamin Mason took 31 acres in the West Division and the carpenter John Robinson 28½ acres in the East Division at £0 1s 6d an acre. [Film No. 21-22, 29, 59, 66, 79]

Mitchell reported in August 1765 that the Castle and the Company servants' houses had recently been repaired. Plantation House, the Governor's country residence, had no habitable room, decaying timbers and a roof thought beyond repair, which he blamed on wrong methods and meant to complete in the drier months. The island needed a new church and a courthouse for the quarterly courts. A church plan had gone to England and roof timbers were expected with the ships of 1766, but he advised deferring both buildings until the fortifications were finished, since the small church was safe and trained craftsmen would halve the cost. [Film No. 52-53]

The roll of rents and dues paid on 30 September 1765 came to £536 16s 2d on 2,204¾ acres of free land and 1,970 acres of leased land. Rates ran from 1s to 5s an acre, with £1 0s 0d an acre for Margaret Alcock's 1¼ acres and a peppercorn for six acres held by Francis Wrangham. Purling held the most land, 313½ acres for £37 1s 4d, and Richard Bagley paid the most, £49 11s 1d for 309 acres. Orphans' estates accounted for 13 holdings and women for eight, Corporal Onesiphorus Beale held 23½ acres and several townspeople paid ground rent alone. The entry for the orphans of William Kennedy shows 17s due and 12s paid. [Film No. 64-67]

The plantation stores account for 1 July to 30 September 1765 names Plantation House, Maldivia, Sandy Bay and Longwood. It issued ox bows, arrack for men breaking in oxen, canvas pads for donkeys, 31 cwt of paddy for poultry and horses, axletrees, ash and oak plank and tar for the wood cart and a case of fleams for bleeding cattle. The inventory held 77 milk pans, 33 pairs of sheep shears, 16 scythes and 10 sickles. The account for 1 October to 31 December 1765 listed yokes and bows for oxen, longcloth for the dairy, scythes, four pairs of sheep shears, Venetian red for marking sheep, arrack for the shearers, 4,535 lb of paddy, 376 lb of rice and fishing lines for Longwood and Sandy Bay. [Film No. 129, 136-137, 147, 151, 153, 222-223]

John Desfountain senior petitioned on 21 October 1765 to renew his lease of 16 acres in the East Division and for an adjoining strip of waste; the lease was renewed and the strip sent for inspection. On 28 October 1765 Captain Henry Bazett asked for waste ground beside Holbrook's plot to build a house. Holbrook's request the same day to pass his lease in James's Valley, beside the house of the cooper James Torbett (written Corbett), to Mitchell and Bazett was approved at once. Julio Fabiana (also Fabiano), who already had leave to stay on the island, asked on 4 November 1765 for 60 fathoms by 50 fathoms beside John Jacks's house. Leases followed on 2 December 1765 at £0 15s 0d a year each: 60 feet by 44 feet for Bazett and 60 feet by 60 feet for Fabiana. Matthew Bazett had two expired leases for 11 acres in the East Division renewed without inspection on 23 December 1765. [Film No. 163-164, 167-170, 184, 191]

Mitchell wrote on 11 November 1765 that most of the roof of Plantation House, whose prompt repair the Directors had recommended, was close to collapse because its gutters lay almost flat under cracked lead. Robinson offered to finish it with surplus timber from the store. Mitchell wanted to use the dry months and the idle time before the store ship arrived and to line the gutters with terras. The Council required a trial on one gutter first, although he warned that delay would probably lose the dry weather. [Film No. 175-177]

The plantation accounts, signed by Corneille, gave the Company's livestock at each quarter's end. Seven horses died in the quarter to 30 September 1765, though the next account has horses rising from seven to nine. In the quarter to 31 December 1765 10 cattle, 62 sheep and 34 goats were killed and 35 sheep and 25 goats died; its wether figures cannot be right, since 39 killed and 16 dead from 45 could not leave 90. In the quarter to 31 March 1766 20 cattle and 31 sheep were killed and 23 calves and 65 kids were entered as missing, without comment from the Council on 14 April 1766. [Film No. 75, 195, 313-314]

Quarter ending	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Hogs	Horses
30 September 1765	275	608	243	5	9
31 December 1765	267	532	199	2	9
31 March 1766	238	481	128	-	-

Land was leased from the Company in 1766 at 5s an acre. On 10 February 1766 Matthew Bazett took 11 acres in the East Division and Benjamin Pledger renewed seven acres there; by petition of 10 March 1766 Pledger transferred 18 acres to Desfountain. William Wrangham had leave on 17 March 1766 to sell David Alcock's 26¾ acres to the highest bidder. Robert Ballard petitioned on 7 April 1766 for a new lease of part of his house in James's Valley, expiring on 16 April 1766, and Henry Bazett on 21 April 1766 to renew six acres at Sandy Bay; both were granted without recorded conditions. [Film No. 262, 274, 279-280, 293, 308, 368]

Corneille reported on 10 March 1766 that Torque's count on replacing Warne found 23 cattle and 65 goats missing. Warne blamed miscounting, reliance on the slaves who drove the cattle, mange and dogs. Corneille noted that Warne's return for 1 April to 30 June 1765 showed an increase of 62 head, in line with normal growth. The Council found a mistake and no fraud and ordered the animals written off in the next quarter. [Film No. 285-286]

Supply and Provisioning

The warehouse held no pepper on 12 August 1765, and Captain John Webb of the *London* was ordered to land 400 lb gross of the Company's own cargo. Powell reported on 13 August 1765 that her rice was 5 cwt 2 qr 19 lb short, with 52 cwt 3 qr 21 lb of paddy received. The Council bought from Webb 160 pieces of pork and 307 of beef at £0 3s 0d a piece, six bags of rice and 14 of batty for £87 12s 0d, and purser Henry Hubert gave the receipt. [Film No. 6-7, 16-17]

On 26 August 1765 the Council bought 6,300 lb of rice from the Dutch captain at £0 12s 0d per 100 lb, or £37 16s 0d, against about £1 7s 0d per 100 lb for Webb's rice. The *Calcutta* arrived from Bombay on 1 September 1765 with 22 bags of pounded rice weighing 150 Surat maunds and 32 bags of batty. Accountant William Hornby signed her invoice for 316 rupees 1 quarter 78 reas, although its parts add up to 8 reas less. Powell reported on 6 September 1765 that the rice was 2 qr 21 lb short and that only 13 bags of paddy, weighing 20 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, had been delivered. Salt provisions being short that day, the Council bought four casks from her captain, George Thomson, for £73 4s 0d, the price at which it had sold casks to Company ships that year, although he showed that they had cost him £20 0s 0d each at Bombay. The paymaster also bought 248 pieces of beef from Captain Fernell in the quarter. [Film No. 22-25, 28, 98, 100]

The steward's accounts gave the monthly cost of the Company's table, with meat consumed where stated. Beef rose in September 1765 while Munro and other visiting officers were ashore. The table also took flour, butter, port, Lisbon and Mountain wine, beer and 60 to 63 bottles of arrack a month in late 1765. The price of 6½ lb of sugar candy fell from £2 10s 8d in July 1765 to £1 0s 8d in August 1765. In the quarter to 31 March 1766 Captain Peters supplied cheese, hams, butter, pickles and spices for the table, which drew 54 gallons of arrack from the stores. [Film No. 7-8, 31, 74, 172, 185, 196-197, 262, 279, 316, 330, 356]

Month	Cost	Mutton	Beef
July 1765	£26 16s 5½d	302 lb	-
August 1765	£23 8s 7d	263 lb	126 lb
September 1765	£26 13s 3d	-	237¼ lb
October 1765	£26 4s 4½d	-	-

Month	Cost	Mutton	Beef
November 1765	£17 18s 3d	157 lb	118 lb
December 1765	£26 8s 0d	314 lb	142 lb
January 1766	£22 14s 9d	233 lb	66 lb
February 1766	£19 0s 9½d	-	-
March 1766	£26 4s 9½d	351 lb	102 lb

The warehouse charged Company servants cost plus 10 per cent, planters 25 per cent on cloth, hosiery, hats and shoes and 40 per cent on staples, cordage, hardware and fishing tackle, and Company ships no stated advance. Quarterly sales were as follows; the *Admiral Stevens* was charged a further £6 14s 10d on a separate account in the last quarter, and no ship is named in the first two. [Film No. 107-125, 198-199, 205-211, 319-326]

Quarter ending	Company servants	Planters	Company ships
30 September 1765	£1,300 13s 10d	£117 13s 2d	£654 6s 4d
31 December 1765	£1,256 11s 6d	£112 12s 7d	£506 19s 11d
31 March 1766	£905 14s 1d	£84 18s 6d	£40 5s 0d

Servants' purchases to 30 September 1765 were led by salt meat at £234 6s 0d for 2,069 pieces of pork and 274 of beef. Flour followed at £175 14s 4d, 410 gallons of Port, Lisbon and Mountain wine at £124 11s 2d, sugar at £111 17s 6d and Indian long cloth at £108 15s 11d. Tea, at 1,123 lb, cost £62 16s 10d, 482 lb of candles £46 16s 0d and shoes £41 15s 10d for 124 ordinary pairs and 26 for women. Chinese porcelain worth £24 5s 9d included 186 blue and white soup plates at about 6d each, and India cotton stockings sold at a little over 2s a pair against about 7s 6d for English. Servants also bought tea wares, wine glasses, decanters, 10 punch ladles, a box iron, window glass mostly in panes of 6 by 8 inches, buttons, sewing silk, thread, button moulds and 28 locks. [Film No. 107-109, 111-117]

Planters bought two hats, 17 pairs of shoes, short lengths of cloth, sole leather and a calfskin at 25 per cent in the same quarter. Servants bought 4,275 fish hooks and 184 lines, buyers at 40 per cent took 1,300 hooks and 18 dozen lines and the Company's slave fishermen drew 1,600 hooks and 43½ dozen lines. Ships took salt beef and pork worth £373 14s 9d, rope worth £93 16s 6d, a sloop's mast at £29 13s 0d and pitch, tar, canvas, coal and timber. [Film No. 110, 118-120, 123-125, 132]

The *Bute* arrived from Bengal on 25 September 1765 with stores invoiced at 1,106 rupees 14 annas 9 pies: wax candles, 30 bags of rice, 10 bags of fine sugar, 15 bags of paddy and two leaguers of Batavia arrack. The invoice was in current rupees of 16 annas, each of 12 pies, distinguished factory from bazaar maunds and carried as its largest charge 34 rupees 10 annas for a sloop. On 27 September 1765 Captain the Honourable Patrick Maitland asked for 35 puncheons of beef and pork and 100 bags of rice. The Council replied that only 27 casks of salt provisions and 12,200 lb of rice remained for the garrison and slaves, that the rice would run out near the end of December 1765 and the salt meat on 1 March 1766, and that flour was short although the garrison had already lost one bread day a week. It offered 12 casks of salt provisions, 13 cattle, 30 sheep and 3,000 lb of paddy, calling the animals the whole remainder of the year's stock beyond the 560 lb of beef already issued under the charter party. [Film No. 60-63]

Maitland reported on 30 September 1765 that his officers unanimously refused to sail for Europe without 10 weeks' provisions. The Council granted five more casks to keep the ship from a foreign port, accepting that it might have to slaughter livestock for the garrison. On 10 October 1765 he wrote that six Company slaves and six of his men could pound barely half the daily need of 200 men, cited the bad weather expected on the passage and asked for about 3,320 lb of rice in exchange for half the paddy. The Council gave 3,000 lb, ordered the 13 cattle aboard with one kept back for slaughter during his stay and agreed to advance cash on charter-party terms, Maitland offering bills on Charles Raymond for the stores. Powell certified the same day that the *Bute* had not delivered her rice, paddy and sugar and that her two leaguers of arrack held 174 gallons against a gauged 285. [Film No. 67, 71-74]

Only six cattle remained on the Company's hands on 4 November 1765, when the *Princess Augusta* needed fresh provisions. The Council therefore issued its yearly cattle notice two months early, requiring every inhabitant to return by 11 November 1765 the cattle available for slaughter in 1766. Her captain wrote on 11 November 1765 that the crew had eaten almost nothing fresh for seven months and mostly had scurvy, that the ship leaked, that her mizzen mast was sprung and that her rudder head had to go ashore for repair. He asked for 14 days' fresh provisions to carry away, which the Council granted from the cattle due for 1766, judging that a passage to another port might endanger her. [Film No. 170, 174]

A notice of 9 December 1765 summoned every planter to the Castle at 10 am on 16 December 1765. The Council told them that the returns allowed only one beast a week, so the Wednesday market must be supplied with sheep, goats and pigs. Further returns of sheep, goats, pigs, sheep intended for sale, horses by kind and undeclared cattle were due by 23 December 1765. Flour was short that day, the yam crop had failed and no rice remained, the stores having held 133 cwt 1 qr of rice and 156 cwt 3 qr of paddy on 30 September 1765. The Council bought planters' spare potatoes at 4s a bushel, 1s below the usual price, sold them to the soldiers at 3s in place of bread and charged the difference to the Company. Yams for the slaves were bought at the usual 3s a hundredweight, because the Company's own plantations were too young to bear. [Film No. 162, 187-189]

Servants' purchases to 31 December 1765 included 3,093 pieces of salt beef worth £309 16s 0d, 1,869 pieces of pork, 12 cwt 3 qr of rice against 48 cwt in the previous quarter, 242 lb of Bohea against 617 lb and 6,269 lb of sugar. They also bought long cloth worth £79 15s 7d, 174 pairs of men's shoes, broadcloth, paint, china, window glass and fishing tackle. Planters' purchases, entered on 21 January 1766, included 165 lb of tea, chiefly congou, 487 lb of sugar, 417 lb of cordage, 13 lb of sole leather, six shoemaker's knives and small lots of nails, window glass, paint, fishing gear and chinaware. Men's everyday shoes cost them 5s a pair against under 4s on the Company's valuation. Ships took 11 puncheons of beef and six hogsheads of pork for £303 2s 6d, 57 cwt 2 qr 2 lb of cordage, rice, paddy, 670 lb of flour, coal, canvas, paint and two half-minute glasses. [Film No. 198-211]

Private suppliers were paid in 1765. Mary Seale sold 33,150 yams, mostly at 3s a hundred, and Lieutenant Desfountain 7,800 at 2s 6d, costing £61 5s 9d for the slaves; Seale's 30,900 yams at 3s should have cost £46 7s 0d, not the £49 17s 0d entered. Together they also sold 22,000 suckers. William Young supplied 47 loads of stone, and Torbett sold 49 gallons of sour beer at 2s a gallon. [Film No. 250, 254]

The garrison was badly short of provisions on 27 January 1766. The Council bought from Captain John Griffin of the *Admiral Stevens*, arrived from Bengal on 23 January 1766, 61 bushels of wheat, 305½ gallons of arrack at 4s a gallon and over 15 cwt of sago for £131 10s 6d. The paymaster's account gives 305 gallons, 13 cwt 2 qr 13 lb of sugar and £131 8s 6d. The ship also landed 1,000 lb of rice, 246 lb of flour and a yawl belonging to the Company. [Film No. 258-259, 356, 358, 362]

The *Earl of Middlesex* arrived from Madras on 15 February 1766 with 26 bags of rice, 33 of paddy and 450 gallons of Batavia arrack. Her invoice, signed by the accountant Richard Fairfield, came to 184 pagodas 35 fanams 52 cash with charges, and Powell reported 106 lb of rice, 59 lb of paddy and 5 gallons of arrack short. On 24 February 1766 the Council bought 3,711 lb of pork from her commander, Henry Fletcher, at 6d a pound. It returned the pork unpaid in early March, once store ships had brought ample salt provisions, and so kept £92 15s 6d. [Film No. 267-268, 270, 274-275]

Letters of 14 March 1766 to Lord Clive at Fort William, Robert Palk at Fort St George and Charles Crommelin at Bombay set out the island's orders under its 1 per cent allowance. Bengal was asked for eight maunds of wax candles and 200 pieces of dosooties by each ship, Madras for 146 pieces of longcloth, 50 pairs of cotton stockings and Cuddalore diaper for table linen, and Bombay for 200 pieces of Surat chelloes. The balance was to come in arrack, rice and paddy, and the Directors had ordered Bengal and Bombay to send a double quantity of rice. The letters cited an increase in slaves and went by way of China in the *Prince of Wales*. [Film No. 289-291]

Powell's account of 31 March 1766 listed stores short or damaged from the two store ships. The *Prince of Wales* failed to deliver 62 deals, a topmast and a barrel of turpentine, landed 73 square feet of window glass

broken and was 50 gallons short in 370 of beer. Most wine casks were about a gallon short, but one hogshead of Lisbon in each ship lacked 7 or 8 gallons. [Film No. 302-303]

In the quarter to 31 March 1766 Hindman sold 340 lb of paddy because the stores held none, and Orlando Bagley junior supplied 166¼ bushels of potatoes for the garrison. Soldiers were paid for 278½ days of catching fish for the garrison, and William Jenkins baked 66 batches of bread for the garrison and 16 for the slaves. Servants' purchases included salt beef and pork worth £334 10s 2d, long cloth, shoes, flour, sugar, 1,050 hooks and 96 lines. [Film No. 319-326, 356, 358, 360, 362]

Trade and Shipping

Arrivals and departures of ships were minuted as follows. [Film No. 6, 8, 18, 23-25, 29-30, 32, 60, 74, 169-172, 178, 180, 258, 263, 267, 275-277, 293, 295-296, 305, 313, 315-317]

Ship	**Arrived**	**Sailed**
Royal George	-	1 July 1765
Valentine	-	15 July 1765
Carnarvon	16 July 1765	11 August 1765
Pitt	18 July 1765	8 August 1765
Earl of Lincoln	20 July 1765	2 August 1765
London	4 August 1765	18 August 1765, for England
West Friesland (Dutch), from Batavia	15 August 1765	27 August 1765, for Rotterdam
Calcutta, from Bombay	1 September 1765	Night of 8 September 1765
Bute, from Bengal	25 September 1765	14 October 1765, for England
Princess Augusta, from China	2 November 1765	19 November 1765, for England
Admiral Stevens, from Bengal	23 January 1766	Night of 3 February 1766
Earl of Middlesex, from Madras	15 February 1766	6 March 1766
Prince of Wales, store ship	2 March 1766	4 April 1766, for China
Plassey, store ship	Not stated; saluted in February 1766	4 April 1766, for China
Earl of Elgin, from China	23 March 1766	4 April 1766
Admiral Pocock, from China	23 March 1766	2 April 1766, for England
Duke of Richmond, from China	24 March 1766	4 April 1766
Salisbury, from China	6 April 1766	13 April 1766, for England
Dutton, from China	6 April 1766	13 April 1766, for England
Duke of Gloucester, from China	15 April 1766	-
Queen Sophia Magdalena (Danish), from China	17 April 1766	-
Queen Julian Maria (Danish), from China	18 April 1766	-
Santa Conception (Portuguese), from Rio de Janeiro	19 April 1766	-
Talbot, from China	19 April 1766	-

The *West Friesland*, of 700 tons, 30 guns and 70 men, carried sugar, coffee and pepper. Two 9-pounders fired shot to bring her to, the only shot fired that month, and she received 13 guns on arrival and departure. Her commander appears as Hollman and as Bernardus Halleman. An unidentified ship passed far out to sea on 10 September 1765. [Film No. 18, 23-24, 30, 32]

Purling mustered each arriving ship for deserters. Webb's roll for the *London*, reported on 13 August 1765, named three passengers: Captain Richard Moore, Mrs Moore and Mr Burr. Thomson's roll for the *Calcutta*, reported on 6 September 1765, included 10 French prisoners, three men discharged from the Bombay

garrison and several seamen with Portuguese names. The *Bute*, reported on 7 October 1765, carried Major Hector Munro (also written Monro) and the remnant of His Majesty's 89th Regiment: six officers, a surgeon, 27 other ranks, six women and two children. A lieutenant of the 79th Regiment and two former Company servants from Bengal also took passage in her. Munro had commanded at Buxar in 1764, and his Highland regiment was going home to be disbanded. [Film No. 12-13, 26-27, 68-69, 71]

Hardwicke sold the Company a longboat for £35 0s 0d in the quarter to 30 September 1765, and Thomson received £5 0s 0d for the passage of Robert Shelton, a seaman of His Majesty's Navy. Seamen left ashore from the *Lord Holland*, the *Valentine*, the *Pitt* and one unnamed ship were kept at 6d a day for between 11 and 27 days, among them Robert Hodge of the *Lord Holland* and James Thomson of the *Valentine*. William Price, left by the *Bute*, was kept for 20 days at the same rate. [Film No. 98, 100, 106, 252, 254]

Stores to 30 September 1765 gave rope, spars and plank to the *Fly*, called a cutter by the storekeeper and a schooner by the paymaster, and spars to the *Mercury* snow. The boats' account included 773 lb of rope, salt meat for the longboat crew, fittings for the engineer's boat and arrack for men hauling up the longboat. Three soldiers each drew £6 0s 0d a year for work in the *Fly*, the longboat and other craft. The inventory held 196 cwt of rope worth £360 17s 2d, chiefly cable of 3½ and 4 inches, anchors worth £156 1s 0d, including one of nearly 11 cwt and one lying on the West Rocks, and masts and spars worth £43 17s 8d, including a foremast of 49 feet, two topmasts of 53 feet and a teak topmast. [Film No. 98, 100, 137-139, 142-143, 145, 155]

A boat from the *Princess Augusta* landed at Banks's at 4.30 pm on 1 November 1765, and Purling reported no deserters in her on 11 November 1765. Her commander is Thomas Maddison in the muster roll and Baddison in his own letter and bills. The *Fly* was condemned on 9 December 1765 as unfit for her purpose and very poor in the bottom, to be broken up to repair the longboats, after drawing 9 cwt 3 qr of cordage that quarter. Fabiano was paid £5 0s 0d for breaking her up, with 65¾ days of soldiers' labour. The boat account for October to December 1765 covered 34 single deals, 12 oars, tar, rosin and 76 lb of nails and spikes; eight longboat men drew £1 10s 0d each, and a boat was bought from John Criswell for £4 0s 0d. The boats took 1,831 lb of cordage at £32 8s 5d in the quarter to 31 March 1766. [Film No. 169-172, 174, 187, 223-227, 250, 252, 332-337, 355, 362]

Purling found no deserters in the *Earl of Middlesex* on 24 February 1766, in the *Earl of Elgin*, the *Admiral Pocock* and the *Duke of Richmond* on 31 March 1766 or in the *Salisbury* and the *Dutton* on 9 April 1766. The rolls list many Dutch, German, French and Portuguese names, and the *Earl of Middlesex* carried seamen entered under single names. Her passengers were Christian Van Teylingen, the Dutch Governor of Negapatnam, with three children, a secretary and eight servants, eight officers and 42 private soldiers of the 79th Regiment, a Madras merchant and a Bombay surgeon. Departure needed leave, and Powell petitioned before sending his son Richard away in her. Although she is said to have sailed on 6 March 1766, business on 7 and 10 March treats her as present. [Film No. 270-271, 275-278, 298-302, 309]

The 10 working days allowed by charter for unloading the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* had expired by 14 March 1766, and Captains Jonathan Court and William Peters were ordered to sail. High surf then closed the landing place. Both lodged protests on 24 March 1766, Court stating that nothing could be landed for eight days and that ballast and water needed 10 more, and the Council certified the facts. Unloading took 642½ paid days. The Council wrote to the supercargoes at Canton on 14 March 1766, enclosing the charter agreement, victualling bill and manifest of the *Prince of Wales* and reporting one chest of treasure shipped in the *Plassey* on the Company's account. It asked for oblong table china, two blue and white tea sets and the forwarding of its Indian letters. [Film No. 289, 292, 297-298, 356]

The China ships of 23 and 24 March 1766 each sent a boat ahead to Banks's. The *Admiral Pocock* brought seven tubs of sugar and chests of bohea and congou tea on an invoice of 103 taels 5 mace 7 candareens, dated at Canton on 30 November 1765 and signed by 12 supercargoes. Three ships on 16 March and six on 18 March 1766 were seen passing without calling. The *Salisbury* and the *Dutton* each carried seven chests of sugar and three of tea, invoiced at just over 115 taels and 114 taels at Canton on 3 January 1766 by 12 supercargoes, and took three supercargoes home as passengers. The *Dutton* delivered her sugar 44 lb short, and her third tea chest is entered as Congo at the Singlo price. The Council bought a longboat from Captain

John Wyche of the *Salisbury* for £30 0s 0d on 14 April 1766. [Film No. 293, 295-296, 305-307, 309-313, 316]

The two Danish ships were bound for Copenhagen with tea, porcelain and silk: the *Queen Sophia Magdalena* of 1,100 tons, 26 guns and 150 men, and the *Queen Julian Maria* under Captain Smit of 900 tons, 26 guns and 140 men. The *Santa Conception*, of 30 tons and seven men, was bound for Angola. A boat from the *Talbot* reached Banks's at 11.30 am on 19 April 1766. Her invoice of 3 January 1766 came to 129 taels 1 mace 8 candareens for five chests of sugar, two of tea and four half chests of plain porcelain, with 2 per cent allowed for breakage. [Film No. 317-318]

Finance and Accounting

The treasury opened July 1765 with £7,101 13s 1d. Bills on the Court of Directors brought in £230 0s 0d for Robert Wood on 8 July and £50 0s 0d for Ninnian Ballentine on 11 July, the *Valentine* paid £235 2s 5d on 13 July and the *Earl of Lincoln* £12 7s 9d on 31 July. The month closed at £7,629 3s 3d, of which £539 15s 0d was in cash notes no longer usable, a sum carried unchanged in later months. [Film No. 19-20]

Bills were sold on 5 August 1765 for Nicholas Pearce at £147 0s 0d and Jeffrey Jackson at £219 0s 0d. The *Carnarvon* paid £99 16s 5d and the *Pitt* £252 13s 4d on 6 August, and the *London* £10 7s 4d on 17 August. Kirkpatrick paid in £100 0s 0d on 13 August for bills payable to Allen Auld or his order 90 days after sight, entered in the cash book under Auld's name alone. The Dutch paid £760 0s 0d for bills on 26 August: £400 0s 0d to Halleman, £200 0s 0d to Andries Lorentzen and £160 0s 0d to Hendrick Eckhard. August closed at £9,218 0s 4d, and neither month shows any payment out. [Film No. 16, 23, 33-34]

September 1765 opened at £9,272 0s 4d. Receipts were £67 9s 1d from the *Calcutta* on 8 September, the rents, £1,413 7s 0d from Powell for stores sold in the quarter, £136 2s 8d from the plantation and £17 10s 0d for public house licences. The paymaster was advanced £3,632 1s 8d on 30 September 1765, leaving £7,811 3s 7d, of which £539 15s 7d is entered as cash notes. [Film No. 163]

Kirkpatrick signed his paymaster's account on 30 September 1765, reserving the right to correct errors, and presented it on 21 October 1765. Cash received is given as £3,632 1s 8d on two pages and £5,632 1s 8d on three, and the credit side closed at £5,632 1s 8d. Another run of credit pages reaches only £506 3s 4½d of payments. Robinson's pay rose from £53 0s 0d to £100 0s 0d a year on 29 July 1765 without stated reason. [Film No. 79, 81, 97-99, 101-106]

Stores issued without sale were charged by department as follows. The fortifications figure for the first quarter is incomplete, and the last quarter had a separate account of £3 12s 1d for the new work at Sandy Bay. The garrison subtotal for the second quarter changes from £38 3s 1d to £38 7s 1d between pages. [Film No. 125-142, 213-227, 326-337]

Account	**To 30 September 1765**	**To 31 December 1765**	**To 31 March 1766**
General charges	£188 12s 3d	£181 6s 4d	£234 3s 9d
Diet	£19 9s 10d	£27 10s 10d	£24 17s 10d
Garrison	£30 14s 5d	£40 8s 9d	£208 8s 3d
Slaves	£230 16s 10d	£90 3s 9d	£164 14s 1d
Malays	£11 14s 4d	£5 18s 11d	£2 17s 8d
Plantation	£16 1s 5d	£20 8s 7d	£29 10s 7d
Boats	£34 15s 4d	£18 4s 1d	£40 8s 7d
Hospital	£8 13s 10d	£13 12s 0d	£18 2s 8d
Fortifications	£42 18s 1d	£17 6s 3d	£12 0s 10d
Fly	£21 8s 2d	£19 13s 10d	-
Mercury	£2 11s 1d	-	-

The inventory of 30 September 1765 valued European goods at £4,447 19s 5d and all stores at £6,571 5s 10d. Its largest items were salt meat at £1,244 11s 10d, in 49 hogsheads of pork and 49 puncheons of beef, sugar and sugar candy at £859 14s 1d, long cloth at £558 13s 2d, 371 cwt of flour at £302 19s 3d and

candles at £243 14s 6d. Nails stood at £209 16s 5d, 1,055 pairs of men's ordinary shoes at £209 10s 4d, 935 gallons of arrack at £146 13s 10d, more than 2,000 pieces of china at £82 3s 1d and a still with worm and tub at £10 12s 4d. Also held were 663 gallons of linseed oil, over 25,000 fish hooks, about half of the large number 1 size, about 160 locks, 21 lb of whipcord and 383 pairs of shoe buckles after one pair sold. Damaged cloth, hosiery and 459 spoiled sail needles stayed on the books at value. The store's 53,910 Irish copper halfpence, with a face value of £112 6s 3d, were valued at £112 3s 4d. [Film No. 115, 143-147, 149-150, 152, 154-162]

In the copy of the inventory a sum carried forward as £1,027 10s 11d is brought forward as £1,029 10s 11d, four successive pages repeat £2,931 7s 7d and one sequence breaks off at £3,664 17s 11d. Several figures for twine and candlewick have faded beyond reading. [Film No. 115-116, 150-162]

Powell presented on 28 October 1765 his account of stock lost in the year to 30 September 1765 through leakage, wastage, short weight and breakage, and the Council accepted his declaration that the losses were unavoidable. The minute charged £62 16s 2d to profit and loss, the account closed at £68 16s 2d and its subtotals add to £68 6s 2d; sugar candy was the largest loss at £19 10s 0d. A notice of 25 November 1765 announced an auction of damaged Company goods at the Market House on 2 December 1765 for cash only. The auction account, dated 1766, came to £18 3s 2d: 86½ yards of bunting fetched £1 1s 3d, about 3d a yard against roughly 1s charged to ships, and 3 cwt 3 qr 10 lb of sugar candy £5 7s 6d, with sail needles and lead nails. [Film No. 165-166, 180, 210, 212]

The October 1765 cash account recorded one payment, £170 0s 0d lent to Munro for the 89th Regiment against bills on John Purling in London, payable to the Court 90 days after sight and minuted on 7 October 1765. It opens at £7,311 3s 7d and shows notes of £39 15s 0d, each £500 0s 0d below the adjoining months. On 18 November 1765 the Council issued bills on the Court at 90 days: £770 0s 0d to the captain of the *Princess Augusta* and £180 7s 0d to her chief mate William Boyd, payable to Matthew Perchard. The ship also paid £56 8s 1d, and November closed at £8,647 18s 8d. [Film No. 70, 178-179, 190]

The cash account for the quarter to 31 December 1765, closed on 20 January 1766, showed receipts of £10,093 15s 7½d including an opening balance of £8,647 18s 8d, with £1,369 4s 1d from Powell for stores sold and the licences. Kirkpatrick was debited £3,487 16s 9½d on 31 December 1765, £408 18s 8½d above the pay list, leaving £6,066 3s 10d in coin besides the notes. His account balanced at that sum on one page, while another run of credit pages reaches only £264 12s 5½d of other payments. [Film No. 248-257, 269, 294]

Powell signed the stores accounts on 31 December 1765 as accountant, reserving errors, although the pay list names him storekeeper and gives the accountant's salary to Purling. Earlier accounts had omitted 45 gallons of muster-day arrack and one quarter of Torque's pay. Several totals in the sales accounts passed on 20 January 1766 are faded, and running totals do not always carry forward exactly. [Film No. 198, 200-205, 218-219, 227-228, 252]

January 1766 passed with no cash movement, although Griffin had signed a receipt for his provisions. In February 1766 the Council received £416 10s 0d from Griffin on the ship's account, £396 0s 0d for bills on the Directors payable to Captain John Durand at 90 days and £21 0s 0d on the slaves' account. Coin rose to £6,899 13s 2d, the February opening balance being 8d below the January close. [Film No. 258, 260, 269, 294]

A memorial of 10 March 1766, signed by about 20 leading inhabitants including several officials, accused Bland of secretly buying up the private trade brought in the two store ships. James Upham, third mate of the *Prince of Wales*, produced a contract signed in England on 19 November 1765. Under it Upham carried beer, wine, Hungary water, hosiery and 10 hams in his own name at Bland's risk, and Bland was to pay £130 0s 0d for the goods and £52 0s 0d for freight. Payment was required in Spanish dollars valued at 5s 4⅛d an ounce, which the Council reckoned at about 4s 7d a dollar against the 5s at which the Company paid them out. Court admitted placing goods with Bland and Peters denied any dealing. Bland was rebuked, allowed to sell only Court's goods openly while Court stayed and forbidden all other trade on pain of

removal, and publicans and shopkeepers were ordered not to deal with him or lose their licences. [Film No. 280-285]

March 1766 opened at £7,439 8s 2d. Receipts included £1,003 8s 1d on 14 March from a chest of treasure brought by the *Prince of Wales*, £990 12s 7d from Powell for stores sold, small sums from three ships and £2 3s 6d for lime sold from the fortifications. A Captain Cornelle, perhaps the Lieutenant Governor, paid in £80 0s 0d on 31 March for bills payable to Christopher Baron. Kirkpatrick's paymaster's account, signed that day, balanced at £3,904 11s 7d: the pay list and £853 13s 8d of other payments, including £185 0s 0d in bounties, about £200 0s 0d for soldiers' extra work and £40 5s 6d for 805½ days of longboat crews. The treasury then held £5,699 1s 2d including the notes. [Film No. 304-305, 355-356, 358, 360, 362-364]

Bills on the Court at 90 days after sight were sold in April 1766. Kirkpatrick paid in £400 0s 0d on 7 April for bills payable to Mrs Mary Hall. On 9 April the Governor took £300 0s 0d payable to Robert Wood, Captain David Rice of the *Dutton* £827 0s 0d, Wyche £450 0s 0d and Giles Minifie, captain's steward of the *Salisbury*, £65 0s 0d. [Film No. 308, 311-312]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

A return attached to Mitchell's report of August 1765 listed 53 Company workers on the public works. Four were salaried servants: a master mason, an assistant mason, a master carpenter and a master armourer. Thirteen were trained slaves: five masons, five carpenters and three armourers. Fourteen adult male slaves brought by Captain Skottowe worked as labourers, and of his 22 slave boys 13 were apprenticed to the masons, three to brickmaking, two to bricklaying, two to plastering and one each to the carpenters and armourers. The return of 16 September 1765 gave five masons, four carpenters, two armourers and 14 labourers among the slave men. [Film No. 55, 57-58]

The plantation account for 1 July to 30 September 1765 entered slave deaths and births beneath the livestock. Essex, Highgate, Joe Taylor, Flora, Hannah and Prince died, a boy named James Chatham was born and the slaves were issued 71,266 lb of island yams. The paymaster spent £0 14s 2d on tape for the Company's women slaves. [Film No. 75, 100]

Stores for the slaves in that quarter comprised over 84 cwt of rice at £30 13s 5d, salt beef and pork at £74 16s 9d, flour for the sick alone, 130 blankets at £35 15s 0d, 46 pieces of chelloes, 75 yards of kersey and 91 yards of osnaburg. Shoes went only to slaves at the Castle, in 32 pairs for men and four for women and boys. Slave stonelayers, carpenters and fishermen drew arrack, and long cloth worth £15 10s 0d was issued for women in childbirth and the customary clothing of slave women. The Black Hospital, an infirmary for slaves, received 24 deals, and 19 boys' shirts were entered as sailors' clothing. A padlock was issued for the slaves' house, with 1 lb of candles and a riveted horn lantern for overseers to inspect it, and 2 lb of whipcord for whips was charged to the garrison. [Film No. 132-134]

The Malays' separate account for the same quarter supplied tea, sugar, Florence oil, arrack, black and scarlet broadcloth, shalloon, cotton stockings, channel pumps and china including a teapot. Their number and status are not stated. [Film No. 134-135]

Corneille's letter of 2 December 1765 gave the number and yearly cost of the Company's slaves. The average was £4 2s 3d a head, which he raised to £10 0s 0d to cover the purchase price. [Film No. 182]

Year	Slaves	Cost
1761	187	£775 17s 4d
1762	204	£675 17s 8d
1763	201	£784 9s 6d
1764	202	£954 10s 6d
1765	284	£1,276 16s 5d

In the quarter to 31 December 1765 Cork died on 23 October, Dawson on 14 November, Jilly on 22 November and Erasmus on 27 December. A boy named Gabriel was born on 2 November, and another

boy born on 13 December died the same day. The slaves were issued 22,224 yams from the plantation and 3,290 bought yams. [Film No. 195]

The storekeeper's account headed Blacks for that quarter included rice and paddy at £49 15s 6d, with 66 cwt 2 qr of paddy beaten into rice. The craftsmen received 43 pairs of shoes, the slaves at the Castle stockings and mohair coat buttons, and the fishermen and stonelayers 66½ gallons of arrack. Sugar went to the sick and to the slaves at Christmas, half a piece of longcloth to women in childbirth and 1 lb of sugar candy as a reward for killing wild cats. A blank key was cut for the slave house, candles were issued for inspecting it and salt went to a group called the Ungango slaves. The garrison account issued 4 lb of whipcord for whips. The Malays received beef, rice, tea and one piece of pork. A man styled Nacodah Reholleem, an eastern title for a ship's master, received an allowance of £1 12s 6d and house rent of £1 0s 0d, as did Nockqueda Bockullen in the next quarter. [Film No. 218-222, 252, 358]

Samuel Bowers petitioned on 1 January 1766 that his boat, his only livelihood, had been lost on the night of 27 December 1765 and that Company slaves had certainly taken it. Custom held owners liable for damage done by their slaves, and on 6 January 1766 the Council paid him its cost of £5 5s 0d; the paymaster entered the boat as wrecked by the Company's slaves. No evidence, motive or punishment was minuted. [Film No. 192, 197, 252]

George Butler, captain's steward of the *Admiral Stevens*, bought the freedom of Grace Tanner on 3 February 1766 for £21 0s 0d, her value in the general books. She was a Company slave who had saved his life when he fell ill on the island some years before. The Council agreed because it held more slave women than it could usefully employ, and the cash account entered her as sold. [Film No. 259, 294]

Four slave boys were apprenticed by the minutes of 10 February 1766, under agreements backdated to 1 October 1765 after a trial. George Daniel and Frank went to Robinson for five years and Belford and Luke to Holbrook, the Company feeding and clothing them. [Film No. 266]

By about 10 March 1766 no yams in the Company's plantations were more than six months old, and they needed six months more. The planters said they had barely enough for their own families, and a little over 1,000 lb of rice remained. Until the crop or more rice arrived, the Council gave each male slave three bread days a week at a cost of 1s, reckoned 2½d cheaper than yams at 3s a hundred. Corneille blamed the shortage on the ill health of the overseer Bazett, who died at the start of June 1765. [Film No. 280, 285-286]

In the quarter to 31 March 1766 Dolton died on 12 February, Underwood and the boy Fuller on 14 February and a boy on 1 April. Three boys were born: John Emanuel on 18 January, William Frank on 22 January and Job Scanderbag on 20 February. The slaves received 63,815 yams from the plantations and 32,700 bought from Elizabeth Lamb, Margaret Alcock and Mary Seale. Their stores included salt beef and pork at £89 16s 2d, 3,767 lb of flour, 1,467 lb of sago and 93 lb of Bohea tea. Slave craftsmen received 37 pairs of shoes and 30 yards of canvas, a woman in childbed 12 yards of long cloth, a sick woman a blanket and the overseer 1 lb of candles for inspecting the slaves' house. The garrison account charged 2 lb of whipcord for whips, slave fishermen were issued tackle and the Malay account was mainly rice, beef and arrack. [Film No. 314, 331-334, 358, 362]

Mitchell wrote on 21 April 1766 that the labouring slaves brought from Africa by Captain Skottowe had been of very little use. He called them raw, slow, weak and sickly, with about a third generally in the hospital, though becoming healthier and more skilful. [Film No. 366]

Crime and Punishment

Soldier William Isaac Ford was found missing on 8 August 1765, the day the *Pitt* sailed. Searches of the *Carnarvon* and the *London* found nothing, and the Council concluded that he had deserted in the *Pitt*. [Film No. 6, 12-13, 79]

The pay list recorded reductions without cause. George Rowe was reduced from corporal on 9 July 1765 and the drummer Henry Howell took his place. In the artillery Robert Cunningham was reduced to matross on 22 July, and John Grainger, John Jack and Thomas Tyler each stepped up one rank. Tyler and the gunner

William Brown were reduced on 5 August, replaced by David Dennis and Esau Nowland. On 23 September 1765 Thomas Pearce was reduced in the Third Company and James York promoted, and John Sheens was reduced in the Fourth, where Thomas Ferris became corporal. A John Sheen entered the First as a private the next day. Corporal William Gordon and the gunner Thomas Jones were reduced on 25 November 1765, replaced the same day by Thomas Matthews and John Cox. [Film No. 80, 82, 87, 90-92, 94-97, 238, 240, 246-247]

The clerk of arraigns received 12s for two days at the criminal court and the crier 10s in the quarter to 30 September 1765. The two shared £0 12s 6d in the next quarter, as did the clerk of arraigns and prosecutor in the quarter to 31 March 1766. No case, charge or verdict is recorded. [Film No. 106, 254, 339]

Five soldiers crewing the longboat deserted to the *Admiral Stevens* as she sailed on the night of 3 February 1766: George Exton, Francis Clancey, John Lawrence, Henry Crabb and John Shrubshall. The coxswain William French swore that Crabb and Shrubshall vanished aboard at about six in the evening, and that Griffin answered that the ship was the Company's as much as the longboat. The other three jumped into the ship's boat while it towed the longboat towards its moorings. The Council fired two guns and hoisted a light, and Lieutenant Thomas Bazett chased the ship for half an hour until she put out her lights and made sail. Thomas Clark, a matross, received shoes worth £0 4s 0d to replace a pair lost when he swam out for a boat, which was rowed after the ship to search her. [Film No. 263-265, 330, 353]

Timothy Bryan, another soldier, swore that on 2 February 1766 the chief mate kept him aboard, sent him punch and wine and asked him to sail. A sixth soldier, John Herring, was missing after the ship left, and his clothes were found near the shore. Griffin's letter from the road admitted one man hidden aboard and pleaded darkness. The pay list struck off Crabb, Exton, Clancy and John Hoving on 3 February and Lawrence on 4 February, each with 34 days' pay and from all four companies between them, and John Strubshall on 28 February 1766. [Film No. 264-266, 340, 343, 345-347, 350]

John Seale and James Goudy were each fined 20s 0d on 17 February 1766 for boarding the *Earl of Middlesex* and buying salt provisions from her seamen against standing orders. On 24 February 1766 the Council itself bought 99 lb of pork from the same seamen at 5½d a pound; the paymaster entered 990 lb for £14 7s 11d. [Film No. 268, 274, 358, 363]

Eight sergeants and corporals were reduced to the ranks in early 1766, each vacancy being filled the same day. Sergeant John Fish and artillery sergeant Richard Waterhouse fell on 10 February, Corporal William Stapleford on 15 February, Corporal Anthony Reynolds on 17 February, Sergeant William Robinson on 24 February and Sergeant Thomas Woffington on 28 February. Corporal Thomas Newton and Sergeant David Patton followed on 24 March 1766. Corporal Thomas James moved from the Fourth Company to be sergeant in the Second. [Film No. 339, 342-343, 345-346, 349, 351]

Health, Religion and Education

The hospital account from 1 July 1765 supplied sugar, flour, rice, 9½ gallons of train oil for lamps and canvas, twine and nails for cots, and the doctor's shop received candles and sugar candy. General charges bore a ditching shovel for digging graves and two coffins, and the garrison bore deals and nails for soldiers' coffins. The account for the last quarter of 1765 was led by 403 lb of sugar, 403 lb of flour and 342 lb of rice. Robert Barclay, the surgeon, was paid £35 3s 2d for the whole of 1765 at 7d a day for each man, which implies about 1,200 patient-days. The garrison account for the quarter to 31 March 1766 charged six deals and 6 lb of nails for coffins. [Film No. 125-126, 128-129, 131, 139-140, 225, 250, 333-334]

One Bible, two New Testaments, a prayer book and three spelling books were sold in the quarter to 30 September 1765. The warehouse then held 13 Bibles, 21 prayer books, 14 New Testaments and 13 primers, and the fort church received a mop, carnation tape and sewing silk. Servants bought seven primers and one Book of Common Prayer in the next quarter, and a planter one New Testament for £0 1s 8d. Two books of common prayer were sold and glass was issued for the church in the quarter to 31 March 1766, when the drum major received £1 0s 0d for teaching young drummers. [Film No. 115, 126, 129, 144, 198, 200-205, 207-209, 320, 329, 338-339]

Social Order

Deaths were minuted or entered in the pay lists as follows. The funerals of Godby, Knowles, Mudge and Asdon each used 2 lb 4 oz of powder. Knowles, a tailor and private in the Second Company, made his will on 21 October 1765, leaving everything to William Pinchen, a shoemaker in the same company, before witnesses Benjamin Granger and Richard Plafford. [Film No. 18, 24, 30, 59-60, 79, 165, 167, 172, 185, 192, 194, 198, 231, 258, 267, 278, 340, 344, 347, 352]

Date	**Death**
23 July 1765	William Johnson, soldier
18 August 1765	Jonathan Godby, soldier
28 August 1765	Sarah, daughter of Corporal Henry Howell
17 September 1765	Elizabeth, daughter of James Torbett, cooper
24 September 1765	Ann, daughter of James Greentree, planter
22 October 1765	Evan Knowles, soldier
8 December 1765	Amelia, daughter of Stephen Young, planter
About 5 January 1766	Thomas Jones, soldier, who hanged himself
7 January 1766	Corporal John Grainger
18 January 1766	Susannah, wife of John Bagley, planter
22 or 23 January 1766	John Arlinstall (also Archinstale), soldier
11 February 1766	Thomas Mudge, soldier

The longboat crew petitioned on 6 January 1766 against their pay of £6 0s 0d a year, which they reckoned at 4d a day, saying the work had become constant, dangerous and exposed at all hours. Mitchell confirmed that it was harder than any soldier's labour on the works. The Council restored the former rate of 1s a day and appointed French coxswain of a second longboat at £20 0s 0d a year for as long as two boats were needed. [Film No. 193]

James Gowdy, a soldier with about 12 months served, asked on 6 January 1766 to be released. Mudge, whose own term had ended, agreed to serve the four years remaining, and the Council, thinking him a good soldier, discharged Gowdy. [Film No. 194]

Personalities

John Dobson, a corporal of the Second Company, was discharged on 7 October 1765 and appointed armourer from 1 October 1765 for the three years left on his contract. The pay list already showed him as armourer from 10 July 1765 on full corporal's pay, with eight days' shop work at 1s 6d a day. Samuel Perry combined a private's pay with £1 5s 0d for cleaning clocks and instruments, and Criswell was both matross and coxswain of the longboat. [Film No. 70, 79, 84, 86, 96, 100]

George Bird was paid £3 8s 0d in 1765 for work at the Castle. He supplied six tin candlesticks and coloured, gilded and painted two sunflowers from which candle branches hung. [Film No. 250]

French told Griffin on 3 February 1766 that he hoped he was too much of a gentleman to cripple the Company's longboat. [Film No. 263-265]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. HELENA RECORDS 1765-1766 Photographer PETER Date photographed 13 JAN 2022 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
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6	1	Island St Helena 12th August 1765.	The Council of St Helena met at the Castle on Monday 12 August 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille,

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th Day of August 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Cornelly Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Pierling Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 5 August 1765. Thursday the 8th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Pitt for England Yesterday Do. the Honorable Company's Ship Caernarvon for England William Isaac Ford Soldier being missed the day the Pitt Sailed, We suppose he deserted in that Ship, as the Caernarvon and London have been searched and he not found on board them There being no Pepper in the Honorable Company's Stores we sent the following Order to Captn. Webb vizt.	Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick sitting as members of the Council. The councillors began by approving and signing the minutes of their meeting held on 5 August 1765. Two Company ships sailed for England in the interval. The *Pitt* put to sea on Thursday 8 August, and the *Carnarvon* followed on Sunday 11 August. A soldier named William Isaac Ford was found to be missing on the day the *Pitt* sailed. The Council concluded that he deserted aboard her, because searches of the *Carnarvon* and the *London* turned up no trace of him. The Company's warehouse held no pepper at all. To deal with the shortage, the Council sent an order to Captain Webb. **Interpretations** The Council did not simply assume that the absent Ford went off in the first ship to leave. Instead it searched the two vessels still within reach, the *Carnarvon* before her departure and the *London* still at anchor, and settled on the *Pitt* only by elimination. Soldiers of the garrison were Company servants bound to their service, and on so remote an island the only way out was by sea, so a sailing day was the moment of greatest risk. Searching outward-bound ships was the practical check on desertion. Recording the conclusion in the consultation book probably also served to alert the Company in England, where the man could be looked for when the *Pitt* arrived. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploads, so this rewrite draws on the manuscript alone.
7	2	12th August To Captn. John Webb Commander of Ship London Sir You are hereby Ordered to send on Shore 400 Ps. qrs. lb of the Honorable Company's Pepper for the Use of this Island. We are Sir (signed) Your humble Servants. John Skottowe Dan Corneille St Helena M. Purling 12th August 1765 Thos. Kirkpatrick The Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of July last, were this day brought in, which were examined and approved, and are as follow (vizt.) Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of July 1765 vizt. To 17 Bottles Port Wine £ 1.5.6 56 Do. Lisbon 4 9 Do. Mountain 13.6 20 Do. Beer 4.2 144 lb Beef 3.2.4 302 lb Mutton 6.13.4 Carried Over £ 16.3.10	The Council wrote to Captain John Webb, commander of the Company ship *London*, instructing him to land 400 lb gross weight of the Company's pepper for the island's use. Governor Skottowe and his three councillors signed the order at St Helena on 12 August 1765. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The gunner and the steward each submitted their accounts for July 1765, and the Council checked and approved both. The steward's account set out the food and drink consumed at the Company's table during that month. 17 bottles of port wine, £1 5s 6d 56 bottles of Lisbon wine, £4 0s 0d 9 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 13s 6d 20 bottles of beer, £0 4s 2d 144 lb of beef, £3 2s 4d 302 lb of mutton, £6 13s 4d Carried forward, £16 3s 10d **Interpretations** Lisbon was a white wine shipped from the Portuguese capital, drawn from vineyards along the Tagus. It was widely drunk in eighteenth-century England as a cheaper alternative to French wines, which bore heavy duties during the long rivalry with France. Mountain was a sweet, fortified wine from the hills behind Málaga in southern Spain, named for the slopes where its grapes grew. Both travelled well on long voyages, which made them practical stock for a garrison far from any vineyard. With the Company's warehouse empty of pepper, as the Council recorded earlier on 12 August 1765, the ordinary source of supply had failed. Rather than wait for a store ship from England or buy from a private trader, the Council reached into the *London*'s hold. The pepper aboard was already the Company's own property, loaded in the East and bound for sale in London. By drawing on it in transit, the Council could supply the island at once without spending money, simply shifting Company goods from one account to another. Specifying the weight as gross, which included

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			the bags or packing, told Captain Webb exactly how much to land against his cargo records. The Company's table was the public table kept at the Castle, where the Governor, councillors and senior officers dined at the Company's expense. Its costs were therefore audited by the Council each month like any other public account. That explains why bottles of wine and pounds of mutton appear in an official register alongside military stores and shipping orders.
8	3	1765 Brought over£ 16.3.10 6 Bottles Arrack 3.9.6 4 Fowls 6 6 lb Candy 2.10.8 376 lb Flower 2.8.5½ 38 lb Butter 1.18 £ 26.16.5½ Artillery Stores Expended in Month of July 1765 Guns Fired, lb 4, lb 3, lb 2, lb 1, lb Expended 1. Departed the Royal George: Guns Fired 10, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 10, lb 1 0, lb Expended 10 2 Powder to the Mason, to Blow Lime Stone at the West Rocks: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, lb Expended 6 Do. to Do. to Blow Rocks at Banks's: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, lb Expended 6 15th Departed the Valentine: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, lb Expended 9 16 Double Alarm: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 3, lb 3 3, lb 2 0, lb 1 3, lb Expended 18 Arrived the Caernarvon: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, lb Expended 9 18th Arrived Pitt: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, lb Expended 9 19th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, lb Expended 12 20th Arrived the Earl of Lincoln: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, lb Expended 9 Powder priming at Sundry Times: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, lb Expended 7.3 Do. for repairg. the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, lb Expended 2.12 Powder for Signals: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, lb Expended 1.4 Total: Guns Fired 61, lb 4 5, lb 3 5, lb 2 46, lb 1 5, lb Expended 99[...]	The steward's account of food and drink consumed at the Company's table in July 1765 continued as follows. Brought forward, £16 3s 10d 6½ bottles of arrack, £3 9s 6d 4 fowls, £0 6s 0d 6½ lb of sugar candy, £2 10s 8d 376 lb of flour, £2 8s 5½d 38 lb of butter, £1 13s 0d Total, £26 16s 5½d The gunner's account recorded the artillery stores used during July 1765. For each occasion it gave the number of guns fired, the number fired under each of four charge weights of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb, and the weight of powder consumed. The *Royal George* sailed on 1 July 1765, with 10 guns fired, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 10, 1 lb charges 0 and powder used 10 lb. Powder issued to the mason for blasting limestone at West Rocks, 2 July 1765: guns fired 0, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 0, powder used 6 lb Powder issued to the mason for blasting rocks at Banks's, 2 July 1765: guns fired 0, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 0, powder used 6 lb The *Valentine* sailed on 15 July 1765, with 9 guns fired, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 9, 1 lb charges 0 and powder used 9 lb. Double alarm, 16 July 1765: guns fired 9, 4 lb charges 3, 3 lb charges 3, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 3, powder used 18 lb The *Carnarvon* arrived on 16 July 1765, with 9 guns fired, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 9, 1 lb charges 0 and powder used 9 lb. The *Pitt* arrived on 18 July 1765, with 9 guns fired, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 0 and powder used 9 lb. Single alarm, 19 July 1765: guns fired 6, 4 lb charges 2, 3 lb charges 2, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 2, powder used 12 lb The *Earl of Lincoln* arrived on 20 July 1765, with 9 guns fired, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 9, 1 lb charges 0 and powder used 9 lb. Priming powder used on various occasions: guns fired 0, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 0, powder used 7 lb 8 oz Powder for making good the cartridges at the Main Guard: guns fired 0, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 0, powder used 2 lb 12 oz Powder for signals: guns fired 0, 4 lb charges 0, 3 lb charges 0, 2 lb charges 0, 1 lb charges 0, powder used 1 lb 4 oz Total: guns fired 61, 4 lb charges 5, 3 lb charges 5, 2 lb charges 46, 1 lb charges 5, powder used 99 lb 2 oz **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia, most often from the fermented sap of the coconut palm or from rice and molasses, with Batavia and Goa among its best-known sources. Company ships returning from the East carried it in quantity, and it was the base of the punch drunk throughout the British settlements. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly from a concentrated syrup into large hard lumps, much of it made in China and shipped westward. Its price here, far above that of

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			the flour or butter by weight, reflects its status as an imported luxury rather than a kitchen staple. Gunfire served the island as both courtesy and warning system. Salutes marked each Company ship's arrival and departure, while alarm guns summoned the garrison and inhabitants to their posts when unidentified sail appeared. A double alarm drew on the heavier charges, which carried the sound further across the island's valleys and so reached the outlying posts. Gunpowder was a military store, yet the gunner issued it to the mason for quarrying limestone at West Rocks and clearing rock at Banks's. Recording these issues in the artillery account kept every pound of powder under the gunner's audit, whatever its eventual use. Limestone was burnt to make lime for mortar, so the Company's building works depended on the same magazine that supplied the batteries. The column headings give only pound weights, without naming what they measured. They are read here as charge sizes, since the figures beneath them divide each occasion's guns fired among the four weights.
9	4	12th August 2 Handspikes broke 6 lb Tallow for the use of Carts 1 Quire Paper for the Secretary's Office 6 lb Match burnt at the Main Fort 1 Spunge Staff for the Dragoones 4 Spunge for the Baker 3 Sheep Skins 150 Nails for Coating Spunges 1 Tompian Broke on the Line (signed) P. Mitchell Thomas Perrin the Honorable Company's Steward desiring to quit the Service we Granted his request and appointed George Bazeth Steward in his Room John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The gunner's account for July 1765 went on to list further stores that were used up or damaged during the month. 2 handspikes broken 6 lb of tallow for greasing the carts 1 quire of paper for the Secretary's Office 6 lb of slow match burnt at the Main Fort 1 sponge staff for the Dragones 4 sponges for the baker 3 sheepskins and 150 nails for re-covering sponges 1 tompion broken on the Line P. Mitchell signed the account. Thomas Perrin, the Company's steward, asked to leave its service. The Council agreed and appointed George Bazett as steward in his place. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes of the meeting. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Several of these items belonged to the everyday handling of muzzle-loading cannon. A handspike was a stout wooden lever used to shift and aim a gun on its carriage, and hard use broke them regularly. Slow match was a cord of twisted fibre soaked so that it smouldered steadily for hours, and a lighted length was kept at the Main Fort so the guns could be fired at once. A sponge was a staff tipped with a head covered in sheepskin, which was dampened and thrust down the barrel after each shot to kill any burning residue before the next charge went in. The sheepskins and nails were for re-covering worn heads. A tompion was a wooden plug fitted into the muzzle to keep out rain, sea spray and dirt, and the Line was the fortified sea wall guarding the landing at James Town. The four sponges issued to the baker were probably the same long-handled swabs, used to clean out the oven after the fire was raked away. Their appearance in the gunner's account shows that the magazine served as a general store for the Company's establishment. The tallow for the carts and the paper for the Secretary's Office point the same way. Perrin's account for the Company's table in July 1765 was examined and approved at this same meeting of 12 August 1765, before his departure was agreed. Settling his last month's figures first meant the Council released him from the post with no outstanding account against his name, and Bazett took over the steward's charge from a clean starting point.

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10	5	Dr Sir These sheets do not belong to the books sent for binding Yours C Blaine 20/10/26 "Binder"	A binder named C. Blame wrote a short note to his client on 20 October 1926. He explained that certain sheets did not belong to the books sent to him for binding, and he signed the note in his capacity as binder. **Interpretations** The binder faced a simple choice when these loose sheets turned up among the volumes. Stitching them into the nearest book would have been the easy course, but he set them aside and returned them with a note instead. That decision kept stray leaves from being fixed permanently into a register where they had no place, which would have confused the order and authority of the record for later readers.
11	6	Blank page	
12	7	13th August At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13th Day of August 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 12th August 1765 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship London to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows vizt. Muster Roll of Ship London John Webb Commander Thoms. Motley Chief Mate Thoms. Timbrill 2d Do. Henry Yelo. Price 3d Do. John Child Pin[...] 4th Do. John Ward 5th Do. James Davis Surgeon Henry Hubert Purser John Dransford Boatswn. Hen. Mich. Coyt Gunner Benj. Hoare Carpenter Willm. Jame Midshipm Christr. Thorby Midshipman Nathl. Coleman Do. Patrick Haye Do. John Wright Do. Daniel Cole Do. Henry Skinner Quartermastr. Smith Lee Do. Alexr. Gillon Do. James Boyne Do. Timothy Ryan	The Council met again at the Castle on Tuesday 13 August 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, joined by Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The councillors approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 12 August 1765. Purling reported on his visit to the *London*. He went aboard to call the roll of her crew and to look for deserters, but found none. The ship's muster roll read as follows. John Webb, commander Thomas Motley, chief mate Thomas Timbrill, second mate Henry Yelverton Price, third mate John Child Purvis, fourth mate John Ward, fifth mate James Davis, surgeon Henry Hubert, purser John Drawnford, boatswain Henry Michael Coyt, gunner Benjamin Hoare, carpenter William James, midshipman Christopher Thirby, midshipman Nathaniel Coleman, midshipman Patrick Haye, midshipman John Wright, midshipman Daniel Cole, midshipman Henry Skinner, quartermaster Smith Lee, quartermaster Alexander Gillon, quartermaster James Boyne, quartermaster Timothy Ryan, quartermaster George Shird, boatswain's mate Leonard Nicholls, boatswain's second mate Thomas Stevenson, gunner's mate George Coller, carpenter's mate Joseph Greenway, caulker Samuel Greenway, sailmaker Jacob Sprunk, cooper Edward Ford, caulker's [...] Joseph Dawson, cooper's mate Joseph Sharpe, captain's steward John Haggy, ship's steward William Gilleroy, captain's cook Dennis Craggan, ship's cook Anthony Bond, butcher **Interpretations** A muster was a roll call in which every man named on the ship's books had to answer in person. On 12 August 1765 the Council recorded that the *London* had already been searched for the missing soldier William Isaac Ford without success. This formal muster went a step further. By checking each face against the roll, Purling could expose anyone aboard who was not entered on the ship's books, which a search of the hold alone could miss. Copying the full roll into the Council's register also gave the island a fixed record of exactly who sailed in the ship, useful if a man later

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		Do. George Thod Boatsn. Mate Ven Nichs. Do. 2d Do. Thoms. Stevenson Gunrs. Mate Geo. Coller Carpr. Do. Joseph Greenway Coo[...] Sam. Greenway Sailma[...] Jacob Sprunk Cooper Edwd. Ford Caulker Jos. Dawson Carpr. Do. Jos. Sharpe Capt. Stew[...] John Haggy Ships C[...] Willm. Gilleroy Capt. Cook Den. Craggan Ships Do. Anthy. Bond Butch[...]	went missing ashore or turned up where he should not be. Sending a councillor rather than a junior officer gave the muster the Council's own authority. A commander might resent inspection of his crew by a subordinate, but he could hardly refuse a member of the island's governing body acting under its orders.
13	8	13th August Saml. Banks Caulkers Henry Jenkins Baker Fran. Mayaffray Seaman Wm. Kates Do. James Watts Do. Willm. Rossitar Do. Mich. Fielding Do. Will Moore James Spence John Haggy John Dickey Even Johnson Peter Gelaspy John Fling Thos. Hudden Willm. Scott Robert Backter Joseph Bragg Fran. Benson John Gaffney Adam Trimble Peter Nindall James Tea Math. Wilkinson Nath. Willson Seaman John Mitchell John Potts Wm. Pendergrass Joseph Carter Even Phillips John Vaughan Paush Cross John Ashins John Whitecomb Walter Dixson Christ. Monson Gunny. Johnson	The muster roll of the *London* continued with the rest of her crew, followed by her passengers. Samuel Banks, poulterer Jerry Jenkins, baker Francis Mayaffray, seaman William Hates, seaman James Watts, seaman William Rossitar, seaman Michael Fielding, seaman William Moore, seaman James Spence, seaman John Haggy, seaman John Dirkey, seaman Even Johnson, seaman Peter Gelaspy, seaman John Fling, seaman Thomas Hudden, seaman William Scott, seaman Robert Backter, seaman Joseph Bragg, seaman Francis Benson, seaman John Gaffney, seaman Adam Trimble, seaman Peter Hindall, seaman James Fea, seaman Matthew Wilkinson, seaman Nathaniel Willson, seaman John Mitchell, seaman John Potts, seaman William Pendergrass, seaman Joseph Carter, seaman Even Phillips, seaman John Vaughan, seaman Parish Cross, seaman John Askins, seaman John Whitecomb, seaman Walker Dixson, seaman Christopher Monson, seaman Gunny Johnson, seaman Alexander Young, seaman William Beck, seaman David Norris, seaman John Forbes, seaman John Chambers, seaman Patrick Maggin, seaman William Peal, seaman

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		Alexr. Young Willm. Beck David Norris John Forbes John Chambers Patr. Maggin Willm. Peal John Mater Step. Woone Willm. Barradine [...] Wm. Obrien Seaman Willm. Ellmes Benj. Robinson George Timms Danl. Lucas John Juett Richd. Eldrige Wm. Frazer Wm. Dick Thos. Field Geo. Payne Willm. Gebbs Saml. Tennie Peter Bordon Alexr. Callender Geo. Saager John Clampton Thos. Glosester James Barton Antony Pitt Davis Marshall Wm. Ross Edwd. Evans Edwd. Hardesone Passengers Capt. Richd. Moore Mrs. Moore Mr. Burr. (signed) John Webb	John Mater, seaman Stephen Woone, seaman William Barradine, seaman William Obrien, seaman William Ellmes, seaman Benjamin Robinson, seaman George Timms, seaman Daniel Lucas, seaman John Juett, seaman Richard Eldrige, seaman William Frazer, seaman William Dick, seaman Thomas Field, seaman George Payne, seaman William Gibbs, seaman Samuel Fennie, seaman Peter Bordon, seaman Alexander Callender, seaman George Saager, seaman John Clampton, seaman Thomas Glosester, seaman James Barton, seaman Antony Pitt, seaman Davis Marshall, seaman William Ross, seaman Edward Evans, seaman Edward Hardestone, seaman The ship also carried three passengers. Captain Richard Moore Mrs Moore Mr Burr John Webb signed the roll as commander. **Interpretations** Webb's signature turned the roll into a personal certificate. By putting his name to the list, the commander vouched that it named every soul aboard his ship. Should a missing soldier or runaway later be found in the *London*, the signed roll would show that Webb had given the island a false account, leaving him answerable to the Council and to the Company in England. The passengers were entered for the same reason, since a man hiding from the garrison could as easily pose as a traveller as a sailor. A poulterer, a baker and a butcher on the roll point to how an East Indiaman fed its people on a long passage. Live poultry, sheep and pigs were carried in pens on deck, and the poulterer tended the birds until they were killed for the officers' and passengers' tables. Fresh bread and meat of this kind were largely reserved for the great cabin, while the ordinary crew lived mainly on salt provisions and biscuit.
14	9	1765 The Engineer this Day laid before Us his Plans and Observations of the several Fortifications of this Island to be transmitted to the Honorable Company, which was accordingly read before Us, and we are of opinion that he has given a very exact state of the present Situation of the Fortifications, as well as a great addition of Strength to this Island from the proposed Works, he has offered for the Honorable Company's Approbation particularly that at Sandy Bay which we look upon to be in a very Defenceless Situation at present, and as to the Repairs of the Batterys look upon it as essential from the Weakness of their present Construction which we apprehend when compleated will put this Island in a proper posture of Defence. We must further observe the Utility of the	The Company's engineer presented the Council with his plans and a report on all the island's fortifications, which were to be sent to the Company in England. The councillors read the report and judged it an accurate account of the defences as they stood. They also believed the new works he proposed for the Company's approval would greatly strengthen the island. Sandy Bay was singled out as especially vulnerable, since the Council regarded it as almost undefended. The batteries were so weakly built that the Council considered their repair essential. Once all this work was finished, the councillors expected the island to be properly equipped to resist attack. They also praised the proposed mortar battery, finding its site well chosen because it covered both Rupert's Bay and James Bay. Discussion of the plans then turned to several specific questions. Governor Skottowe asked the engineer whether the valleys running down to the sea between Horse Pasture Point and the Needles needed more than the walls he proposed. The engineer answered that adding further works would only spread the garrison more

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		Mortar Battery proposed and look upon the Situation as highly fitting, as it commands Ruperts Bay as well as James's Bay The following Observations were made vizt. The Governor then asked the Engineer whether the Seaward Valleys from Horsepasture point to the Needles required some further Works than the Walls he proposes, to which he replied that the Multiplying the Works would only devide the Garrison, and that the Walling them up as he mentioned in his General Observations would be quite sufficient The Lieutenant Governor then observed to Captain Mitchell that the Communication from Ruperts Valley to Banks's is without the Fortification of Ruperts, therefore he thinks improper, desires the opinion of the Engineer whether a Road practiced over the Rock within the Line will not be essential.	thinly. Walling off the valleys, as his general report recommended, would be enough. Lieutenant Governor Corneille then raised a concern with Captain Mitchell. The route linking Rupert's Valley with Banks's ran outside the defences at Rupert's, which the Lieutenant Governor considered unsafe. He asked the engineer whether a road cut across the rock inside the Line would be necessary. **Interpretations** The Governor's question invited the obvious answer that more fortification meant more security. Captain Mitchell rejected it on the practical ground that every new work needed men to hold it, and the garrison was finite. Scattering soldiers across many small posts would leave each too weak to resist a landing, whereas walls across the valley mouths could be held by a few men and required no permanent guard. On a small island with a fixed body of troops, the engineer judged that concentration mattered more than coverage. A mortar fired its shell in a high arc rather than along a flat line, so it could strike ships from behind a ridge that would block ordinary cannon. That explains how a single battery could command both Rupert's Bay and James Bay, which lie on either side of a steep spur of rock. One well-placed mortar could therefore threaten an enemy anchoring in either bay without exposing its own position to return fire. Sending the plans to the Company for approval reflected the limits of the Council's own authority. Major works required money from London, and the Council could endorse proposals but not commit the Company to paying for them. Its favourable opinion, recorded alongside the plans, was meant to carry weight with the Directors when they came to decide. The artillery account for July 1765, approved on 12 August 1765, bore the signature of P. Mitchell. He was probably the same Captain Mitchell who served as engineer, which would place both the island's guns and its fortifications under one officer.
15	10	13th August To which he returned the following Answer vizt. The above Observation is certainly very just, and the Alteration proposed with regard to the Road, had been before mentioned by the Engineer as a Work he proposed going about as soon as the Repairs of Banks's lower Battery were compleated, but did not think it of sufficient Consequence to be included among the other Alterations proposed in his Remarks The Lieutenant Governor ask's the Engineer whether the Redan of the Curtain of the lower Line of James's Valley would not be better Constructed if the Saliant Angle was made flat as a Face with one Gun pointed to the Bay, as it would then allow of strengthening the Counterscarp of the Ditch, which from its present Construction is liable to be washed away by the surge Consequently very weak. Supposing an Enemy to be in a situation to Batter it, which if defended by a proper Counterscarp must cover the Talus of that Flank, and if properly constructed better able to bear an Enemy's Fire from a Number of Shot, than what it will by its present Construction, by being an Acute Angle, supposing even that a few Shott might take Place, would certainly sooner	Captain Mitchell agreed that the Lieutenant Governor's point was well made. He had already mentioned the road as a job he meant to start as soon as repairs to the lower battery at Banks's were finished. He had left it out of the alterations listed in his report only because he judged it too minor to include. The Lieutenant Governor next asked about the redan in the curtain wall of the lower Line across James Valley. He suggested flattening its sharp point into a straight face mounting a single gun trained on the bay. This change would allow the outer wall of the ditch to be strengthened. As things stood, that wall was so exposed to the surf that it risked being washed away and was therefore very weak. His reasoning turned on what would happen under bombardment. A sound outer ditch wall would shelter the sloping foot of that flank from enemy guns. A flat face, well built and screened by an outer work, would stand up to heavy fire far better than the present design. With the point as sharp as it was, he argued, even a handful of hits would open a breach sooner. In reply, the engineer gave his view that the outer wall of the ditch in front of the point could be strengthened enough to withstand the surf. For that reason he saw no need to alter the redan straight away. He then went on to consider how the change should be handled if it were made once the more pressing improvements to the existing defences were complete. **Interpretations** The engineer's answer set aside the Lieutenant Governor's proposal to rebuild the redan in favour of a smaller repair. The underlying problem was the surf eating away the ditch wall, and the Lieutenant Governor treated reshaping the whole work as the way to solve it. Captain Mitchell separated the two issues.

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		practice a Breach than the above Method proposed would subject it to, covered by an outward work. My opinion with regard to the above Redan is, that as the Wall of the Counterscarp before the Saliant Angle is capable of being strengthened so as to resist the Violence of the surf, no immediate Alteration of it is therefore necessary. If however when the other more necessary Improvements of the Present Works are compleated, the Alteration above mentioned was to take place, I think it would be	Strengthening the wall alone would stop the erosion, while the redesign could wait until the works he regarded as more urgent were done. On an island where labour and money for fortification were scarce, he chose the repair that dealt with the immediate danger at the least cost. A redan was a V-shaped projection built out from a defensive wall, and the curtain was the straight stretch of wall between such projections. The counterscarp was the outer face of the ditch in front of a fortification, and the talus was the sloping base of a wall. The Lieutenant Governor's worry was that a sharp point offered an enemy an easy target to batter, since shot striking near the tip would bring down the thin masonry quickly. The road over the rock inside the Line shows how the engineer decided what went into his report. Captain Mitchell omitted it as too minor to include, even though he fully intended to build it. The report bound for London probably listed only works large enough to need the Company's sanction, while lesser jobs were carried out on the island as routine maintenance without being referred home.
16	11	1765 be very proper, tho at the same time I must be of Opinion, that as the Six Guns mounted in the Redan can only be of Service in Obstructing an Enemy getting in a proper Station to batter this Line, & could be of no service afterwards, this work was rather unnecessary from the beginning and would very well be supply'd by having the Curtain Continued the whole way as it would then not have been more than Two hundred Yards in Extent and would be sufficiently Flanked by the Bastion at the right and the half one on the left; as well as by the two demibastions at the Extremities of the interior Line The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship London vizt. Account of Stores short received from Ship London vizt. Rice short weight C. qrs. lb 5.2.19 Paddy received 52.3.21 (signed) James Powell Storekeeper St Helena 13th Augt. 1765 Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick applied to Us to pay one hundred pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Mr. Allen Stuld (or order) Ninety eight dated this day Bought of Captain Webb on Account of the Honble. Company the following particulars vizt.	Captain Mitchell considered that reshaping the redan, if carried out once the more urgent improvements were finished, would be entirely sensible. Even so, he doubted the redan had ever been needed. Its six guns could only hinder an enemy trying to set up a battery against the Line, and after that they would serve no purpose. In his view, simply extending the curtain wall the whole way across would have done the job just as well. The wall would then have been no more than 200 yards long. It would also have been adequately covered by the bastion on the right, the half bastion on the left and the two half bastions at each end of the inner Line. James Powell, the storekeeper, handed in an account of stores from the *London* that fell short on delivery. He signed it at St Helena on 13 August 1765, recording the weights by hundredweight, quarter and pound. Rice short in weight: 5 cwt 2 qr 19 lb Paddy received: 52 cwt 3 qr 21 lb Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick asked to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and in return gave him bills of exchange, dated the same day, drawn on the Court of Directors in London. The bills were payable ninety days after sight to Allen Auld or to anyone he named. The Council also bought a number of goods from Captain Webb on the Company's behalf. **Interpretations** The bills of exchange given to Kirkpatrick show how money moved between St Helena and England without coin crossing the ocean. The Company's treasury on the island needed cash to pay the garrison and buy supplies, while officers and inhabitants often wanted to send savings home. By paying coin into the local treasury, Kirkpatrick received a written order instructing the Directors to pay the same sum in London. The words "or order" made the bill transferable by endorsement, so Auld could pass it to someone else in settlement of a debt. The ninety days' grace gave the Company time to arrange payment after the bill was presented. Paddy was rice still in its husk, straight from the threshing floor and not yet milled. It kept better than cleaned rice on a long voyage, since the husk protected the grain from damp and insects, but it yielded noticeably less edible rice by weight once husked. Rice was a staple ration on St Helena, fed to slaves and garrison alike, and much of it came from India aboard Company ships. The storekeeper's signed statement of the shortfall gave the Company formal grounds to hold

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			the ship's commander to account for the missing weight. Captain Mitchell's objection to the redan rested on the principle of flanking fire. Bastions were angled projections at the corners of a wall, placed so their guns could sweep along the face of the curtain between them. Any enemy reaching the foot of a straight wall would be exposed to fire from both sides. A short curtain already covered this way needed no further projection in its middle, which is why the engineer regarded the redan's guns as a costly duplication.
17	12	13th August The Honoble. Company To John Webb Dr. To 2 Casks of Pork qt. 160 pieces at 3/ £ 24 4 do. Beef 307 Do. @ 3/ 46.1 6 Bags Rice Wt. 7.1.14 37/6d. 11.5 14 Do. Betty Wt. 12.1.20 9/ 6.6 £ 87.12 Received the Contents (signed) For Capt. John Webb Hen Hubert John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council recorded the goods it bought from Captain John Webb as a debt owed to him by the Company, priced as follows. 2 casks of pork containing 160 pieces at £0 3s 0d a piece, £24 0s 0d 4 casks of beef containing 307 pieces at £0 3s 0d a piece, £46 1s 0d 6 bags of rice weighing 7 cwt 1 qr 14 lb at £1 17s 6d a bag, £11 5s 0d 14 bags of batty weighing 12 cwt 1 qr 20 lb at £0 9s 0d a bag, £6 6s 0d Total, £87 12s 0d Henry Hubert acknowledged payment in full on Webb's behalf. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors then signed the account. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Batty was the name used in western India for paddy, meaning rice still in its husk, and the term came from the Malayalam word for unmilled grain. Its cheapness beside the cleaned rice reflects how much of its weight was husk. By weight, the batty cost roughly a third of the price of the rice, since a large share would be lost as chaff once it was pounded or milled on the island. Company ships loading in Indian ports took on batty because the husk shielded the grain from damp and weevils on the long passage. Salt pork and beef were packed in casks as standard cut pieces, each of a fixed approximate weight, so that rations could be issued by counting rather than weighing. Pricing both meats by the piece at the same rate shows the account followed that convention. The meat was probably surplus from the ship's own provisions, which commanders were allowed to sell once their voyage no longer needed it. The purchase came on 13 August 1765, the same day the storekeeper reported that rice from the *London* had arrived short in weight. The Council thus made up part of the shortfall at once by buying rice and batty from the ship's commander directly. Henry Hubert, whose name appears as purser on the *London*'s muster roll, signed the receipt, since settling accounts with those ashore was part of a purser's duties.
18	13	19th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of August 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Dan Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 13th August 1765 Thursday the 15th Arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the West Friesland Captain Hollman burthen seven hundred Tons carrys thirty Guns and seventy Men loaden with Sugar, Coffee, and Pepper bound to Rotterdam	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 August 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick attending as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 13 August 1765 were read, approved and signed. A Dutch ship, the *West Friesland*, reached the island from Batavia on Thursday 15 August 1765. Commanded by Captain Hollman, she measured 700 tons, mounted 30 guns and carried a crew of 70. Her cargo of sugar, coffee and pepper was bound for Rotterdam. The Company's ship *London* left for England on Sunday 18 August 1765. Jonathan Godby, a soldier of the garrison, died that same day.

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		Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship London for England Do. Died Jonathan Godby Soldier Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of July last, which is as follows vizt.	The councillors then counted and checked the Company's cash for July 1765. **Interpretations** The Council logged the *West Friesland*'s tonnage, armament and crew as carefully as her cargo and destination. A foreign ship of 30 guns lying in the road was a real force beside a small garrison, and knowing her strength told the Governor what she could do if relations with the Dutch turned hostile. Only six days earlier, on 13 August 1765, the Council had discussed weaknesses in the island's batteries and the Line across James Valley. Entries of this kind also built up a record, sent home with the consultations, of how much Dutch shipping passed the island and what it carried.
19	14	19th August Cash Dr. 1765 July 1. To Balance remaining £ 7101.13.1 8th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court Directors payable to Robert Wood Esqr. (or Order) 230 11. To do. for a Set Do. drawn as above payable to Mr. Ninnian Balentine (or Order) 50 13th To Ship Valentine 235.2.5 31. To Ship Earl of Lincoln 12.7.9 £ 7629.3.3	The Company's cash account for July 1765 set out the money received into the treasury during the month. Balance in hand, 1 July 1765, £7,101 13s 1d Cash received for a set of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Wood or his order, 8 July 1765, £230 0s 0d Cash received for a set of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Ninnian Ballentine or his order, 11 July 1765, £50 0s 0d The *Valentine* paid £235 2s 5d into the treasury on 13 July 1765. The *Earl of Lincoln* paid £12 7s 9d into the treasury on 31 July 1765. Total, £7,629 3s 3d **Interpretations** The payments from ships fit the dates of their visits recorded in the artillery account approved on 12 August 1765. The *Valentine* settled with the treasury on 13 July 1765 and sailed two days later, on 15 July, while the *Earl of Lincoln*, which arrived on 20 July, paid near the end of the month. These sums were probably commanders settling for provisions, water and stores supplied from the Company's warehouses during their stay. Collecting before a ship sailed mattered, since once she left the road there was no practical way to recover a debt from her. The bills sold to Robert Wood and Ninnian Ballentine worked in the same way as those given to Captain Kirkpatrick on 13 August 1765. Their value lay in turning private coin on the island into money payable in London, which kept the treasury supplied with cash for local spending.
20	15	1765 Per Contra Cr. 1765 July 31. By Balance remaining vizt. In Specie 7089.8.3 In Cash Notes of no use 539.15 7629.3.3 £ 7629.3.3 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The other side of the July 1765 cash account showed what remained in the treasury at the close of the month. Balance in coin, 31 July 1765, £7,089 8s 3d Balance in cash notes no longer usable, 31 July 1765, £539 15s 0d Balance remaining, 31 July 1765, £7,629 3s 3d Total, £7,629 3s 3d Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the account. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The account recorded no payments at all out of the treasury during July 1765. Every penny received that month, as entered on the facing side, remained in hand at the end of it, so the closing balance matched the full total of receipts. Wages, purchases and other island costs were evidently met by other means, such as credit, stores issued in kind, or settlement in a later month, leaving the cash chest untouched. Nearly £540 of the balance was held in notes that could no longer be used as money. Keeping them in the count preserved the Company's claim to their value, since writing them off would have concealed a loss the Directors needed to see. Their presence also

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			reveals that paper was circulating on the island as a substitute for coin, and that some of it had lost its currency while still sitting in the Company's own treasury. The Council's balance therefore overstated the money it could actually spend by that amount.
21	16	26th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th Day of August 1765 at the Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 19th August 1765. William Holbrook, Mason this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esquire Governor &ca. Council of St Helena The humble Petition of William Holbrook Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of hiring a small piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Ground lying in this Valley, to Erect a House upon, humbly requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to Grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) 26th August 1765 William Holbrook Ordered the said Ground to be Viewed	The Council met on Monday 26 August 1765, with Governor John Skottowe in the chair. Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attended as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 19 August 1765 were read, approved and signed. William Holbrook, a mason, submitted a petition to the Governor and Council dated 26 August 1765. He explained that he wanted to rent a small plot of unused Company land in the valley so that he could build a house on it. He therefore asked the Council to grant him a lease of the ground. The Council ordered an inspection of the plot before reaching a decision. **Interpretations** All land on St Helena belonged to the Company, and settlers held it under lease rather than as outright owners. Waste ground was land not yet let to anyone, and the Company kept firm control over who could build on it and on what terms. A lease tied the tenant to rent and conditions set by the Council, so granting one was a way of managing the island's settlement as much as raising income. The Council did not grant or refuse Holbrook's request outright but first sent someone to look at the ground. Building close to the town and its defences needed care, and only a fortnight earlier, on 13 August 1765, the councillors had examined plans for the Line and batteries around James Valley. An inspection would show whether a house on the plot would obstruct the works, encroach on a neighbour or occupy land the Company wanted for its own use. Holbrook was perhaps the same mason who drew gunpowder in July 1765 for blasting limestone at West Rocks and rock at Banks's, as recorded in the artillery account approved on 12 August 1765. If so, he was a craftsman already working on Company projects and seeking to settle permanently near his work.
22	17	1765 Ordered the following Advertizement to be Published vizt. Island St Helena 26th August 1765. This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island, that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on, or before the 20th September next ensuing, an exact signed Account of their Family's, Lands and Cattle, and attend at the Castle on Monday the 30th of the said Month to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the Year past Notice is hereby further given that the Honorable Company's Stores will be shut from the 7th September to the 7th October next. Per Order of Council (signed) Mw. Bazett Secy. We this day Executed a Lease to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice for a piece of Ground in James Valley containing fifteen Feet in Front and ninety five feet in Depth at fifteen Shillings Pr. Annum Bought on Account of the Honble. Company of the Captain of the Dutch Ship six thousand, and three hundred	The Council ordered a public notice to be issued in its name, dated at St Helena on 26 August 1765. Every inhabitant was to deliver a signed and accurate return of their household, land and cattle to the Secretary's Office by 20 September 1765. They were then to come to the Castle on Monday 30 September 1765 to pay the rents and dues owed to the Company for the past year. The notice also announced that the Company's warehouses would close from 7 September to 7 October 1765. Matthew Bazett, the Secretary, signed it on the Council's authority. The Council granted a lease to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice for a plot in James Valley. The ground measured 15 feet along its frontage and 95 feet deep, and the rent was set at £0 15s 0d a year. The Council also bought a consignment weighing 6,300 lb from the captain of the Dutch ship on the Company's behalf. **Interpretations** The returns demanded from every household served as the basis of the island's rent collection. By requiring each family to declare its members, land and cattle in writing ten days before rent day, the Council had a signed statement against which to check what each owed. A false return could be exposed against the Company's own lease records, and the signature made the householder personally answerable for it. The same returns gave the Council a yearly count of the island's population and livestock, which mattered on an island where cattle were scarce and closely controlled.

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		pounds	Closing the warehouses for a full month around rent day was probably meant to allow the annual stocktaking and balancing of the store accounts. Shutting them also stopped islanders from running up fresh debts for goods just as their yearly dues were being settled, so the account of what each person owed stood fixed while it was paid. The only Dutch vessel recorded in the road at this time was the *West Friesland*, which arrived from Batavia on 15 August 1765.
23	18	26th August pounds Rice for which we paid him twelve Shillings Pr. hundred Amounting to thirty seven pounds sixteen Shillings We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors vizt. One Set to Captain Bernardus Halleman for four hundred pounds payable to himself (or Order) One set to Mr. Andries Sorentzen for two hundred pounds payable to himself (or Order) And one Set to Mr. Hendrick Eckhard for one hundred and Sixty pounds payable to himself (or Order) all drawn at Ninety days sight John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The goods bought from the Dutch captain were 6,300 lb of rice, for which the Council paid £0 12s 0d per 100 lb, a total of £37 16s 0d. The Council also issued bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors in London. Each set was payable to the named person or to anyone he nominated, and all fell due ninety days after sight. Captain Bernardus Halleman, £400 0s 0d Andries Lorentzen, £200 0s 0d Hendrick Eckhard, £160 0s 0d Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Captain Halleman was the commander of the *West Friesland*, the Dutch ship from Batavia that arrived on 15 August 1765. He and two others, probably officers or passengers from the same ship, paid £760 0s 0d in coin into the Company's treasury and took English bills payable in London in exchange. For Dutch seamen returning from the East with money earned or traded there, a bill on the East India Company offered a safe way to carry wealth home without risking coin at sea. For the island, the transaction brought a substantial sum of hard money into a treasury that relied on passing ships for its cash. The arrangement shows St Helena acting as a clearing point for private money from rival European trades, not just for English ships. The Dutch rice was far cheaper than the rice bought from Captain Webb on 13 August 1765. Webb's rice cost £11 5s 0d for 7 cwt 1 qr 14 lb, which works out at about 27s per 100 lb, while the Dutch captain charged 12s. Batavia lay at the heart of a major rice-growing region and ships loaded there cheaply, whereas Webb's supply came from India through the Company's own trade. With the island already short of rice from the *London*, the Council took the opportunity to secure a large quantity at less than half the recent price.
24	19	2d September At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d Day of September 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 26th August 1765. Tuesday the 27th August sailed the Dutch Ship Westfriesland for Rotterdam Wednesday the 28th Do. died Sarah the Daughter of Henry Howell Corporal Saturday the 31. Arrived the Calcutta's Boat at Banks's a Quarter of an Hour past eight o'Clock at Night Yesterday Do. the Honorable Company's Ship Calcutta from	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 2 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, joined by Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 26 August 1765 were read, approved and signed. The Dutch ship *West Friesland* left for Rotterdam on Tuesday 27 August 1765. On the following day Sarah, daughter of Corporal Henry Howell, died. A boat from the *Calcutta* reached Banks's at a quarter past eight on the night of Saturday 31 August 1765. The Company's ship *Calcutta* herself arrived from Bombay on Sunday 1 September 1765, carrying supplies for the island. The *Calcutta*'s invoice listed the goods as follows. Rice, cleaned by pounding, 22 bags weighing 150 Surat maunds in all 20 bags of rice at 6¾ Surat maunds a bag, 135 Surat maunds 2 bags of rice at 7½ Surat maunds a bag, 15 Surat maunds

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		Bombay and brought Us the following Supplies vizt. Invoice of Ship Calcutta Rice Beaten fine 22 Bags qt. 150 S. Md. 20 Bags @ 6¾ S. Md. is 135 S. Md. 2 Do. @ 7½ Do. is 15 Do. S. Md. 150 @ 1.1.3 Pr. S. Maund 199.3.50 Batty 32 Bags @ 3 parah is Morah Parah 3.21 @ 19.1 Pr. Morah 73.3.60 Carried over	150 Surat maunds of rice at 1 rupee 1 quarter 3 reas per Surat maund, 199 rupees 3 quarters 50 reas 32 bags of batty at 3 parahs a bag, 3 morahs 21 parahs, at 19 rupees 1 quarter per morah, 73 rupees 3 quarters 60 reas Carried forward, 0 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas **Interpretations** The Surat maund was the standard weight of the western Indian trade, reckoned at roughly 37 lb, so the 150 maunds of rice came to a little over 5,500 lb. Rice beaten fine had been pounded in a mortar to strip the husk and polish the grain, the usual method of cleaning rice in India before mills were common. The batty, still in its husk, was measured differently, by the parah and morah, which were measures of volume rather than weight. The invoice's own figures show 25 parahs to the morah, since 96 parahs appear as 3 morahs and 21 parahs. Measuring the rice by weight and the batty by volume followed Indian market practice. Cleaned rice was a finished food whose value lay in its weight of edible grain, while unhusked paddy varied so much in how much it yielded that it was traded by the basket. The Council on St Helena therefore received the two grains in different units and had to convert both into English weights when they entered the Company's stores.
25	20	2d September Brought over Charges on Merchandize Gunny Bags for Rice Bags 35 @ 5 Pr. Ct. 8.3 Dully Bags for Do. 22 @ 3 Pr. Bag 16.2 Gunny Bags for Batty 32, 12 Do. @ 8 Twine for sewing Do. 2 Lascares for Do. @ 17 Pice @ 4.1 Hamallage carrying the Rice & Batty to the Pier Head 2.60 Boat hire for Do. 2.2 42.2.60 Rupees 316.1.78 Errors Excepted (signed) Wm. Hornby Acct. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	An invoice for rice and batty, reckoned in Indian money, continued with the costs of bagging the grain and getting it aboard ship. The page carried forward no figure from the one before. Brought forward, 0 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas 35 gunny bags for the rice at 5[...], 8 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas 22 dutty bags for the rice at 3 quarters a bag, 16 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas 32 gunny bags for the batty at 1 quarter each, 8 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Twine for sewing up the bags, 0 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Lascars for sewing up the bags at 17 pice each, 4 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas Porterage for carrying the rice and batty to the Pier Head, 2 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas Boat hire for taking the rice and batty off, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Total of charges, 42 rupees 2 quarters 60 reas Total of the invoice, 316 rupees 1 quarter 78 reas William Hornby signed the account as accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors added their signatures at St Helena on 2 September 1765. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The account was kept in the money of western India, where the rupee divided into four quarters and each quarter into 100 reas. The column headings are not written out, but the middle column never rises above three and the third runs into tens, which fits that division. The pice was a small copper coin used to pay daily wages. Gunny was coarse sacking woven from jute, the standard packing for grain shipped out of India. Dutty was a heavier, closer-woven cotton cloth, which explains why dutty bags cost three times as much as gunny ones and were used for the cleaned rice rather than the batty. Lascars were Indian labourers and seamen, hired here to stitch the filled bags closed. Porterage appears in the manuscript under the Indian term hamallage, from the word for a porter who carried goods on his back or head. The words "errors excepted" above Hornby's signature were a standard reservation in merchants'

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			accounts. They left room to correct mistakes of arithmetic or omission later, so the figures bound the Company without locking in any slip in the reckoning. The countersignature of the St Helena Council turned an invoice made out in India into a charge accepted on the island's books. The cost of the grain, together with every bag, length of twine and boat hire needed to ship it, became part of the value at which the Company's stores would carry the rice and batty.
26	21	6th September At a Consultation held on Friday the 6th Day of September 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2d September 1765 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Calcutta to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none. her Muster Roll is as follows vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Calcutta Geo. Thomson Commander Wm. Hambly Chief Mate Thos. Baldwin 2d Do. Nath. Hedges 3d Do. Alex. Oswald 4th Do. Chas. Janaway 5th Do. Robt. Bury 6th Do. Thos. Williamson Surgeon William Hadslay Purser Geo. Haldane Boatswain Saml. Evans Caulker Alex. Seaver Sailmaker Alex. Hugh Cooper Thos. Reading Armourer Ralph Emerson Carpr. Mate Thos. Martin Gunr. Do. John Richmond Cook Do. Edwd. Latham Midshipm. Wm. Alexander Ships Steward John Harvey Capt. Do. Wm. Cooling Gunrs. Mate Alex. Milne Do. Robt. Atkins Do. Andw. Stein Do. Geo. Littlejohn	Close examination of the roll cells.The Council met at the Castle on Friday 6 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 2 September 1765 were read, approved and signed. Purling reported that he boarded the *Calcutta* to call the roll of her crew and search for deserters, but found none. The ship's muster roll ran as follows. George Thomson, commander William Hambly, chief mate Thomas Baldwin, second mate Nathaniel Hedges, third mate Alexander Oswald, fourth mate Charles Jamways, fifth mate Robert Burg, sixth mate Thomas Williamson, surgeon William Hadslay, carpenter George Haldane, boatswain Samuel Evans, caulker Alexander Sewer, sailmaker Alexander Keugh, cooper Thomas Reading, armourer Ralph Emerson, carpenter's mate Thomas Martin, gunner's mate John Richmond, boatswain's mate Edward Latham, ship's cook William Alexander, ship's steward John Harvey, captain's steward William Curling Ginston, midshipman Alexander Milne, midshipman Robert Atkins, midshipman Andrew Stein, midshipman George Littleton, midshipman Thomas Spikes, quartermaster John Steel, quartermaster William Smith, quartermaster John Maclauchlan, quartermaster Andrew Congalton, captain's servant John Westonzee, captain's servant Charles Roberts, chief mate's servant Thomas Haslem, second mate's servant Robert Macgray, surgeon's servant William Garthside, carpenter's servant William Coulter, gunner's servant James Morrison, seaman Alexander Watson, seaman Thomas Andrews, seaman **Interpretations** The Council's first recorded muster, of the *London* on 13 August 1765, followed directly on the disappearance of the soldier William Isaac Ford. No such trigger preceded this one. A councillor boarded the *Calcutta* within days of her arrival and checked her crew against her books as a matter of course. What began as a response to a single desertion was being applied to every Company ship in the road, making the muster a standing check rather than an occasional search. The servants listed under the captain, mates, surgeon, carpenter and gunner were a recognised part of an East Indiaman's company. Senior officers were entitled to a set number of servants, usually boys or young men learning the sea under their master's eye.

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		Do. Thos. Spikes Quartermast. John Steel Quartermaster Wm. Smith Do. John Maclauchlan Do. Andrew Conzalton Capt. Cook John Westenzer Do. Chas. Roberts Chief Mates Do. Thomas Haslem 2d Do. Do. Robt. Macgray Surgeons Do. Wm. Garthside Carpenters Do. Wm. Coulter Gunners Do. James Morison Seaman Alex. Watson Thoms. Andrews	The servant's pay was often drawn by the officer he served, so the allowance was as much a perquisite of rank as a means of training. Entering them by name on the roll meant each counted as a crew member, and a stranger could not be passed off as an officer's boy.
27	22	6th September John Lamb Seaman Thoms. Jones John Cooley Edward Anthony Adam Nelson Benj. Limebon Alexr. Nicholson Willm. Alexander John Berry John Duthie John Youngson Willm. Bailey Christian Ashman Robt. Hanning John Lake James Gray Joseph Smith Patrick Berry Manl. Dacosta John Hinchly James Maclaggan John Macpherson Seaman Willm. Lindsey Manuel Dasylva David Juner John Mead John Medre Andrew Layall John Duncan Francis Skoonter Samuel Clark Aaron Aaronson Lawrence Connell Matthias Rutten Willm. Downes John David Anthony Joseph John Gospert Edwd. Madgill John Harvey Richd. Carter [...] John Augustine Seam. James Seaton	The *Calcutta*'s muster roll went on to list the rest of her seamen, followed by her passengers. John Lamb, seaman Thomas Jones, seaman John Cooley, seaman Edward Anthony, seaman Adam Nelson, seaman Benjamin Limebon, seaman Alexander Nicholson, seaman William Alexander, seaman John Berry, seaman John Duthie, seaman John Youngson, seaman William Bailey, seaman Christian Arhman, seaman Robert Hanning, seaman John Like, seaman James Gray, seaman Joseph Smith, seaman Patrick Berry, seaman Manuel DaCosta, seaman John Hinckly, seaman James Maclaggon, seaman John Macpherson, seaman William Lindsey, seaman Manuel DaSylva, seaman David Juner, seaman John Mead, seaman John Medro, seaman Andrew Layall, seaman John Duncan, seaman Francis Skoonter, seaman Samuel Clark, seaman Aaron Aaronson, seaman Lawrence Connell, seaman Matthias Rutton, seaman William Downes, seaman John David, seaman Anthony Joseph, seaman John Gosport, seaman Edward Macgill, seaman John Harvey, seaman Richard Carter, seaman John Augustine, seaman James Seaton, seaman Samuel Thornton, seaman William Grayham, seaman Samuel Fenn, seaman

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		Samuel Thornton Willm. Grayham Saml. Fenn Willm. Porter David Brawley Willm. Rogerson Joseph Small Edward Harris John Collins Thoms. Lasley John Parry Wm. Anderson Saml. Nichols Willm. Walters Thoms. Wynn Willm. Steel Alexr. Brown William Brithy Thos. Severe Passengers Mr. John Adams Capt. John Jackson Mr. Henry Hinde Pelly Mr. Samuel Vaux Ten French Prisoners Three Dischd. Men from the Garrison at Bombay (signed) Geo: Thomson	William Porter, seaman David Brewley, seaman William Rogerson, seaman Joseph Small, seaman Edward Harris, seaman John Collins, seaman Thomas Lasley, seaman John Parry, seaman William Anderson, seaman Samuel Nicholl, seaman William Walters, seaman Thomas Wynn, seaman William Steel, seaman Alexander Brown, seaman William Brithy, seaman Thomas Severe, seaman The ship also carried passengers. John Adams Captain John Jackson Henry Hinde Pelly Samuel Vaux 10 French prisoners 3 men discharged from the garrison at Bombay George Thomson signed the roll as commander. **Interpretations** The passengers included ten French prisoners and three soldiers discharged from the Bombay garrison, the two groups with the strongest reasons to slip ashore. Prisoners had every motive to escape, while discharged soldiers were no longer bound to any Company post and might try to settle on the island without permission. By recording their number on the signed roll, the Council fixed the count that Captain Thomson had to carry away when the *Calcutta* sailed. Any shortfall at her departure would point straight to a man who had gone missing ashore. Several names on the roll, among them Manuel DaCosta, Manuel DaSylva and Anthony Joseph, suggest Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese seamen. Company ships commonly lost men to disease and desertion during their time in the East and made up the numbers from sailors recruited in Indian ports. The roll therefore records a crew that was probably far more mixed in origin when it reached St Helena than when it had left England.
28	23	1765 Bought of Captain Thomson on Account of the Honorable Company four Casks [...] of Salt Provision for which we paid him seventy three pounds four Shillings he producing a Bill wherein he was charged twenty pounds Pr. Cask for it at Bombay therefore as the Island is in want of Salt Provisions we agreed to give him the same Price as we have sold several Casks this Year to the Honorable Company's Ships The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Calcutta vizt. Account of Stores short received from Ship Calcutta vizt. Rice Short Weight C. qrs. lb 2.21 Paddy recd. in 12 Bags 20.1.6 Do. 19 Bags short delivered (signed) St Helena Jas. Powell Storekeeper 6th Sept. 1765 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council bought four casks of salt provisions from Captain Thomson for the Company and paid him £73 4s 0d. Thomson produced a bill showing that the casks had cost him £20 0s 0d each at Bombay. The island was short of salt provisions, so the Council agreed to buy them. It paid him the same price at which it had sold several casks to the Company's ships earlier in the year. James Powell, the storekeeper, then handed in an account of stores from the *Calcutta* that fell short on delivery, signed at St Helena on 6 September 1765. Rice short in weight: 0 cwt 2 qr 21 lb Paddy received in 13 bags: 20 cwt 1 qr 6 lb Paddy not delivered: 19 bags Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Thomson's bill gave the Council an obvious figure to pay, £20 0s 0d a cask or £80 0s 0d in all. The Council passed over it and paid £73 4s 0d instead, the price it charged Company ships when it sold salt meat to them from its own stores. The reasoning was one of consistency. The Company could not sensibly buy salt provisions from one of its commanders at a higher rate than it sold them to others, and Thomson's cost at Bombay was his own affair. The island's need for the

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			casks made the Council willing to buy, but not to accept the seller's price. The shortfall from the *Calcutta* differed sharply from that of the *London*, recorded on 13 August 1765. The *London*'s rice came in more than 5 cwt light, while the *Calcutta*'s fell short by less than 3 qr. The paddy told the opposite story. The *Calcutta*'s invoice, entered on 2 September 1765, listed 32 bags of batty, yet only 13 reached the stores, leaving 19 bags entirely missing. The storekeeper's signed statement gave the Company the record it needed to call the commander to account for the lost bags.
29	24	9th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th Day of September 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read, approved, & signed dated 6th Sept. 1765 Last Night sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Calcutta for England. We this day Executed the two following Leases vizt. One to Mr. Benjamin Mason for a piece of Land containing thirty one Acres, lying in the West Division of this Island at one Shilling and sixpence Pr. Acre And one to John Robinson Carpenter for a piece of Land containing twenty eight and an Half Acres, lying in the East Division of this Island, at one Shilling and six pence Pr. Acre The Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of August last were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 9 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of the meeting held on 6 September 1765 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Calcutta* left for England on the night of Sunday 8 September 1765. The Council granted two leases of land on the same day. Benjamin Mason received 31 acres in the island's West Division, and John Robinson, a carpenter, received 28½ acres in the East Division. Both plots were let at £0 1s 6d an acre. The gunner and the steward then submitted their accounts for August 1765. The Council examined and approved both, and their details followed. **Interpretations** These country leases throw the value of town land into sharp relief. On 26 August 1765 Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice took a plot in James Valley measuring 15 feet by 95 feet, about a thirtieth of an acre, for £0 15s 0d a year. At the rate charged to Mason and Robinson, a whole acre in the countryside cost only £0 1s 6d. Ground in the valley, where the town, the landing place and the Company's warehouses stood, was therefore worth hundreds of times as much per acre as farmland in the interior. Space in the narrow valley was scarce and in demand from tradesmen, officers and shopkeepers, while upland acres could only be made profitable through years of clearing and grazing. The island was split for administration into an East and a West Division, and each lease recorded which one held the land. The divisions provided the framework for assessing rents, mustering the militia and organising inhabitants for public duties, so placing a grant within one of them fixed where the tenant's obligations fell.
30	25	1765 Artillery Stores Expended in the Mo. Augt. 1765 Guns Fired, Shot Fired, lb 9, lb 4, lb 3, lb 2, lb 1, Powder Expended lb Oz 1. Powder for the Fortifications: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 6 2d Departed the Earl of Lincoln: Guns Fired 9, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 0, lb 2 7, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 11 24 Small Cartridges delivered to the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 1.8 4th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb Oz 12 Arrived the London: Guns Fired 9, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 9 12 Small Cartridges for the Shootg. of Goats: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 12 8th Departed the Pitt: Guns Fired 9, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 9	The gunner's account for August 1765 recorded the artillery stores used during the month. For each occasion it gave the guns fired, the shot fired, the number of 9-pounders, 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder consumed. Powder for the fortifications, 1 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz The *Earl of Lincoln* sailed on 2 August 1765, with guns fired 9, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 7, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 11 lb 0 oz. 24 small cartridges issued to the Main Guard, 2 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 1 lb 8 oz Alarm, 4 August 1765: guns fired 6, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder used 12 lb 0 oz The *London* arrived on 4 August 1765, with guns fired 9, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-

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		12 Small Cartridges delivered to the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 12 11 Departed the Caernarvon: Guns Fired 9, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 9 14 Powder delivered for Blowg. Lime Stone: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 6 15th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb Oz 12 Arrived the Westfriesland a Dutch Ship: Guns Fired 13, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 13, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 13 24 Small Cartridges delivered to the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 1.8 Fired to Bring the Dutch Ship too: Guns Fired 2, Shot Fired 2, lb 9 2, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 9 18. Powder for the Funeral of Jonn. Godby Soldier: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 2.4 Departed the London: Guns Fired 9, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 9 20 Small Cartridges delivered to the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz [1].9 22 Powder to Blow Lime Stone: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 6 27th Departed the Westfriesland a Dutch Ship: Guns Fired 13, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 13, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 13 Powder for Blowing Lime Stone: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 6 31. An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb Oz 12 An Alarm at Turks Cap for the same Ship: Guns Fired 2, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 4 Powder for prim. at different times: Guns Fired 0, Shot Fired 0, lb 9 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb Oz 11.8 Total: Guns Fired 93, Shot Fired 2, lb 9 2, lb 4 10, lb 3 6, lb 2 69, lb 1 6, Powder Expended lb Oz 164.13 1 Hand spike broke on the Line 40 lb Tallow for the use of the Long Boat, Carts, & Schooner Expended one Skein of Match Six Hand spikes delivered for the Fortifications (signed) Archd. Mitchell	pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 9 lb 0 oz. 12 small cartridges for shooting goats, 4 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 0 lb 12 oz The *Pitt* sailed on 8 August 1765, with guns fired 9, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 9 lb 0 oz. 12 small cartridges issued to the Main Guard, 8 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 0 lb 12 oz The *Carnarvon* sailed on 11 August 1765, with guns fired 9, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 9 lb 0 oz. Powder issued for blasting limestone, 14 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz Alarm, 15 August 1765: guns fired 6, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder used 12 lb 0 oz The Dutch ship *West Friesland* arrived on 15 August 1765, with guns fired 13, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 13 lb 0 oz. 24 small cartridges issued to the Main Guard, 15 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 1 lb 8 oz Firing to bring the Dutch ship to, 15 August 1765: guns fired 2, shot fired 2, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 9 lb 0 oz Powder for the funeral of Jonathan Godby, soldier, 18 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 2 lb 4 oz The *London* sailed on 18 August 1765, with guns fired 9, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 9 lb 0 oz. Small cartridges issued to the Main Guard, 20 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 0 lb 9 oz Powder for blasting limestone, 22 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz The Dutch ship *West Friesland* sailed on 27 August 1765, with guns fired 13, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 13 lb 0 oz. Powder for blasting limestone, 27 August 1765: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz Alarm, 31 August 1765: guns fired 6, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder used 12 lb 0 oz Alarm at Turk's Cap for the same ship, 31 August 1765: guns fired 2, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 4 lb 0 oz Priming powder used on various occasions: guns fired 0, shot fired 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 11 lb 8 oz Total: guns fired 93, shot fired 2, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 10, 3-pounders 6, 2-pounders 69, 1-pounders 6, powder used 164 lb 13 oz

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			The account closed with a note of other stores used or issued. 1 handspike broken on the Line 40 lb of tallow for greasing the longboat, the carts and the schooner 1 skein of slow match used 6 handspikes issued for the fortifications Archibald Mitchell signed the account. **Interpretations** The only shot fired all month went towards the *West Friesland* on the day she arrived, when two 9-pounders were fired with ball to bring her to. A ship approaching the island was expected to stop and show her identity before entering the road, and a foreign vessel that failed to do so was halted by shot across her path. The Dutch ship was later saluted with 13 guns on both arrival and departure, more than the nine given to Company ships, so the firing reflected procedure rather than hostility. The use of ball for this purpose also confirms that the pound weights heading the columns referred to the size of gun, since the heaviest pieces were the ones loaded with shot. The alarm on 31 August 1765, repeated at Turk's Cap for the same ship, matches the arrival of the *Calcutta*'s boat at Banks's at a quarter past eight that night, as recorded on 2 September 1765. The *Calcutta* herself anchored the next day. A sail sighted off the coast at dusk, with no means of telling friend from foe, was enough to turn out the garrison. Powder use rose sharply from July, when 61 guns and 99 lb 2 oz were recorded, to 93 guns and 164 lb 13 oz in August. The difference came from heavier shipping traffic, with the *London*, *Pitt* and *Carnarvon* all sailing, the Dutch ship's two larger salutes, three alarms rather than two, and the shotted firing that brought her to. The small cartridges for shooting goats were musket charges issued to soldiers sent out to cull the wild goats that roamed the island. Goats stripped young trees and vegetation, and keeping their numbers down protected both the Company's pasture and the island's remaining woodland. The powder for Jonathan Godby's funeral paid for the volleys fired over a soldier's grave, a mark of military honour given even to a private man.
31	26	9th September Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of August 1765 vizt. 19 Bottles Port Wine £ 1.2.6 41 Do. Lisbon 3.1.6 15 Do. Mountain 1.3.6 34 Do. Beer 6.3 62 Do. Arrack 3.9.6 126 lb Beef 2.12.6 263 lb Mutton 5.10.5 10 Fowles 15 1 Duck 1.6 39½ lb Butter 1.19.6 62 lb Candy 1.3 312 lb Flour 1.19.9 £ 23.8.7 Appointed the Lieut. Governor and Mr.	The steward's account listed the food and drink consumed at the Company's table during August 1765. 19 bottles of port wine, £1 8s 6d 41 bottles of Lisbon wine, £3 1s 6d 15 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 3s 6d 34 bottles of beer, £0 6s 3d 6½ bottles of arrack, £3 9s 6d 126 lb of beef, £2 12s 6d 263 lb of mutton, £5 10s 5d 10 fowls, £0 15s 0d 1 duck, £0 1s 6d 39½ lb of butter, £1 19s 6d 6½ lb of sugar candy, £1 0s 8d 312 lb of flour, £1 19s 9d Total, £23 8s 7d The Council appointed Lieutenant Governor Corneille and Matthew Purling to carry out the yearly inspection of the Company's warehouses and record the stock remaining, as was customary. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The stocktaking explains the notice of 26 August 1765, which announced that the Company's warehouses would close from 7 September to 7 October. With no goods going in or out, the two councillors could count what remained without the

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		Purling to inspect and take the Remains of the Honorable Company's Stores for the present Year as Usual John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	figures shifting under them. The count came just before rent day on 30 September, so the Company's stock and the inhabitants' dues would be settled in the same season. Appointing a councillor alongside the Lieutenant Governor, rather than leaving the work to the storekeeper, placed the check in the hands of men who answered for the Company's property, not the man whose accounts were being checked. Set beside the July account approved on 12 August 1765, the table cost less in August, falling from £26 16s 5½d to £23 8s 7d. Most of the saving came from smaller quantities of meat and Lisbon wine. Mutton fell from 302 lb to 263 lb, beef from 144 lb to 126 lb and Lisbon from 56 bottles to 41, while cheaper port, Mountain and beer rose slightly. The sharpest change was in sugar candy. The same 6½ lb cost £2 10s 8d in July but only £1 0s 8d in August, less than half the earlier price. The *West Friesland* arrived from Batavia on 15 August 1765 with sugar in her cargo, and the island's supply was perhaps replenished from her at a much lower cost than before.
32	27	16th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th Day of September 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 9th Day September 1765. Tuesday the 10th Passed by a Ship at a great distance Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of August last, which is as follows vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 16 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 9 September 1765 were read, approved and signed. An unidentified ship sailed past the island far out to sea on Tuesday 10 September 1765. The councillors then counted and checked the Company's cash for August 1765. **Interpretations** The entry about a ship that never came near the island shows how closely the coast was watched. Lookouts on the heights reported every sail they saw, and the Council recorded even a vessel too distant to identify. Company ships homeward bound were expected to call at St Helena, so a ship passing it by was perhaps a foreign vessel or a private trader with reasons to avoid the Company's officers. Logging such sightings in the consultations sent the information home to the Directors, who could set the dates against ships reported elsewhere.
33	28	16th September Cash Dr. 1765 August 1. To Balance remaining £ 7629.3.3 5th To Exchange for two sets of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follows vizt. One set to Nicholas Pearce Esqr. for £ 147 One do. to Mr. Jeffrey Jackson for 219 366 6th To Ship Caernarvon 99.16.5 To Ship Pitt 252.13.4 13. To Exchange for a set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr. Allen Auld for 100 17th To Ship London received the Balance of her Account 10.7.4 26 To Exchange for 3 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follow vizt. One set to Mr. Barnadus Halleman for £ 400 One do. to Mr. Andres Lorentzen £ 200 One do. to Mr. Hendrick Eckhard 160 760	The Company's cash account for August 1765 set out the money received into the treasury during the month. Balance in hand, 1 August 1765, £7,629 3s 3d Cash received for two sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, 5 August 1765, £366 0s 0d One set payable to Nicholas Pearce, £147 0s 0d One set payable to Jeffrey Jackson, £219 0s 0d The *Carnarvon* paid £99 16s 5d into the treasury on 6 August 1765. The *Pitt* paid £252 13s 4d into the treasury on 6 August 1765. Cash received for a set of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors payable to Allen Auld, 13 August 1765, £100 0s 0d The *London* paid £10 7s 4d into the treasury on 17 August 1765, clearing the balance of her account. Cash received for three sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, 26 August 1765, £760 0s 0d One set payable to Bernardus Halleman, £400 0s 0d One set payable to Andries Lorentzen, £200 0s 0d One set payable to Hendrick Eckhard, £160 0s 0d Total, £9,218 0s 4d **Interpretations** The *London*'s entry is the first to state plainly what the ships' payments were for. She cleared the balance of her account on 17 August 1765 and sailed for

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		£ 9218.4	England the next day. Each Company ship evidently ran an account with the island for the provisions, water and stores it drew during its stay, and settled it before leaving the road. The *Pitt* and the *Carnarvon* both paid on 6 August, two and five days before they sailed on 8 and 11 August 1765 respectively. The cash book recorded each bill by the person to whom it was payable, not by the person who handed over the money. The £100 entered on 13 August under Allen Auld's name was in fact paid by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, as the consultation of that day records. The treasury account alone therefore could not show who was moving money off the island, and only the minutes connected each payment to the man behind it.
34	29	1765 Per Contra Cr. 1765 August 31. By Balance remaining vizt. In Specie 8678.5.4 In Cash Notes of no use 539.15.0 £ 9218.4 The following Observations of the Engineers upon the Fortifications &c. We agreed to have Entered upon this Day Consultation vizt.	The other side of the August 1765 cash account showed what remained in the treasury at the close of the month. Balance in coin, 31 August 1765, £8,678 5s 4d Balance in cash notes no longer usable, 31 August 1765, £539 15s 0d Total, £9,218 0s 4d The Council agreed to enter in the day's minutes the engineer's observations on the fortifications and related matters, which followed. **Interpretations** For a second month running, the treasury paid nothing out. As in July 1765, the whole of the month's receipts stayed in the chest, and the unusable notes stood at exactly the same figure. The cash on the island was building steadily from ship payments and bills sold to private remitters, while the costs of the garrison and the island's works were met in other ways. The treasury acted less as a paying office than as a reserve holding coin for the Company. The engineer's plans and observations were first read to the Council on 13 August 1765, when they were described as intended for the Company in England. Copying them into the minutes as well, rather than simply forwarding the original, kept a full text on the island and placed it in the record the Directors received with the consultations. Any later dispute over what the engineer had recommended, and what the Council had endorsed, could then be settled from the minute book itself.
35	30	16th September An Account of the present State of the Fortifications and Defences of the Island St Helena, together with Remarks upon the same and Proposals relative to the Alterations and Additions which it is apprehended may be necessary, in Order to compleat them. To which are annexed Plans of the principal Works as they now stand, as well as of those which are proposed to be constructed; All of which are humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Worshipfull the Govr. and Council of this Island, by their most Obedient humble Servant Rd. Mitchell Captn. of Engineers in St Helena the Service of the honble. East India Compy. August 1765 Before I enter upon a particular Description of the several Fortifications and Works constructed for the Defence of this Island, I think it necessary to premise a few general Observations relative to the Advantages which in point of Strength and security it enjoys from Nature, to which I am the rather induced, as some of these are extremely considerable and (I had almost said) peculiar to this Island. The Short time I have been here, during part of	The engineer's report bore the title of an account of the present state of St Helena's fortifications and defences. It included his comments on them and his proposals for the changes and additions he believed were needed to complete them. Plans of the main works were attached, showing both those already standing and those he proposed to build. Archibald Mitchell, captain of engineers in the East India Company's service, addressed the whole to the Governor and Council at St Helena in August 1765. Mitchell opened by explaining that, before describing each fortification in detail, he would set out some general points about the strength and security the island drew from nature. He gave this prominence because some of these natural advantages were very great and, in his view, almost unique to St Helena. He noted that he had been on the island only a short time. For part of that period he had no boat at his disposal. As a result he had not yet finished his survey and measurement of the coastline, and so could not yet attach an accurate chart to his remarks. **Interpretations** Mitchell chose to begin with what nature had done for the island rather than with the works men had built. That ordering shaped the argument of the whole report. When Governor Skottowe asked on 13 August 1765 whether the seaward valleys between Horse Pasture Point and the Needles needed more than walls, Mitchell answered that further works would only scatter the garrison. His confidence rested on the

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		which I was unprovided with a Boat, has prevented me from compleating my general Survey & Mensuration of the Coast, so as to enable me to accompany those Remarks with an accurate Chart of the	premise set out here, that the island's cliffs and narrow landing places already did much of the work of defence. Fortification needed only to close the few gaps nature had left open, not to cover the whole coast. The want of a boat was no small obstacle for an engineer surveying St Helena. The island's defence turned on knowing exactly where an enemy could land, and the coast could only be properly measured and charted from the sea, since sheer cliffs made much of it impossible to follow on foot. Mitchell depended on the Council to supply a boat, and the delay he describes shows how even the Company's own engineer relied on local officials for the means to carry out his work.
36	31	1765 the whole, I must therefore refer the Reader, for what regards the following general Observations, to a Plan of the Island published in a Collection of Charts, intitled the English Pilot, which, however erroneous in Regard to particular Parts of it, will be found sufficient to convey a general Idea of the whole, and to elucidate the subsequent Remarks. In the first Place then it is to be observed That all the Coast of this Island (which may be about Thirty Miles in Circuit) consists of an almost uninterrupted Chain of inaccessible Rocks or rather Mountains, rising in a Direction nearly perpendicular to the Shore, to a Height seldom less than Four or Five Hundred Feet, and some times much more. Secondly the Wind, which blows here almost invariably from the South East, occasions so constant and considerable a Surf along the Windward Coast of the Island (which may be said to comprehend about two Thirds of the whole) as renders it for the most part impracticable to land any where within that Compass; And Lastly the Ascent from those Gullies, or as they are here very improperly called) Vallies, which are here and there interspersed throughout the Coast of this Island, and are the only Places where an Enemy can possibly effect a Landing, are so extremely steep, rugged and in some Places, so hard to discover; and in general terminate at such considerable distances from the Coast, as would render it next to impracticable for an Enemy to get into the Country, if ever so inconsiderably opposed by the Garrison; I will venture to say that Five hundred Men would be much more than a Match for Ten Times their number in this situation. As these Vallies contain the principal Fortifications of the Island And will of Consequence often be mentioned in the Course of these Remarks **Margin Notes:** Capt. Mitchell's Report Plan [...] Wind Gullies	Because his survey of the coast was unfinished, Mitchell referred readers to a plan of the island printed in a collection of charts called the English Pilot. He acknowledged that the plan was wrong in places but judged it good enough to give a general picture of the island and to make sense of the remarks that followed. His first point was that almost the entire coastline, about 30 miles round, formed an unbroken wall of rock that no one could climb. These cliffs, which he likened to mountains, rose almost straight up from the shore to heights of rarely less than 400 or 500 feet and sometimes far more. Second, the wind on St Helena came almost always from the south-east. It drove such a steady and heavy surf against the windward coast, roughly two-thirds of the island's shoreline, that landing anywhere along that stretch was usually impossible. Finally, an enemy could come ashore only in the gullies scattered along the coast, which islanders misleadingly called valleys. The climb out of them was extremely steep and rough, the route was in places hard even to find, and the gullies mostly ended a long way inland. Mitchell judged that an invader would find it almost impossible to reach the interior if the garrison offered even slight resistance. He was ready to claim that 500 defenders in such ground would be more than a match for ten times their number. Mitchell noted that these valleys held the island's main fortifications and would therefore feature often in his remarks. **Interpretations** The English Pilot was the standard English collection of sea charts and sailing directions, first compiled in the late seventeenth century and reissued in many editions over the following decades. It was a working book for ships' masters rather than a survey of record, and its plans of small islands were often copied from older sources with little correction. Mitchell's reliance on it shows that in 1765 the Company had no accurate map of its own island, one of the very gaps his unfinished coastal survey was meant to fill. The south-east wind explains the layout of the defences discussed on 13 August 1765. With the windward two-thirds of the coast closed by surf, a hostile landing could only come on the sheltered leeward side, where James Bay and Rupert's Bay lie. That is why the Line across James Valley, the batteries at Banks's and the proposed mortar battery commanding both bays carried so much weight in the Council's discussion. Nature had already narrowed the island's exposure to a short stretch of coast, and the works were concentrated there. Mitchell's objection to the local word "valley" was more than pedantry. The term suggested open, level ground that troops could march up, when the reality was a narrow ravine with a difficult climb at its head. By insisting on the distinction, he was correcting an impression that might lead the Directors in London to overestimate the island's vulnerability and spend money on works the terrain made unnecessary.

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37	32	16th September Remarks, I shall here describe them once for all, by saying, that they are no other than the Intervals between the different Ranges of Mountains, which, running in Directions nearly parallel to each other and perpendicular to the Coast, generally unite near the Center of the Island. These Gullies or if you please to call them Bottoms, most of which are extremely narrow and remarkably rugged, seem formed by Nature with no other Intention than to carry off those Torrents, which precipitate themselves from the interior Parts of the Island; And taking their Rise (as I have already observed) near the Center, terminate towards the Coast in Breaches of various Dimensions where an Enemy, if not opposed, might disembark without much Difficulty. I have already remarked that the opposite Coasts of this Island are distinguished by the Names of Windward and Leeward, on Account of the Wind blowing constantly from the same Quarter: The former of these may be said to comprehend all the Eastward Coast of the Island, lying between the Rocks called the Needles and Sugar Loaf Point. I say, may be said to comprehend, because tho the Wind does not blow directly upon every Part of that Coast, yet the whole is very considerably affected by it, and is seldom without such a surf as would deter an Enemy from any Attempt towards Landing in this Quarter of the Island On this Account it will be the less necessary to be very particular in my Observations, relative to this Part of the Coast, and in Fact (Sandy Bay excepted, in Regard to which as it has a extensive Beach, and is sometimes Sheltered from the Surf by the two Points of Land which form the Bay, I shall be very particular in my Remarks, and have accordingly annexed a Plan of it) there are no Gullies or Bays in this Part of the Island which can properly be called practicable, For tho a few of them have Beaches **Margin Notes:** (Vallies) Windward Leeward Sides Windward Side	Mitchell defined the valleys once and for all as the gaps between the island's ridges of high ground. These ridges ran roughly parallel to one another and at right angles to the coast, and most of them met near the centre of the island. He described the gullies, which could also be called bottoms, as mostly very narrow and exceptionally rough. In his view they seemed shaped by nature purely to drain away the torrents that rushed down from the island's interior. Each began near the centre and ran out to the coast in an opening of some width. At these openings an enemy facing no resistance could come ashore without much trouble. The two sides of the island were known as windward and leeward, because the wind always blew from the same direction. Mitchell placed the windward coast along the whole eastern side, between the rocks known as the Needles and Sugar Loaf Point. He chose his wording carefully, since the wind did not strike every part of that coast head-on. Even so, the whole stretch felt its effects, and the surf there was nearly always heavy enough to discourage any attempt at a landing. For that reason Mitchell saw little need to describe this coast in detail. Sandy Bay was the one exception. The bay was fairly wide, and at times the two headlands enclosing it sheltered it from the surf, so he promised a full account and attached a plan of it. Otherwise, he maintained, no gully or bay on the windward side could truly be called fit for a landing. He then began to qualify that point with regard to a few of them. **Interpretations** Mitchell's treatment of Sandy Bay explains why the Council, on 13 August 1765, singled it out as the most defenceless spot on the island. Lying on the windward coast, it should in principle have been protected by the surf like the rest of that shore. Its width and the shelter given by its two headlands meant that on calmer days the surf could drop enough for boats to land. A bay that was usually safe but occasionally open was a particular danger, since a garrison accustomed to trusting the surf might leave it lightly guarded on exactly the day an enemy could get ashore. His description of how the valleys formed was really an account of where an enemy could land. Each gully that drained the interior also cut a break through the cliffs, so the island's water courses and its weak points were one and the same. Understanding the pattern of ridges and gullies allowed the engineer to predict every possible landing place from the shape of the land, rather than having to find them one by one from the sea.
38	33	1765 Breaches, wherein very smooth Weather, [...], Troops might possibly be able to land; yet the Difficulties to be surmounted before an Enemy could get into the Country are so very great, that I apprehend nothing less than an absolute negligence and Supineness in the Garrison could ever endanger the Island from any Attempt made in this Quarter.	A few of the windward gullies were wide enough that troops might perhaps get ashore in exceptionally calm weather. Even so, Mitchell judged that an enemy would face such obstacles in climbing inland that only complete carelessness and idleness on the part of the garrison could put the island at risk from that side. He then turned to the leeward coast, which ran westward from Sugar Loaf Point to the Needles. He divided it into two stretches. The first lay between Sugar Loaf Point and Horse Pasture Point, and the second ran from Horse Pasture Point to the Needles. The first stretch held the anchorage where the Company's ships lay, the main fortification of James

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		I come now to speak of that Division of the Coast denominated the Leeward, which, from what has been said, contains that Part of the Shore lying between Sugar Loaf Point and the Needles to the Westward. This may be again subdivided into two Parts. One containing the Coast between Sugar Loaf and Horse-Pasture Points, and the other comprehending the Shore between this last and the Needles. As the former of these contains the Road where the Company's Ships come to Anchor, The principal Fortification called James's Fort which is likewise the Capital of the Island, and all the principal Defences and Works of any Consequence (Sandy Bay excepted) I shall therefore confine my Remarks chiefly to this Part of the Coast, for which Purpose I have annexed a particular Plan of it, laid down from an exact Survey taken by myself, in which are delineated all the Batteries constructed for its Defence with the Number and Direction of the Guns mounted on each Battery, and annexed to it are Plans of the two principal Batteries which I apprehend it will be necessary to construct anew. As these Plans are drawn with no other intention than to illustrate the Remarks which accompany them, and to enable the Reader to form a just Idea of the Defences of those Parts of the Coast they represent, I have therefore been only attentive to this single Object without endeavouring at that Elegance and Ornament, which in these Sorts of Drawings are of no real Use, and of which **Margin Notes:** Leeward Side	Fort, which also served as the island's capital, and every defensive work of any importance apart from Sandy Bay. Mitchell therefore concentrated his remarks on this part of the coast. He attached a detailed plan of it, drawn from a careful survey he carried out himself. The plan showed every battery built to defend the shore, with the number of guns on each and the direction in which they pointed. Plans of the two main batteries that he believed would need complete rebuilding were attached to it. Mitchell explained that his plans served only to illustrate his remarks and to give readers an accurate picture of the defences they showed. He had kept strictly to that purpose. He had therefore made no attempt at the decorative finish common in such drawings, which he regarded as serving no real purpose. **Interpretations** Military plans of the period were often finished as display pieces, with washes of colour, ornamented cartouches and elaborate lettering, partly to impress the patrons who received them. Mitchell deliberately set that convention aside. His drawings were working documents meant to let the Directors in London judge the defences and the cost of improving them, and ornament would only have delayed their completion. Coming from an engineer who had arrived recently and still lacked the time and boat to finish his coastal survey, the choice also reflects the pressure to send usable information home quickly. The two batteries Mitchell proposed to rebuild from the ground up connect with the Council's verdict on 13 August 1765. The councillors then described the island's batteries as so weakly built that repairing them was essential. Mitchell's plans gave that judgement its practical form, singling out the two works whose weakness was beyond patching. Mitchell placed the real risk on the windward side not in the terrain but in the garrison's alertness. The cliffs and surf did the work of defence there, provided the soldiers kept watch. That reasoning underlies the island's system of lookouts and alarm guns, seen in the artillery accounts, which turned out the garrison whenever a sail approached.
39	34	16th September I must confess myself in a great Measure incapable, from the little Practice I have had in things of this Sort, for these Eight Years past, during which time I chiefly acted in the Capacity of an Artillery Officer Before I enter upon a particular Detail of the several Batteries, it will be necessary to say something relative to the manner in which all Ships bound here are obliged to make the Island, But more particularly of the Course they must steer in Order to get an Anchor in the Road: As upon this last Circumstance the Disposition of the principal Batteries chiefly depends It is universally known that all Vessels bound to this Island take Care, by the Time they arrive in its Latitude, to be considerably to Windward of it; In which case, by steering afterwards a West Course, they can hardly fail falling in with it. When they get sight of the Island they then direct their Course towards the	Mitchell admitted that he was largely out of practice in that kind of fine draughtsmanship. For the previous eight years he had served mainly as an artillery officer. Before going through the batteries one by one, he explained how ships bound for St Helena had to approach the island, and especially the route they took to reach the anchorage. The placing of the main batteries depended above all on that route. Every ship heading for the island made sure to be well to the east of it by the time it reached the island's latitude. By then sailing due west, a ship could hardly miss it. Once the island was in sight, the ship steered for its north-eastern end and came round Sugar Loaf Point to reach the anchorage. Mitchell explained why no ship came the other way, round the south-western end. After passing the Needles, a vessel would be thrown about by sudden gusts blowing in every direction out of the valleys along that shore. It could make no headway unless it stood well out to sea to find the steady wind. Even then, working into the anchorage would be very hard, since on the sheltered side of the island the wind rarely held the same direction for five minutes, blowing first from one valley and then from another. An enemy taking that route would also have to beat slowly in under a great number of guns, which would sweep its decks from end to end.

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		North East End of it, in Order to proceed to the Road by the Way of Sugar Loaf Point: for should they attempt to come round the South West End of the Island, they would find themselves, after passing the Needles, so much baffled by the different Flaws of Wind issuing in all Directions from the several Vallies as they pass along, as would render it impossible for them to proceed, unless they stood off to a considerable Distance from the Island, in Order to get the true Wind. And even then they would find it extremely difficult to Work into the Road, as the Wind to Leeward of the Island seldom blows for five Minutes together in the same Direction, sometimes coming out of one Valley, sometimes another: Besides it is to be considered that an Enemy would by this Means have to work in, in the Face of a great Number of Guns that would not fail to rake them. And if, after coming on the Road and **Margin Notes:** Course taken by Ships	**Interpretations** The method of approach Mitchell described was known as running down the latitude. Before reliable means of finding longitude at sea were in general use, a navigator could fix his latitude accurately from the sun but not his east-west position. Ships bound for so small an island therefore aimed to reach its latitude deliberately well to the east, then sailed due west along that line until it appeared. Because the prevailing wind blew from the south-east, this also kept them to windward, so they could run down to the island with the wind behind them rather than struggle against it. The approach dictated the whole design of the defences. Every ship, friend or enemy, had to come round Sugar Loaf Point and run along the north-eastern stretch of coast to reach the road. That is why the batteries at Banks's and Rupert's, and the mortar battery proposed to cover both Rupert's Bay and James Bay, sat where they did. The island's guns did not need to cover the whole leeward shore, only the single channel that wind and navigation forced every vessel to use. Mitchell's eight years as an artillery officer explain why he signed the gunner's monthly accounts as well as the engineer's report. The artillery account for August 1765, approved on 9 September 1765, bore his name. The Company had placed both the island's guns and its fortifications in the hands of one man whose training lay chiefly in gunnery.
40	35	1765 and perhaps within less than a Mile of the Shore, they found themselves obliged to warp in the rest of the way, they would certainly find this impracticable, on Account of the constant and excessive Fire they would be exposed to from the different Batteries on Shore, as will evidently appear from the Plan. It must nevertheless be observed that the such a Wind as would enable a Vessell or Vessels to come into the Road by the South West End of the Island be very rare in this Latitude, yet Westerly Winds have been known to prevail here for a Week together, But as they seldom occur oftner than Once in Five or Six Months, and as their Duration is often Momentary and always very precarious, it would be by much too great an Uncertainty for an Enemy, after a long Voyage, to wait here in hopes of so very precarious an Event. From what has been said it will appear that there is no other certain Way of arriving at the Road, but by coming round the North East End of the Island And even then if Ships, after doubling Sugar Loaf Point, where the true Wind generally leaves them, and the Eddies commence, do not keep close under the Shore all the way between that and the Road, they run no small Hazard of being blown entirely off the Bank, or at best be forced to come to an Anchor at so great a Distance from the Shore as, if an Enemy, would oblige them to warp in a considerable Way before they could do	Even if an enemy ship came round the south-western end and reached within a mile of the shore, it would then have to warp itself in for the rest of the distance. Mitchell was certain this would fail, because the vessel would face heavy and unbroken fire from the shore batteries the whole time. His plan, he noted, made this plain. He acknowledged that winds of the kind that would carry a ship into the anchorage from the south-west, though very rare in those latitudes, did sometimes blow from the west for a week at a stretch. Such winds came perhaps once in five or six months, however. They often died away almost at once and could never be relied upon. An enemy arriving after a long voyage could not afford to wait offshore on the chance of so uncertain an event. The only dependable way into the anchorage was therefore round the north-eastern end of the island. Even on that route, the steady wind usually dropped away once a ship rounded Sugar Loaf Point, leaving only eddies. A vessel that failed to keep close inshore all the way from the point to the anchorage risked being carried clean off the bank. At best it would have to anchor so far out that an enemy would have to warp a long way in before its guns could harm the shore batteries. Mitchell repeated his view that this could not be done. Ships had no choice but to keep tight under the cliffs between Sugar Loaf Point and the anchorage. This gave the island an enormous advantage against an attacker. Each ship would pass along the whole line of batteries, under fire from one after another, and Mitchell doubted that any number of ships could survive it. **Interpretations** Warping was the method of moving a ship when the wind would not serve. The crew rowed a small anchor out ahead in a boat, dropped it, and then hauled the ship up to it by heaving on the cable, repeating the process over and over. It was slow, exhausting work, and a ship being warped could neither manoeuvre nor bring its broadside to bear freely. Under the fire of shore batteries it would be almost helpless, which is

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		any Injury to the Batteries on Shore, which, as I before observed, I apprehend would be wholly impracticable. This Circumstance of being obliged to hug the Shore between Sugar Loaf Point and the Road, gives the Island a prodigious Advantage over an Enemy that should attempt this Road, as they would by this Means be exposed to such a Continued and multiplied Fire from the different Batteries as they passed along, as hardly any Number of Ships would be able to overcome	why Mitchell regarded an attack that depended on warping as hopeless. The bank was the shelf of shallower water off the leeward coast where a ship's anchor could reach the bottom and hold. Beyond its edge the sea fell away too deep for anchoring, so a ship blown off the bank could not stop at all and would drift out to sea, perhaps unable to regain the island against the wind for days. The narrowness of this anchoring ground was itself a defence, since it confined any attacker to a small area already covered by the guns. Mitchell's dismissal of the westerly winds turned on the position of an attacking fleet rather than on seamanship alone. Ships arriving after months at sea would be short of water and fresh food and often carrying sick men. Waiting offshore for a wind that might come in five or six months, and might last only moments, was out of the question.
41	36	16th September This will sufficiently appear from the annexed Plan, where the Dotted Line points out the Ordinary Track of Ships in their approach to the Road, and the Red Lines crossing each other serve to show the Direction of every Gun mounted on the several Batteries along the Coast Having now premised what I had to say on this Part of my Subject, I shall next descend to a particular Description of Each respective Battery, and beginning with Banks's upper Battery on the right, shall enumerate their several Advantages and Defects, and propose such Repairs and Additions as I apprehend will be necessary to compleat the whole Banks's upper Battery is situated about Two hundred Yards distant from Sugar Loaf Point, and is built upon the edge of a Rock about Sixty feet above the Level of the Sea, It has at Present Six Nine Pounders Guns mounted on it and enjoys great advantages in Point of situation on account of its Vicinity to the above mentioned Point, where Ships in coming round are obliged to luff up close under the Land, and must consequently pass directly under the Front of this Battery: It likewise commands the Entrance into Ruperts Bay, and in some Measure the whole Coast between Sugar Loaf Point and the Road. With all these Advantages of situation, it has been constructed so very weakly, having but a very thin and unsubstantial Revetment, & that too built entirely with Dirt Mortar, that I am thoroughly persuaded even the very firing of the Guns now mounted on it, small as they are, would soon bring it Down. I am therefore of opinion it will be necessary to pull it intirely down, and in the Room of it I would propose to construct another after the Model contained on Plan 1; which in point of Dimensions is as large and mounts as many Guns as the Extent **Margin Notes:** Banks's upper Battery	The attached plan showed this clearly. A dotted line traced the usual course ships followed into the anchorage, and red lines crossing one another marked the direction in which every gun along the coast was pointed. With that part of his subject complete, Mitchell moved on to describe each battery in turn. He began with the upper battery at Banks's, on the right of the line, and intended to set out the strengths and weaknesses of each before proposing the repairs and additions needed to complete the defences. The upper battery at Banks's stood about 200 yards from Sugar Loaf Point, built on the lip of a rock some 60 feet above the sea. Six 9-pounder guns were mounted on it. Its position gave it great advantages, since ships rounding the point had to turn up close under the land and so passed directly beneath its guns. It also covered the entrance to Rupert's Bay and, to some extent, the whole coast between Sugar Loaf Point and the anchorage. For all these advantages of position, the battery itself was very poorly built. Its retaining wall was thin and flimsy, and the masonry was bound only with mud rather than proper lime mortar. Mitchell was convinced that the shock of firing its own guns, light as they were, would soon shake it to pieces. He therefore advised demolishing the battery completely. In its place he proposed a new one built to the design shown in Plan 1. **Interpretations** Mitchell rejected the obvious course of repairing a battery that already stood on the best site on the coast. The fault lay not in damage that could be patched but in how the work was built from the start. A revetment was the wall of stone or brick that held up the face of an earthen rampart, and his was bound with mud, which washed out and crumbled under vibration. No amount of patching could make such a structure strong enough to carry guns in action, so the only remedy was to clear it away and begin again on the same spot. The mud mortar explains why gunpowder kept appearing in the artillery accounts for blasting limestone. Powder was issued to the mason for this purpose at West Rocks in July 1765 and three more times in August 1765, as recorded in the accounts approved on 12 August and 9 September 1765. Burnt limestone produced the lime needed for true mortar. Without a local supply, earlier builders had made do with mud, and the island's weak batteries were the result. The quarrying under way in 1765 was laying the foundation for the stronger works Mitchell now proposed. To luff up was to steer a ship's head closer into the wind. Rounding Sugar Loaf Point, a vessel had to turn sharply in towards the land to keep the shelter of the shore and stay on the bank. That forced turn slowed it

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			at exactly the moment it passed under the upper battery at Banks's, which made the site so valuable.
42	37	1765 Extent of the Rock will admit of, & instead of the Nine Pounders mounted at present on the Battery, which are by much too small to do any considerable Execution against Shipping, I would have eighteen Pounders. The other Alterations will sufficiently appear from the Plan and Section annexed to it. I shall therefore only observe in general, that the Merlons, in the Battery I propose to construct, are some feet thick instead of three only as they are at present, with this further Difference that instead of being composed wholly of Stone as they are at present, I propose to have them faced only with Brick, and the interior Part, filled up with a Composition of Earth, Sand and a little Lime, which when properly mixed will adhere very strongly, and in case of being battered by Shipping, will render the Battery much safer and more tenable than in the other Way, since it is well known that the Splinters which the Enemy's Shott drive from the Stones (especially that sort of them which is most common on this Island) often do more Mischief to those on that Battery than the Shott themselves I am the rather induced to take this Method, as I have Reason to believe, from the Nature of the Clay, that excellent Bricks may be made on this Island, which I am now endeavouring to accomplish, and if I succeed, will prove a general Benefit to the Island and particularly to the Company Almost under the upper Battery stands Banks's lower Battery, which is built on the Beach with which a Gulley extending about Three Miles into the Country is terminated towards the Sea. On this Battery are mounted Two Thirty two and Two Eighteen Pounders, which sufficiently protect the Beach, & would very much gall an Enemy after having passed the upper Battery all the way to the Road, Its Situation too is such and it is so well protected by the upper Battery & by that on Mundens Point, as would render it very difficult for Ships to bring their Broadsides to bear against it. **Margin Notes:** Banks's lower Battery	The new upper battery at Banks's was to be as large, and to carry as many guns, as the rock would allow. Mitchell also wanted its present 9-pounders replaced with 18-pounders, since the smaller guns were far too light to do serious damage to ships. The rest of the changes were shown in the plan and cross-section attached. He drew attention to one general feature of his design. The merlons of the new battery would be 9 feet thick rather than the present 3 feet. They would also be built differently. Instead of solid stone, they would have only a facing of brick, with the core packed with a mixture of earth, sand and a little lime. Mitchell explained that this blend bound together very firmly when properly mixed. Under bombardment from ships, it would make the battery much safer to hold than solid stone. Everyone knew that the fragments of stone knocked loose by enemy shot often did more harm to the gunners than the shot itself, especially with the kind of stone most common on the island. Mitchell had a further reason for preferring this method. The clay on the island led him to believe that excellent bricks could be made there, and he was already working to produce them. If he succeeded, the island as a whole would benefit, and the Company in particular. Almost directly beneath the upper battery stood the lower battery at Banks's. It was built on the beach at the seaward end of a gully that ran about 3 miles inland. Two 32-pounders and five 18-pounders were mounted on it, which gave the beach ample protection. These guns could also harass an enemy for the whole distance from the upper battery to the anchorage. The lower battery was so placed, and so well covered by the upper battery and by the battery on Munden's Point, that ships would find it very hard to turn their broadsides against it. **Interpretations** Mitchell turned away from the obvious material for the new merlons, the solid stone used in the existing battery and readily available on the island. Merlons were the solid sections of a parapet between the gun openings, shielding the gunners as they worked. Stone looked strong, but when struck by a cannon ball it shattered into flying fragments that killed and maimed the men behind it. An earth core faced with brick absorbed shot instead, the ball burying itself in the soft fill without throwing out splinters. The local stone, which he singled out as especially prone to this, made the choice all the more pressing on St Helena. The brick-making Mitchell was attempting would free the Company from a costly dependence on imports. Bricks shipped from England took up valuable cargo space and arrived at great expense, so an island supply would cut the cost of every future work. Taken together with the limestone being quarried for mortar in July and August 1765, his efforts show the engineer trying to build the island's defences from its own materials rather than from goods carried thousands of miles by sea. The change from 9-pounders to 18-pounders reflected the work the battery had to do. A 9-pound ball could do little against the thick oak sides of a large warship, whereas an 18-pounder could smash through them. The upper battery at Banks's was the first that every ship passed at close range, so Mitchell wanted guns there heavy enough to cripple a vessel rather than merely annoy it.
43	38	16th September The Masonry of this Battery is tolerably substantial, but by a	The masonry of the lower battery at Banks's was reasonably solid. However, the channel built beneath it to carry off the floods that poured down the gully had been badly designed, and part of the battery had

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		mistake in constructing the Passage which serves to carry off the great Quantities of Water which come down this Gully in Torrents under the Battery, some part of it has been greatly damaged: This I have already pulled down and am now constructing an Arch & Water passage considerably wider and stronger than the former; by which Means this Battery will be effectually secured against any future Injuries of this Sort. The Platforms too of this Battery, as indeed of every other on the Island, having been laid without any seeming regard either to Dimensions or Slope, must be taken up and new laid. The whole must be new pointed and a proper Banquette Made, the Use of which they do not seem to have known here. Next to this Battery follows Ruperts Line, which serves to defend a Bay and Valley of the same Name, and has mounted on it the following Pieces of Ordnance vizt. 32 Pounrs. 8 24 Do. 1 12 Do. 4 9 Do. 15 Total 28 The whole Line has a Ditch before it Eighteen Feet wide and Ten Deep, with a Glacis or rather Counterscarp, for the Slope of the former is left unfinished. As this Work has been built at different Times & by People apparently ignorant of the fundamental Rules in constructing Defences, it is therefore irregular; yet as it is well Flanked, has a Ditch and Glacis to protect the Revettment & is besides extremely well covered by Banks's two Batteries and by Mundens, I think it may be made sufficient for the Defence of this Valley, without any very considerable Alterations. **Margin Notes:** Ruperts	suffered serious damage as a result. Mitchell had already pulled down the faulty section. He was now building a new arched culvert, much wider and stronger than the old one, which would protect the battery from any such damage in future. The gun platforms there, as on every other battery on the island, had been laid with no apparent attention to their size or slope. Mitchell judged that all of them had to be lifted and relaid. The whole battery also needed repointing, and a proper firing step had to be built, since islanders seemed never to have learnt its purpose. Next in line came Rupert's Line, which guarded the bay and valley of that name. Its guns were listed as follows. 32-pounders, 5 guns 24-pounders, 1 gun 12-pounders, 4 guns 9-pounders, 13 guns Total, 23 guns A ditch 18 feet wide and 10 feet deep ran along the whole front of the Line. Beyond it lay an outer slope, which Mitchell thought better described as a counterscarp, because its sloping face had never been completed. The Line had been put up piecemeal over the years by builders who evidently knew nothing of the basic principles of fortification, and it was irregular as a result. Even so, it had good flanking fire, a ditch and outer slope that shielded its walls, and strong cover from the two batteries at Banks's and the one at Munden's. Mitchell therefore believed it could be made fit to defend the valley without any major changes. **Interpretations** Rupert's Line was badly designed, and an engineer trained in the rules of fortification might have been expected to recommend rebuilding it properly. Mitchell chose to leave it largely as it stood. The difference from his verdict on the upper battery at Banks's, which he wanted demolished, lay in what each work had to do. The upper battery faced ships directly and had to withstand their fire, so flimsy construction made it useless. Rupert's Line sat behind the guns of Banks's and Munden's, which would engage an enemy first, and its faults of layout mattered less when it was already shielded. Irregular but serviceable was good enough where other works carried the main burden. Several of the faults Mitchell listed concerned the practical handling of guns. A platform was the floor of timber or stone on which a gun carriage stood, laid with a slight slope so that the gun ran back on firing and could be pushed forward again with little effort. A badly laid platform made every shot slow and laborious. A banquette was a raised step behind a parapet, allowing soldiers to stand and fire over it with muskets. Repointing meant raking out decayed mortar from the joints of the masonry and filling them afresh. The damage done by flood water confirms Mitchell's earlier description of the gullies as channels made by nature to carry torrents from the interior to the sea. The lower battery at Banks's stood squarely at the mouth of one such gully, about 3 miles long. Building a fortification across a water course without allowing enough room for the floods meant the battery was undermined by the very feature that made the beach a landing place.
44	39	1765 The Embrasures which are at present vilely constructed, will require a thorough Change: The Glacis may be much improved and a good Banquette formed behind the Parapet, which here, as at all the other Works, has been totally neglected.	Rupert's Line still needed several improvements. Its gun openings were wretchedly built and had to be completely remade. The outer slope could be greatly improved, and a proper firing step had to be built behind the parapet, a feature neglected here as at every other work on the island. Chubb's Rock stood on the western side of Rupert's Bay. A Mr Hutchinson, in remarks he had submitted to the Court of Directors on the island's

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		On the West side of Ruperts Bay is situated Chubbs Rock, where Mr. Hutchinson, in the Remarks he gave in to the Court of Directors relative to the Fortifications of this Island, gives it as his opinion a Small Battery ought to be built, in Order to annoy Ships as they approach the Road, for which its Situation is extremely well adapted. Tho' I agree with him intirely in Regard to the Advantage of the situation, yet as I apprehend the End he proposes by it will be sufficiently answered by the Batteries already constructed, and those that are proposed to be so at Banks's and Mundens, I must therefore give my opinion against the Necessity of constructing any additional Battery at this Place Munden's Battery which comes next in Order is situated upon a Point of Land projecting considerably beyond the Line of the Coast, it has therefore a very extensive Command on both sides; It stands almost perpendicularly over the Sea, about Eighty Feet above the Level of the Water, and has mounted on it One Thirty two, and Thirteen Nine Pounders This Battery is certainly the most advantageous and important placed in Situation of any on the whole Island: It is nearly Central with Respect to the Batteries on this Part of the Coast, (which are almost the only Ones of consequence on the Island) every one of which it in some Degree covers: Its own situation, on Account of its Height above the Sea, secures it in a great Measure from being batter'd by Shipping, and it not only commands the whole Coast to the Eastward as far as the Sugar Loaf, but likewise serves to protect the Road, to flank the Line in James's Valley and to range the whole Coast to the Westward as far as the Guns will reach **Margin Notes:** Chubb's Mundens	fortifications, had recommended building a small battery there to harass ships as they approached the anchorage. Mitchell fully agreed that the site was well suited to that purpose. He believed, however, that the batteries already in place and those proposed for Banks's and Munden's would achieve the same result. He therefore advised against building any further battery at Chubb's Rock. Munden's battery came next. It stood on a point of land jutting well out beyond the line of the coast, which gave its guns a very wide field of fire on either side. Perched almost sheer above the sea at a height of about 80 feet, it carried one 32-pounder and sixteen 9-pounders. Mitchell considered Munden's the best and most important position on the entire island. It lay roughly in the middle of the batteries along this stretch of coast, which were almost the only ones of any significance, and gave each of them some protection. Its height above the sea largely shielded it from bombardment by ships. Its guns covered the whole coast eastward as far as Sugar Loaf Point. They also protected the anchorage, swept the front of the Line in James Valley and reached along the coast to the west as far as their range allowed. **Interpretations** Hutchinson's proposal for Chubb's Rock was already before the Directors, and the easy course for Mitchell would have been to endorse a recommendation they had received from an earlier adviser. He conceded that the site was well chosen but still argued against building there. His reason followed the principle he gave the Council on 13 August 1765, when he warned that multiplying works would only divide the garrison. Every additional battery needed guns, stores and men to serve it, drawn from a small and fixed establishment. If Banks's and Munden's already covered the approach, a battery at Chubb's Rock would spread the defenders more thinly without adding real strength. The reference to Hutchinson shows how the Company gathered advice on distant fortifications. Engineers and officers sent their remarks directly to London, where the Directors could compare one report against another. Mitchell wrote knowing his opinions would be read alongside his predecessor's, which is why he addressed Hutchinson's proposal openly rather than passing over it in silence. Embrasures were the openings cut through a parapet for guns to fire through. Their shape mattered greatly, since a poorly angled embrasure restricted how far a gun could traverse and funnelled enemy shot towards the crew. Calling those at Rupert's Line vilely built meant they hampered the guns behind them as much as they protected them.
45	40	16th September As to what regards the present condition of this Battery I must not only agree with Mr. Hutchinson who thinks that as it stands on a Shiving Rock it may have some Defects, but must add that it appears to me to be so very defective and weakly constructed as not to be able to withstand the shock of its own Guns, much less those of an Enemy. In a Word, what I have already said in Respect to Banks's upper Battery, will hold equally good in Regard to this, nor do I apprehend it can any otherwise be improved than by pulling down the whole & building a new One in the same Place For this Purpose I have given a Plan of the Battery I	Mitchell agreed with Mr Hutchinson that Munden's battery probably had faults, since it was built on crumbling rock. He went further, however. In his judgement the battery was so poorly and flimsily built that it could not stand the shock of firing its own guns, let alone an enemy's. Everything he had said about the upper battery at Banks's applied equally here. He saw no way to improve it except by demolishing it entirely and building a new one on the same site. He had supplied a plan and cross-section of the replacement battery. Its layout differed from the old one mainly in having two more gun openings on the right, facing Banks's, and one more gun on the left. For the reason he had given in discussing Banks's, he wanted every gun to be an 18-pounder. The scale attached to the plan showed the size of each part, all far more solid than in the existing work. Built this way, the battery would match the importance of its site and become the most valuable on the island.

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		would propose to construct with Section, which in Point of Form differs chiefly from the former One by having Two more Embrasures on the right fronting Banks's and an additional Gun on the Left, all of which I would have to be Eighteen Pounders, for the Reason I have already given when speaking of Banks's. The Scale annexed to the Plan will shew the Dimensions of the several Parts, which are beyond Comparison more substantial than the present, and would render this Battery itself, as its Situation certainly is, the most important and extensively usefull of any on the Island I shall here obviate an Objection that may be made against the two proposed Plans for Banks's and this place, which is, that the Guns appear to be so much crowded as not to admit of sufficient Room for their recoiling clear of each other. This was owing to the confined Dimensions of the two Points of Land on which they are proposed to be seated which on my first survey did not appear to admit of the smallest Prolongation of any of the Faces but since drawing these Plans I have measured their extent more accurately and find they will both admit of being so far enlarged as to prevent the Platforms from interfering with each other, which I apprehend will be sufficient. **Margin Notes:** Mundens	Mitchell then dealt with a likely objection to both his designs for Banks's and Munden's. The guns appeared packed so tightly that they might not have room to recoil without striking one another. The cramped size of the two headlands caused this, since on his first survey neither seemed to allow any of the battery faces to be lengthened at all. After drawing the plans, however, he measured the ground more carefully. He found that both sites could be widened just enough to keep the gun platforms from overlapping, which he believed would be sufficient. **Interpretations** A cannon on a wheeled carriage leapt back several feet each time it fired, held only by heavy breeching ropes. Each gun therefore needed its own clear platform behind the embrasure, wide enough for the recoil and for the crew to sponge, reload and run it forward again. Guns set too close together would collide or foul each other's ropes, and the crews would get in each other's way. Mitchell's objection to his own plans was a real one, and he answered it by remeasuring the ground rather than by reducing the number of guns. Mitchell opened his verdict on Munden's by agreeing with Hutchinson before going further than him. Having just rejected Hutchinson's proposal for Chubb's Rock, he now showed the Directors that his differences with his predecessor were not a matter of course. Where Hutchinson had seen only possible defects, Mitchell found a battery unfit to fire its own guns. Building on an opinion the Directors had already received gave his harsher conclusion more weight than if he had stood alone. A shivering rock was one that split readily into flakes or slabs, the kind of loose, layered stone that broke away under weathering or vibration. Building on such a foundation was doubly dangerous for a battery, since the shock of gunfire loosened both the masonry and the rock beneath it. That explains why Mitchell treated the site and the structure together as reasons for rebuilding from the ground up.
46	41	1765 At a Consultation which was held by the Court of Directors relative to the Fortifications of this Place, at which I had the Honour of being present, I took the Liberty to express my Surprise that on an Island which could only be attacked by Shipping there was not to be found a single Mortar mounted on any of the Defences; which is the more remarkable, as this Species of Ordnance is infinitely more formidable to Vessels than Guns on Account of the greatness of their Execution and their extensive Range. In the Course of my survey I could be at no loss in fixing on the proper Spot for such a Battery, as this of Munden's by its Position which as I observed before is nearly in the Center of the most accessible Part of the Coast, & by its projecting beyond the other Points of Land offers every Advantage that can be wished for. In the separate Plan therefore, which I have given of Mundens, I have chosen a Situation about Eighty Feet above the Gun Battery, where I would propose to plant Three Thirteen Inch Mortars, having an Epaulement about Six feet high before them to protect	Mitchell recalled a meeting of the Court of Directors on the island's fortifications, which he had been honoured to attend. There he voiced his surprise that an island open to attack only from the sea had not a single mortar mounted in any of its defences. He found this all the more striking because mortars were far more dangerous to ships than ordinary guns, owing to the destruction they caused and the great distance they could reach. During his survey he had no difficulty choosing the right place for a mortar battery. Munden's, as he had already explained, lay close to the centre of the most exposed stretch of coast and jutted out beyond the other headlands. It offered every advantage he could want. His separate plan of Munden's therefore marked a site about 80 feet above the gun battery. There he proposed to mount three 13-inch mortars behind a protective bank of earth about 4 feet high, which would guard them against stray shot. Their height would prevent any ship from taking proper aim at them. With his remarks on Munden's complete, Mitchell turned to the works defending the anchorage and the island's capital in James Valley, which islanders commonly called simply the Valley. These defences consisted of two lines of guns, one behind the other, running right across the beach for about 250 yards. The outer line had a bastion on the right, a half bastion on the left, two very short stretches of curtain wall and a redan in the middle. A ditch ran along the whole of its front. **Interpretations**

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		them against Random Shott: Its lofty situation preventing its being regularly fired at. Having now finished my Remarks on this important Post, I proceed to give a Description of the Works constructed for the Defence of the Road, as well as of the Capital of the Island which stands in James's Valley, or as it is generally stiled by way of Preeminence the Valley. These Works consist of two Lines of Guns, one behind the other, extending quite across the Beach, which is about 250 Yards in Extent. The Exterior Line has a Bastion on the right, a Demi-Bastion on the left, two very short Curtains, and a Redan in the Center, the whole has a Ditch before it, terminated **Margin Notes:** Proposed Mortar Battery James Town Lines	Mitchell placed his mortars not alongside the guns at Munden's but on higher ground well above them. A mortar threw its shell in a high arc, so it needed no clear line of sight down to the water and could fire from a position ships could barely see. Raising the battery 80 feet above the guns put it beyond the reach of aimed fire from below, since a ship's guns could not be elevated far enough to hit it. That height allowed him to protect the mortars with a low bank of earth rather than a full parapet, saving labour and material on an island where both were scarce. This is the mortar battery the Council praised on 13 August 1765 for commanding both Rupert's Bay and James Bay. A 13-inch mortar was the heaviest kind in common service, a short, thick-walled piece that hurled a hollow iron shell filled with powder. The shell burst on or above its target, and a single hit could set a ship on fire or smash through its decks into the hold. Ships carried no comparable weapon of their own, which explains Mitchell's surprise that the island's defenders had never mounted one. Mitchell's account reveals that he came to St Helena with a brief already shaped in London. He had attended a meeting of the Court of Directors on the island's fortifications and raised the lack of mortars there before he ever saw the place. His recommendation was therefore not a fresh discovery but the fulfilment of a view he had put to the Directors in person, which gave it all the more chance of being approved. The name the Valley, used on its own for James Valley and the town within it, explains the wording of William Holbrook's petition of 26 August 1765. He asked for waste ground in "this valley" without naming it, because to islanders there was only one place meant by the term.
47	42	16th September terminated by a thick Wall which forms the Counterscarp. It serves to protect the Revettment from being injured by the Violence of the Surf, as well as covers it from the Fire of an Enemy. This Line has mounted on it the following Guns vizt. 32 Pound. 20 24 Do. 2 12 Do. 1 9 Do. 2 Total 25 On the right of the Line is a Gate and Draw Bridge which lead to the Landing Place The interior Line, which is raised about 18 Feet above the Level of the other, consists of a Curtain terminated at each Extremity by a half Bastion, & contains Embrasures for 50 Pieces of Cannon, but has only the following mounted on it vizt. 9 Pound. 7 6 Do. 7 4 Do. 4 3 Do. 1 2 Do. 19 Total 38 Behind the Center of the Line stands a small Square Fort	Close examination of the two ordnance tables.The ditch in front of the outer line ended in a thick wall forming its outer face. This wall shielded the main rampart from the battering of the surf and also screened it from enemy fire. The guns mounted on the outer line were as follows. 32-pounders, 20 guns 24-pounders, 2 guns 18-pounders, 1 gun 9-pounders, 2 guns Total, 25 guns A gate and drawbridge on the right of the line led through to the landing place. The inner line stood about 18 feet higher than the outer one. It consisted of a single curtain wall ending in a half bastion at each end. It had openings for 80 guns, but carried only the following. 9-pounders, 7 guns 6-pounders, 7 guns 4-pounders, 4 guns 3-pounders, 1 gun 2-pounders, 19 guns Total, 38 guns Behind the middle of the line stood a small square fort known as the Castle, which contained the Governor's residence. Mitchell judged it of no importance to the island's general defence. In his view it would be of use only if the slaves rose in revolt. Turning to the state and strength of these works, Mitchell began with the outer line. Its masonry appeared sound and well kept. The main rampart was very solid and was adequately shielded up to the level of its projecting top course by the thick outer wall of the ditch. The merlons were also very strong, standing 9 feet thick and built entirely of excellent masonry. **Interpretations** Mitchell's remark about the Castle reveals what the Company's own engineer regarded as one of the island's real dangers. The fort at the heart of James

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		called the Castle, in which is the Governors house: It is of no Consequence in Regard to the general Defence of the Island, and could only be serviceable in case of any Insurrection among the Slaves As to the present Condition and Solidity of these Works to begin with the Exterior Line, The Masonry seems to be strong and in good Repair. The Revettment, which is very Solid, is sufficiently protected as high as the Cordon by the thick Wall which forms the Counterscarp, and the Merlons are very substantial, being Nine Feet thick & all of very Solid and Good Masonry **Margin Notes:** Outer Line Upper Line The Fort Condition of Outer Line	Town contributed nothing against an attack from the sea, yet he saw a purpose for it as a refuge and stronghold if the slaves rose. Slaves formed a large part of the island's population, and the seat of government was built and kept as a place the Governor and garrison could hold against them. The defences of St Helena thus faced inward as well as outward, guarding the Company against the labour force on which the island depended as much as against foreign enemies. The inner line had openings for 80 guns but carried only 38, and half of those were 2-pounders, far too light to harm a ship. The artillery accounts help explain why so many small guns were kept there. In July and August 1765 nearly every salute to an arriving or departing ship was fired from 2-pounders, as the accounts approved on 12 August and 9 September 1765 show. The inner line, overlooking the anchorage from the town, was the natural place for saluting, and its many light guns probably served that ceremonial purpose more than any defensive one. The outer line already had merlons 9 feet thick, the same thickness Mitchell proposed for his rebuilt batteries at Banks's and Munden's. It was the one work on the island he found well built, and it gave him a working standard against which to measure the rest. The cordon was the rounded course of stone running along the top of a rampart's face, marking where the masonry wall ended and the parapet began.
48	43	1765 Masonry. The greatest Defect of this Line arises from its being constructed so near the Beach, as not to leave Room for having the Ditch of a proper Width, particularly before the Saliant Angles where it is extremely contracted, notwithstanding which the Wall of the Counterscarp in these places & particularly in Front of the Redan, is frequently damaged by the Violence of the Surf, which sometimes breaks quite over it. Upon the whole however I do not apprehend any other Alterations of this Line immediately necessary, besides new laying the Platforms & forming a proper Banquette. If when the more essential Works are compleated, a small Ravelin was constructed before the Gate or Sortie, it would strengthen this Part, which in its present Situation is I think rather exposed The Masonry of the interior Line is far inferior to that of the other, However I am of opinion that the Curtain, with the Addition of a new Parapet, may remain as it is at present. As to the two half Bastions at the Extremities of this Line, I believe they will require to be entirely rebuilt with this Alteration, that the one on the Left, instead of terminating as it does at present about Ten Yards from the Rock, should be continued quite up to it. The Embrasures on this Line are by far too much crowded, Instead of Fifty as there are at present, I would only have Thirty Platforms for Guns, which I think ought to be Nine Pounds for the Demi Bastns. and six Pounds for the Flanks and Curtain, Those mounted on both at present, besides being too small to do Execution	Mitchell regarded the outer line's chief weakness as its position too close to the beach. This left no room for a ditch of proper width, especially in front of the projecting point, where the ditch narrowed sharply. Despite that, the surf often damaged the outer wall of the ditch at those places, above all in front of the redan, and sometimes broke right over it. On the whole, however, he saw no need for other immediate changes to this line beyond relaying the gun platforms and building a proper firing step. Once the more pressing works were finished, a small detached outwork in front of the gate would strengthen that point, which he considered rather exposed as it stood. The masonry of the inner line was much poorer than that of the outer. Even so, Mitchell believed the curtain wall could be kept as it was, provided it received a new parapet. The two half bastions at either end would have to be completely rebuilt. He wanted the one on the left extended right up to the rock face, instead of stopping about 10 yards short of it as it did at present. The gun openings on the inner line were packed far too closely together. Mitchell proposed cutting their number from fifty to thirty. He wanted 9-pounders on the half bastions and 6-pounders on the flanks and the curtain. The guns now mounted there were too light to harm an enemy, and were also old and pitted with corrosion. As things stood, they were fit only for firing salutes. Three small, narrow gullies lay between James Valley and Lemon Valley, all marked on the plan. In one of them, the rocks at the seaward end would need to be cut back to a sheer face and then closed off with a wall. **Interpretations** Faced with a line pierced for fifty guns, most of them empty or filled with useless pieces, the obvious course was to fill every opening with serviceable cannon. Mitchell chose instead to reduce the number of openings to thirty. Crowded embrasures left too little room for each gun to recoil and be served, and each extra opening weakened the parapet around it. Fewer, better guns with space to work would deliver more effective fire than a long row of crowded ones. The same concern with crowding shaped his answer to the possible objection to his plans for Banks's and Munden's.

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		against an Enemy, are of themselves Old Honeycomb'd & can only be made Use of, as they are at present, in saluting. Between James's and Lemon Valley are three narrow and inconsiderable Gullies specified in the Plan, one of which will require to have the Rocks which terminate them, to the scarped & to be afterwards walled up **Margin Notes:** Condition of Inner Line Breaches openings of these Vallies	Honeycombed guns were cannon whose bores had become pitted and cavernous through rust and long use. Such a barrel could burst when fired with a full charge and ball, killing its own crew. Firing a blank salute needed only a light charge and placed far less strain on the metal, so worn-out guns could be kept for ceremonial use long after they were unsafe for action. Mitchell's verdict confirms that the many 2-pounders on the inner line, which fired nearly all the salutes recorded in the artillery accounts, were no longer weapons of war. Mitchell's report confirms the problem the Lieutenant Governor raised with him on 13 August 1765, when Corneille warned that the surf was washing away the outer wall of the ditch in front of the redan. Mitchell had replied that the wall could be strengthened without rebuilding the redan, and he repeats here that no immediate alteration was needed. A ravelin was a detached, wedge-shaped outwork built in front of a gate to shield it from direct attack. Scarping a rock meant cutting its face back to a sheer drop that no one could climb.
49	44	16th September The Battery for the Defence of Lemon Valley is mounted with six 6 Pounders. It is but a very poor Work, & will at least require to have its Front considerably enlarged, so as the Flanks may join the Hills on both Sides the Valley, & by that means inclose the whole, which will make Room for a few more Guns which ought to be 9 or 12 Pound. The Guns at present on it will serve for the two Flanks. I have now finished my Observations on that Part of the Coast contained in the first Plan, in which I have been the more particular, as this is naturally by much the most accessible part of the Island, & where almost all the Works of consequence have been erected What remains of the Leeward Coast, lying between Horse Pasture Point and the Needles, as the whole is inaccessible with Exception to a few inconsiderable Gullies, which can only require a single Wall for their Defence, I need say no more concerning it. There remains then only the Windward Division of the Island to be described, with regard to which I have already made some Remarks by which it will appear that there is little or no danger to be apprehended from any Attempt of an Enemy on this Part of the Coast, exclusive of Sandy Bay, of which I have annexed a Plan, & shall now particularly Describe. This Bay is situated towards the South End of the Island, is about Two hundred Yards across in the narrowest Part of it. It is terminated by an open sandy Beach which extends quite across the Bay. In the Plan I have given of it I have included not only the present Defences of this Bay, but likewise those additional Works I propose to construct there, which are to be distinguished from **Margin Notes:** Lemon Valley West Leeward Vallies	The battery defending Lemon Valley carried six 6-pounders. Mitchell judged it a very poor work. At the least, its front would have to be greatly extended so that its flanks reached the hills on either side of the valley and closed it off completely. That would make room for a few heavier guns, which he thought should be 9-pounders or 12-pounders. The guns already there could then be used on the two flanks. This completed his remarks on the stretch of coast shown in his first plan. He had gone into particular detail there because it was by far the most accessible part of the island by nature, and nearly all the important defences had been built along it. The rest of the leeward coast, between Horse Pasture Point and the Needles, was entirely impossible to land on apart from a few minor gullies. A single wall would be almost enough to defend any of them, so Mitchell had nothing further to add about that stretch. Only the windward side of the island now remained. His earlier remarks had already shown that an enemy could pose little or no danger there, with the single exception of Sandy Bay. He had attached a plan of the bay and now turned to describe it in detail. Sandy Bay lay towards the southern end of the island and measured about 200 yards across at its narrowest point. An open sandy beach ran the full width of its head. His plan of the bay showed both its existing defences and the additional works he proposed to build there, drawn so that the two could be told apart. **Interpretations** Mitchell's plan for Lemon Valley turned on extending the battery from hillside to hillside. A battery that stood in the middle of a valley mouth could be bypassed by troops landing on the beach and working round its ends, then attacking it from behind or simply marching inland past it. Joining its flanks to the slopes on either side made it a continuous barrier with no way round. That was the same principle he applied to the minor gullies further west, where a single wall across the mouth was enough to deny an enemy any path inland. He also found a use for the battery's existing 6-pounders rather than replacing them. Guns on the flanks fired along the face of the work at men already close to it, where range and weight of shot mattered far less than in firing out to sea. The light guns too weak to harm a ship were still effective against troops in the open at short distance. Placing them on the flanks and the heavier 9-pounders or 12-pounders in front matched each gun to the task it could actually perform.

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		Sandy Bay	
50	45	1765 from each other by the former being drawn with black and the latter with red Lines. The present Defences of this Bay consist of two Batteries; The One a very Old Work, situated on the right side of the Bay mounting three The other at the bottom of the Bay called from the name of the Builder Blunds Battery is mounted with four Pounders and two four Pounders. The remaining Part of the Bay, as well as two Inlets One on each Side of it, remains intirely Open With regard to the Battery on the right, tho it is a very Old Work yet as it stands very commodiously for flanking the Bay and as its Guns could not be easily dismounted by an Enemy, by reason of the Obliquity of their Fire, I therefore think it may be rendered very usefull. As to Blund's Battery, tho it must be allowed that (considering it in the Light of a distinct Battery, unconnected with any other & built to protect the Bay) a much more commanding situation might have been found; Yet as it is a new Work, & in good Repair, I have endeavoured so to contrive my Plan for compleating the Defence of this Bay, as to render it as usefull as possible. For this Purpose I propose (as may be seen in the Plan) to extend a Line from each of its Flanks, quite across the Bay, so as to inclose the whole: This Line will consist of a Revettment about Ten Feet high, having a narrow Rampart behind it, & a Ditch in Front of the same Breadth as the Rampart, with a Glacis sloping down to the Edge of the Beach. The two small inlets to the right and left of the Bay will be defended by a Wall and parapet for Musquetry I have preferred this Method of securing the whole to that of constructing separate Batteries, where the intermediate Spaces are left open, because I have had occasion (from my own Experience) to observe that Troops acting on the Defensive never behave with so much Coolness, Confidence & Intrepidity as when they know their Situation to be such as secures them from a Surprize or Sudden Assault from an Enemy. **Margin Notes:** [...]	The two were told apart by colour, with existing works drawn in black and proposed ones in red. Sandy Bay was defended at present by two batteries. One was a very old work on the right side of the bay, mounting three [...]. The other, at the head of the bay, was named Blund's battery after the man who built it and carried four [...]-pounders. The rest of the bay, together with two small inlets on either side of it, was completely unprotected. Mitchell considered the battery on the right well worth keeping despite its age. It was ideally placed to fire along the length of the bay. An enemy would also find its guns hard to knock out, because ships would be firing at it from a sharp angle. He believed it could be made very useful. Blund's battery presented a different case. Mitchell admitted that, judged as a stand-alone battery with no other work supporting it, a far better position could have been chosen. However, it was newly built and in good condition. He had therefore designed his plan for completing the bay's defences so as to make the best possible use of it. To that end he proposed, as the plan showed, to run a line from each of its flanks across the whole bay, closing it off entirely. The line would consist of a retaining wall about 10 feet high with a narrow rampart behind it. In front would run a ditch as wide as the rampart, with a gentle outer slope falling to the edge of the beach. The two small inlets on either side of the bay would be closed with a wall and a parapet for musket fire. Mitchell explained why he preferred one continuous line to a series of separate batteries with open ground between them. His own experience had taught him that troops on the defensive never fought with such calm, confidence and courage as when they knew their position was safe from surprise or a sudden rush. **Interpretations** The usual way to defend a bay was to place batteries at the best firing points and leave the ground between them open, since guns did the real work against ships. Mitchell chose to close the whole of Sandy Bay with a continuous line instead, and his reason lay not in engineering but in how soldiers behaved. Men posted in a detached battery knew an enemy could land in the gaps and come at them from the side or rear, and that fear weakened their resolve even before any attack. A closed line removed that anxiety, leaving the defenders free to concentrate on the enemy in front. For a garrison as small as St Helena's, where every man counted, the steadiness of the troops was worth the cost of the extra walling. Mitchell's treatment of Blund's battery shows him weighing the cost of what already existed against the ideal. Elsewhere he recommended demolishing the upper battery at Banks's and Munden's, but those were well sited and badly built. Blund's was the reverse, soundly built on a poor site. Rather than abandon a new work in good repair, he redesigned the defences around it so that the line extending from its flanks made up for the weakness of its position. The old battery on the right gained its value from the angle of fire. Ships attacking the bay would have to lie off its mouth, and from there a battery on the side of the bay presented only a narrow, oblique target that was hard to hit squarely. Its own guns, meanwhile, could sweep straight across the beach where an enemy would try to land.
51	46	16th September I propose to unite the various Torrents of Water which descend	Mitchell proposed to gather the various streams that flowed down into Sandy Bay from the interior and carry them in two channels. One would run beneath the line to the right of Blund's battery, where it would

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		into this Bay from the interior Parts of the Island, into two Channels: The one to pass under the Line to the Right of Blund's Battery, which will likewise serve as a Passage to the Old Battery, and the other under the Flanking Line on the left, both of them to be secured by Port-Cullises. The new Guard House will be secured from an Enemy's Fire by the Front of Blunds and the whole Bay (when the Work is compleated) put on an Equality in Point of Strength, with the other accessible Parts of the Island. I have now finished every thing I had to say respecting the Fortifications and Defences of this Island, which I have endeavoured to treat with that plainess and Perspicuity as may serve to give the Reader a just Idea of the present Defences of this Island, and to enable him to form some Judgement of the Propriety and Necessity of those Alterations and Additions I have proposed to make to them. I shall now say something relative to the principal Buildings military and civil which it will be necessary to construct as soon as the Fortifications are once compleated, Among the former the Powder Magazines claim the first place, of which there are several excellent Ones, & Bomb Proof already compleated in some of the different Batteries, nor will it be a Work either of much Difficulty or time to increase the Number of these where they be wanted, as the Rocks along the Coast of this Island are in general easily excavated, & being without Springs of Water for the most Part afford very dry and convenient Bomb Proofs for this Purpose. With Regard to the other military Storehouses, they are more wanted except at the Main Fort where some new ones of no great Extent will want to be constructed & the present Ones put in proper Repair. One or two Guard Rooms must likewise be built. **Margin Notes:** Sandy Bay Powder Magazines Store houses	also give access to the old battery. The other would run beneath the flanking line on the left. Each was to be closed by a portcullis. The front of Blund's battery would shield the new guardhouse from enemy fire. Once the work was finished, the whole bay would be as strong as any other part of the island where a landing was possible. This completed everything Mitchell had to say about the island's fortifications and defences. He had aimed to write plainly and clearly, so that readers could form an accurate picture of the defences as they stood. He also hoped they could judge for themselves whether the changes and additions he proposed were sound and necessary. He then turned to the main buildings, military and civil, that would need to be put up once the fortifications were complete. Among the military buildings, powder magazines came first. Several excellent ones, proof against bombardment, had already been built at some of the batteries. Adding more wherever they were needed would take little effort or time. The rock along the island's coast was generally easy to cut, and since most of it held no springs, chambers carved into it made dry, convenient and shell-proof stores for powder. As for other military storehouses, none were needed except at the main fort. There a few small new ones would have to be built and the existing ones put into good repair. One or two guardrooms would also be required. **Interpretations** The water channels at Sandy Bay show Mitchell applying a lesson learned elsewhere on the island. At the lower battery at Banks's, a badly built drain beneath the work had let floods damage the masonry, and he was already rebuilding it with a wider and stronger arch. At Sandy Bay he designed for the torrents from the start, gathering them into two planned channels rather than letting them find their own way under the new line. Every opening under a defensive wall was also a possible way through it, which is why each channel was to be closed with a portcullis, a heavy grating that let water pass but barred entry to men. A bomb-proof was a chamber with a roof thick enough to withstand mortar shells falling from above. Gunpowder had to be kept both dry and protected, since damp spoiled it and a single shell striking an exposed store could destroy a battery. Building such vaults in masonry was slow and costly. On St Helena the coastal rock offered a ready-made solution. A chamber cut into solid rock had a natural roof many feet thick, and because the rock held no springs, the powder stayed dry. Here again Mitchell turned the island's own materials and geology to account, as he had with its clay for bricks and its limestone for mortar.
52	47	1765 The Barracks for the Garrison which are at present too much confined must be enlarged & apartments made for the Officers, which were begun but left unfinished. With regard to the Storehouses which contain the Provisions for the Garrison & the Honble. Company's Stores, they are in the same Condition with most of the other public Buildings belonging to the Company, the greatest Part of which are in very bad Repair & will want to be thoroughly refitted, as soon as the other Works which are more immediately and essentially wanted are once compleated. I should think that when the hurry of the Works is once	The barracks were too cramped for the garrison and had to be enlarged. Quarters for the officers had been started there but never finished, and these too needed completing. The storehouses holding the garrison's provisions and the Company's goods were in the same state as most of the Company's public buildings, the greater part of which were in very poor repair. All of them would need a thorough overhaul once the more urgent and essential works were finished. Mitchell suggested that, when the rush of building had passed, one or two storehouses should be made proof against bombardment. These would serve as a safe store for the garrison's food and for the most valuable of the Company's goods. The Company's other main buildings were the Governor's residence within the fort, known as the Castle, his country residence called Plantation House, and the houses of the Company's servants. The Castle

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		over, if one or two Storehouses were made Bomb Proof, in order to serve as a Safe place for the Provisions of the Garrison & the most valuable of the Company's Stores, it would be a very proper Measure. The other principal Buildings belonging to the Company are the Governors house in the Fort, called the Castle, his house in the Country called the Plantation house, and the Houses of the Company's servants, of which the first and last have just undergone a thorough Repair. The Plantation house having been constructed on a bad Plan from the beginning, particularly having such Defects in the Roof as have hitherto from want indeed of taking proper Methods been thought irreparable, has been left unfinished without having a single habitable Room in the whole. As the whole Building and particularly the Timbers suffer greatly & would soon be rendered useless, if allowed to remain much longer in its present Condition, I therefore propose to set about compleating it as soon as the dry Season sets in. The other Buildings wanted for the Convenience of the Island are a new Church and Sessions house, or Place for the Quarterly Courts of Judicature to sit in. I find a Plan of the former has been sent home, and that the proper Timbers for the Roof are sea[...] **Margin Notes:** Dwelling Houses	and the servants' houses had recently been fully repaired. Plantation House had been badly designed from the start. Its roof in particular had faults that were thought impossible to fix, though Mitchell put this down to nobody having tried the right methods. The house had been left unfinished as a result and did not contain a single room fit to live in. The whole building, and especially its timbers, was deteriorating badly and would soon be beyond saving if left much longer in that state. Mitchell therefore proposed to begin completing it as soon as the dry season arrived. The island also needed a new church and a courthouse where the quarterly courts could sit. Mitchell understood that a plan for the church had already been sent to England and that suitable timbers for its roof were awaited. **Interpretations** The accepted view on the island was that the roof of Plantation House could not be repaired, and the building had been left to decay on that assumption. Mitchell refused to accept it, attributing the failure to poor methods rather than to any real impossibility. His reason for acting was the condition of the timbers. Imported wood was costly and slow to replace on an island with little timber of its own, and every season of exposure brought the frame closer to ruin. Completing the house promptly would save the investment already made, while further delay would mean rebuilding it from scratch. That the Governor's own country residence stood uninhabitable shows how far the Company's buildings had been neglected before Mitchell's arrival. The proposal to make storehouses proof against bombardment reflects St Helena's dependence on supplies brought by sea. In a siege, the garrison could hold out only as long as its food lasted, and the island already struggled to keep its stores full. The *London* delivered rice short in weight on 13 August 1765, and the *Calcutta* left 19 bags of paddy undelivered on 6 September 1765. Protecting the provisions was as essential to the island's defence as protecting its powder. The quarterly courts were the island's regular sittings for trying civil disputes and criminal cases, held four times a year under the Governor and Council. Their lack of a dedicated building meant justice was dispensed in whatever room could be found, which did little for its dignity or authority. A proper courthouse would give the Company's legal power on the island a fixed and visible home. Mitchell's plan to begin work on Plantation House once the dry season set in reflects the island's southern-hemisphere seasons. Rain fell most heavily in the cooler months from around May to August, so the drier, warmer period beginning in spring offered the best conditions for opening up and reroofing a building.
53	48	16th September expected by next Years Storeships: I must however take the Liberty to give my opinion with Regard to the Impropriety of Undertaking either of these Works, till all the Repairs of the Fortifications are compleated, as this Last is certainly an Object of infinitely more Consequence & more immediately wanted than the other. When the Island is once made thoroughly Defensible, it will then be time enough I apprehend to construct such other Buildings as may tend to the Utility & Convenience of the Island.	The timbers for the church roof were expected to arrive with the following year's ships. Mitchell nevertheless felt bound to advise against starting either the church or the courthouse until every repair to the fortifications was finished. Making the island defensible mattered far more and was needed far sooner. Once that was done, there would be time enough to put up other buildings for the island's use and comfort. He acknowledged that the existing church was much too small for a large congregation. Even so, he had not yet seen this cause any serious difficulty. Since the building was in no immediate danger of collapse, he thought it could serve for a few more years. By then the Company would have trained many more craftsmen than it had at present, and both the church

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		With regard to the present Church, tho it must be allowed to be much too small to contain a large Audience, yet I have not hitherto been able to perceive any very great Inconvenience from this Cause. And as it is in no immediate Danger of falling, I should think it might suffice for a few Years longer, by which time as the Company will have a much greater Number of Artificers train'd up than they have at present, it, as well as the Sessions house may be built, at One half the Expence it would cost at present. With regard to the Order, in which I would choose to proceed in respect to the Fortifications I think that Sandy Bay, as being in its present State the most defenceless Part of the Island, should therefore be the first new Work to be Undertaken; After which, beginning with Banks's upper Battery I would proceed along the Coast to the Westward, compleating each as it fell in my Way. In respect to the Time it may take up, and the Expence that will attend the compleating of these, I apprehend it is impossible to ascertain either with any Degree of Precision: for this Reason that as almost all the Company's Workmen & Artificers consist at present of Slaves the greatest Part of whom, being but just arrived from Africa, are intirely unexperienced and will be of no very great service for some time, no Calculation can therefore be formed with Respect to the Quantity of Work they will be able to perform **Margin Notes:** Church Order of proceeding with the work	and the courthouse could be built for half of what they would cost now. On the order of work for the fortifications, Mitchell placed Sandy Bay first, since it was currently the least defended part of the island. After that he would start with the upper battery at Banks's and work westward along the coast, completing each work as he reached it. He could not estimate with any accuracy how long the work would take or what it would cost. Nearly all the Company's labourers and craftsmen were slaves, most of them only recently brought from Africa. They had no experience of such work and would be of limited use for some time. As a result, there was no way to calculate how much they would be able to accomplish. **Interpretations** A plan for the new church had already been sent to England and the roof timbers were on their way, so the natural course was to build it when they arrived. Mitchell argued for waiting, and gave two reasons. Defence came first, since an island that could not hold off an attack had no use for a finer church. The second reason was economic. The Company was training its own workforce, and in a few years skilled hands would be available to build at half the present cost. Holding back the civil buildings allowed the scarce labour of the moment to go entirely into the fortifications, while the later works would benefit from the skills gained on them. Mitchell's closing remarks reveal that the Company's building programme rested on slave labour. Most of its workmen were Africans newly brought to the island, untrained in masonry, carpentry or any other building craft. The Company intended to turn them into skilled artificers, whose work would then cost it nothing beyond their keep. That explains how Mitchell could expect the church and courthouse to cost half as much in a few years' time. The savings depended on slaves learning trades whose value would pass entirely to their owner. It also explains why he could give no timetable or estimate, since the pace of every work hung on how quickly men who had never laid a stone could be taught to build. Mitchell's choice to begin at Sandy Bay agreed with the Council's view on 13 August 1765, when the councillors singled out the bay as especially defenceless.
54	49	1765 It is evident that this is very different from the Manner of carrying on Works in Europe, where the Artificers being perfect in their several Professions, the Quantity of Work that can be perform'd in any limited Time may be easily reduced to a Calculation However to ascertain this Matter with all the Precision it will admitt of, I shall here subjoin Returns of the Number of the Company's Slaves at present employed in the public Works of this Island, with the Number of hired Workmen & the Expence attending them & shall conclude with some General Remarks concerning them	Mitchell observed that this was quite unlike the way building work was carried out in Europe. There, craftsmen were fully trained in their trades, so the amount of work they could complete in a given time could be worked out without difficulty. To settle the question as precisely as the circumstances allowed, he attached returns showing how many of the Company's slaves were currently employed on the island's public works. These also gave the number of hired workmen and what they cost. He intended to end with some general observations about them. **Interpretations** Unable to give the Directors a firm estimate of time or cost, Mitchell did not offer a guess dressed up as a forecast. He supplied instead the raw figures on which any estimate would have to rest, the numbers of slaves and hired men and the cost of the hired labour. That allowed the Directors in London to judge the scale of the workforce for themselves and to watch how its output changed in later returns as the newly arrived slaves gained skill. It also protected Mitchell, since a figure he could not stand behind would have been held against him if the works ran late or over budget.

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55	50	16th September Return of Artificers Labourers, and Apprentices, belonging to the Honorable Company at present employed on the Fortifications and other public Works of this Island Masons Master, Masons Assistant, Masons Workmen, Masons Apprentices, Masons Total, Carpenters Master, Carpenters Workmen, Carpenters Apprentices, Carpenters Total, Armourers Master, Armourers Workmen, Armourers Apprentices, Armourers Total, Brickmakers Apprences, Bricklayers Do., Plaisterers Do., Labourers, Total Companys Servants, with Fixed, Anual Salaries: Masons Master 1, Masons Assistant 1, Masons Workmen 0, Masons Apprentices 0, Masons Total 2, Carpenters Master 1, Carpenters Workmen 0, Carpenters Apprentices 0, Carpenters Total 1, Armourers Master 1, Armourers Workmen 0, Armourers Apprentices 0, Armourers Total 1, Brickmakers Apprences 0, Bricklayers Do. 0, Plaisterers Do. 0, Labourers 0, Total 4 Slaves who has been trained up as Artificers: Masons Master 0, Masons Assistant 0, Masons Workmen 5, Masons Apprentices 0, Masons Total 5, Carpenters Master 0, Carpenters Workmen 4, Carpenters Apprentices 1, Carpenters Total 5, Armourers Master 0, Armourers Workmen 2, Armourers Apprentices 1, Armourers Total 3, Brickmakers Apprences 0, Bricklayers Do. 0, Plaisterers Do. 0, Labourers 0, Total 13 Men Slaves brought by Captain Skottowe: Masons Master 0, Masons Assistant 0, Masons Workmen 0, Masons Apprentices 0, Masons Total 0, Carpenters Master 0, Carpenters Workmen 0, Carpenters Apprentices 0, Carpenters Total 0, Armourers Master 0, Armourers Workmen 0, Armourers Apprentices 0, Armourers Total 0, Brickmakers Apprences 0, Bricklayers Do. 0, Plaisterers Do. 0, Labourers 14, Total 14 Boy Do. employed as follows: Masons Master 0, Masons Assistant 0, Masons Workmen 0, Masons Apprentices 13, Masons Total 13, Carpenters Master 0, Carpenters Workmen 0, Carpenters Apprentices 1, Carpenters Total 1, Armourers Master 0, Armourers Workmen 0, Armourers Apprentices 1, Armourers Total 1, Brickmakers Apprences 3, Bricklayers Do. 2, Plaisterers Do. 2, Labourers 0, Total 22 Total: Masons Master 1, Masons Assistant 1, Masons Workmen 5, Masons Apprentices 13, Masons Total 20, Carpenters Master 1, Carpenters Workmen 4, Carpenters Apprentices 2, Carpenters Total 7, Armourers Master 1, Armourers Workmen 2, Armourers Apprentices 2, Armourers Total 5, Brickmakers Apprences 3, Bricklayers Do. 2, Plaisterers Do. 2, Labourers 14, Total 53	The first return listed the craftsmen, labourers and apprentices belonging to the Company who were then employed on the fortifications and other public works. Company's servants on fixed annual salaries: master masons 1, assistant masons 1, mason workmen 0, mason apprentices 0, total masons 2; master carpenters 1, carpenter workmen 0, carpenter apprentices 0, total carpenters 1; master armourers 1, armourer workmen 0, armourer apprentices 0, total armourers 1; brickmaker apprentices 0, bricklayer apprentices 0, plasterer apprentices 0, labourers 0, total 4 Slaves already trained as craftsmen: master masons 0, assistant masons 0, mason workmen 5, mason apprentices 0, total masons 5; master carpenters 0, carpenter workmen 4, carpenter apprentices 1, total carpenters 5; master armourers 0, armourer workmen 2, armourer apprentices 1, total armourers 3; brickmaker apprentices 0, bricklayer apprentices 0, plasterer apprentices 0, labourers 0, total 13 Adult male slaves brought by Captain Skottowe: master masons 0, assistant masons 0, mason workmen 0, mason apprentices 0, total masons 0; master carpenters 0, carpenter workmen 0, carpenter apprentices 0, total carpenters 0; master armourers 0, armourer workmen 0, armourer apprentices 0, total armourers 0; brickmaker apprentices 0, bricklayer apprentices 0, plasterer apprentices 0, labourers 14, total 14 Slave boys brought by Captain Skottowe and placed as shown: master masons 0, assistant masons 0, mason workmen 0, mason apprentices 13, total masons 13; master carpenters 0, carpenter workmen 0, carpenter apprentices 1, total carpenters 1; master armourers 0, armourer workmen 0, armourer apprentices 1, total armourers 1; brickmaker apprentices 3, bricklayer apprentices 2, plasterer apprentices 2, labourers 0, total 22 Total: master masons 1, assistant masons 1, mason workmen 5, mason apprentices 13, total masons 20; master carpenters 1, carpenter workmen 4, carpenter apprentices 2, total carpenters 7; master armourers 1, armourer workmen 2, armourer apprentices 2, total armourers 5; brickmaker apprentices 3, bricklayer apprentices 2, plasterer apprentices 2, labourers 14, total 53 **Interpretations** The return shows the whole of the Company's building workforce resting on four salaried men. A master and an assistant mason, a master carpenter and a master armourer were the only free craftsmen listed, and every other worker was a slave. These four had to direct the labour and teach the trades of nearly fifty slaves, most of them newly arrived and unskilled. That narrow base of expertise explains why Mitchell could put no figure on the time or cost of the works, and why he expected costs to fall sharply once more slaves had learned their trades. The 22 boys brought by Captain Skottowe were placed straight into apprenticeships across every building trade, 13 of them with the masons. In England an apprentice was a free youth bound by indenture to a master for a fixed term, usually seven years, after which he could work for wages in his own right. On St Helena the form of apprenticeship was borrowed but its purpose reversed. The boys would never become independent journeymen, and the skill they acquired would add to their value as the Company's property. Choosing boys rather than men for training was a deliberate investment in a workforce that would serve the Company for decades. The three brickmaker apprentices show Mitchell's plan to make bricks on the island already being put into effect. In his report he described the local clay as promising and said he was working to produce bricks from it, which would supply the faces of the new

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			merlons at Banks's and Munden's. Assigning boys to the trade at the outset meant the island would have its own brickmakers once the method was proven.
56	51	1765 Return of the Artificers and Labourers in the Pay of the Honoble. Company, and employed on the Fortifications, and other public Works, with the Anual Expence attending them. Sergeants, Corporals, Soldiers, Inhabitants, Total, Yearly Pay £, Yearly Pay s, Yearly Pay d Overseers: Sergeants 2, Corporals 1, Soldiers 0, Inhabitants 0, Total 3, Yearly Pay £ 54, Yearly Pay s 15, Yearly Pay d 6 Masons: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 0, Inhabitants 1, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 39, Yearly Pay s 2, Yearly Pay d 6 Carpenters: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 2, Inhabitants 1, Total 3, Yearly Pay £ 131, Yearly Pay s 14, Yearly Pay d 6 Armourers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 To Navigate the Company's Long Boats Cockswain: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 30, Yearly Pay s 0, Yearly Pay d 0 Sailors: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 6, Inhabitants 0, Total 6, Yearly Pay £ 36, Yearly Pay s 0, Yearly Pay d 0 Stone Blowers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 Painters: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 Plaisterers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 Stone Sawyers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 Brickmakers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 3, Inhabitants 0, Total 3, Yearly Pay £ 46, Yearly Pay s 18, Yearly Pay d 0 Brick layers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 Tanners: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Total 1, Yearly Pay £ 23, Yearly Pay s 9, Yearly Pay d 0 Labourers: Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 22, Inhabitants 0, Total 22, Yearly Pay £ 344, Yearly Pay s 6, Yearly Pay d 0 Total: Sergeants 2, Corporals 1, Soldiers 41, Inhabitants 2, Total 46, Yearly Pay £ 846, Yearly Pay s 19, Yearly Pay d 6	The second return listed the craftsmen and labourers paid by the Company for work on the fortifications and other public works, with the yearly cost of each group. Overseers: sergeants 2, corporals 1, soldiers 0, inhabitants 0, total 3, yearly pay £54 15s 6d Masons: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 0, inhabitants 1, total 1, yearly pay £39 2s 6d Carpenters: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 2, inhabitants 1, total 3, yearly pay £131 14s 6d Armourers: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Coxswain of the Company's longboats: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £30 0s 0d Sailors of the Company's longboats: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 6, inhabitants 0, total 6, yearly pay £36 0s 0d Stone blasters: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Painters: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Plasterers: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Stone sawyers: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Brickmakers: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 3, inhabitants 0, total 3, yearly pay £46 18s 0d Bricklayers: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Tanners: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, total 1, yearly pay £23 9s 0d Labourers: sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 22, inhabitants 0, total 22, yearly pay £344 6s 0d Total: sergeants 2, corporals 1, soldiers 41, inhabitants 2, total 46, yearly pay £846 19s 6d **Interpretations** The hired workforce was almost entirely military. Of the 46 men on the return, 44 were sergeants, corporals and soldiers of the garrison, and only two were civilian inhabitants. Soldiers took on building work for extra pay on top of their military wages, which gave the Company a ready pool of labour on an island with few free workmen to hire. The arrangement came at a price to the island's defence. Every soldier quarrying stone or carrying bricks was absent from his post, and in his report Mitchell had warned that the garrison was too small to be divided among many works. The same men he counted on to hold the batteries were the ones building them. Taken together with the return of the Company's own slaves, the two lists show the full labour force on the public works. Skilled direction came from a handful of salaried masters, the bulk of the trained labour from soldiers working for extra pay, and the rest from slaves, most of them newly arrived and still learning their trades. The soldiers' wages were a yearly cash cost to the Company, whereas the slaves cost only their keep once bought. That difference underlay Mitchell's expectation that building would become far cheaper as the slave apprentices gained skill and could replace paid soldiers. The coxswain and six sailors drawn from the garrison crewed the Company's longboats, which carried stores, stone and men around the coast and out to ships in the road. The boats were essential to the building works, since many batteries were easier to reach by sea than over the island's steep ground. Mitchell's complaint that he lacked a boat during part of his survey suggests these few craft were already fully occupied.

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57	52	16th September General Return of the Number of Artificers and Workmen of all the Denominations now employed on the Fortifications and other public Works of this Island Company Servants, Sergeants, Corporals, Soldiers, Inhabitants, Slaves Men, Slaves Boys, Total Overseers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 2, Corporals 1, Soldiers 0, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 3 Masons: Company Servants 2, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 0, Inhabitants 1, Slaves Men 5, Slaves Boys 0, Total 8 Carpenters: Company Servants 1, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 2, Inhabitants 1, Slaves Men 4, Slaves Boys 0, Total 8 Armourers: Company Servants 1, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 2, Slaves Boys 0, Total 4 Crew for the Long Boats &c.: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 7, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 7 Painters: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 1 Plaisterers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 1 Brickmakers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 3, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 3 Bricklayers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 1 Tanners: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 1 Stonesawyers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 1 Stoneblowers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 1, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 0, Total 1 Labourers: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 22, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 14, Slaves Boys 0, Total 36 Apprentices: Company Servants 0, Sergeants 0, Corporals 0, Soldiers 0, Inhabitants 0, Slaves Men 0, Slaves Boys 24, Total 24 Total: Company Servants 4, Sergeants 2, Corporals 1, Soldiers 41, Inhabitants 2, Slaves Men 25, Slaves Boys 24, Total 99	The third return combined both earlier lists into a single count of every craftsman and workman, of every kind, then employed on the fortifications and other public works. Overseers: Company's servants 0, sergeants 2, corporals 1, soldiers 0, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 3 Masons: Company's servants 2, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 0, inhabitants 1, slave men 5, slave boys 0, total 8 Carpenters: Company's servants 1, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 2, inhabitants 1, slave men 4, slave boys 0, total 8 Armourers: Company's servants 1, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 2, slave boys 0, total 4 Crew for the longboats and other boats: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 7, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 7 Painters: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 1 Plasterers: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 1 Brickmakers: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 3, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 3 Bricklayers: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 1 Tanners: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 1 Stone sawyers: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 1 Stone blasters: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 1, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 0, total 1 Labourers: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 22, inhabitants 0, slave men 14, slave boys 0, total 36 Apprentices: Company's servants 0, sergeants 0, corporals 0, soldiers 0, inhabitants 0, slave men 0, slave boys 24, total 24 Total: Company's servants 4, sergeants 2, corporals 1, soldiers 41, inhabitants 2, slave men 25, slave boys 24, total 99 **Interpretations** The overseers were two sergeants and a corporal, so the works ran under military command rather than civilian management. Soldiers and slaves laboured side by side, and the men set over them were the same non-commissioned officers who kept discipline in the garrison. That gave the overseers authority to punish idleness or disobedience among both groups, and it fitted the works into the island's existing chain of command under the Governor. Every apprentice on the return was a slave boy, and no column for soldiers, inhabitants or Company servants showed a single trainee. The skilled workforce of the future was therefore being drawn entirely from slaves. The soldiers would eventually leave with their regiments, and the island had few free inhabitants willing to take up building trades, so the Company built its long-term capacity on a labour force it owned outright.
58	53	1765 By these Returns the Number of Workmen of all Denominations now employed on the Fortifications will evidently appear, as well as the annual Expence of that Part of them, which are hired at so much per Day. With regard to whom it	Mitchell noted that the returns showed the number of workmen of every kind employed on the fortifications, together with the yearly cost of those hired by the day. He pointed out that the Company's slaves were growing more skilled at their trades every day. As they did, the number of hired men could soon

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		is to be observed, that as the Company's Slaves will be Daily becoming more expert in their respective Employments, the Number of these will be soon greatly diminished, which will be considerable saving to the Company With respect to the Time it will probably take up to finish what immediately regards the Fortifications, I should think that three Years would be nearly sufficient for this Purpose, and perhaps between two and three Years more will be required to construct the several Buildings military and Civil, the most important of which have been already specified As to the Ordnance & Ammunition that will be wanting for the proposed Works and for compleating the General Proportion for the Island, it will be time enough to enumerate these when the Works themselves are once approved of and in a great Measure Constructed. I have now finished all the observations I think necessary to make relative to the Defences of this Island in the Course of which I have endeavoured to be as full and Explicit as possible. If nevertheless I have omitted any Point of Consequence I hope the Gentlemen will be so good as remind me of it in Order to its being properly discussed. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	be cut sharply, which would save the Company a good deal of money. He estimated that the fortifications themselves would take about three years to complete. A further two to three years would perhaps be needed for the military and civil buildings, the most important of which he had already described. He did not yet list the guns and ammunition the new works would require, or the additions needed to bring the island up to its full standard allowance. There would be time enough to do so once the works had been approved and largely built. Mitchell closed by saying that his observations on the island's defences were complete, and that he had tried to make them as full and clear as possible. If he had left out anything of importance, he hoped the Council would point it out so that it could be properly discussed. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Mitchell held back his list of guns and ammunition even though his report already called for new 18-pounders at Banks's and Munden's and three 13-inch mortars. Setting out the full requirement now would have been the natural way to complete the report. He chose to wait because guns and stores came from England at great expense and many months' delay, and ordering them before the Directors had approved the works risked sending out ordnance for batteries that might never be built, or built to a different design. Tying the order to approval and construction meant the island would receive exactly what the finished works needed. The general proportion was the standard allowance of guns, powder, shot and stores fixed for a garrison of a given size, against which shortfalls were measured and supplies ordered. Having said earlier that the time and cost of the works could not be calculated with any precision, Mitchell still gave the Directors an estimate of about three years for the fortifications and up to three more for the buildings. The figure was a working guide rather than a firm commitment. It also rested on the slaves gaining skill as he expected, which explains why he paired it with his forecast that hired labour would soon decline.
59	54	23d September At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d Day of October 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 16th September 1765 Tuesday the 17th Died Elizabeth Daughter of James Torbett Cooper We this day Executed the two following Leases vizt. One to Mr. Matthew Bazett for a piece of Land containing fifteen Acres and an half, lying in the East Division of this Island And One to William Holbrook Mason for a piece of Ground containing forty feet in front and sixty eight feet in Depth, lying in James's Valley, at 15/ Pr. Annum. John Skottowe	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 16 September 1765 were read, approved and signed. Elizabeth, daughter of James Torbett, a cooper, died on Tuesday 17 September 1765. The Council granted two leases that day. Matthew Bazett received 15½ acres of land in the island's East Division. William Holbrook, a mason, received a plot in James Valley measuring 40 feet along its frontage and 68 feet deep, at a rent of £0 15s 0d a year. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Holbrook's lease completed the process begun on 26 August 1765, when he petitioned for a small piece of unused Company ground in the valley on which to build a house. The Council then ordered the plot

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		Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	inspected before deciding. The grant four weeks later shows the inspection raised no objection. His plot was wider but shallower than the one leased to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice on the same day as Holbrook's petition, yet both paid the same £0 15s 0d a year. The rent for town ground was evidently set at a standard figure rather than measured strictly by area. Matthew Bazett was the Council's own Secretary, who signed the public notice of 26 August 1765 calling on inhabitants to declare their households, land and cattle. His grant shows the Company's officials taking up land on the same terms as other settlers. Holding both an office and an estate tied such men more closely to the island's fortunes and gave them a direct stake in its farming as well as its administration.
60	55	27th September At a Consultation held on Friday the 27th Day of September 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 23d Septemb. 1765 Tuesday the 24th Died Ann Daughter of Mr. James Greentree Planter Wednesday the 25 Arrived the Bute Boat at Banks's at a Quarter of an Hour past three in the Evening Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Bute from Bengal and brought Us the following Supplies vizt. Invoice of Ship Bute Wax Candles No. 1 @ 4 4 Chests Qt. Factory Maunds 3 @ 70 Rs. Pr. Md. 560 Rice 1 @ 30 30 Bags Qt. Bazar Maunds 60 @ As. Pd. 2.3 Pr. Bt. Md. is 115.3.3 Sugar Fine 1 @ 10 Bags Qt. Factory Maunds 20 @ Rs. As. 7.4 Pr. Md. 145 Paddy 1 @ 15 15 Bags Qt. Do. 22½ @ As. 15 Pr. Md. 21.1.6 Carried over [.]41.5	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 27 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 23 September 1765 were read, approved and signed. Ann, daughter of James Greentree, a planter, died on Tuesday 24 September 1765. A boat from the *Bute* reached Banks's at a quarter past three in the afternoon of Wednesday 25 September 1765. The Company's ship *Bute* arrived from Bengal the same day with supplies for the island. The *Bute*'s invoice listed the goods as follows. Wax candles, chests numbered 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 factory maunds at 70 current rupees per maund, 560 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Rice, bags numbered 1 to 30, 30 bags weighing 60 bazaar maunds at 2 rupees 3 annas per maund, 115 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Fine sugar, bags numbered 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 20 factory maunds at 7 current rupees 4 annas per maund, 145 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, bags numbered 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22½ bazaar maunds at 15 annas per maund, 21 rupees 1 anna 6 pies Carried forward, 841 rupees 5 annas 0 pies **Interpretations** Bengal used two different maunds, and the invoice is careful to say which applied to each item. The factory maund was the Company's own standard weight, used in its warehouses and fixed at a little under 75 lb. The bazaar maund was the weight used in the local markets and was heavier, at roughly 82 lb. Goods bought in the bazaar, such as rice and paddy, were weighed by the market standard, while candles and fine sugar were reckoned by the Company's. The St Helena storekeeper had to know which maund was meant to check the weights on delivery, since the same number of maunds meant different quantities of goods. The money of account was likewise particular to Bengal. The current rupee was a unit used for bookkeeping rather than an actual coin, divided into 16 annas and each anna into 12 pies. This differs from the reckoning of the *Calcutta*'s invoice from Bombay entered on 2 September 1765, which divided the rupee into quarters and reas. Each Company presidency kept its accounts in its own local system, and St Helena received invoices in whichever one the supplying port used. The *Bute*'s boat came ashore at Banks's before the ship herself reached the anchorage, just as the *Calcutta*'s boat had done on 31 August 1765. An incoming Company ship evidently sent a boat ahead to the first battery to identify herself, so the garrison knew a friendly vessel was approaching before she came under the guns along the coast. Wax candles of beeswax gave a brighter, cleaner and less smoky light than the tallow candles in common use, and cost several times as much. A

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			consignment of this size was perhaps meant for the Castle, the Company's table and the church.
61	56	27th September Brought over 841.5 Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers @ Rs. As. 86.12 Pr. Leaguer 187.5.6 1028.10.6 Charges Merchandize 95 Gunny Bags & Sowing 13.7.6 4 Chests & Packages 17.2.6 1 Peon 2.3.3 Cooleys Victuals 5 Weighmen 5 Mootsuddies 5.9 Sloopkire 34.10 10 Matts 13 Boat hire 4.5.3 78.4.3 Current Rupees 1106.14.9 Errors Excepted (signed) Richd. Wilk Sub Accompt. We this day received the following Letter from Captain Maitland vizt.	The *Bute*'s invoice continued with the following goods and charges. Brought forward, 841 rupees 5 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 68 rupees 12 annas per leaguer, 137 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Value of goods, 1,028 rupees 10 annas 6 pies 95 gunny bags and sewing, 13 rupees 7 annas 6 pies 4 chests and packing, 17 rupees 2 annas 6 pies 1 peon, 2 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Food for the coolies, 0 rupees 5 annas 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 5 annas 0 pies Mootcashire, 5 rupees 0 annas 9 pies Hire of a sloop, 34 rupees 10 annas 0 pies 10 mats, 0 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Boat hire, 4 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Total of charges, 78 rupees 4 annas 3 pies Total in current rupees, 1,106 rupees 14 annas 9 pies Richard Wills signed the account as sub-accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council also received a letter from Captain Maitland that day. **Interpretations** The largest single charge, the hire of a sloop, reflects how Company ships loaded in Bengal. Large East Indiamen could not safely come up the Hooghly to Calcutta itself, so they lay at anchor far downriver while their cargo was brought out to them in smaller vessels. Every chest and bag had to be carried from the warehouses, weighed, packed and then shipped down the river by sloop before it could be stowed aboard. That river passage cost more than all the other handling charges put together, an expense the Bombay invoice entered on 2 September 1765 did not carry, since ships there loaded close to the shore by boat. A leaguer was a very large cask, holding roughly 150 gallons, used particularly in the Dutch trade for shipping arrack in bulk. Batavia arrack, distilled in Java from sugar cane and rice, was the most highly regarded of the eastern spirits. Its arrival by way of a Company ship from Bengal shows how goods from the Dutch East Indies passed through the trading ports of India and entered British supply chains, even though the two companies were commercial rivals. The other charges record the Indian labour behind the shipment. A peon was a messenger or attendant hired to escort goods and carry orders, coolies were porters paid by the day and fed while they worked, and the weighmen checked each consignment on the scales before it left the warehouse.
62	57	1765 To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. President Governor &c. Council of St Helena Honble. Sir & Sirs I beg that you will please to Order the Ship Bute to be supplied from the Honble. Company's Store House with thirty five Puncheons of Beef & Pork, and one Hundred Bags of Rice, without which it will be impossible for me to proceed to Sea with the Number of Men that I have now on board. I beg that you will likewise Please to give Orders to the Storekeeper to supply the said Ship with what other Stores she may want and am with due respect Honble. Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient, Humble Servant St Helena (signed)	A letter from Captain Patrick Maitland, dated at St Helena on 27 September 1765, was addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Maitland asked them to order the *Bute* supplied from the Company's warehouse with 35 puncheons of beef and pork and 100 bags of rice. Without these, he said, he could not put to sea with the number of men he had on board. He also asked the Council to direct the storekeeper to provide whatever other stores the ship needed. The Council sent a reply to Maitland as commander of the *Bute*. It informed him that the island could not readily spare what he asked. For the garrison and the slaves, only 27 casks of salt provisions and 12,200 lb of rice remained. By the most careful reckoning, the salt meat would run out on 1 March 1766 and the rice towards the end of December 1765. The island's flour, too, was insufficient. **Interpretations** Maitland's request exposed the strain at the heart of St Helena's purpose. The island existed to refresh the Company's ships on their way home, yet its own

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		27 September 1765 Patk. Maitland To which we returned him the following Answer vizt. To the Honble. Patrick Maitland Commander of the Ship Bute Sir In answer to your Demand of 35 Casks of Salt Provision & 100 Bags of Rice, we inform you that the Present State of the Island is such, that there only remains for the use of the Garrison and Slaves 27 Casks of the former and 12200 Rice which upon the nicest Calculation the Salt Provision will last only until the 7 March, and the Rice to the latter end of December, neither have we flour to last until the	food came largely from those same ships. Earlier in the year the Council had sold salt meat to passing Company vessels, as it noted on 6 September 1765 when buying four casks from Captain Thomson at the price it charged them. By late September the garrison and slaves had barely five months of salt meat left. Every cask handed to an outgoing ship brought the island closer to hunger before the next supply arrived. The *Bute* herself had just landed 30 bags of rice and 15 bags of paddy for the island, as her invoice recorded on 27 September 1765. Maitland now asked for 100 bags back. The exchange shows how little the Company's deliveries to St Helena were matched to its needs, since a ship could unload provisions for the island while lacking enough for her own voyage. A puncheon was a large cask, typically holding between 70 and 80 gallons, used for shipping salt meat as well as spirits. The title "Honourable" given to Maitland marked him as the son of a peer, a rank that set him apart from most Company commanders and perhaps explains the formal courtesy of the Council's reply.
63	58	27th September the 7 of March though one bread day a Week have been struck off from the Garrison; Under such disagreeable circumstances we are sorry to acquaint you that it is impossible to comply with your large demands; But being Anxious to give you all the assistance in our Power as far as our present Situation will admit, we have fallen upon the following measures to supply you vizt. Salt Provisions 12 Casks Live Cattle 13 Sheep 30 Paddy 8000 lb The above particulars are all we can possibly furnish you with, as you have the whole remainder both of Cattle and Sheep of this Years Stock, besides ten of the Honble. Company's Sheep, and six Cattle exclusive of 360 Charter Party Beef allowed this Year for the Shipping, Having now given you a state of what we can do for you, we further recommend your providing yourself with what Hogs Sheep, Goats and other Provisions you can procure from the Planters, the Paddy above mention we are in hopes you may fall upon some Method to make it useful instead of Rice. These Supplys with what you have on board and what you may be able to procure we hope will be sufficient to enable you to proceed on your Voyage to England, as the Provisions you expend here will lessen your Sea Stock, we apprehend we have no Occasion to recommend dispatch to you We are Sir St Helena 27th September 1765 Your most humble Servants John Skottowe (signed) John Skottowe Dan Corneille Dan Corneille Purling M Purling	The flour would not last until 1 March 1766 either, even though the garrison's ration had already been reduced by one bread day a week. In these difficult conditions, the Council regretted that it could not meet Maitland's large demand. It was nonetheless keen to help him as far as its circumstances allowed, and had arranged to supply him with the following. 12 casks of salt provisions 13 live cattle 30 sheep 3,000 lb of paddy The Council made clear that it could provide nothing more. The cattle and sheep it offered were all that remained of the year's stock, along with ten of the Company's own sheep and six of its cattle. This was over and above the 560 lb of beef already allowed to the ships that year under their charter terms. Having explained what it could do, the Council advised Maitland to buy whatever pigs, sheep, goats and other provisions he could obtain from the planters. It hoped he would find some way of using the paddy in place of rice. The Council expected that these supplies, together with what he had aboard and whatever he could buy, would be enough to see him home to England. Since every day in port ate into the stores meant for the voyage, it saw no need to urge him to make haste. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the reply at St Helena on 27 September 1765, and also signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** A Company commander would normally expect the island's warehouse to supply what he asked, since refreshing the ships was St Helena's main purpose. The Council refused Maitland's request for 35 puncheons and 100 bags of rice and offered a much smaller package instead, giving its reasons plainly. With salt meat expected to run out on 1 March 1766 and the garrison's bread already cut, handing over most of the remaining stock would have left the island's own people without food. Rather than leave Maitland unprovided, the Council substituted what the island could spare: live animals from the year's breeding stock and paddy in place of cleaned rice. It also pointed him towards the planters, shifting part of the burden onto the island's private farms. The charter party was the formal contract between the Company and the owners of each ship it hired. Among its terms was an allowance of fresh beef to be

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		Thos. Kirkpatrick Thos. Kirkpatrick	issued at St Helena, a recognised entitlement rather than a favour. The Council's mention of the 560 lb already given out that year showed Maitland that the ships had received their contractual due, and that anything further came from the island's own reserves. The closing remark about dispatch was a polite but pointed hint. A ship's crew lying in the road ate its own sea stores while waiting, so every day's delay made the voyage home harder to supply. By noting this without making it an order, the Council pressed Maitland to sail promptly without overstepping its authority over a Company commander.
64	59	30th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th Day of September 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 27th Sept. 1765. Pursuant to an order in Consultation of the 26th of August last the Planters this day attended to pay their Rents and Revenues, due to the Honble. Company for the Year past, which amounts to £ 536.16.2 the Rent Roll is as follows vizt. Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Samuel Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 34, Lease Land 37½, £ 11, s 1, d 6 John Alexander 15½ Acres @ 1/ Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7½, Lease Land 10½, £ 12, s 3, d 6 George Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 28, Lease Land 38, £ 15, s 12, d 0 Margaret Alcock 1½ Ac. at 20/ Pr. Ac. 20 at 4/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 3/6, Free Land 40, Lease Land 60½, £ 11, s 14, d 6 Onesiphorus Beale Esqr.: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 10, Lease Land 13½, £ 4, s 8, d 0 Richard Bird Senr. 5 Ac. at 4/ Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 61½, Lease Land 82½, £ 11, s 10, d 8½ John Bagley: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 36, £ 9, s 0, d 0 Richard Bagley 12 Ac. at 4/ Pr. Ac. 3 at 1/6 Pr. Ac. 4½ Ac. at 2/ Pr. Ac. 12¾ Ac. at 3/ Pr. Ac. Ground Rent for 10 Months at 15/ Pr. Ann.: Ground Rent 17½, Free Land 126½, Lease Land 132½, £ 49, s 11, d 1 Orlando Bagley 5 Ac. at 1/6 Pr. Ac. 21 Ac. at 2/6 Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 41½, Lease Land 25½, £ 19, s 16, d 3 Matthew Bazett 8½ @ 1/ Pr. Ac. 9½ @ 4/ Pr. Ac. for 6 Months: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 143, Lease Land 63, £ 21, s 7, d 3 Henry Bazett 2 at 4/ Pr. Ac. 4½ @ 2/6 Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 117½, Lease Land 65½, £ 21, s 5, d 9 Carried over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 647, Lease Land 714¼, £ 200, s 9, d 6½	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 30 September 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 27 September 1765 were read, approved and signed. In line with the order made on 26 August 1765, the planters came in that day to pay the rents and dues owed to the Company for the past year. These came to £536 16s 2d in all. The rent roll set out each landholder's ground rent, the acres held as free land and as leased land, and the sum paid. Samuel Alexander: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 3¼ acres, leased land 37½ acres, paid £11 1s 6d John Alexander, including 15½ acres at £0 1s 0d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 7¾ acres, leased land 70¾ acres, paid £18 3s 6d George Alexander: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 28 acres, leased land 58 acres, paid £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, including 1¼ acres at £1 0s 0d an acre and 20 acres at £0 4s 0d an acre: ground rent £0 3s 6d, free land 40 acres, leased land 60¼ acres, paid £17 14s 6d Onesiphorus Beale, corporal: ground rent £0 10s 6d, free land 10 acres, leased land 13½ acres, paid £4 8s 0d Richard Beale senior, including 5 acres at £0 4s 0d an acre: ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 41½ acres, leased land 38½ acres, paid £11 13s 8½d John Bagley: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 36 acres, paid £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley, including 12 acres at £0 4s 0d an acre, 3 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre, 4¼ acres at £0 2s 0d an acre, 12¾ acres at £0 5s 0d an acre, and ground rent for 10 months at £0 13s 2d a year: ground rent £0 11s 4d, free land 126½ acres, leased land 182½ acres, paid £49 11s 1d Orlando Bagley senior, including 4 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre and 21 acres at £0 2s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 41½ acres, leased land 84¼ acres, paid £19 16s 3d Matthew Bazett, including 8½ acres at £0 1s 0d an acre and 9½ acres at £0 4s 0d an acre for 6 months: ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 142 acres, leased land 63 acres, paid £21 7s 3d Henry Bazett, including 2 acres at £0 4s 0d an acre and 4½ acres at £0 2s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 112½ acres, leased land 65½ acres, paid £21 5s 9d Carried forward: free land 647½ acres, leased land 714¾ acres, paid £200 9s 6½d **Interpretations** The roll divided each planter's holding between free land and leased land, two different kinds of tenure. Free land was probably ground granted to earlier settlers on the original terms of settlement, held at a small fixed charge in return for obligations such as militia service. Leased land was let more recently at a rent per acre set when each lease was granted. Many families held both, so a single planter's payment combined old privileged holdings with newer

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			commercial ones. Ground rent was a separate charge for house plots, mostly in the town. The acre rates noted against individual names varied widely, from 1s up to 4s and 5s, and in one case 20s an acre for Margaret Alcock's small plot. The leases granted to Benjamin Mason and John Robinson on 9 September 1765 were set at 1s 6d an acre. Such differences reflected the quality and position of the land, and probably the date each lease was made, since better ground near the town or with water fetched more. A small plot at 20s an acre was perhaps garden ground close to James Town. The roll shows that land on St Helena was not held only by free men of planter rank. Onesiphorus Beale, a corporal of the garrison, appears as a landholder with both free and leased ground, and Margaret Alcock held more than 100 acres in her own name. Soldiers who settled on the island could combine military pay with farming, and women could hold land and answer for its rent like any other planter. Matthew Bazett's rent on part of his land was charged for only six months, and Richard Bagley's ground rent covered ten months. Rents were reckoned from the date a holding began, so land taken up partway through the year paid only for the portion actually held.
65	60	30th September Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 647¼, Lease Land 714¼, £ 200, s 9, d 6½ Orlando Bagley Junr. 19 Ac. at 1/6 Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 63, £ 12, s 8, d 6 William Burnhams Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 29, Lease Land 15, £ 5, s 4, d 0 William Beale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 33¼, Lease Land 17¼, £ 6, s 5, d 0 Robert Ballard: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 15½, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s 8, d 6 Thoms. Colgraves Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 13¼, Lease Land 91¼, £ 23, s 9, d 6 Joseph Chamberland: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 John Dovetons Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 86½, Lease Land 8, £ 6, s 6, d 6 Jonathan Doveton Ground Rent for 10 Mo. @ 15/ Pr. Annum: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 128¾, Lease Land 4, £ 8, s 5, d 3 Isaac Doveton: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 77¼, Lease Land 9½, £ 6, s 5, d 3 Joseph Desfountains Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 71, £ 18, s 15, d 0 John Desfountain: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 93¼, Lease Land 32¾, £ 12, s 17, d 0 Henry Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14, Lease Land 36, £ 9, s 14, d 0 James Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 11, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s 11, d 0 Sarah Fudge: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0 Michael Frost: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 Richard Goodwin: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 49, Lease Land 27, £ 9, s 14, d 6 Thomas Greentree 33½ acres at 4/ Pr. Ac. 3 acres at 1/6 Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 96½, Lease Land 72, £ 20, s 10, d 6 James Greentree Ground Rent for 10 Mo. @ 20/ Pr. Ann.: Ground Rent 17/6, Free Land 48, Lease Land 55, £ 17, s 0, d 6 Onesiphorus Greslings Esqr. 9 acres @ 1/6 Pr. Ann.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 9, £ 1, s 16, d 6 Thomas Harpers Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 19¼, Lease Land 46¾, £ 12, s 13, d 6	The rent roll continued with the following landholders. Brought forward: free land 647½ acres, leased land 714¾ acres, paid £200 9s 6½d Orlando Bagley junior, including 19 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 63 acres, paid £12 8s 6d Orphans of William Burnham: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 29 acres, leased land 15 acres, paid £5 4s 0d William Beale: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 33¾ acres, leased land 17¼ acres, paid £6 5s 0d Robert Ballard: ground rent £0 13s 0d, free land 15½ acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £1 8s 6d Orphans of Thomas Colgrave: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 13¼ acres, leased land 91¼ acres, paid £23 9s 6d Joseph Chamberlain: ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 15s 0d Orphans of John Doveton: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 86½ acres, leased land 8 acres, paid £6 6s 6d Jonathan Doveton, including ground rent for 10 months at £0 15s 2d a year: ground rent £0 10s 6d, free land 128¾ acres, leased land 4 acres, paid £8 5s 3d Isaac Doveton: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 77¼ acres, leased land 9½ acres, paid £6 5s 3d Orphans of Joseph Desfountain: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 20 acres, leased land 71 acres, paid £18 15s 0d John Desfountain: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 93¼ acres, leased land 32¾ acres, paid £12 17s 0d Henry Easthope: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 14 acres, leased land 36 acres, paid £9 14s 0d James Easthope: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 11 acres, leased land 8 acres, paid £2 11s 0d Sarah Tunge: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 4 acres, paid £1 0s 0d Michael Frost: ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin: ground rent £0 10s 6d, free land 49 acres, leased land 27 acres, paid £9 14s 6d Thomas Greentree, including 33½ acres at £0 4s 0d an acre and 5 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 96½ acres, leased land 72 acres, paid £23 10s 6d James Greentree, including ground rent for 10 months at £1 0s 3d a year: ground rent £0 17s 6d, free land 48 acres, leased land 55 acres, paid £17 0s 6d

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		Thos. Hayes Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 4, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Margaret Harper: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 26, £ 7, s 0, d 0 Thomas Harper: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 Henry Harper: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 John Jacks: Ground Rent 16/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 16, d 0 Elisha Jacks: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 5, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Gabriel Jacks: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0 Carried Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1753½, Lease Land 1556¼, £ 463, s 11, d 7½	Orphans of Onesiphorus Gurling, including 9 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 23 acres, leased land 9 acres, paid £1 16s 6d Orphans of Thomas Harper: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 19¾ acres, leased land 46¾ acres, paid £12 13s 6d Orphans of Thomas Hayes: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 30 acres, leased land 4 acres, paid £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 10 acres, leased land 26 acres, paid £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper: ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 10s 0d Henry Harper: ground rent £0 12s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 12s 0d John Jacks: ground rent £0 16s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 16s 0d Elisha Isacke: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 25 acres, leased land 5 acres, paid £2 10s 0d Gabriel Isacke: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 8 acres, paid £2 0s 0d Carried forward: free land 1,753½ acres, leased land 1,556¾ acres, paid £463 11s 7½d **Interpretations** Seven holdings on this page were entered under the orphans of a dead landholder rather than under a living tenant. The land stayed with the family, and its rent continued to be paid to the Company, while the heirs were still children. Someone had to manage the farm and answer for the rent on their behalf, usually a guardian or the surviving parent, and the Council's oversight of these estates kept the land productive and the Company's income secure until the heirs came of age. Listing the orphans by name on the rent roll also fixed their claim to the land in an official record, protecting it against encroachment by neighbours or relatives. Five people on the page paid ground rent alone, with no farmland at all: Joseph Chamberlain, Michael Frost, Thomas Harper, Henry Harper and John Jacks. These were householders holding only a building plot, almost certainly in James Town, and probably earned their living from a trade, shop or Company employment rather than farming. The roll thus captures two distinct communities, planters in the country and townspeople in the Valley, both answerable to the Company as landlord. Sarah Tunge and Margaret Harper held land in their own names, joining Margaret Alcock on the previous page. Widows commonly kept a family holding after a husband's death, and the rent roll treated them exactly as it did male tenants.
66	61	1765 Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1753½, Lease Land 1556¼, £ 463, s 11, d 7½ Thomas Kirkpatrick: Ground Rent 39/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 14, £ 5, s 9, d 0 Isaac Knipe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 23½, £ 7, s 7, d 6 William Kennedys Esqr.: Ground Rent 17/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 17, d 0 Eleanor Leach: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 Elizabeth Lamb: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Benjamin Mason 31 Ac. @ 1/6 Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 42, Lease Land 73½, £ 15, s 1, d 0 Frederick Merchant: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6 Elizabeth Moore: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 5, d 0 Solomon St Maurice Gro: Rent for 10 Months @ 15/ Pr. Gro: Rent for 1 Ac. at 15/ Pr. Annum: Ground Rent 13/9, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 13, d 9	The rent roll continued with the following landholders. Brought forward: free land 1,753½ acres, leased land 1,556¾ acres, paid £463 11s 7½d Thomas Kirkpatrick: ground rent £1 19s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 14 acres, paid £5 9s 0d Isaac Knipe: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 30 acres, leased land 23½ acres, paid £7 7s 6d Orphans of William Kennedy: ground rent £0 17s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 12s 0d Eleanor Leach: ground rent £0 12s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Lamb: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 10 acres, paid £2 10s 0d Benjamin Mason, including 31 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 42 acres, leased land 73½ acres, paid £15 1s 0d Roderick Merchant: ground rent £0 2s 6d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 2s 6d Elizabeth Moore: ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, ground rent for 10 months at £0 15s 0d a year and for 1 month at £0 15s 0d a year:

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		Matthew Purling 9½ at 1/ Pr. Ac. 3 Ac. at 4/ Pr. Ac. Gro: Rent for 10½ Months at 24/ Pr. Annum: Ground Rent 24/6, Free Land 205, Lease Land 108½, £ 37, s 1, d 4 James Powell: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 3, d 0 John Price: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 Benjamin Pledger 3 Ac. at 4/ Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 5, Lease Land 18¾, £ 4, s 15, d 9 John Pritchard: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 Agnes Pritchard John Robinson 22½ Ac. at 1/6 Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 6/, Free Land 41¼, Lease Land 41½, £ 7, s 14, d 0 William Seale 5½ Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7, Lease Land 36, £ 8, s 7, d 9 Benjamin Seale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 11, Lease Land 10½, £ 2, s 11, d 3 John Seales Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 7½, £ 2, s 7, d 6 Martha Scott Gr. Rent for 10 Mo. at 12/6 Pr. Ann.: Ground Rent 10/5, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 5 Nathan Sample: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 8½, £ 3, s 7, d 6 John Sherkey: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 3, d 0 James Torbett: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 John Twaits Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 9, Lease Land 38½, £ 10, s 1, d 6 Thomas Townsend: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 John Worrals Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 42½, £ 10, s 12, d 6 Joshua Worrals Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 31, Lease Land 33, £ 9, s 16, d 0 Carried over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1871¼, Lease Land 1793¾, £ 527, s 1, d ½	ground rent £0 13s 9d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 13s 9d Matthew Purling, including 9¾ acres at £0 1s 0d an acre, 3 acres at £0 4s 0d an acre, and ground rent for 10½ months at £1 4s 2d a year: ground rent £1 4s 10d, free land 205 acres, leased land 108½ acres, paid £37 1s 4d James Powell: ground rent £0 3s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 3s 0d John Price: ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 15s 0d Benjamin Pledger, including 3 acres at £0 4s 0d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 5 acres, leased land 18¾ acres, paid £4 15s 9d John Pritchard: ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 10s 0d James Pritchard: ground rent £0 7s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 7s 0d John Robinson, including 22½ acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 6s 0d, free land 41¼ acres, leased land 41½ acres, paid £7 14s 0d William Seale, including 5½ acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 7 acres, leased land 36 acres, paid £8 7s 9d Benjamin Seale: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 11 acres, leased land 10¼ acres, paid £2 11s 3d Orphans of John Seale: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 10 acres, leased land 7½ acres, paid £2 7s 6d Martha Scott, ground rent for 10½ months at £0 12s 5d a year: ground rent £0 10s 8d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 10s 8d Nathan Sample: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 25 acres, leased land 8½ acres, paid £3 7s 6d John Shirkey: ground rent £0 3s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 3s 0d James Torbett: ground rent £0 12s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 12s 0d Orphans of John Twaits: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 9 acres, leased land 38½ acres, paid £10 1s 6d Thomas Townsend: ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 15s 0d Orphans of John Worrall: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, leased land 42½ acres, paid £10 12s 6d Orphans of Joshua Worrall: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 31 acres, leased land 33 acres, paid £9 16s 0d Carried forward: free land 1,871¼ acres, leased land 1,793¾ acres, paid £527 1s 0½d **Interpretations** Several of the men who governed the island appear here as the Company's tenants. Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick and Matthew Purling, both members of the Council, paid rent like any other landholder, and Purling held more land than anyone else on the page. James Powell, the storekeeper, paid ground rent on a house plot. The councillors who sat in judgement on rents and leases were themselves bound by the same terms, and their own payments passed through the same roll that recorded everyone else's. Solomon St Maurice's entry shows how a new lease entered the accounts. Alongside ten months' rent on an existing plot, he paid for a single month at £0 15s 0d a year, the rate set when the Council granted him ground in James Valley on 26 August 1765. The rent year evidently closed at the end of September, so a lease begun in late August was charged for one month only. Benjamin Mason's 31 acres at £0 1s 6d an acre, granted on 9 September 1765, likewise appear on the roll within weeks of the lease being signed. James Torbett, who paid ground rent on a town plot, was the cooper whose daughter Elizabeth died on 17 September 1765, as recorded at the meeting of 23 September 1765.
67	62	30th September Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d	The rent roll ended with the following landholders.

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		Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1871½, Lease Land 1793¾, £ 527, s 1, d ½ Frances Wrangham Exx. at a sepparate Comtar. Gr. Rent for 10½ Months at 14/ Pr. Ac.: Ground Rent 12/4, Free Land 62, Lease Land 6, £ 3, s 14, d 4 Thomas Warne 6 Ac. at 1/6 Pr. Acr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 16, Lease Land 36, £ 8, s 7, d 10½ William Wrangham: Ground Rent 26/6, Free Land 144, Lease Land 83, £ 29, s 5, d 6 Jane Wilson: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6 Joseph Whaleys Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 17½, Lease Land 13¼, £ 4, s 12, d 11 William Young: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 79½, Lease Land 25, £ 10, s 9, d 6 Stephen Young: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 8½, £ 3, s 2, d 6 Total: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 2204¾, Lease Land 1970, £ 536, s 16, d 2 Captain Maitland this day acquainted Us, that he had held a Consultation with his Officers, and that they were Unanimously of Opinion that they could not Attempt to go for Europe, without having 10 Weeks Provision on board and further laid before Us that the addition of five Casks of Salt Provision more with what we have already granted, thinks he may be able to proceed on his Voyage to England, Upon which we came to a resolution for the safety of the Ship and to prevent her putting into any foreign Port to give him the Additional supply of five Casks, at the risk of being necessitated to kill upon the live Stock for the use of the [...] Garrison if we have not an early Storeship. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Brought forward: free land 1,871¼ acres, leased land 1,793¾ acres, paid £527 1s 0½d Francis Wrangham, including 6 acres at a peppercorn rent and ground rent for 10½ months at £0 14s 4d a year: ground rent £0 12s 4d, free land 62 acres, leased land 6 acres, paid £3 14s 4d Thomas Warne, including 6¼ acres at £0 1s 6d an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 16 acres, leased land 36 acres, paid £8 7s 10½d William Wrangham: ground rent £1 6s 6d, free land 144 acres, leased land 83 acres, paid £29 5s 6d Jane Wilson: ground rent £0 2s 6d, free land 0 acres, leased land 0 acres, paid £0 2s 6d Orphans of Joseph Whaley: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 17¾ acres, leased land 13¼ acres, paid £4 12s 11d William Young: ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 79½ acres, leased land 25 acres, paid £10 9s 6d Stephen Young: ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 20 acres, leased land 8½ acres, paid £3 2s 6d Total: free land 2,204¾ acres, leased land 1,970 acres, paid £536 16s 2d Captain Maitland informed the Council that he had consulted his officers. They agreed unanimously that they could not set out for Europe without ten weeks' provisions aboard. Maitland added that, with five more casks of salt provisions on top of what the Council had already granted, he believed he could make the voyage to England. The Council resolved to give him the five extra casks. It did so to keep the ship safe and to stop her from calling at a foreign port, even though this might force it to slaughter livestock to feed the garrison if no store ship arrived soon. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Three days earlier, on 27 September 1765, the Council told Maitland that 12 casks were all it could possibly spare, with salt meat for the garrison expected to run out on 1 March 1766. It now reversed that position and found five more. The reason it gave was the danger of the alternative. An East Indiaman short of food would have had to put into a foreign port on the way home, most likely a Portuguese, Spanish or French one, exposing a valuable Company cargo to delay, port charges, private trading by her officers and the attention of rivals. The Council judged that risk to outweigh the risk to its own stores. It accepted that the island might have to eat into its breeding cattle and sheep, the very stock on which future supplies depended, if the store ship came late. The formal consultation Maitland held with his officers gave the request a weight the Council could not easily dismiss, since a unanimous judgement on the ship's safety, put in writing, would stand against the Council if the *Bute* came to grief after being refused. Francis Wrangham held six acres at a peppercorn rent, a nominal payment of a single peppercorn a year. Such a rent produced no income at all. Its purpose was to acknowledge that the land belonged to the Company and that Wrangham held it as a tenant, preserving the Company's title while effectively granting him the use of the ground for nothing. It was usually a mark of favour or a reward for service.
68	63	7th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day of October 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 October 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 30 September 1765 were read, approved and signed.

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		Captain Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 30th Septemb. 1765 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Bute to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows vizt. Patrick Maitland Comr. Chas. Dean Chief Mate Robert Lindsey 2d Do. William Isley 3d Do. Phillip Dempster 4th Do. Ralph John Campbell 5th Do. Charles Greenhill Surgn. William Pearson Purser Robt. Taylor Midshipm [...] Willm. Roberson Midshipm Robert Townsend Do. John Howeson Do. John Carmichael Do. Chas. Ross Gunner John Corbett Carpenter Richd. Davis Caulker Francis Mosault Sailmakr. John Folwell Surg. Mate Henry Candy Gunrs. Do. Samuel Potter Carpentr. Do. Marmaduck Kingbank Do. Willm. Robertson Boatswn. Geo. Story Boatswn. Mte. Ogilvy Gead Capt. Stewd. Thoms. Jackson Ships Do. Robt. Laws Capt. Cooks James Deas Ships Do. John Hill Coopers Mate Thos. Porker John Donaldson Henry Beall John Crafts Qr. Master Robt. Donald Seaman George Seward John Eaton Seaman	Purling reported that he had boarded the *Bute* to call the roll of her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. The ship's muster roll read as follows. Patrick Maitland, commander Charles Dean, chief mate Robert Lindsey, second mate William Tiley, third mate Phillips Dempster, fourth mate Ralph John Campbell, fifth mate Charles Greenhill, surgeon William Pierson, purser Robert Taylor, midshipman William Robertson, midshipman Robert Townsend, midshipman John Howson, midshipman John Carmichael, midshipman Charles Ross, gunner John Corbett, carpenter Richard Davis, caulker Francis Marsault, sailmaker John Selwell, surgeon's mate Henry Candy, gunner's mate Samuel Potter, carpenter's mate Marmaduke Kingbault, caulker's mate William Robertson, boatswain George Story, boatswain's mate Ogilvy Geddes, captain's steward Thomas Linkon, ship's steward Robert Laws, captain's cook James Deas, ship's cook John Kell, cooper's mate Thomas Porter, quartermaster John Donaldson, quartermaster Henry Beall, quartermaster John Crafts, quartermaster Robert Donald, seaman George Toisand, seaman John Eaton, seaman Andrew Monro, seaman John Hinks, seaman Patrick Stanton, seaman James Walleiston, seaman John Stamper, seaman Thomas Martin, seaman John Street, seaman Richard Stubbs, seaman William Steward, seaman Robert Smith, seaman Adam Gawen, seaman James Ferguson, seaman William Seawright, seaman William Robertson, seaman Robert Lynton, seaman William Crafts, seaman **Interpretations** This muster carried more weight than the routine checks made of the *London* and the *Calcutta*. On 27 September 1765 Maitland based his request for provisions on the number of men he had aboard, and the Council then stretched its dwindling stores to supply him, granting five extra casks on 30 September 1765 at the risk of slaughtering the island's livestock. A roll taken by a councillor before the ship sailed fixed exactly how many mouths those provisions had to feed. It confirmed that the numbers Maitland relied on were real, and ensured that no man from the garrison or the island slipped aboard to share food the island could barely spare.

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		Andrew Munro John Hinks Patrick Stanton James Wolleston John Stamper Thomas Martin John Street Richard Stubbs William Steward Robert Smith Adam Gawen James Ferguson Willm. Seawright Willm. Robertson Robert Lyndon William Crafts	
69	64	7th October Willm. Hatton Seaman Thos. Cambell John Welder Christn. Gasker Bastion Simmons Peter Smith William January John Bute Willm. Myers Henrick Myers John Ainsworth John Perry Thomas Chapman Samuel Donnelly Thomas Edwards Chas. Elphinston Gabriel Lingcroft Carl Johan Norman Seaman Richd. Haselwood Samuel Waistcoat Henry Brame Henry Ayers Joseph Campbell Garret Gibbons Thomas Blair Charles Steward Forfar John English John Hugly William Walsh George Hinton Jasper Ruddings Willm. Barrell [...] Duncan Servant Donald Munro Donald McLell George Horough Thoms. Philcock William McCow Duncan Thomson Finlay McDonald John Monroe Francis Mitchell George McKenzie Murdock McPherson Hugh Ross Tobben True John Christian James Roberts Passengers Major Hector Munro Capt. Duncan McPherson Charles Gordon	The *Bute*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her seamen, followed by her passengers. William Hatton, seaman Thomas Cambell, seaman John Welder, seaman Christopher Gaster, seaman Bastion Simmons, seaman Peter Smith, seaman William January, seaman John Bute, seaman William Myers, seaman Henrick Myers, seaman John Ainsworth, seaman John Perry, seaman Thomas Chapman, seaman Samuel Donnelly, seaman Thomas Edwards, seaman Charles Elphinston, seaman Gabriel Lingrust, seaman Carl Johan Norman, seaman Richard Haselwood, seaman Samuel Waistcoat, seaman Henry Brame, seaman Henry Ayers, seaman Joseph Campbell, seaman Garrot Gibbons, seaman Thomas Blair, seaman Charles Steward, seaman Forfar, seaman John English, seaman John Hugly, seaman William Walsh, seaman George Hinton, seaman Jasper Rubling, seaman William Darrell, seaman Duncan Lamont, seaman Donald Munro, seaman Donald McFell, seaman George Horough, seaman Thomas Shellouch, seaman William McCow, seaman Duncan Thomson, seaman Finlay McDonald, seaman John Monroe, seaman Francis Mitchell, seaman George McKenzie, seaman Murdoch McPherson, seaman Hugh Ross, seaman Tobbin, seaman True, seaman John Christian, seaman James Roberts, seaman The passengers were listed as follows. Major Hector Munro, His Majesty's 89th Regiment Captain Duncan McPherson, His Majesty's 89th Regiment Captain Charles Gordon, His Majesty's 89th Regiment

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		Lieut. Alexr. McPherson John McPherson Henry Gilchrist Surgeon James Arthur Serjeants Seven Corporals Seven Drummers four Private Men Nine (signed) Women Six Children two, all belonging to his Majestys 89 Regiment Lieut. Frederick Wincent of his Majestys 79 Regiment Capt. George Whitchcott, George Hay late in the Service of the Honble. Company at Bengall Mr. Richard Bendy Patk. Maitland	Lieutenant Alexander McPherson, His Majesty's 89th Regiment Lieutenant John McPherson, His Majesty's 89th Regiment Lieutenant Henry Gilchrist, His Majesty's 89th Regiment Surgeon James Arthur, His Majesty's 89th Regiment 7 sergeants, His Majesty's 89th Regiment 7 corporals, His Majesty's 89th Regiment 4 drummers, His Majesty's 89th Regiment 9 private soldiers, His Majesty's 89th Regiment 6 women, His Majesty's 89th Regiment 2 children, His Majesty's 89th Regiment Lieutenant Frederick Wincant, His Majesty's 79th Regiment Captain George Whitchcott, formerly in the Company's service in Bengal George Hay, formerly in the Company's service in Bengal Richard Bendy Patrick Maitland signed the roll as commander. **Interpretations** The passenger list explains the scale of Maitland's demand for provisions on 27 September 1765. Besides her own crew, the *Bute* was carrying the remnant of a King's regiment home from India, with its officers, sergeants, corporals, drummers, private soldiers, soldiers' wives and children. These were people the ship had to feed for the whole voyage but whose rations were not part of an ordinary East Indiaman's stores. When Maitland wrote that he could not sail with the number of men he had on board, he was describing a ship crowded well beyond her normal complement. That burden helps account for the Council's decision of 30 September 1765 to stretch its own failing stores with five more casks. The 89th was a Highland regiment raised during the Seven Years' War and sent to India, where it fought in the Company's wars in Bengal. Major Hector Munro was its commander and had led the Company's forces to victory at Buxar in 1764. The regiment was being brought home to be disbanded, so the men aboard the *Bute* were the last of a unit whose service had helped establish British power in Bengal. The wives and children travelling with them were the families permitted to follow the regiment on campaign, who now returned with it at the end of its service.
70	65	As we are in want of an Armourer and John Dobson Corporal being a good one, we have discharged him from the Garrison, and Appointed him to that Employ, to serve three Years the remainder of his Contracted Time, at the Usual Salary, to commence from the 1. Instant Major Munro applied to Us for £ 170 out of the Honble. Company's Cash, for the use of his Majesty's eighty ninth Regiment, which sum we have advanced him and taken Bills drawn upon John Purling Esqr. at Ninety Days Sight dated this Day John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council needed an armourer. John Dobson, a corporal, was skilled at the trade, so the Council discharged him from the garrison and appointed him to the post. He was to serve for the three years remaining on his contract, at the standard salary, with effect from 1 October 1765. Major Munro asked the Council to advance £170 0s 0d from the Company's treasury for the use of His Majesty's 89th Regiment. The Council lent him the money and in return took bills, dated the same day, drawn on John Purling in London and payable ninety days after sight. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The returns of the public works, entered on 16 September 1765, show that most skilled men on the island's projects were soldiers working their trades for extra pay while remaining in the garrison. Dobson could have been kept on that footing. The Council chose instead to discharge him and make him a civilian employee of the Company. A soldier on extra pay could be called back to his duties, posted elsewhere or lost when his time expired. By tying his new post to the

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			three years left on his enlistment, the Council secured a full-time armourer for a fixed term without releasing him from service early. The arrangement turned an existing military obligation into a civilian one on terms the Company controlled. Munro's loan ran in the opposite direction to the usual transactions with the treasury. Normally islanders and passengers paid coin in and took bills payable by the Directors in London, as recorded in the cash accounts for July and August 1765. Here the Company paid coin out and took bills drawn on a private person in London, who would repay the sum there. The island's growing cash reserve, which had seen no payments at all during those two months, gave the Council the means to supply a King's regiment in need. Recovering the money through a bill on London meant the advance cost the Company nothing beyond the delay in repayment.
71	66	10th October At a Consultation held on Thursday the 10th Day of October 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was, read, approved, and Signed dated the 7th October 1765 We this day received the following Letter from Captain Maitland vizt. To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. President Govern. &c. of Council of St Helena Honoble. Sir & Sirs I am sorry to Acquaint you of the great difficulty that I find in Beating the Paddy into Rice, the six Company's Slaves and as many of my own People is scarcely able to beat half the Quantity that will serve Two Hundred Men Pr. day. So that it will take my People at the rate we go on at present, Eighty days to beat forty days Rice, which is not quite the Quantity that I want to make up ten Weeks Rice, And if I should happen to meet with bad weather, which there is reason to expect of this season of the Year: I think it will be running a great risque of being drove to the utmost distress for want. I must therefore beg leave to request that you will if possible spare me Twenty days Rice, which is about Three Thousand three Hundred & twenty Pounds, in Lieu of one half the Paddy that you have been pleased	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 10 October 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 7 October 1765 were read, approved and signed. The Council received another letter from Captain Maitland, addressed to the Governor and Council. Maitland reported that husking the paddy into rice was proving very difficult. Six of the Company's slaves, working alongside the same number of his own men, could barely pound half the daily amount needed to feed 200 men. At that pace his crew would need 80 days to clean 40 days' worth of rice, which still fell short of the ten weeks' supply he required. He expected bad weather at that time of year, and feared that meeting it would leave the ship in grave danger of running out of food. He therefore asked the Council, if it could, to let him have twenty days' rice, about 3,320 lb, in exchange for half of the paddy it had already supplied. **Interpretations** The Council had told Maitland on 27 September 1765 that it hoped he would find some way to use the paddy in place of rice. His letter showed how unrealistic that hope was. Paddy had to be pounded in wooden mortars to loosen the husk, then winnowed to separate the grain, all by hand. Even with the Company lending six slaves to the work, the labour could not keep pace with the needs of a ship carrying around 200 people. Grain that looked like a reasonable substitute in the storekeeper's account became, in practice, food that could not be prepared fast enough to be eaten. The figure of 200 men a day confirms how heavily the *Bute* was burdened. Her muster roll, entered on 7 October 1765, listed her crew together with the officers, soldiers, women and children of the 89th Regiment, and Maitland now had to feed all of them. His fear of bad weather was well founded. A ship leaving St Helena in October would reach the northern Atlantic in late autumn or early winter, when storms could delay her for weeks and stretch every ration aboard. The loan of six Company slaves to work on a ship's provisions shows the Company's labour force being used beyond the island's own projects. The same slaves listed among the public workmen could be lent wherever the Company's interest required, including to help a Company ship prepare for sea.
72	67	1765 pleased to Order; For I think I may be able to Beat the other twenty Days Rice in going through the trade Winds, If you are pleased to comply with	Maitland explained that he expected to pound the remaining twenty days' rice while sailing through the trade winds. If the Council agreed to his request, he would be ready to leave for Europe on the evening of Sunday 13 October 1765. He hoped the Council would accept his bills drawn on Charles Raymond to cover

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		this Request I shall then be ready to Sail for Europe on Sunday Evening. I hope you will have no objection to take my Bills on Charles Raymond Esqr. for the Amount of what Provisions and Stores I have received out of the Honorable Company's Store Houses, as also to grant me Money of Bills to pay the Planters, I am with due Respect Honble. Sir & Sirs St Helena Your most Obedient Humble Servant 10th October 1765 (signed) Patk. Maitland Upon which we returned him the following Answer vizt. To the Honble. Patrick Maitland Commander of Ship Bute Sir For the reasons you have set forth in your Letter of this Days date we have agreed at all events to spare you 3000 lb of rice in lieu of half of the Paddy we promised you With respect to your Demand of Cash from the Honorable Company, we are ready to comply with your request as soon as we know the Sum, at the same time Acquainting you that all Money taken up by the Commanders for the use of their Ships must be upon Charter Party Terms. We are likewise to Acquaint you that we have Ordered the eighteen live Cattle for you to take on board, and reserved one for to kill while here which is all you can possibly be supplyed with. We are Sir St Helena Your most humble Servants 10th October 1765 Matw. Purling (signed) John Skottowe Thos. Kirkpatrick Dan Corneille	the provisions and stores he had received from the Company's warehouses. He also asked for money or bills with which to pay the planters. He signed the letter at St Helena on 10 October 1765. The Council replied to Maitland as commander of the *Bute* the same day. In view of the reasons he had given, it agreed in any case to let him have 3,000 lb of rice in exchange for half of the paddy promised to him. It was also ready to advance the cash he wanted from the Company once he told it the sum required. The Council reminded him, however, that any money commanders drew for the use of their ships had to be taken on the terms of the charter party. Finally, it informed him that it had ordered the thirteen live cattle to be put aboard his ship, keeping one back to be slaughtered for him while he remained in port. This was all the supply the island could possibly give. Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the letter. **Interpretations** The charter party was the contract under which the Company hired each ship from her owners, and it set out what costs fell on the owners and what on the Company. By insisting that any cash Maitland drew must be taken on those terms, the Council ensured the money would be charged to the ship's owners and deducted from what the Company owed them for freight, not treated as a gift from the island's treasury. Maitland's offer of bills on Charles Raymond pointed the same way. Raymond was the ship's husband, the managing owner who handled her accounts in London, so the bills shifted the cost of the provisions onto the owners who would ultimately answer for them. The Company supplied the food on the island and recovered its value at home. Maitland's plan to pound the rest of the paddy in the trade winds reflects the conditions of the passage north from St Helena. The south-east trades blew steadily and moderately, giving a ship days of easy sailing with a level deck and little work aloft. Those were the only conditions in which men could spend hours at the mortars without risk. He needed the cleaned rice for the stormy latitudes later in the voyage, when no such work would be possible. His request for money to pay the planters shows he had followed the Council's advice of 27 September 1765 to buy pigs, sheep, goats and other food from the island's farms. Planters wanted coin or a reliable bill, not a ship captain's promise, so Maitland needed the Company's treasury to stand behind his purchases before the farmers would part with their stock.
73	68	10th October The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ship Bute vizt. Account of Stores short received from Ship Bute vizt. No. 1 1 Leagr. Arrack gages Gallon 90 wants to fill Gallo. 69 2 1 Do. Do. Do. 135 Do. Do. 42 225 111 111 Gallons 1[.]4 received 30 Bags Rice 15 Do. Paddy 10 Do. Sugar Short delivered (signed) St Helena James Powell Storekeeper 10th October 1765 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	James Powell, the storekeeper, handed in an account of stores from the *Bute* that fell short on delivery, signed at St Helena on 10 October 1765. Leaguer of arrack no. 1: gauged at 140 gallons, short of full by 69 gallons Leaguer of arrack no. 2: gauged at 145 gallons, short of full by 42 gallons Total gauged: 285 gallons, short of full by 111 gallons, received 174 gallons 30 bags of rice not delivered 15 bags of paddy not delivered 10 bags of sugar not delivered Governor Skottowe and the three councillors signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Gauging a cask meant measuring its full capacity with a calibrated rod, and the gap between that capacity and the liquid actually inside was the ullage. Some loss of spirits on a long voyage was expected, through leakage at the seams and evaporation in the heat of the

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			hold. A shortfall of 69 gallons in a single leaguer, nearly half its contents, went far beyond ordinary wastage. Arrack in the hold was a constant temptation to seamen, who could tap a cask and plug the hole, and such losses were often pilfering rather than leakage. The storekeeper's figures gave the Company the evidence to charge the missing spirits to the ship. The *Bute*'s invoice, entered on 27 September 1765, listed 30 bags of rice, 15 bags of paddy and 10 bags of fine sugar for the island. The storekeeper now recorded every one of those bags as undelivered. During the same fortnight the Council was drawing on its own failing stores to supply the *Bute*, granting salt meat, livestock, paddy and finally 3,000 lb of rice in exchange for paddy. The certificate preserved the Company's claim against the ship for goods the island had been promised but never received, at the very moment the island was feeding her from what little it had left.
74	69	14th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th Day of October 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captain Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 10th October 1765. This day Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Bute for England The Plantation Account for the last Quarter, and the Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of September were this day brought in, which were examined and approved, and are as follow vizt. Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Compy's Table in the Month of Septemr. 1765 8 Bottles Port Wine 12 45 Do. Lisbon 3.7.6 16 Do. Mountain 1.4 30 Do. Beer 6.3 60 Do. Arrack 3.7.6 237 lb Beef 4.7.6 260 Mutton 5.7.6 2 Lambs 1 3 Pigs 15 9 Fowls 11.6 70 lb Candy 1.4 29 lb Butter 1.9 350 Flour 2.1.3 £ 26.13.3	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 October 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 10 October 1765 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Bute* left for England that day. The account of the Company's plantation for the past quarter was submitted, together with the gunner's and steward's accounts for September 1765. The Council examined and approved them all, and their details followed. The steward's account set out the food and drink consumed at the Company's table during September 1765. 8 bottles of port wine, £0 12s 0d 45 bottles of Lisbon wine, £3 7s 6d 16 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 4s 0d 30 bottles of beer, £0 6s 3d 6½ bottles of arrack, £3 7s 6d 237¼ lb of beef, £4 17s 9d 200 lb of mutton, £5 17s 6d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 3 pigs, £0 15s 0d 9 fowls, £0 11s 6d 7 lb of sugar candy, £1 4s 0d 29 lb of butter, £1 9s 0d 330 lb of flour, £2 1s 3d Total, £26 13s 3d **Interpretations** Beef at the Company's table rose from 126 lb in August, as entered on 9 September 1765, to 237¼ lb in September, and lambs and pigs appeared for the first time. The table's total stood at £23 8s 7d for August and £26 13s 3d for September. The change coincides with a crowded month in the road. The *Calcutta* lay at anchor until 8 September and the *Bute* arrived on 25 September carrying Major Munro and the officers of the 89th Regiment. Visiting commanders and officers of rank were customarily entertained at the Governor's table, and the heavier spending on fresh meat probably reflects that hospitality. It came at a time when the Council was telling Maitland the island could spare almost nothing, which shows how differently the island's scarce livestock was rationed between the Governor's guests and the ships' companies. The plantation account covered the Company's own farm, run by its slaves to produce cattle, sheep, vegetables and other food for the garrison and the Company's establishment. Its accounts were rendered quarterly rather than monthly, reflecting the slower cycle of farming. Read alongside the provision crisis of late September, they showed the Council how much the Company's own land was contributing to the island's food supply at a time when imported stores were running low.

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			The *Bute* sailed on Monday 14 October 1765, a day later than the Sunday evening departure Maitland had planned in his letter of 10 October 1765.
75	70	14th October Account of the Honble. Company's Stocks of Neat Cattle &c. from the 1 July to the 30th September 1765 vizt. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses [...], Asses [...], Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining 1 July: 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 2[.]2, 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 8, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 14, Asses [...] 1, Asses [...] 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 35, Poultry Ducks 16, Poultry Turkeys 5, Poultry Geese 4 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 8, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 8, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 90, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 90, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 39, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 39, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 9, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 9, Horses Horses 1, Horses Mares 1, Horses Total 2, Asses [...] 0, Asses [...] 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 18, Poultry Ducks 11, Poultry Turkeys 10, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 74, Neat Cattle Calves 119, Neat Cattle Yearlings 47, Neat Cattle Heifers 27, Neat Cattle Steers 20, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 306, Sheep Ewes 202, Sheep Weathers 78, Sheep Lambs 302, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 679, Goats Ewes 150, Goats Weathers 37, Goats Kids 110, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 305, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 9, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 10, Horses Horses 9, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 16, Asses [...] 1, Asses [...] 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 53, Poultry Ducks 27, Poultry Turkeys 15, Poultry Geese 4 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 6, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 10, Neat Cattle Steers 10, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 26, Sheep Ewes 18, Sheep Weathers 36, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 56, Goats Ewes 40, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kids 3, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 53, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 4, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses [...] 0, Asses [...] 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 23, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 1, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 5, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 12, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 15, Goats Ewes 6, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 2, Goats Rams 1, Goats Total 9, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 2, Horses Total 7, Asses [...] 0, Asses [...] 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 9, Poultry Turkeys 1, Poultry Geese 0	The account of the Company's livestock for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1765 recorded the numbers of each kind of animal held, gained, killed and lost. Cattle remaining 1 July 1765: bulls 3, cows 74, calves 111, yearlings 47, heifers 27, steers 20, oxen 16, total 298 Cattle increase: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 8, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 0, oxen 0, total 8 Cattle total: bulls 3, cows 74, calves 119, yearlings 47, heifers 27, steers 20, oxen 16, total 306 Cattle killed: bulls 0, cows 6, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 10, steers 10, oxen 0, total 26 Cattle died: bulls 0, cows 1, calves 0, yearlings 1, heifers 1, steers 1, oxen 1, total 5 Cattle remaining 30 September 1765: bulls 3, cows 67, calves 119, yearlings 46, heifers 16, steers 9, oxen 15, total 275 Cattle regraded by age: bulls 3, cows 87, calves 58, yearlings 50, heifers 30, steers 30, oxen 17, total 275 Sheep remaining 1 July 1765: ewes 292, wethers 78, lambs 212, rams 7, total 589 Sheep increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, lambs 90, rams 0, total 90 Sheep total: ewes 292, wethers 78, lambs 302, rams 7, total 679 Sheep killed: ewes 18, wethers 36, lambs 2, rams 0, total 56 Sheep died: ewes 3, wethers 0, lambs 12, rams 0, total 15 Sheep remaining 30 September 1765: ewes 271, wethers 42, lambs 288, rams 7, total 608 Sheep regraded by age: ewes 354, wethers 145, lambs 102, rams 7, total 608 Goats remaining 1 July 1765: ewes 150, wethers 37, kids 71, rams 8, total 266 Goats increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, kids 39, rams 0, total 39 Goats total: ewes 150, wethers 37, kids 110, rams 8, total 305 Goats killed: ewes 40, wethers 10, kids 3, rams 0, total 53 Goats died: ewes 6, wethers 0, kids 2, rams 1, total 9 Goats remaining 30 September 1765: ewes 104, wethers 27, kids 105, rams 7, total 243 Goats regraded by age: ewes 109, wethers 34, kids 93, rams 7, total 243 Hogs remaining 1 July 1765: sows 1, young hogs 0, pigs 0, boars 0, total 1 Hogs increase: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 9, boars 0, total 9 Hogs total: sows 1, young hogs 0, pigs 9, boars 0, total 10 Hogs killed: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 4, boars 0, total 4 Hogs died: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 1, boars 0, total 1 Hogs remaining 30 September 1765: sows 1, young hogs 0, pigs 4, boars 0, total 5 Hogs regraded by age: sows 1, young hogs 4, pigs 0, boars 0, total 5 Horses remaining 1 July 1765: horses 8, mares 6, total 14 Horses increase: horses 1, mares 1, total 2 Horses total: horses 9, mares 7, total 16 Horses killed: horses 0, mares 0, total 0 Horses died: horses 5, mares 2, total 7 Horses remaining 30 September 1765: horses 4, mares 5, total 9 Horses regraded by age: horses 4, mares 5, total 9

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		Remaining 30th July: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 67, Neat Cattle Calves 119, Neat Cattle Yearlings 46, Neat Cattle Heifers 16, Neat Cattle Steers 9, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 275, Sheep Ewes 271, Sheep Weathers 42, Sheep Lambs 288, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 608, Goats Ewes 104, Goats Weathers 27, Goats Kids 105, Goats Rams 7, Goats Total 243, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 9, Asses [...] 1, Asses [...] 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 4 Changed the Species: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 87, Neat Cattle Calves 58, Neat Cattle Yearlings 50, Neat Cattle Heifers 30, Neat Cattle Steers 30, Neat Cattle Oxen 17, Neat Cattle Total 275, Sheep Ewes 354, Sheep Weathers 145, Sheep Lambs 102, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 608, Goats Ewes 109, Goats Weathers 34, Goats Kids 93, Goats Rams 7, Goats Total 243, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 9, Asses [...] 1, Asses [...] 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 4 Blacks Dead Essex Highgate Joe Taylor Flora Hannah Prince Girls 1 Boy born named James Chatthom Yam Expended for the Slaves lb 71.266 (signed) Dan Corneille	Asses remaining 1 July 1765: male asses 1, female asses 1, total 2 Asses increase: male asses 0, female asses 0, total 0 Asses total: male asses 1, female asses 1, total 2 Asses killed: male asses 0, female asses 0, total 0 Asses died: male asses 0, female asses 0, total 0 Asses remaining 30 September 1765: male asses 1, female asses 1, total 2 Asses regraded by age: male asses 1, female asses 1, total 2 Poultry remaining 1 July 1765: fowls 35, ducks 16, turkeys 5, geese 4 Poultry increase: fowls 18, ducks 11, turkeys 10, geese 0 Poultry total: fowls 53, ducks 27, turkeys 15, geese 4 Poultry killed: fowls 23, ducks 0, turkeys 0, geese 0 Poultry died: fowls 0, ducks 9, turkeys 1, geese 0 Poultry remaining 30 September 1765: fowls 30, ducks 18, turkeys 14, geese 4 Poultry regraded by age: fowls 30, ducks 18, turkeys 14, geese 4 Below the table the account recorded the Company's slaves who had died during the quarter, together with one birth and the yams issued as food. Essex, slave, died Highgate, slave, died Joe Taylor, slave, died Flora, slave girl, died Hannah, slave girl, died Prince, slave girl, died James Chatham, slave boy, born Yams issued to the slaves, 71,266 lb Daniel Corneille signed the account. **Interpretations** The deaths and the birth of the Company's slaves were entered at the foot of the livestock account, on the same page as the cattle, sheep and goats. Six names were recorded as lost and one child as gained, in the same terms of decrease and increase used for the animals above them. The Company counted its slaves as plantation stock, an asset whose numbers had to be accounted for each quarter alongside its herds. The newborn was given a full English name, James Chatham, chosen by his owners, while the adults who died were known by single names or names such as Essex and Highgate, taken from English places. The yams issued to them show the slaves fed on a crop grown on the island rather than on the imported rice and salt meat that were running short for the garrison. The account clarifies the Council's letter to Captain Maitland of 27 September 1765, which said the *Bute* was receiving the whole remainder of the year's stock of cattle and sheep. The herd still stood at 275 cattle and 608 sheep at the end of the quarter, so the island was not stripped of animals. What the Council treated as available for use was the year's surplus, the increase beyond what was needed to keep the breeding herd intact. Cows, ewes and rams were capital, and only the young animals and those past breeding could be killed or sold without reducing the island's future supply. That distinction explains why the Council could refuse Maitland further livestock while its own pastures held hundreds of animals. The final line of the table regraded every animal by age. Over three months, calves grew into yearlings, yearlings into heifers and steers, and lambs into ewes and wethers, so the counts in each class had to be redistributed even though the total stayed the same. The regraded figures became the opening numbers for the next quarter. Lieutenant Governor Corneille signed the account because the Company's plantation and its stock were under his direct management, reporting to the Council each quarter.

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76	71	1765 Artillery Stores expended in the Month of Septem. 1765 Guns Fired, lb 4, lb 3, lb 2, lb 1, Powder Expended 1. Arrived the Calcutta: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 9 12 Small Cartridges delivered to the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 12 Salute for Captain Jacksons coming on Shore: Guns Fired 13, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 13, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 13 4th Delivered to Blow Lime Stone: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 6 6th Do.: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 6 8 24 Small Cartridges for the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 1.8 Salute for Captain Jacksons going on board: Guns Fired 13, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 13, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 13 11th Powder to Blow Limestone: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 6 23d Do. for the Long Wood: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 8 25. An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended 12 Arrived the Bute: Guns Fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 9 26th Salute to Major Munro coming on Shore: Guns Fired 13, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 13, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 13 Powder to repair the Main Guard Cartridges: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 8 Do. for priming at different Times: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended 12.8 Total: Guns Fired 63, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 57, lb 1 2, Powder Expended 102.12 Tallow for the use of the Carpenters, and Boats lb 22 Old Handspikes delivered for the Company's use 6 Lead Balls to the Overseer of the Long Wood 30 Handspikes Expended at Practice 2 (signed) R. Mitchell John Skottowe Dan Corneille Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The gunner's account for September 1765 recorded the artillery stores used during the month. For each occasion it gave the guns fired, the number of 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder consumed. The *Calcutta* arrived on 1 September 1765, with guns fired 9, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 9 lb 0 oz. 12 small cartridges issued to the Main Guard, 1 September 1765: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 0 lb 12 oz Salute for Captain Jackson landing, 1 September 1765: guns fired 13, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0, powder used 13 lb 0 oz Powder issued for blasting limestone, 4 September 1765: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz Powder issued for blasting limestone, 6 September 1765: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz 24 small cartridges for the Main Guard, 8 September 1765: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 1 lb 8 oz Salute for Captain Jackson returning aboard, 8 September 1765: guns fired 13, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0, powder used 13 lb 0 oz Powder for blasting limestone, 11 September 1765: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 6 lb 0 oz Powder for Longwood, 23 September 1765: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 0 lb 8 oz Alarm, 25 September 1765: guns fired 6, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder used 12 lb 0 oz The *Bute* arrived on 25 September 1765, with guns fired 9, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0 and powder used 9 lb 0 oz. Salute for Major Munro landing, 26 September 1765: guns fired 13, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0, powder used 13 lb 0 oz Powder for making good the Main Guard's cartridges: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 0 lb 8 oz Priming powder used on various occasions: guns fired 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder used 12 lb 8 oz Total: guns fired 63, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 57, 1-pounders 2, powder used 102 lb 12 oz The account closed with a note of other stores used or issued. 22 lb of tallow for the carpenters and the boats 6 old handspikes issued for the Company's use 30 lead balls issued to the overseer at Longwood 2 handspikes broken at gun practice Archibald Mitchell signed the account, and Governor Skottowe and the three councillors added their signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The salutes show the island's ceremonial scale of rank. A Company ship arriving received nine guns, but individual officers of standing received thirteen when they came ashore, the same honour given to the Dutch ship *West Friesland* in August. Captain John Jackson, listed among the *Calcutta*'s passengers on 6 September 1765, was saluted both on landing and on returning aboard, and Major Munro of the 89th Regiment received thirteen guns the day after the *Bute* arrived. The guns marked a visitor's rank as much as his arrival,

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			and each salute was paid for in powder the island kept in short supply. The powder and 30 lead balls issued to the overseer at Longwood point to musket shooting rather than gun drill. Longwood was a stretch of Company woodland and pasture in the island's interior. The issue was probably for culling the wild goats that damaged trees and grazing there, in line with the cartridges supplied for shooting goats in August 1765. The alarm on 25 September 1765 matches the arrival of the *Bute*'s boat at Banks's that afternoon, as recorded on 27 September 1765. As with the *Calcutta*'s boat on 31 August, a boat sighted off the coast was enough to turn out the garrison before the ship herself was identified. The month's firing came to 63 guns and 102 lb 12 oz of powder, against 93 guns and 164 lb 13 oz in August and 61 guns and 99 lb 2 oz in July. September saw only two Company ships arrive and no departures saluted, so the main occasions for firing were the honours paid to visiting officers.
77	72	21. October At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 Day of October 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed, dated the 21 October 1765. The Paymaster brought in his Accounts and the Storekeeper his Collections for the Quarter ending the 30 September last which were examined and approved, and are as follow vizt. List of the Honble. Company's Officers & Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salary's Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Commencing the 1 July and ending the 30th Day of September 1765 vizt. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Salary 125 Do. Allowance for Servants as usual 31.14.9 156.14.9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Saly. 62.10 Do. Diet Money 25 87.10 Matthew Purling 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 Mitchell Engineer Salary 50 Do. Diet Money 25 Do. House Rent 2.10 77.10 Carried Over £ 394.14.9	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 October 1765. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 14 October 1765 were read, approved and signed. The paymaster submitted his accounts, and the storekeeper his collections, for the quarter ending 30 September 1765. The Council examined and approved both, and their details followed. The first was a list of the Company's officers and servants on St Helena, with their salaries, food allowances and other payments for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1765. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, Governor, customary allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe, Governor, total, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, food allowance, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling, member of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, food allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, total, £62 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, food allowance, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, house rent, £2 10s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, total, £77 10s 0d Carried forward, £394 14s 9d **Interpretations** Matthew Purling's pay shows how the Company's servants on the island built an income from several posts at once. His salary as a councillor was modest, but he was also paid as accountant and received a food allowance and a gratuity on top. Small salaries attached to many offices allowed the Company to keep its establishment cheap on paper while rewarding its trusted men through extra duties. The arrangement also concentrated authority, since the same councillor who approved the island's accounts was paid to keep them.

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			Mitchell's salary as engineer stood well above that of any councillor and came close to the Lieutenant Governor's. The Company was paying for scarce professional skill. Few men trained in fortification would serve on a remote island, and the size of his salary reflects the importance the Directors attached to the works he had come to plan and direct. Captain Kirkpatrick's small salary and house rent came on top of his military pay as a captain of the garrison, which was accounted for separately. His seat on the Council was an additional office rather than his main livelihood, which explains why his entry here was the smallest of the five.
78	73	1765 Brought over £ 394.14.9 John Thackeray Chaplain Saly. 25 Do. Diet Money 15 40 Matthew Bazett Secretary Saly. 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 Factor Saly. 7.10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2.10 Do. Assistant to the Governor 10 30 Jonathan Doveton Factor Salary 7.10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 22.10 Britannicus Wright Writer Salary 5 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2.10 17.10 John Goodwin Writer Saly. 5 Do. Diet Money 10 15 Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary 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	The list of the Company's salaried officers and servants continued as follows. Brought forward, £394 14s 9d John Thackeray, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d John Thackeray, chaplain, food allowance, £15 0s 0d John Thackeray, chaplain, total, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, Secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, Secretary, food allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, Secretary, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, Secretary, total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, food allowance, £15 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, factor, food allowance, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £30 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, food allowance, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, total, £22 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, food allowance, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, house rent, £2 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, total, £17 10s 0d John Goodwin, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, writer, food allowance, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, writer, total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, food allowance, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, food allowance, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £3 0s 3d Richard Beale, total, £13 0s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Thomas Warne, overseer, £12 10s 0d Samuel Alexander and Thomas Warne, overseers, total, £20 0s 0d Carried forward, £664 3s 0d **Interpretations** The titles of writer and factor were the lower rungs of the East India Company's civil career ladder. A young man entered the service as a writer, essentially a clerk, and rose by seniority to factor, then junior

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		18.15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate 10 Do. Schoolmaster 3.0.3 13.0.3 Samuel Alexander 7.10 Thomas Warne Overseers 12.10 20 Carried over £ 664.3	merchant and senior merchant. Each grade carried a fixed salary that was deliberately small, with the real income coming from allowances, extra posts and opportunities for private trade. On St Helena, where private trade was limited, factors such as Wrangham and Doveton supplemented their pay by taking on additional duties as assistant to the Governor or assistant storekeeper. Many of the names on the pay list appear also on the rent roll entered on 30 September 1765. Jonathan Doveton, William Wrangham, Richard Beale, Samuel Alexander and Thomas Warne were all landholders paying rent to the Company, and John Pritchard and James Powell held town plots. The island's officials, overseers and surgeons came from the same small circle of families who farmed its land. The Company was at once their employer, their landlord and their government, and the same men collected its rents, kept its accounts and paid its dues. Richard Beale combined the posts of judge advocate and schoolmaster. The judge advocate was the legal officer who prepared and conducted prosecutions before courts martial and advised the island's courts on procedure. Joining that role with teaching the island's children shows how a small community had to draw every educated function from a handful of men, whatever the apparent mismatch between the duties.
79	74	21. October 22. Brought over £ 664.3 William Holbrook Master Mason Saly. 30 Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Saly. 19.10 49.10 John Robinson Carpenters Saly. from July 1 to 28 Inclusive at £ 55 Pr. Year 4.1.3½ Do. from July 29 at £ 70 Pr. Year 17.10.8½ 21.11.11½ Joseph Chamberlain Carpenter Mate Saly. 12.10 Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace Saly. 10 John Bazett Superintendant over the Honble. Compys. Lands 10 David Pelford Gardener to the 31 July 3.6.8 Thomas Watts Gardener from Augt. the 1 6.13.4 James Torbett Cooper 8.15 Thomas Perrin Steward to the 12th August 3.10.8 George Bazett Do. from the 13th Do. 3.18.10½ Samuel Perry Clock & Instrument Cleaner 1.5 Thomas Payne overseer of the Honble. Compys. Workmen 6.16.10½ Zedekiah Saunderson Groom 2 George Steet Armourer to the 9 July 16 John Dobson Do. from the 10th Do. 3.4 Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms 6.5 John Criswell Patron of the Long Boat 7.10 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7.10	The list of the Company's salaried officers and servants continued with its craftsmen and lesser officials, followed by the officers of the first company of the garrison. Brought forward, £664 3s 0d William Holbrook, master mason, salary, £30 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d Masons, total, £49 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary from 1 to 28 July inclusive at £53 0s 0d a year, £4 1s 3½d John Robinson, carpenter, salary from 29 July at £100 0s 0d a year, £17 10s 8[...]d John Robinson, carpenter, total, £21 11s 11½d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, salary, £12 10s 0d Phillips Mahoney, clerk of the peace, salary, £10 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent over the Company's [...], £10 0s 0d David Belford, gardener, to 31 July, £3 6s 8d Thomas Watts, gardener, from 1 August, £6 13s 4d James Torbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d Thomas Perrin, steward, to 12 August, £3 10s 8d George Bazett, steward, from 13 August, £3 13s 10½d Samuel Perry, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Thomas Payne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Street, armourer, to 9 July, £0 16s 0d John Dobson, armourer, from 10 July, £8 4s 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 Craftsmen and lesser officials, total, £91 11s 5d First company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d First company: Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d First company: Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d

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		William Smith Clark 5 91.11.5 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Saly. 45.12.6 Solomon St Maurice Lieut. Salary 18.5 Do. Diet Money 6.16.10½ Do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10½ Carried Over £ 912.9	First company: Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d First company: Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £912 0s 9d **Interpretations** William Holbrook, the mason who petitioned for a plot of waste ground in the valley on 26 August 1765 and received his lease on 23 September 1765, was the Company's master mason. His salary here confirms that the man seeking to build a house near the town was the senior craftsman on the island's works, the one who directed the masonry Mitchell planned. The powder issued to "the mason" for blasting limestone in the artillery accounts was therefore drawn by the man responsible for all the Company's stonework. Several of the posts on this page were the machinery of law and order. The clerk of the peace kept the records of the island's courts and drew up their proceedings, the marshal served summonses and enforced the courts' orders, and the gaoler held prisoners awaiting trial or punishment. Combining marshal and gaoler in John Price meant the officer who arrested a person was also the one who kept him locked up, a concentration of power typical of a small establishment. Captain Kirkpatrick's pay as commander of the first company stood at £45 12s 6d for the quarter, against only £7 10s 0d as a member of Council. His military command was his principal employment, and his seat on the Council came as an addition to it. Solomon St Maurice likewise drew pay twice over, as lieutenant of the company and as master at arms, the officer responsible for the garrison's weapons and small-arms drill. John Robinson's pay as carpenter rose from £53 0s 0d to £100 0s 0d a year from 29 July 1765. The page gives no reason, but the rise came in the season when Mitchell was surveying the defences and preparing his plans, and it perhaps marks Robinson's promotion to lead the carpentry on the coming works.
80	75	1765 Brought over £ 912.9 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 Steward 7.12.1 Phillip Mahoney 7.12.1 Thomas Payne 7.12.1 William Bannister 7.12.1 30.8.4 Corporals Anthoney Reynolds 5.6.5½ Joseph Stacey 5.6.5½ William Bunn 5.6.5½ George Rowe July 9th Reduced 10.6 Do. Centinel from July 10	The list of the garrison's officers and men continued as follows. Brought forward, £912 0s 9d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, total, £29 13s 1½d John Steward, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Payne, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Bannister, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Anthony Reynolds, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Stacey, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Dunn, corporal, £5 6s 5½d George Rowe, corporal to 9 July, then reduced in rank, £0 10s 6d George Rowe, private soldier from 10 July, £3 9s 2d Corporals, total, £19 19s 0½d Henry Howell, drummer to 9 July, then made corporal, £0 10s 6d Henry Howell, corporal from 10 July, £4 16s 10d Richard Plaffet, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Beecham, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £16 0s 3d John Stewart, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d

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		3.9.2 19.19.½ Drummers Henry Howell July 9 made Corporal 10.6 Do. Corporal from 10th July 4.16.10 Richard Plaffet 5.6.5½ Joseph Beecham 5.6.5½ 16.3 Centinels John Stewart 3.16.½ John Allis 3.16.½ John Artenstall 3.16.½ John Allman 3.16.½ Centinels Carried over £ 15.4.2 Carried over £ 1035.13.4½	John Allis, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Artenstall, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Allman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £15 4s 2d Carried forward, £1,035 13s 4½d **Interpretations** George Rowe was reduced from corporal to private soldier on 9 July 1765, and on the same day Henry Howell was promoted from drummer to corporal. The paired entries show demotion working as a tool of discipline. Reducing a non-commissioned officer cost him rank, authority and pay at a stroke, and his place was filled at once from below, so the company's strength in corporals never fell. A promotion that followed directly on another man's disgrace also served as a visible lesson to the rest of the garrison. Henry Howell was the corporal whose daughter Sarah died on 28 August 1765, as recorded on 2 September 1765. Two of the sergeants held civil posts as well. Phillip Mahoney was also clerk of the peace and Thomas Payne overseer of the Company's workmen, both listed on the previous page of the pay list. The return of public workmen entered on 16 September 1765 recorded the works overseen by two sergeants and a corporal. The garrison's non-commissioned officers thus formed the backbone of the island's civil administration as well as its military discipline, each drawing a second salary for duties performed alongside his soldiering. The pay list called its private soldiers sentinels, the term then usual in the Company's forces for the ordinary rank and file. An adjutant was the officer who assisted the commander with the daily administration of the garrison, issuing orders, keeping its records and overseeing drill.
81	76	21. October 22. Brought over £ 1035.13.4½ Centinels brought over £ 15.4.2 James Avery 3.16.½ James Armstrong 3.16.½ Thomas Berwick 3.16.½ John Brown 3.16.½ John Buckmans 3.16.½ Thomas Blake 3.16.½ Moses Baffin 3.16.½ John Brill 3.16.½ John Barnes 3.16.½ Timothy Bryan 3.16.½ Emanuel Bunner Entd. 4th August 2.8.4 David Belford Entd. Do. Do. 2.10.10 Edward Cocker 3.16.½ Henry Crabb 3.16.½ William Clifford 3.16.½ Patrick Conner 3.16.½ Isaac Day 3.16.½ Henry Dudley 3.16.½	The list of the garrison's private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,035 13s 4½d Private soldiers brought forward, £15 4s 2d James Avery, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Buckmans, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Moses Baffin, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Brill, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Bryer, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Emanuel Bunner, private soldier, enlisted 4 August, £2 8s 4d David Belford, private soldier, enlisted 4 August, £2 10s 10d Edward Cocker, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Clifford, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Connor, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d David Davies, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William French, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby, private soldier, died 18 August, £2 0s 10d Private soldiers carried forward, £121 1s 3d Carried forward, £1,035 13s 4½d **Interpretations**

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		John Davis 3.16.½ John Dove 3.16.½ David Davies 3.16.½ James Drake 3.16.½ Thomas Durham 3.16.½ James Dunn 3.16.½ Samuel Eales 3.16.½ Adam Evans 3.16.½ Cornelius Fish 3.16.½ William French 3.16.½ Jonathan Godby Augt. 13th Died 2.10 Centinels Carried over £ 121.1.3 Carried Over £ 1035.13.4½	Pay was reckoned to the day, so a soldier's entry ended exactly when his service did. Jonathan Godby, whose death on 18 August 1765 was recorded on 19 August 1765 and whose funeral volleys appear in the August artillery account, was paid only up to that date. Emanuel Bunner and David Belford, who enlisted on 4 August, were paid from that date forward. The Company paid nothing for days a man was not on its books, and the quarterly list allowed the Council to check every broken period against the dates of death, enlistment, promotion and discharge recorded elsewhere. David Belford had appeared on the previous page of the pay list as the Company's gardener up to 31 July 1765. Four days later he enlisted as a private soldier. A civilian post that ended on the last day of July was followed almost at once by enlistment, showing how the garrison absorbed men who lost or left other Company employment on an island with few alternative livelihoods.
82	77	1765 Brought over £ 1035.13.4½ Centinels brought over £ 121.1.3 William Greenwood 3.16.½ John Grainger 3.16.½ Thomas Ferris Sept. 23 Transfd. 3.10.10 William Hawks 3.16.½ William Henderson 3.16.½ James Hodge 3.16.½ John Houston 3.16.½ Edward Haddock 3.16.½ William Holmes 3.16.½ William Johnson July 5th Died 1.3.4 Richard Knight 3.16.½ William Luke 3.16.½ Duncan McClean 3.16.½ William Mumford 3.16.½ John May 3.16.½ Thomas Meares 3.16.½ John McAllester 3.16.½ John Pickering 3.16.½ Thomas Pearce 3.16.½ Michael Read 3.16.½ Thomas Roberts 3.16.½ William Robertson 3.16.½ Thomas Ransome 3.16.½ William Rollands 3.16.½	The list of the garrison's private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,035 13s 4½d Private soldiers brought forward, £121 1s 3d William Greenwood, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ferris, private soldier, transferred 23 September, £3 10s 10d William Hawks, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Houston, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, private soldier, died 23 July, £1 3s 4d Richard Knight, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Luke, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaron, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John May, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Meares, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John McAllester, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Michael Read, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransome, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Rollands, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Relf, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Sheen, private soldier, enlisted 24 September, £0 5s 10d Private soldiers carried forward, £224 18s 4d Carried forward, £1,035 13s 4½d **Interpretations** The quarter's entries show the garrison losing and gaining men steadily. William Johnson died on 23 July and Jonathan Godby on 18 August, Thomas Ferris was transferred out on 23 September, and George Rowe and Henry Howell changed rank in July. Against these losses, Emanuel Bunner and David Belford enlisted on 4 August and John Sheen on 24 September. Recruits drawn on the island itself kept the companies near strength between the occasional drafts of soldiers sent out from England, which could take many months to arrive. Each change was entered to the exact day, so

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Johannes Relf 3.16.½ Thomas Rogers 3.16.½ William Sowby 3.16.½ John Springthorp 3.16.½ John Sheens Entd. 24th September 5.10 Centinels Carried over £ 224.18.4 Carried Over £ 1035.13.4½	the pay list doubled as a running record of the garrison's numbers.
83	78	21. October 22. Brought over £ 1035.13.4½ Centinels brought over £ 224.18.4 Edward Siny 3.16.½ John Taylor 3.16.½ Richard Tettington 3.16.½ William Tipper 3.16.½ Luke Vernon 3.16.½ John Wellingdale 3.16.½ Benjamin Wise 3.16.½ Thomas Windall 3.16.½ John Weston 3.16.½ George Wall 3.16.½ Richard Yonces 3.16.½ Thomas Yates 3.16.½ 270.10.10 Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Saly. 45.12.6 Michael Frost Lieut. Salary 18.5 Do. Diet Money 6.16.10½ Do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10½ John Wm. Welch Lieut. Saly. 18.5 Do. Diet Money 6.16.10½ Do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7.12.1 Thomas Wellington 7.12.1 William Greenough 7.12.1 John Fish 7.12.1 30.8.4 Carried over £ 1437.8.9½	The list of the garrison's private soldiers ended, and the officers and sergeants of the second company followed. Brought forward, £1,035 13s 4½d Private soldiers brought forward, £224 18s 4d Edward Terry, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tottington, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Tippes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Wellingdale, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Yates, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers, total, £270 10s 10d Second company: Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Second company: Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Second company: Michael Frost, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Second company: Michael Frost, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Second company: Michael Frost, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Second company: John William Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Second company: John William Welch, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Second company: John William Welch, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Second company: John William Welch, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Second company: John Bazett, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Second company: Thomas Wellington, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Second company: William Greenough, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Second company: John Fish, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Second company sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Carried forward, £1,437 8s 9½d **Interpretations** The Bazett name runs through the Company's establishment on the island. Henry Bazett commanded the second company, John Bazett served as one of its sergeants and as a superintendent of Company property, Matthew Bazett was Secretary to the Council, and George Bazett had become steward of the Company's table on 13 August 1765. Henry and Matthew Bazett also appear on the rent roll of 30 September 1765 as substantial landholders. On a small island where the Council filled most posts itself, one family could come to hold military command, civil office and land at the same time. Such concentrations gave the leading families a strong hold on island affairs and a direct interest in the Company's administration, since their incomes depended on it from several directions at once.

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84	79	1765 Brought over £ 1437.8.9½ Corporals William Shepherd 5.6.5½ Samuel Gerd 5.6.5½ Thomas Newton 5.6.5½ John Dobson 5.6.5½ 21.5.10 Drummers Robert Davis 5.6.5½ Francis Seoane 5.6.5½ 10.12.11 Centinels Samuel Allston 3.16.½ Thomas Adams 3.16.½ Joseph Barkes 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 Bristol 3.16.½ Daniel Bye 3.16.½ James Byrne 3.16.½ William Bill 3.16.½ John Brown 3.16.½ Edward Couzens 3.16.½ Thomas Cheerly 3.16.½ William Conquest 3.16.½ William Clay 3.16.½ John Crawley 3.16.½ Centinels Carried over £ 68.[.].9 Carried over £ 1469.7.6½ **Margin Notes:** 10d	The second company's pay list continued with its corporals, drummers and private soldiers. Brought forward, £1,437 8s 9½d William Stapleford, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Cord, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Newton, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Dobson, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £21 5s 10d Robert Davis, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Francis Scoane, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Samuel Allstone, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bell, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Brashel, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Bell, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £68 8s 9d Carried forward, £1,469 7s 6½d **Interpretations** John Dobson still drew a full corporal's pay for the quarter ending 30 September 1765. On 7 October 1765 the Council discharged him from the garrison and appointed him armourer, with his new salary starting on 1 October. Timing the change to the first day of a new quarter meant his military pay closed cleanly on one list and his civilian salary opened on the next, with no broken period to calculate and no risk of his being paid twice for the same days.
85	80	21. October 22. Brought over £ 1469.7.6½ Centinels brought over £ 68.[.].9 William Carfree 3.16.½ Robert Dickens 3.16.½ William Dinman 3.16.½ George Exton 3.16.½ William Finch 3.16.½ William Isaac Ford Desertd. 8th August 1.12.6 William Fullwood	The second company's list of private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,469 7s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £68 8s 9d William Carfrae, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Durman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford, private soldier, deserted 8 August, £1 12s 6d William Fullwood, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Godsole, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d

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		3.16.½ William Fry 3.16.½ George Fearnon 3.16.½ John Forbes 3.16.½ John Godbsole 3.16.½ John Gray 3.16.½ Robert Green 3.16.½ Charles Goulding 3.16.½ Thomas Green Augt. 1 Transfd. 1.6.8 James Gates 3.16.½ William Harris Senr. 3.16.½ William Harris Junr. 3.16.½ Abraham Harding 3.16.½ John Harwood 3.16.½ Samuel Hiles 3.16.½ William Hookley 3.16.½ John Holbrook 3.16.½ James Hudson 3.16.½ Thomas Haites 3.16.½ William Hayes 3.16.½ Robert Hopkinson 3.16.½ William Hunt 3.16.½ Samuel Instone 3.16.½ Centinels Carried Over £ 174.1.½ Carried Over £ 1469.7.6½	John Gray, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Charles Goulding, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Gunn, private soldier, transferred 1 August, £1 6s 8d James Gates, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Harris senior, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Harris junior, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Harwood, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hopkinson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Hunt, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £174 1s 0½d Carried forward, £1,469 7s 6½d **Interpretations** The pay list closes the story of William Isaac Ford. On 12 August 1765 the Council recorded that he went missing on the day the *Pitt* sailed and concluded he had deserted aboard her, since searches of the *Carnarvon* and the *London* failed to find him. The paymaster now entered him as a deserter from 8 August, the very day the *Pitt* left the road. His pay ran only to that date, and the formal entry turned the Council's inference into an official record of desertion. That record would follow him to England, where a man who had deserted the Company's service could be pursued, denied any wages still owing and barred from further employment.
86	81	1765 Brought over £ 1469.7.6½ Centinels brought over £ 174.1.½ Richard James 3.16.½ William Johnson 3.16.½ Jeremiah Jourden 3.16.½ Samuel Kitson 3.16.½ Evan Knowles 3.16.½ Henry Kirkham 3.16.½ Edmond Leach 3.16.½ John Lewis 3.16.½ Thomas Mudge 3.16.½ Henry Miller 3.16.½ James Mannington 3.16.½ John Morris 3.16.½ Samuel Perry	The second company's list of private soldiers ended as follows. Brought forward, £1,469 7s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £174 1s 0½d Richard James, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jourden, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Kirkham, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leech, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Miller, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Morris, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchen, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Peir, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Pingo, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Richards, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Shiff, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Skewers, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Stone, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Shrubshall, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Sabourin, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Avery Truman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d

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		3.16.½ William Pinchen 3.16.½ Stephen Prior 3.16.½ Abraham Pring 3.16.½ Thomas Richards 3.16.½ John Christian Shiff 3.16.½ Thomas Stevens 3.16.½ Benjamin Stringer 3.16.½ William Stone 3.16.½ John Shrubshall 3.16.½ John Sabourin 3.16.½ Avery Sherman 3.16.½ John Tucker 3.16.½ Thomas Wyatt 3.16.½ Thomas Wintill 3.16.½ 276.14.2 Carried Over £ 1746.1.8½	John Tucker, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Winsill, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers, total, £276 14s 2d Carried forward, £1,746 1s 8½d **Interpretations** Samuel Perry, listed here as a private soldier, also appeared earlier in the same pay list as the Company's cleaner of clocks and instruments. The practice of soldiers holding a second paid post was not confined to sergeants such as Phillip Mahoney and Thomas Payne. Even a private with a useful skill could draw a civilian salary alongside his military pay, which gave the Company access to tradesmen it could not otherwise have found among the island's small free population.
87	82	21. October 22. Brought over £ 1746.1.8½ Third Company Richard Beale Captain 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 Bridgwaters Lieut. Saly. 18.5 Do. Diet Money 6.16.10½ Do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10½ Sergeants Roger Wilsden 7.12.1 William Robinson 7.12.1 Barnard Millard 7.12.1 David Patton 7.12.1 30.8.4 Corporals William Roberts 5.6.5½ Thomas Pearce Septr. 23 reduced 4.19.2 Do. Centinel from the 24th Sept. 5.10 William Gorden 5.6.5½ John Vaughan 5.6.5½ 21.2.½ Drummers John Twaits 5.6.5½	The pay list continued with the officers and men of the third company. Brought forward, £1,746 1s 8½d Third company: Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Third company: Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Third company: Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Third company: Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Third company: Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Third company: John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Third company: John Bridgwater, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Third company: John Bridgwater, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Third company: John Bridgwater, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Roger Wilson, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Robinson, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Barnard Millard, sergeant, £7 12s 1d David Patton, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d William Roberts, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Pearce, corporal to 23 September, then reduced in rank, £4 19s 2d Thomas Pearce, private soldier from 24 September, £0 5s 10d William Gordon, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Vaughan, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £21 2s 0½d John Twaits, drummer, £5 6s 5½d George Carney, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Richard Ashford, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £7 12s 1d Carried forward, £1,909 1s 3d **Interpretations** Richard Beale, captain of the third company, was the same man listed earlier in the pay list as judge

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		George Carney 5.6.5½ 10.12.11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3.16.½ James Anderson 3.16.½ Centinels Carried over £ 7.12.1 Carried Over £ 1909.1.3	advocate and schoolmaster. As judge advocate he prepared and conducted prosecutions before courts martial, and as captain he commanded soldiers who might be brought before them. On a garrison of three companies, the officer responsible for bringing charges was himself one of the three commanders whose men he would prosecute. The arrangement reflects the shortage of educated men on the island more than any design, but it placed considerable power over military discipline in one pair of hands. Thomas Pearce was reduced from corporal to private soldier on 23 September 1765, the second such demotion in the garrison that quarter after George Rowe's in July. Unlike Rowe's case, no promotion of another man to fill his place appears on this page of the list.
88	83	1765 Brought over £ 1909.1.3 Centinels brought over £ 7.12.1 Charles Abraham 3.16.½ Henry Brown 3.16.½ Jacob Britt 3.16.½ Mark Botts 3.16.½ Benjamin Bennett 3.16.½ John Blackorne 3.16.½ Frederick William Beard 3.16.½ William Caleb Baldwind 3.16.½ Richard Brown 3.16.½ John Cork 3.16.½ Joseph Chamberlain 3.16.½ William Clifton 3.16.½ William Carr 3.16.½ Francis Clancey 3.16.½ John Chapman 3.16.½ Michael Downey 3.16.½ Robert Davis 3.16.½ Edward Dodley 3.16.½ Charles Eagles 3.16.½ William Foster 3.16.½ John Fosson 3.16.½ Alexander Gray 3.16.½ Foster Gambel 3.16.½ Archibald Grayham 3.16.½ Richard Gregory 3.16.½ Felix Hyder 3.16.½ John Holliard 3.16.½ John Herring 3.16.½	The third company's list of private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,909 1s 3d Private soldiers brought forward, £7 12s 1d Charles Abraham, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Britt, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Mark Bolls, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Blickhorne, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Brown, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Francis Clancey, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Chapman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dudley, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Charles Eagels, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Fester, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Foxson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gambel, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Grayham, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gregory, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £114 1s 3d Carried forward, £1,909 1s 3d

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		Centinels Carried Over £ 114.1.3 Carried over £ 1909.1.3 **Margin Notes:** [...]	
89	84	21. October 22. Brought over £ 1909.1.3 Centinels brought over £ 114.1.3 William Hill 3.16.½ William Hopkins 3.16.½ Thomas Jones 3.16.½ Josiah Johnson 3.16.½ Robert Johnson 3.16.½ Samuel Johnson 3.16.½ Richard Johnson 3.16.½ 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 Lamburn 3.16.½ Bryan Lynch 3.16.½ John Lemmon 3.16.½ Charles Mountague 3.16.½ Richard Moyce 3.16.½ Thomas Morriss 3.16.½ Thomas Matthews 3.16.½ John Miller 3.16.½ James Moyce 3.16.½ Abraham Major 3.16.½ John Pupwater 3.16.½ Thomas Perry 3.16.½ James Procter 3.16.½ Henry Pinchen 3.16.½ William Perkis 3.16.½ John Robenson 3.16.½ Centinels Carried over £ 220.10.5 Carried over £ 1909.1.3	The third company's list of private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,909 1s 3d Private soldiers brought forward, £114 1s 3d William Hill, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Hopkins, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Johnson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Long, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lamburn, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Lemmon, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morriss, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Pipewater, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Procter, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Perkis, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Robinson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £220 10s 5d Carried forward, £1,909 1s 3d
90	85	1765 Brought over £ 1909.1.3 Centinels brought over £ 220.10.5 Robert Stack 3.16.½ Adam Scott 3.16.½ David Scott 3.16.½	The third company's list of private soldiers ended, and the officers of the fourth company followed. Brought forward, £1,909 1s 3d Private soldiers brought forward, £220 10s 5d Robert Stack, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Shirland, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d

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		John Smith 3.16.½ John Shiland 3.16.½ John Schelchem 3.16.½ Henry Standford 3.16.½ John Thompson 3.16.½ Thomas Tayler 3.16.½ Joseph Upton 3.16.½ Richard Vincent 3.16.½ John Wiburd 3.16.½ Thomas Ward 3.16.½ John Ward July 2d Discharged 6.8 Edward Welsh 3.16.½ John Waters 3.16.½ James York Sept. 23 made Corporal 3.10.10 Do. Corporal from 24th September 3.2 231.16.8½ Fourth Company John Howard Capt. Saly. 45.12.6 Henry De Lanne 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 6.16.10½ Do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10½ Carried over £ 2291.14.2½	John Scotchem, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Standford, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Wiburd, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, private soldier, discharged 2 July, £0 6s 8d Edward Welsh, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Waters, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James York, private soldier to 23 September, then made corporal, £3 10s 10d James York, corporal from 24 September, £0 8s 2d Private soldiers, total, £231 16s 8½d Fourth company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Fourth company: Henry De Lanne, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Fourth company: Henry De Lanne, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Fourth company: Henry De Lanne, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Fourth company: Henry De Lanne, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Fourth company: Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Fourth company: Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Fourth company: Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Fourth company: Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £2,291 14s 2½d **Interpretations** James York was promoted to corporal on 23 September 1765, the same day Thomas Pearce of the same company was reduced to the ranks. The two entries complete the pattern seen in July, when George Rowe's demotion was matched at once by Henry Howell's promotion. Each company kept a fixed number of corporals, and a man broken for misconduct was replaced the same day from among the private soldiers. Discipline and promotion operated as a single act, so the company never lacked a corporal and every private could see that the stripes one man lost could pass straight to another.
91	86	21 October Brought over £ 2291.14.2½ Sergeants John Fleming 7.12.1 Thomas Bailey 7.12.1 John Simcox 7.12.1 Daniel Arman 7.12.1 30.8.4 Corporals John Sheens Sept. 23 Redd. & Transfd. 4.19.2 William Sherman 5.6.5½ Thomas James 5.6.5½ Jonathan Inke 5.6.5½ 20.18.6½ Drummers John Martin 5.6.5½ George Mills	The fourth company's pay list continued with its sergeants, corporals, drummers and private soldiers. Brought forward, £2,291 14s 2½d John Fleming, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bailey, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Daniel Armain, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d John Sheens, corporal to 23 September, then reduced in rank and transferred, £4 19s 2d William Sherman, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas James, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Jonathan Luke, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £20 19s 6½d John Martin, drummer, £5 6s 5½d George Mills, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £15 19s 4½d John Allen, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Allen, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Allum, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Brooke, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Billett, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d

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		5.6.5½ John Slade 5.6.5½ 15.19.4½ Centinels John Allen 3.16.½ William Allen 3.16.½ Robert Allum 3.16.½ George Bennett 3.16.½ John Brooke 3.16.½ Richard Bickerstaff 3.16.½ William Blackman 3.16.½ John Brilleott 3.16.½ John Bower 3.16.½ John Beecham 3.16.½ John Blackwell 3.16.½ Joseph Blackwell 3.16.½ Centinels Carried Over £ 45.12.6 Carried Over £ 2359.5½	John Bower, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Beecham, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £45 12s 6d Carried forward, £2,359 0s 5½d **Interpretations** John Sheens was reduced from corporal and transferred out of the fourth company on 23 September 1765. On the next day a John Sheen entered the first company as a private soldier, paid from 24 September. He was almost certainly the same man, demoted and moved to another company to serve in the ranks. Transfer added a further sting to demotion, since it removed a disgraced man from the soldiers he had once commanded and placed him among strangers. The same date recurs across the garrison's pay lists. On 23 September 1765 Thomas Pearce was reduced in the third company and James York promoted in his place, Thomas Ferris was transferred out of the first company, and Sheens was reduced and moved. So many changes on a single day point to a general reckoning of discipline, perhaps following an inspection or a court martial, though the pay list itself gives no reason.
92	87	1765 Brought over £ 2359.5½ Centinels brought over £ 45.12.6 Robert Boisly Disch. 1 Augt. 1.6.8 James Cartwright 3.16.½ George Capeling 3.16.½ William Cooksay 3.16.½ Duncan Cameron 3.16.½ James Culsher 3.16.½ John Cunningham 3.16.½ John Cary 3.16.½ Richard Close 3.16.½ Josiah Cummings 3.16.½ John Campen 3.16.½ John Carfoot 3.16.½ Robert Davis Disch. 1 Augt. 1.6.8 Edward Davis 3.16.½ John Deale 3.16.½ John Erskeye 3.16.½ Thomas Ferris Ent. Sept. 24th made Corporal 3.2 George Green 3.16.½ Richard Goulding 3.16.½ John Gilmore 3.16.½ Edward German	The fourth company's list of private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,359 0s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £45 12s 6d Robert Bosely, private soldier, discharged 1 August, £1 6s 8d James Cartwright, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksay, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Cary, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Close, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummings, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Campen, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Carfoot, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, private soldier, discharged 1 August, £1 6s 8d Edward Davis, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Deale, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Eustone, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ferris, entered the company 24 September and made corporal, £0 8s 2d George Green, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Goudy, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harringbury, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Henry, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £143 15s 0½d Carried forward, £2,359 0s 5½d **Interpretations** Thomas Ferris, entered on the first company's list as transferred out on 23 September 1765, joined the fourth company the next day and was made corporal at once. His arrival filled the place left by John Sheens, the fourth company's corporal who was reduced and transferred on 23 September, and who entered the first

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		3.16.½ Joseph Good 3.16.½ James Goudy 3.16.½ Henry Harringbury 3.16.½ James Henry 3.16.½ Thomas Hilliard 3.16.½ Stephen John 3.16.½ Christian Johnson 3.16.½ Centinels Carried over £ 143.15.½ Centinels brought over £ 2359.5½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	company as a private on 24 September. The two men in effect changed places. Ferris rose from the ranks into a corporal's post in a company where he had not served before, while Sheens lost his stripes and went to serve as a private among soldiers who had not known him as an officer. Moving each man to a fresh company spared both the awkwardness of serving alongside those who had watched the exchange.
93	88	21 October Brought over £ 2359.5½ Centinels brought over £ 143.15.½ Thomas Kilock 3.16.½ Richard Kempton 3.16.½ William Lambon 3.16.½ Thomas Lee 3.16.½ Thomas Lyox 3.16.½ John Laurence 3.16.½ Richard Moreton 3.16.½ Simon Mason 3.16.½ Murdock McCloud 3.16.½ William Mitchell 3.16.½ Jonathan Mallett 3.16.½ John Moore 3.16.½ Thomas Marshall 3.16.½ 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 Stephen Papps 3.16.½ William Parker 3.16.½ Francis Powell 3.16.½ James Richardson 3.16.½ Patrick Riley 3.16.½ Thomas Rutherford 3.16.½ John Scotcher 3.16.½ John Shaw 3.16.½ William Seabron	The fourth company's list of private soldiers continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,359 0s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £143 15s 0½d Thomas Kilock, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Kempton, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyes, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Lawrence, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCloud, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallett, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Moon, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Papps, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Parker, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Schonen, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £250 4s 2½d Carried forward, £2,359 0s 5½d

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		3.16.½ John Swindall 3.16.½ Centinels brought over £ 250.4.2½ Carried over £ 2359.5½	
94	89	1765 Brought over £ 2359.5½ Centinels brought over £ 250.4.2½ Zedekiah Saunderson 3.16.½ Roderick Shaffer 3.16.½ Thomas Tuffnel 3.16.½ John Thompson 3.16.½ Jeremiah Worrill 3.16.½ William Wade 3.16.½ John Woods 3.16.½ Thomas Williams 3.16.½ Thomas Wade 3.16.½ 284.0.7 Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Saly. 45.12.6 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 Sergeants John Whitchurch 9.2.6 Adam Watson 9.2.6 John Shelly 9.2.6 Richard Waterhouse 9.2.6 36.10 Corporals James Long 6.16.10½ Robert Cunningham July 22d Reduced 1.13 Do. Matross from July 23 3.10 John Cox 6.16.10½ Thomas Collier 6.16.10½ 25.13.7½ Carried over £ 2806.3.4	The fourth company's list of private soldiers ended, and the officers, sergeants and corporals of the artillery company followed. Brought forward, £2,359 0s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £250 4s 2½d Zedekiah Saunderson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tuffnel, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Worrill, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d William Wade, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d John Woods, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wade, private soldier, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers, total, £284 0s 7d Artillery company: Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Artillery company: Nathan Sample, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Artillery company: Nathan Sample, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Artillery company: Nathan Sample, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Artillery company: Nathan Sample, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d Artillery company: Thomas Leach, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Artillery company: Thomas Leach, lieutenant, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Artillery company: Thomas Leach, lieutenant, house rent, £2 10s 0d Artillery company: Thomas Leach, lieutenant, total, £27 11s 10½d John Whitchurch, artillery sergeant, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, artillery sergeant, £9 2s 6d John Shirtly, artillery sergeant, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, artillery sergeant, £9 2s 6d Artillery sergeants, total, £36 10s 0d James Long, artillery corporal, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, artillery corporal to 22 July, then reduced in rank, £1 13s 0d Robert Cunningham, matross from 23 July, £3 10s 0d John Cox, artillery corporal, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Collier, artillery corporal, £6 16s 10½d Artillery corporals, total, £25 13s 7½d Carried forward, £2,806 3s [...]d **Interpretations** Every rank in the artillery company was paid more than its counterpart in the infantry 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 difference was a premium for skill. Gunners had to judge charges, lay and elevate their pieces, handle powder safely and keep the guns in working order, and trained men were hard to find and harder to replace on a distant island. The higher pay helped keep them in the Company's service. A matross was the private soldier of the artillery, who assisted the gunners in hauling, loading, sponging and running out the guns. Robert Cunningham's reduction from corporal to matross on 22 July 1765 followed the same pattern of demotion seen in the infantry companies, though his reduced rate remained above that of an infantry private. Archibald Mitchell drew pay as captain of the artillery company in addition to his salary as engineer, confirming that he commanded the island's gunners as well as designing its fortifications. His combined

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			income placed him among the best paid of all the Company's servants on St Helena.
95	90	21 October Brought over £ 2806.3.11 Bombardiers Andrew Barton 6.16.10½ John Grainger July 22d made Corporal 1.13 Do. Corporal from 23 July 5.5 Nicholas Houghton 6.16.10½ Robert Gillson 6.16.10½ 27.8.7½ Gunners William Fletcher 6.1.8 John Jack July 22d made Corporal 1.9.4 Do. Bombardier from 23 July 5.5 Eustice White 6.1.8 John Turner 6.1.8 James Parfett 6.1.8 John Martin 6.1.8 Thomas Jones 6.1.8 William Brown to y 5 Aug. Reduced 2.8 Do. Matross from y 6 August 2.16 48.8.4 Drummers George Garrett 5.6.5½ Robert Saunders 5.6.5½ 10.12.11 Matrosses William Benson 4.11.3 Benjamin Burton 4.11.3 Isaac Buck 4.11.3 John Bower 4.11.3 James Bottomley 4.11.3 John Coop 4.11.3 Matrosses Carried over £ 27.7.6 2892.12.9½	The artillery company's pay list continued with its bombardiers, gunners, drummers and matrosses. Brought forward, £2,806 3s 11d Andrew Barton, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d John Grainger, bombardier to 22 July, then made corporal, £1 13s 0d John Grainger, artillery corporal from 23 July, £5 5s 0d Nicholas Houghton, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gillson, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Bombardiers, total, £27 0s 7½d William Fletcher, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Jack, gunner to 22 July, then promoted, £1 9s 4d John Jack, bombardier from 23 July, £5 5s 0d Eustice White, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Turner, gunner, £6 1s 8d James Parfett, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Martin, gunner, £6 1s 8d Thomas Jones, gunner, £6 1s 8d William Brown, gunner to 5 August, then reduced in rank, £2 8s 0d William Brown, matross from 6 August, £2 16s 0d Gunners, total, £48 0s 4d George Garrett, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d William Benson, matross, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, matross, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, matross, £4 11s 3d John Bower, matross, £4 11s 3d James Bottomley, matross, £4 11s 3d John Coop, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £27 7s 6d Carried forward, £2,892 12s 9½d **Interpretations** A single demotion on 22 July 1765 set off a chain of promotions through the artillery company. Robert Cunningham was reduced from corporal to matross that day, as the previous page of the pay list records. On the same day John Grainger rose from bombardier to fill the corporal's place, and John Jack rose from gunner to fill the bombardier's place Grainger left. Each vacancy was filled from the rank immediately below, so one man's fall advanced two others. Every soldier in the company could see that misconduct above him opened a path upward, which gave each rank a stake in the discipline of the ranks above it. The artillery's ranks ran in a distinct ladder, from matross to gunner, bombardier, corporal and sergeant. A bombardier was originally the specialist who handled mortars and shells, and by this period the rank sat between gunner and corporal. William Brown's reduction from gunner to matross on 5 August shows that demotion could reach the lowest steps of the ladder as well as the non-commissioned officers.
96	91	1765 Brought over £ 2892.12.9½ Matrosses brought over £ 27.7.6 John Criswell 4.11.3 Thomas Clark 4.11.3 Edmond Conner 4.11.3 Adam Critchton 4.11.3 John Dowde 4.11.3 David Dennis to y 5th August made Gunner 1.16	The artillery company's list of matrosses continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,892 12s 9½d Matrosses brought forward, £27 7s 6d John Criswell, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, matross, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, matross, £4 11s 3d Adam Critchton, matross, £4 11s 3d John Dowde, matross, £4 11s 3d David Dennis, matross to 5 August, then made gunner, £1 16s 0d David Dennis, gunner from 6 August, £3 14s 2d Thomas McFarling, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, matross, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, matross, £4 11s 3d

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		Do. Gunner from 6th August 3.14.2 Thomas McFarling 4.11.3 Daniel Finn 4.11.3 Joseph Fellows 4.11.3 Robert Frankish 4.11.3 John Ford 4.11.3 Christian Granawalt 4.11.3 Thomas Garell 4.11.3 Thomas Green Ent. 2d Aug. 2.19 Laurence Holt 4.11.3 William Hodges 4.11.3 John Jacks 4.11.3 William Jenkins 4.11.3 Daniel Maloney 4.11.3 George Marshall 4.11.3 Thomas Nimble 4.11.3 Evan Nowland the 5 Augt. made Gunner 1.16 Do. Gunner from 6th Do. 3.14.8 George Nelson 4.11.3 John Osburn 4.11.3 William Fowlton 4.11.3 Samuel Smith 4.11.3 Godfrey Smith 4.11.3 Matrosses Carried over £ 136.17.10 Carried over £ 2892.12.9½ **Margin Notes:** 10d	Robert Frankish, matross, £4 11s 3d John Ford, matross, £4 11s 3d Christian Granawalt, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Garrell, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Gunn, matross, entered 2 August, £2 19s 0d Laurence Holt, matross, £4 11s 3d William Hodges, matross, £4 11s 3d John Jacks, matross, £4 11s 3d William Jenkins, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney, matross, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, matross, £4 11s 3d Esau Nowland, matross to 5 August, then made gunner, £1 16s 0d Esau Nowland, gunner from 6 August, £3 14s 8d George Nelson, matross, £4 11s 3d John Osburn, matross, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, matross, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £150 17s 10d Carried forward, £2,892 12s 9½d **Interpretations** David Dennis and Esau Nowland were both promoted from matross to gunner on 5 August 1765, the same day William Brown was reduced from gunner to matross. As in the July changes, a fall in rank was matched at once by promotion from below, keeping the gunners' numbers up. Thomas Gunn, entered on the second company's list as transferred out on 1 August 1765, joined the artillery as a matross the next day. A transfer from the infantry to the gunners was a step up in pay, since a matross earned more than a private soldier, and it suggests the artillery drew on the infantry companies for promising recruits. John Criswell, coxswain of the Company's longboat in the list of civil servants, also served as a matross, another instance of a soldier holding a paid civilian post alongside his place in the ranks.
97	92	21 October Brought over £ 2892.12.9½ Matrosses brought over £ 150.17.10 John Smith 4.11.3 Samuel Spencer 4.11.3 Gregory Southernwood 4.11.3 William Snelson Disch. 1 Aug. 1.12 Thomas Tyler July 22d made Gunner 1.2 Do. Gunner to 5th August 10.8 Do. Matross from 6th August 2.16 Daniel Tong 4.11.3 Thomas Watts 4.11.3 John Webley 4.11.3 Richard Wellman 4.11.3	The artillery company's list of matrosses ended, closing the pay list for the quarter. Brought forward, £2,892 12s 9½d Matrosses brought forward, £150 17s 10d John Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d Samuel Spencer, matross, £4 11s 3d Gregory Southernwood, matross, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, matross, discharged 1 August, £1 12s 0d Thomas Tyler, matross to 22 July, then made gunner, £1 2s 0d Thomas Tyler, gunner to 5 August, £0 10s 8d Thomas Tyler, matross from 6 August, £2 16s 0d Daniel Tong, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, matross, £4 11s 3d John Webley, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Willman, matross, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses, total, £193 16s 6d Total for the quarter, £3,006 15s 3½d **Interpretations** Thomas Tyler's entry completes the chain of changes in the artillery company. He was promoted from matross to gunner on 22 July 1765 to fill the place John Jack vacated when Jack became a

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		William Phillips 4.11.3 193.16.6 £ 3086.15.3½	bombardier, the day Robert Cunningham was broken. Tyler held his new rank for only a fortnight before being reduced again on 5 August, the same day as William Brown. The promotions of David Dennis and Esau Nowland to gunner on that date filled the two places he and Brown had lost. A promotion was evidently no guarantee of permanence, and a man who failed to satisfy his officers in his new rank could be returned to the ranks within weeks. The pay list for the quarter came to £3,006 15s 3½d, yet the cash accounts for July and August 1765 showed no payments at all out of the treasury. The garrison and the Company's servants were evidently not paid in coin from the cash chest month by month. Their wages were probably settled through credit at the Company's warehouses, against which goods drawn by soldiers and their families were set off, or held as balances due until a later reckoning. The pay list recorded what each man had earned, while the store accounts recorded much of how he had been paid. Thomas Watts, listed here as a matross, was also the gardener engaged from 1 August 1765 in the list of civil servants, another soldier holding a second paid post.
98	93	1765 Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1765 To Cash Received £ 3632.1.8 Carried over £ 3632.1.8 Per Contra Cr. 1765 July 14 By Cash paid Nicholas Houghton for reinlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years longer as a Soldier 10 16 By Cash paid George Nelson for Do. 10 10th By Cash paid Thomas Collier for Do. 10 17th By Cash paid Isaack Pouch for Do. 10 26th By Cash paid John Criswell for Do. 10 By Cash paid Captn. Fernell for 248 lb Beef @ 1/ Pr. lb 12.8 By Cash paid Captn. Hardwicke for the passage of Robt. Boseley, Henry Davis and Wm. Snelson three Invalids 15 By Cash paid Do. for a Long Boat bought for the use of the Honoble. Company 35 By Cash paid Capt. Webb for 307 lb of Beef @ 3/ Pr. lb 46.1 By Cash pd. Do. for 160 lb of Pork at 3/ Pr. lb 24 By Cash paid Do. for 6 Bags of Rice wt. Cwt. qrs. lb 7.1.14 11.5 Carried over £ 193.14	The paymaster's account kept by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick recorded the cash he received and the payments he made from it. Cash received, 1765, £3,632 1s 8d Carried forward, £3,632 1s 8d Against this he entered the following payments. Paid to Nicholas Houghton for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years, 14 July 1765, £10 0s 0d Paid to George Nelson for re-enlisting on the same terms, 6 August 1765, £10 0s 0d Paid to Thomas Collier for re-enlisting on the same terms, 10 August 1765, £10 0s 0d Paid to Isaac Pouch for re-enlisting on the same terms, 17 August 1765, £10 0s 0d Paid to John Criswell for re-enlisting on the same terms, 26 August 1765, £10 0s 0d Paid to Captain Fernell for 248 pieces of beef at £0 1s 0d a piece, £12 8s 0d Paid to Captain Hardwicke for the passage home of three invalid soldiers, Robert Bosely, Henry Davis and William Snelson, £15 0s 0d Paid to Captain Hardwicke for a longboat bought for the Company's use, £35 0s 0d Paid to Captain Webb for 307 pieces of beef at £0 3s 0d a piece, £46 1s 0d Paid to Captain Webb for 160 pieces of pork at £0 3s 0d a piece, £24 0s 0d Paid to Captain Webb for 6 bags of rice weighing 7 cwt 1 qr 14 lb, £11 5s 0d Carried forward, £193 14s 0d **Interpretations** Five soldiers each received £10 0s 0d during July and August 1765 for agreeing to serve another five years. Nicholas Houghton was a bombardier, Thomas Collier an artillery corporal, and George Nelson and John Criswell matrosses, so at least four of the five belonged to the artillery company. A bounty of this size was more than two quarters' pay for a matross. It was cheaper than the alternative of shipping out and training a raw recruit from England, a process that could take a year or more before the new man was any use at the guns. The payments show the Company concentrating its retention money on the trained gunners it could least afford to lose. Robert Bosely and William Snelson were the men recorded in the pay list as discharged on 1 August 1765. Discharged soldiers no longer fit for service were termed invalids, and the Company paid a ship's commander to carry them home rather than leave them on the island without employment. Sending them away

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			removed men who would otherwise become a burden on the island's scarce provisions and its small charitable resources. The purchases from Captain Webb correspond exactly to the account of goods bought from him on 13 August 1765, when the Council recorded the 307 pieces of beef, 160 pieces of pork and six bags of rice. That account was signed as received by the purser Henry Hubert, and this entry shows the money passing through the paymaster's hands.
99	94	21st October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. To Cash brought over £ 3632.1.8 Carried over £ 3632.1.8	The paymaster's account kept by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick continued on the receiving side, where only the sum brought forward was entered. Cash brought forward, £3,632 1s 8d Carried forward, £3,632 1s 8d
100	95	1765 Per Contra Cr. Brought over £ 193.14 By Cash paid Capt. Webb for 14 Bags of Paddy wt. Cwt. qrs. lb 12.1.20 6.6 By Cash paid for 9 lb 1 oz. of Soap at 1/6 Pr. lb bought at the Shops for the use of the Honble. Company's Women Slaves 14.2 By Cash paid Adam Evans for making Cushions &c. for the Honble. Company's Boat employ'd by the Engineer 15 By Cash paid for 6300 lb of Rice bought of Capt. Halleman at 12/ Pr. 100 37.16 By Cash paid Capt. Thomson of the Calcutta for the Passage of Robert Mallen Seaman belonging to his Majesty's Navy 5 By Cash paid Do. for 4 Casks of Salt Provision at £ 18.6 Pr. Cask 70.4 By Cash paid the Widow Bazett for 9 load of Bamboos Canes at 3 Pence for thatching for the Honble. Company 1.2.6 By Cash paid Mr. Benjn. Mason for 26 Rafters used at the Brick works at 1/ Pr. Raf. 1.6 By Cash paid Do. for 20 Girts of Ruches used at Do. at 6 Pr. Girt 2 By Cash paid Mr. Jonathan Doveton for 10 load of Bamboos at 2 used at Do. 1.12.6 By Cash paid Thomas Warne for 11 Do. used at Do. 1.7.6 By Cash paid John Dobson for 8 Days Work in the Armourers Shop at 1/6 12 By Cash paid Wm. Harris for 1 Days work in Do. @ 1/6 5.6.6 By Cash paid Wm. Jenkins for Baking 13 Batches of Bread for the Garrison this Quarter at 1/3 Pr. Batch 6.10 By Cash paid Wm. Holmes for a Quartr. work in the Fly Schooner Long Boat &c. at the rate of £ 6 Pr. Ann. allowance 1.10 By Cash paid Timothy Bryan for Do. 1.10	The paymaster's payments continued as follows. Brought forward, £193 14s 0d Paid to Captain Webb for 14 bags of paddy weighing 12 cwt 1 qr 20 lb, £6 6s 0d Paid for 9½ pieces of tape at £0 1s 6d a piece, bought in the shops for the Company's women slaves, £0 14s 2d Paid to Adam Evans for making cushions and other fittings for the Company's boat used by the engineer, £0 15s 0d Paid for 6,300 lb of rice bought from Captain Halleman at £0 12s 0d per 100 lb, £37 16s 0d Paid to Captain Thomson of the Calcutta for the passage of Robert Shelton, seaman of His Majesty's Navy, £5 0s 0d Paid to Captain Thomson for 4 casks of salt provisions at £18 6s 0d a cask, £73 4s 0d Paid to the widow Bazett for 9 loads of bamboo cane used as binders for thatching for the Company, £1 2s 6d Paid to Benjamin Mason for 26 rafters used at the brickworks at £0 1s 0d a rafter, £1 6s 0d Paid to Benjamin Mason for 80 lengths of purlin used at the brickworks at £0 0s 6d a length, £2 0s 0d Paid to Jonathan Doveton for 13 loads of bamboo at £0 2s 6d a load, used at the brickworks, £1 12s 6d Paid to Thomas Warne for 11 loads of bamboo used at the brickworks, £1 7s 6d Paid to John Dobson for 8 days' work in the armourer's shop at £0 1s 6d a day, £0 12s 0d Paid to William Harris for 71 days' work in the armourer's shop at £0 1s 6d a day, £5 6s 6d Paid to William Jenkins for baking 13 batches of bread for the garrison during the quarter at [...] a batch, £6 10s 0d Paid to William Holmes for a quarter's work in the Fly schooner, the longboat and other craft, at an allowance of £6 0s 0d a year, £1 10s 0d Paid to Timothy O'Bryan for the same, £1 10s 0d Paid to George Exton for the same, £1 10s 0d Carried forward, £341 16s 2d **Interpretations** The payments for rafters, purlins and bamboo show Mitchell's brickworks taking shape during the quarter. In his report of August 1765 he wrote that he was trying to make bricks from the island's clay, and the return of public workmen on 16 September 1765 listed three slave boys apprenticed as brickmakers. A brickworks needed a roofed shed to dry the moulded bricks out of the rain before firing, and the timber framing and bamboo thatching bought here were for that building. The materials came from the island's own planters, Benjamin Mason, Jonathan Doveton, Thomas Warne and the widow Bazett, so the new industry drew on local resources from the outset. John Dobson was paid by the day for eight days in the armourer's shop before the Council appointed him armourer on 7 October 1765, describing him as a good one. The daily work gave the Council a chance to judge

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		By Cash paid George Elton for Do. 1.10 Carried over £ 341.16.2	his skill before committing to a three-year appointment, and its confidence in him rested on what he had already shown at the forge. Several entries close transactions recorded earlier. The rice from Captain Halleman matches the purchase of 26 August 1765, and the four casks from Captain Thomson match the salt provisions bought on 6 September 1765 at the price the island charged Company ships. The tape bought for the Company's women slaves was probably for making or trimming their clothing, which the Company supplied as their owner.
101	96	21th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Esqr Dr To Cash brought over £ 5632 1 [...] Carried over£ [...]	The account of Thomas Kirkpatrick Esquire, dated 21 October, recorded no new entries on this page. The cash total from the previous page was brought forward on the debit side and passed on unchanged to the next. Cash brought forward, £5,632 1s 8d Carried forward, £5,632 1s 8d **Interpretations** The account sat on the debit side of the ledger, which charged Kirkpatrick personally with the cash recorded against his name. Each sum entered there was money he had received or been advanced, and he remained answerable for it until matching credits showed how it had been spent or repaid. By the time of this page the running total stood at £5,632 1s 8d, which made him accountable for a very large sum.
102	97	1765. Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 341 16 2 By Cash paid Jeremiah Nonal for one Month Do 10 By Cash paid John Herring for 46 Days Do Do 15 By Cash paid John Laurence for 2 Month Do Do 1 By Cash paid Jno Shutupall for 65 Days Do Do 1 1 8 By Cash paid Francis Clanay for 30 Days Do Do 12 10 By Cash paid Jno Chapman for Do Do Do 12 10 By Cash paid Willm French for Do Do 12 9 By Cash paid Rich. Houghton for making a Target 2 Days @ 2/6 5 By Cash paid Wm French for sail makers Work for the Fly Schooner 2 1/2 Days at 1/6 p Day 3 9 By Cash paid sundry Soldiers for 18 1/2 Days Carpenters Work on board the Fly Schooner at 1/6 p Day 1 3 3 By Cash paid Willm Ford for 4 Days Work in caulking the Yawl 1/6 p Day 6 By Cash paid Wm Brown for 8 Days Painting at the Castle at 1/6 p Day 12 By Cash paid Do for 14 Days Painting the long Boat Target, Officers Heaven &c 1/6 p Day 1 1 By Cash paid Barnes Procter sawyer 6 Days at 1/6 p Day 9 By Cash paid sundry Soldiers for 22 Days work in getting of Wood in Rats Gut to Burn Lime	The credit side of the account for 1765 set out a run of cash payments to labourers, craftsmen and soldiers for work done around the settlement. Each sum discharged part of the cash charged against the account on the opposite page. Brought forward, £341 16s 2d Paid Jeremiah Nonal for 1 month's work, £0 10s 0d Paid John Herring for 46 days' work, £0 15s 0d Paid John Laurence for 2 months' work, £1 0s 0d Paid John Shutepall for 65 days' work, £1 1s 8d Paid Francis Clanay for 38 days' work, £0 12s 10d Paid John Chapman for 38 days' work, £0 12s 10d Paid William French for 38 days' work, £0 12s 9d Paid Richard Houghton for making a target, 2 days at 2s 6d a day, £0 5s 0d Paid William French for sail-making on the *Fly* schooner, 2½ days at 1s 6d a day, £0 3s 9d Paid various soldiers for 18½ days of carpentry aboard the *Fly* schooner at 1s 6d a day, £1 3s 3d Paid William Ford for 4 days caulking the yawl at 1s 6d a day, £0 6s 0d Paid William Brown for 8 days painting at the castle at 1s 6d a day, £0 12s 0d Paid William Brown for 14 days painting the longboat, the target, the officers' houses and other work at 1s 6d a day, £1 1s 0d Paid Barnes Proctor, sawyer, for 6 days at 1s 6d a day, £0 9s 0d Paid various soldiers for 22 days cutting wood in [...] Gut to burn lime, £2 2s 0d Paid various soldiers for 206½ days making bricks, £10 6s 6d Paid various soldiers for 32 days of work on Ladder Hill, Longwood and elsewhere, £1 2s 0d Paid various soldiers for 101½ days of work in the stores, £5 1s 3d Paid Simon Whaley, carpenter, for 35 days' work at the castle at 5s a day, £8 15s 0d Carried forward, £383 3s 0d **Interpretations**

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		2 2 By Cash paid Do 206 1/2 Days Work in making of Bricks 10 6 6 By Cash paid Do for 32 Days work on Ladder Hill long Wood &c 1 2 By Cash paid Do 101 1/2 Days in the Stores 5 1 3 By Cash paid Simon Whaley Carpenter 35 Days Work at the Castle at 5/ p Day 8 15 Carried over £ 3[...]8 3	Placed opposite the debit page dated 21 October, this credit side showed how the cash charged against Thomas Kirkpatrick was laid out. Every wage entered here reduced the sum for which he stood answerable. The account would balance only when these payments matched the £5,632 1s 8d carried on the debit side. The garrison doubled as the island's labour force. Soldiers were hired by the day to cut fuel, burn lime, make bricks, work in the stores and serve as carpenters aboard the *Fly*. This was paid work on top of their military duties, and it gave the authorities a ready workforce on an island with few free hands to hire. A clear wage scale ran through the page. Soldiers, sawyers, painters and caulkers all received a flat 1s 6d a day, whereas Simon Whaley, a skilled carpenter, earned 5s a day for his work at the castle. Richard Houghton's 2s 6d a day for making a target sat between the two rates. Lime and bricks were the basic building materials of the settlement. Lime came from burning shell or limestone in a kiln, which needed large amounts of wood, hence the soldiers sent to cut fuel before the burning. Mixed with sand and water, it made the mortar and plaster used in walls and buildings. The target that Houghton built and Brown painted was probably a mark for gunnery or musket practice by the garrison. The yawl was a ship's small boat, and caulking meant forcing oakum and pitch into the seams of its planking to keep it watertight.
103	98	21st October Thomas Kirkpatrick Esqr Dr To Cash brought over £ 5632 1 [...] Carried over £ 5632 1 [...]	The account of Thomas Kirkpatrick Esquire, dated 21 October, again showed no new entries on its debit side. The cash total from the previous page passed straight through to the next. Cash brought forward, £5,632 1s 8d Carried forward, £5,632 1s 8d **Interpretations** The debit total held at £5,632 1s 8d from one opening to the next, while the credit side opposite it grew page by page through wage payments. The charge against Kirkpatrick was therefore a fixed body of cash received at the outset, which he then worked down through spending. The account was a record of how that one advance was used rather than of a stream of fresh receipts.
104	99	1765 Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 378 3 By Cash paid Simon Whaley for 20 Days Work at Banks's Port Cullis @ 5/ 1 5 0 By Cash paid Sundie Soldiers for 1 1/2 Days Work at Bricks 1 6 By Cash paid Jno Chamberlain's Apprentice for 24 Days Carpenters Work @ 1/ p Day 1 4 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for 134 Days Work in assisting the Brickmakers at 1/ p Day 6 14 By Cash paid Do for 69 Days Work at the Officers Apartts @ 1/ 3 9 By Cash paid Do for 37 3/4 Days at the Smith and Coopers Shops 1 17 9	The credit side of the 1765 account continued with wages for building and repair work, much of it on the defences at Banks's and on lime and brick production. Brought forward, £383 3s 0d Paid Simon Whaley for 29 days' work at Banks's portcullis at 5s a day, £7 5s 0d Paid [...] Solomon for holiday work at the brickmaking, £0 7s 6d Paid John Chamberlain's apprentice for 24 days of carpentry at 1s a day, £1 4s 0d Paid various soldiers for 134 days helping the brickmakers at 1s a day, £6 14s 0d Paid various soldiers for 69 days' work at the officers' apartments at 1s a day, £3 9s 0d Paid various soldiers for 38¾ days at the smith's and cooper's shops, £1 18s 9d Paid various soldiers for 50 days' work at the castle, £2 10s 0d Paid various soldiers for 850½ days' work at Banks's portcullis, £42 10s 6d Paid various soldiers for 891¾ days quarrying and burning limestone, £44 11s 9d Paid various soldiers for 72½ days building an arch at [...] Hill, £3 12s 6d Paid various soldiers for 35 days of carpentry at Banks's portcullis at 1s 6d a day, £2 12s 6d

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		By Cash paid Do for 50 Days work at the Castle 2 10 By Cash paid Do 853 1/2 Do at Banks's port Cullis 42 14 9 By Cash paid Do 891 3/4 Do in getting and Burning Lime Stone 44 11 9 By Cash paid Do for 72 1/2 Do in Making an Arch at Barren Hill 3 12 6 By Cash paid Do for 33 Do Carpenters Work at Banks's Port Cullis 1/6 2 12 6 By Cash paid Do for 6 Do Carpenters Work repairing the Officers Houses @ 1/6 9 By Cash paid Do for 10 1/2 Do Carpenters Work at the Castle 15 9 By Cash paid Do for 7 Do Carpenters Work making Tables and Formes for the Barracks 10 6 By Cash paid Do for 18 Days Seamen Work for Gled and to get Flour for Mortar 1 7 By Cash paid Do for 100 1/2 Days Work on Stone & Flower at Banks's Cullis & getting Lime Stone 7 10 4 1/2 Carried over £ 506 3 4 1/2	Paid various soldiers for 6 days of carpentry repairing the officers' houses at 1s 6d a day, £0 9s 0d Paid various soldiers for 10½ days of carpentry at the castle, £0 15s 9d Paid various soldiers for 7 days of carpentry making tables and benches for the barracks, £0 10s 6d Paid various soldiers for 18 days of sawing for a sled and fetching [...] for mortar, £1 7s 0d Paid various soldiers for 150¼ days raising stone and [...] at Banks's and fetching limestone, £7 10s 4½d Carried forward, £506 3s 4½d **Interpretations** The page showed a two-tier rate for soldiers' labour. General work such as helping the brickmakers or labouring at the officers' apartments paid 1s a day, while carpentry by soldiers paid 1s 6d. Simon Whaley, a civilian carpenter, still drew 5s a day, more than three times the best soldier's rate. The garrison thus supplied cheap labour, and the few trained craftsmen on the island commanded a sharp premium. Most of the money on this page went into two linked operations. The work at Banks's portcullis absorbed more than 850 soldier-days, and the quarrying and burning of limestone almost as many. Banks's lay on the coast and formed part of the island's sea defences, so the lime supplied the mortar for strengthening a fortified position. A portcullis was a heavy grated gate dropped into grooves to close an entrance, fitted here to the defensive line at Banks's. Against the previous credit page, the scale of spending changed sharply. That page had recorded payments of a few shillings to a few pounds, with brickmaking the largest item at £10 6s 6d. On this page two items alone came to more than £87, which pointed to a major programme of fortification work under way in 1765. The forms made for the barracks were long backless benches, the standard seating in soldiers' quarters and mess rooms. The cooper's shop made and repaired casks, which were essential on an island that depended on stored provisions and water.
105	100	21st October Thomas Kirkpatrick Esqr Dr To Cash brought over £ 5632 1 [...] Carried over £ 5632 1 [...]	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick Esquire's account, dated 21 October, carried no fresh entries on this opening. Its cash total moved forward to the next page exactly as it had arrived. Cash brought forward, £5,632 1s 8d Carried forward, £5,632 1s 8d
106	101	1765 Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 506 3 4 1/2 By Cash paid the Stone Sawyer 4 1/2 Do Days Work @ 1/6 6 9 By Cash paid Saml Gales Plasterer 31 1/2 Do Work on the Castle @ 1/6 2 8 4 1/2 By Cash paid Do for 38 Days @ 1/6 2 17 By Cash paid Sutton Sundy Masons 41 1/2 Days Work at the Port Cullis at Banks's @ 2/6 5 18 1 1/2 By Cash paid Do 40 Days work on the Castle @ 2/6 5 By Cash paid Jno Witby Bricklayer for 28 Days Work at Banks's Port Cullis @ 1/6 p Day 2 2	The final page of the 1765 credit side recorded wages for masons, plasterers and bricklayers, the upkeep of seamen left on the island, court costs and clothing for slaves, before closing the account on 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £506 3s 4½d Paid the stone sawyer for 4½ days' work at 1s 6d a day, £0 6s 9d Paid Samuel Gates, plasterer, for 32¼ days' work on the castle at 1s 6d a day, £2 8s 4½d Paid Samuel Gates for a further 38 days at 1s 6d a day, £2 17s 0d Paid Sutton Sandys, mason, for 31½ days' work on the portcullis at Banks's at 2s 6d a day, £3 18s 9d Paid Sutton Sandys for 40 days' work on the castle at 2s 6d a day, £5 0s 0d Paid John Wibly, bricklayer, for 28 days' work on Banks's portcullis at 1s 6d a day, £2 2s 0d Paid John Wibly for 36½ days' work on the castle at 1s 6d a day, £2 14s 9d Paid for the keep of Robert Hodge, seaman of the *Lord Holland*, for 27 days at 6d a day, £0 13s 6d Paid for the keep of James Thomson of the *Valentine* for 19 days at 6d a day, £0 9s 6d

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		By Cash paid Do 36 1/2 Days work at the Castle @ 1/6 2 14 9 By Cash paid for the Subsistence of two Sledge Seamen of the Ship Lord Holland 27 Days @ 6 p Day 13 6 By Cash paid James Thomson of the Ship Valentine for Do 19 Days @ 6 9 6 By Cash paid Wm Brooks and Thos Nichols Do from the Ship Pitt 11 Days @ 6 p Day 11 By Cash paid Jno James from the Ship Stormont 21 Days at 6 p Day 10 6 By Cash paid Sundry Men coming Express w. Alarms 2 By Cash paid Vingadoo Rickabum his Allowance 1 12 6 By Cash paid Do for Hiring Land 1 By Cash paid the Clerk of Arraignes Sessions 2 Days 12 By Cash paid the Provider of the Court 10 By Cash paid Mr James Powell for 13 Waistcoats & 19 pr of Trousers for the use of the Honble Companys Slaves 2 17 By the Amount of the pay List £ 3036 13 5 1/2 £ 5632 1 8 St Helena Septemr 30th 1765 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos Kirkpatrick Esqr	Paid for the keep of William Brooks and Thomas Nichols from the *Pitt*, 11 days each at 6d a day, £0 11s 0d Paid for the keep of John James from the [...] for 21 days at 6d a day, £0 10s 6d Paid various men for carrying alarm messages at speed, £2 0s 0d Paid [...] his allowance, £1 12s 6d Paid [...] for house rent, £1 0s 0d Paid the clerk of arraigns for 2 days at the criminal court, £0 12s 0d Paid the court crier, £0 10s 0d Paid Mr James Powell for 15 waistcoats and 10 pairs of trousers for the Honourable Company's slaves, £2 17s 0d Amount of the pay list, £5,036 15s 3½d Total, £5,632 1s 8d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The credit side closed at £5,632 1s 8d, exactly the sum charged against Kirkpatrick on the debit pages dated 21 October. The account therefore balanced, and his signature discharged him from the cash he had received. The note reserving errors kept the way open for later correction if an auditor found a mistake. Almost all of the money went on the pay list, which dwarfed every other item on these pages put together. The wages for brickmaking, lime burning and fortification work, large as they looked, were a small addition to the regular payroll of the garrison and establishment. The 6d a day paid for the keep of individual seamen from the *Lord Holland*, the *Valentine*, the *Pitt* and another vessel showed the Company maintaining sailors who had been put ashore from its ships. Each man was costed by the day until he left, so the expense could be charged to the right account. The clerk of arraigns and the court crier were officers of the criminal court. The clerk read out the charges against prisoners and recorded pleas, while the crier called the court to order and summoned parties. Paying them from the same cash as builders and seamen showed how a single account funded every branch of island government. The payment to James Powell revealed that the Company itself clothed the slaves it owned. Waistcoats and trousers were issued as basic working dress, and their cost was met from the public account like any other running expense of the settlement. Masons stood above other building trades in the wage scale. Sutton Sandys drew 2s 6d a day, while the plasterer and bricklayer received 1s 6d, the same rate paid to soldiers doing carpentry on the previous page.
107	102	21st October Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Ware Houses from 1st of July to the 30th September 1765 viz Sold to the Honble Companys Servants at 10 p Ct viz 806 lb Sugar 44 15 2 898 [...] Candy 67 5 10 111 17 6 Flour viz 357 25 14 4 160 2 14 Bisket 150 175 14 4 Tea viz 360 Congo	Under the date 21 October, the record set out the goods sold and issued from the Honourable Company's warehouses between 1 July and 30 September 1765. The first section covered sales to the Company's own servants at a mark-up of 10 per cent. Sugar, 806 lb, £44 13s 2d Sugar candy, 698½ lb, £67 3s 10d Sugar total, £111 17s 6d Flour, 357 [...], £25 14s 4d Flour, 160 bushels and 2¼ [...], £150 0s 0d Flour total, £175 14s 4d Congou tea, 380 lb, £22 13s 9d Singlo tea, 126 lb, £2 13s 5d Bohea tea, 617 lb, £31 9s 10d Tea total, £62 16s 10d Soap, 247 lb, £10 17s 7d Cape salt, 200 lb, £0 15s 5d English salt, 7½ bushels, £1 14s 5d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		22 15 9 126 Single 2 15 5 617 Bohea 31 9 10 62 16 10 Soap 247 30 17 1 Salt viz 200 Cape Salt 15 5 7 1/2 Bushels Engh 1 14 5 2 9 10 Beef and Pork viz 274 Ps Beef 27 8 2069 Do Pork 206 18 234 6 Starch 67 1 17 8 Shalloon viz 22 1/2 Scarlet Shall 3 12 5 69 1/2 Coloured Do 7 1 10 10 14 3 Carried over £ 670 14	Salt total, £2 9s 10d Salt beef, 274 pieces, £27 8s 0d Salt pork, 2,069 pieces, £206 18s 0d Beef and pork total, £234 6s 0d Starch, 67 lb, £1 17s 8d Scarlet shalloon, 22½ yards, £3 12s 5d Coloured shalloon, 69½ yards, £7 1s 10d Shalloon total, £10 14s 3d Carried forward, £670 14s 0d **Interpretations** The Company's warehouses acted as the island's main shop for its own employees. Officials, soldiers and other servants bought staple foods and cloth from the stores at cost plus 10 per cent, rather than from private traders. The small mark-up covered freight and handling while keeping prices well below what passing ships' crews or private dealers might charge on a remote island. It also gave the Company a hold over its people, who depended on its stores for daily necessities. Several items were unfamiliar staples of the period. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly into large hard lumps, used as a sweetmeat and to sweeten tea. Congou, Singlo and Bohea were grades of Chinese tea shipped home in Company vessels. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, Congou a better black tea, and Singlo a green tea. Cape salt came from the Cape of Good Hope, the nearest supply port, while English salt was shipped out from Britain and cost far more for the quantity. Salt beef and pork were sold by the piece, the standard measure for meat packed in brine in casks for ships and garrisons. Pork far outsold beef, with 2,069 pieces against 274, which showed that salted pork formed the bulk of the meat ration drawn from store. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted cloth made chiefly in England and used to line coats and uniforms. The scarlet cloth matched the colour of military coats, so most of it probably went into garrison dress. Starch was used to stiffen linen, and soap was sold in bulk because households had no other ready source on the island.
108	103	1765 Brought over £ 670 14 Buckram 20 1/2 Yards 1 3 Rice and Paddy viz 40 2 26 Rice 17 15 11 12 19 Paddy 2 12 5 20 8 4 Oil viz 58 1/2 Gall. Sallad 7 0 7 10 1/2 Do Linseed 2 10 23 Bottls Florence 3 7 4 12 11 7 Hats viz 5 Mens Hatts 4 16 10 6 Boys Do 2 3 6 17 1 Candles 482 46 16 Leather viz 112 lbs 5 9 8 5 Calfskins 2 9 7	The tally of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants between 1 July and 30 September 1765 continued with cloth, rice, oil, hats, candles and a range of household and ship's stores. Brought forward, £670 14s 0d Buckram, 20½ yards, £1 0s 3d Rice, 48 cwt 0 qr 26 lb, £17 15s 11d Paddy, 12 cwt 0 qr 19 lb, £2 12s 5d Rice and paddy total, £20 8s 4d [...] oil, 38½ gallons, £7 0s 7d Linseed oil, 10½ gallons, £2 0s 10d Florence oil, 25 bottles, £3 7s 2d Oil total, £12 11s 7d Men's hats, 5, £4 16s 10d Boys' hats, 6, £2 0s 3d Hats total, £6 17s 1d Candles, 482 lb, £46 16s 0d Leather, 112 lb, £5 9s 8d Calfskins, 5, £2 9s 7d Leather total, £7 19s 3d Twine, 62 skeins, £1 14s 11d Cotton candlewick, 5½ lb, £0 7s 2d Twine and wick total, £2 2s 1d Arrack, 11 gallons, £2 15s 0d Corks, 22½ gross, £2 17s 10d Rope, 418½ lb, £8 19s 6d Coffee, 52 lb, £1 9s 4d Blue long ells, 45½ yards, £4 5s 10d Scarlet long ells, 20 yards, £2 10s 3d Long ells total, £6 15s 3d Carried forward, £811 4s 6d **Interpretations**

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 19 3 Twine viz 62 Skeins Twine 1 14 11 5 1/2 Cott Wick 7 2 2 2 1 Arrack 11 Gall 2 15 Corks 22 7/12 Gross 2 17 10 Cordage 418 1/2 8 19 6 Coffee 52 1 9 4 Long Ells viz 45 1/2 Yards Blue 4 3 10 20 Do Scarlet 2 10 5 6 14 3 Carried over £ 811 4 6	Several goods on this page would be unfamiliar today. Buckram was a coarse linen or cotton cloth stiffened with glue or size, used to stiffen collars, hat brims and the linings of coats. Paddy was rice still in its husk, cheaper than milled rice and sold for people to clean and pound themselves or to feed livestock. Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in straw-covered flasks and used for cooking and salads, while linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, went into paint and the treatment of wood. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or sugar cane, and reached St Helena on Company ships returning from the East. Long ells were a cheap, hard-wearing woollen serge from the west of England, sold in long lengths. The blue and scarlet cloth matched the colours of soldiers' and seamen's clothing, and the scarlet length echoed the scarlet shalloon sold on the previous page. Candles were the largest single item at £46 16s 0d for 482 lb, more than any foodstuff except rice. With no other source of artificial light, every household, guardroom and office drew on the Company store for tallow candles, and the separate sale of cotton wick showed that some people dipped their own. The sale of corks by the gross pointed to bottling on the island, perhaps of wine, beer or arrack bought in bulk from ships.
109	104	21st October Brought over £ 811 4 6 Thread viz 13 Whited Brown 5 11 10 6 Coloured 1 1 6 6 13 4 Canvas viz 115 1/2 Yds Osnabrigs 5 10 8 Ps 14 1/2 Yds Engh Canvas 7 10 9 13 9 Challow 14 Ps 7 12 3 Sago 50 12 6 Ticking 2 Yds 5 4 Oars 6 1 5 6 Lead viz 58 Sheet Lead 12 1 21 Shot 4 9 16 10 Pepper 20 1/2 11 7 Blankets 10 2 19 2 Dorotees 1 Ps 11 5 Pease 2 1/2 Bushels 1 1 10 Nails viz 1 1/2 lb 2d Nails 11 2 5 3d Do 4 7 1/4 20 4d Do 12 11 54 6d Do 1 11 6 62 10d Do	The list of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 went on to cover thread, cloth, provisions, lead and a full range of nails. Brought forward, £811 4s 6d Whited-brown thread, 13 lb, £5 11s 10d Coloured thread, 6 lb, £1 1s 6d Thread total, £6 13s 4d Osnaburg canvas, 115½ yards, £5 10s 0d English canvas, 8 pieces and 14½ yards, £7 10s 9d Canvas total, £13 0s 9d Chelloes, 14 pieces, £7 12s 3d Sago, 30 lb, £0 12s 6d Ticking, 2 yards, £0 5s 4d Cans, 6, £1 5s 6d Sheet lead, 58 lb, £0 12s 1d Lead shot, 21 lb, £0 4s 9d Lead total, £0 16s 10d Pepper, 20 lb, £0 11s 7d Blankets, 10, £2 19s 2d Devetees, 1 piece, £0 11s 5d Peas, 2½ bushels, £1 1s 10d Twopenny nails, 14½ lb, £0 11s 2d Threepenny nails, 5 lb, £0 4s 7½d Fourpenny nails, 20 lb, £0 13s 11d Sixpenny nails, 54 lb, £1 11s 6d Tenpenny nails, 62 lb, £1 11s 0d Twentypenny nails, 12 lb, £0 5s 0d Fortypenny nails, 4 lb, £0 1s 7d Glaziers' brads, 2½ lb, £0 4s 0½d Tacks, 1½ lb, £0 2s 0½d Floor brads, 10 lb, £0 3s 11d Spikes, 5 lb, £0 1s 9d Nails total, £5 9s 9d Carried forward, £852 4s 9d **Interpretations** The range of building hardware on this page showed the Company store serving as the island's builders' merchant as well as its grocer. Servants bought nails in eleven sizes, sheet lead, brads and spikes for their own houses and outbuildings. Without a private ironmonger on the island, anyone repairing a roof, laying a floor or glazing a window had to draw these goods from the Company at the 10 per cent mark-up.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 11 12 20d Do 5 4 40d Do 1 7 2 1/2 lb Glaz Brads 4 0 1/2 1 1/2 Tacks 2 2 1/2 10 1/2 Floor Brads 3 11 5 Spikes 1 9 5 9 9 Carried over £ 852 4 9	Nails were graded in pennies, an English trade measure that originally reflected the price of a hundred nails and later indicated length. Twopenny nails were short and fine, while fortypenny nails were heavy spikes several inches long for framing timber. Brads were small nails with almost no head, so floor brads could be driven below the surface of boards and glaziers' brads held panes of glass in their frames. The biggest sales were in sixpenny and tenpenny nails, the general-purpose sizes for carpentry. Several textiles were specialised trade goods. Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen named after the German town of Osnabrück, widely used for sacking, work clothes and slave clothing. Chelloes were cheap checked or striped cotton cloths woven in India and carried west by the Company, sold by the piece. Ticking was a tightly woven striped linen or cotton used to cover mattresses and pillows so feathers or straw could not work through. Whited-brown thread was a half-bleached linen thread, cheaper than fully white thread and used for everyday sewing. The cloth entered as devetees, sold by the single piece, was probably another eastern textile. Sago, a starch extracted from the pith of palms in the East Indies, was sold as small pearls and boiled into puddings or invalid food. Like the arrack on the previous page, it reached St Helena on Company ships returning from the East, which gave the island access to Asian goods that were still luxuries in much of England.
110	105	1765 Brought over £ 852 4 9 Hooks and Lines viz 3 1/2 No 2 Lines 5 16 11 144 3 Do 2 12 3 4 Do 3 4 3 Lay Do 0 1 5 Hambro Do 7 6 500 No 1 Hooks 1 6 1500 9 Do 1 11 11 1/2 500 12 Do 2 0 1/2 575 13 Do 5 50 14 Do 6 925 15 Do 7 4 225 11 Do 3 11 12 10 10 Shirts viz 1 Ps 17 Yds Oznabs Linnen 3 9 36 Yds Brown Holland 3 13 6 2 Shirts 9 10 7 4 1 Broad Cloth viz 12 1/2 Yards Scarl 10 16 9 16 1/2 Do Blue 11 10 6 8 1/2 Do F. Grey 8 3 7 8 1/2 Do Black	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 continued with fishing tackle, shirting, broadcloth and wooden household wares. Brought forward, £852 4s 9d Number 2 fishing lines, 37, £3 16s 11d Number 3 fishing lines, 144, £2 12s 0d Number 4 fishing lines, 3, £0 3s 4d Log lines, 3, £0 3s 1d Hambro lines, 3, £0 7s 6d Number 1 fish hooks, 500, £1 6s 0d Number 9 fish hooks, 1,500, £1 11s 11½d Number 12 fish hooks, 500, £0 2s 8½d Number 13 fish hooks, 575, £0 5s 0d Number 14 fish hooks, 50, £0 0s 6d Number 15 fish hooks, 925, £0 7s 4d Number 11 fish hooks, 225, £0 3s 11d Hooks and lines total, £12 10s 10d Irish linen for shirts, 1 piece of 17 yards, £3 0s 9d Brown holland for shirts, 36 yards, £3 13s 6d Shirts, 2, £0 9s 10d Shirting total, £7 4s 1d Scarlet broadcloth, 12½ yards, £10 16s 9d Blue broadcloth, 16½ yards, £11 10s 6d Fine grey broadcloth, 8½ yards, £8 3s 7d Black broadcloth, 8½ yards, £7 14s 8d Brown broadcloth, 2½ yards, £2 12s 11d Green broadcloth, ⅝ yard, £0 5s 5d Broadcloth total, £41 3s 10d Hog-bristle brushes, 23, £0 14s 4½d Hair brooms, 9, £0 15s 9d Wooden wares carried forward, £1 10s 1½d Carried forward, £913 12s 6d **Interpretations** The sale of more than 4,000 fish hooks and nearly 200 lines in a single quarter showed how much the island's people relied on fishing. Fresh meat was scarce and costly on St Helena, and the salt beef and pork sold from store was the stuff of rations rather than choice. Sea fish caught from the rocks and from small boats gave servants and their households a cheap source of fresh food. Hooks and lines were graded by number, and the heavy sales of the smaller

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 14 8 2 1/2 Do Brown 2 12 11 3/8 Do Green 5 5 41 3 10 Turners Ware viz 23 Hog Brushes 14 4 1/2 9 Hair Brooms 15 9 Turners Ware Carried over 1 10 1 1/2 Carried over £ 913 12 6	and middling sizes suggested fishing for the abundant inshore species. Broadcloth was a dense, fine woollen cloth from the west of England, woven wide and then shrunk and finished to a smooth felted surface. It was the material for good coats and uniforms, and its price set it apart from the coarser long ells and shalloon sold on earlier pages. Scarlet broadcloth cost about 17s a yard, the dearest colour because of the expensive dyes needed, and its leading place in sales matched the scarlet of officers' coats. Brown holland was an unbleached linen, originally from the Low Countries, used for shirts, aprons and covers. Irish linen was a finer bleached linen produced in Ulster. Hambro line was a light cord named after Hamburg, used for lashing and small rigging, while log lines carried the knotted cord used to measure a vessel's speed through the water. The heading for wooden wares covered goods traditionally made by turners on a lathe, such as handles, bowls and the stocks of brushes and brooms. Hog-bristle brushes were stiff brushes for scrubbing or painting, and hair brooms were softer sweeping brooms, all of which had to be imported because the island had little suitable timber or craft production of its own.
111	106	21st October Brought over £ 913 12 6 Turners Ware brought over £ 1 10 1 1/2 3 Jemb J Rawsiers 12 7 1/2 4 Paint Do 2 2 10 Punch Ladles 6 3 2 Mops 2 6 1 Birch Broom 4 1/2 2 Bowls 3 1/2 2 Lobon Basket 1 8 2 Flaskets 6 4 3 3 1 Iron Ware viz 20 Pr Locks 10 10 1 Cupb Do 3 1/2 2 Pr Kitchen Bellows 7 9 2 Rag Stones 3 1/2 10 Scyth Do 2 3 1/2 3 Black Jugs 6 1 Small Gimblet 2 1/2 1 Pad Lock 1 8 3 Small Fry Pans 6 6 1 Stock Lock 3 1/2 1 Closet Do 3 1/2 2 Chest Do 3 7 1 Pr Door Tail Hinges 12 8	The record of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 went on with the remaining wooden wares and then a long run of ironmongery. Brought forward, £913 12s 6d Wooden wares brought forward, £1 10s 1½d [...] brushes, 5, £0 12s 7½d Paint brushes, 4, £0 2s 2d Punch ladles, 10, £0 6s 3d Mops, 2, £0 2s 6d Birch broom, 1, £0 0s 4½d Ox bows, 2, £0 3s 0½d [...] baskets, 2, £0 1s 8d Flaskets, 2, £0 6s 4d Wooden wares total, £3 3s 1d [...] locks, 20, £0 10s 10d Cupboard lock, 1, £0 5s 0½d Kitchen bellows, 2 pairs, £0 7s 9d Ragstones, 2, £0 3s 1½d Scythe stones, 10, £0 2s 3½d [...], 3, £0 6s 0d Small gimlet, 1, £0 0s 2½d Padlock, 1, £0 1s 8d Small frying pans, 3, £0 6s 6d Stock lock, 1, £0 3s 1½d Closet lock, 1, £0 3s 7d Chest lock, 1, £0 12s 8d Cross-tail hinges, 1 pair, £0 0s 5½d Box iron, 1, £0 7s 11d Box cupboard lock, 1, £0 1s 6d Garden rake, 1, £0 2s 7d Spring rat traps, 3, £0 13s 4d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, 2, £0 11s 0d Brass wire, 1 lb, £0 0s 8d Ironmongery carried forward, £4 17s 11½d Carried forward, £916 17s 7d **Interpretations** The page offered a close view of domestic life among the Company's servants. Kitchen bellows, frying pans, box irons, mops and brooms were the ordinary furniture of a household, and all of them had to come from the Company store. A box iron was a hollow smoothing iron with a chamber into which a heated iron slug or hot coals were placed, so it stayed hot longer than a solid flat iron. The ten punch ladles pointed to the popularity of punch, a mixed drink of spirit, sugar, citrus and water, which

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Bar Iron 3 1/2 1 Barr Cupbd Lock 7 11 1 Garden Rake 1 6 3 Spring Rat Traps 2 7 2 Iron rimd Locks Dr Rimd 13 4 1 lb Brass Wire 11 8 Iron Ware Carried over 4 17 11 1/2 Carried over £ 916 15 7	fitted the sales of arrack and sugar recorded on earlier pages. The number and variety of locks stood out. Twenty-five locks of different kinds were sold in one quarter, for cupboards, closets, chests and doors, with padlocks and stock locks alongside. A stock lock was a large lock set into a wooden case fixed to the face of a door. Such demand suggested households anxious to secure stores, liquor and valuables in a small settlement where servants, soldiers and slaves lived close together. Several items reflected farm and garden work on the island. Ox bows were the curved wooden collars that passed under the neck of a draught ox and fixed it to the yoke, showing that oxen were used for ploughing and hauling. Scythe stones were whetstones for sharpening scythe blades in the field, and ragstones were coarse sharpening stones for edged tools. A flasket was a long, shallow basket, often with two handles, used for carrying laundry or produce. Cross-tail hinges had one long strap fixed across a door and a short leaf fixed to the frame, a simple pattern used on outhouse and cupboard doors. A gimlet was a small hand tool with a screw point for boring holes in wood before driving a nail or screw.
112	107	1765 Brought over £ 916 17 7 Iron Ware brought over £ 4 17 11 1/2 1 Chafing Dish 7 4 4 Hand Hatchets 7 9 1 Hasp 0 1/2 2 Garden Hoes 2 3 4 Shod Shovels 8 6 4 1/2 Doz Wood Screws 1 8 1/2 2 Pr Smt H Hinges 3 8 3 Hilters 3 4 1 Reap J Knife 1 1 Brickd Trowel 1 9 7 4 3 China Ware viz 10 Guz and Basons 1 3 6 1/2 Snacks 14 8 19 1/2 Dishes & Plates 11 4 8 9 Sauce Boats 3 1 186 Blue & W Soop Plates 4 14 3 12 Chamber Pots 12 8 Turreens 1 3 10 Tea Setts 10 30 Flag Pr Cups & Saucers 13 9 12 3d Do Do Do 3 9 32 Bowls 1 6 8	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 finished the ironmongery and moved on to a large consignment of china. Brought forward, £916 17s 7d Ironmongery brought forward, £4 17s 11½d Chafing dish, 1, £0 4s 4d Hand hatchets, 4, £0 7s 9d Hasp, 1, £0 0s 4½d Garden hoes, 2, £0 2s 5d Iron-shod shovels, 4, £0 8s 6d Wood screws, 4½ dozen, £0 1s 8½d [...] H hinges, 2 pairs, £0 3s 8d Halters, 3, £0 5s 4d Reaping knife, 1, £0 1s 0d Bricklayer's trowel, 1, £0 1s 9d Ironmongery total, £7 4s 5d Quart [...] basins, 10, £1 3s 0d [...], 6½, £0 14s 8d Dishes and plates, 19 sets, £11 4s 8d Sauce boats, 7, £0 3s 1d Blue and white soup plates, 186, £4 14s 3d Chamber pots, 12, £0 18s 0d Tureens, 8, £1 8s 0d Teapots, 10, £0 10s 0d [...] cups and saucers, 20, £0 13s 9d [...] cups and saucers, 12, £0 5s 9d Bowls, 32, £1 6s 8d Blue and white baking dishes, 3, £0 7s 3d Salad dishes, 7, £0 5s 10d Soup dish, 1, £0 5s 6d Mugs, 2, £0 3s 4d China total, £24 5s 9d Carried forward, £948 7s 9d **Interpretations** The china sold here was Chinese export porcelain, carried west in the holds of Company ships returning from Canton. Heavy porcelain made useful ballast below the lighter tea cargoes, and St Helena lay directly on the homeward route. As a result the island's servants could buy full dinner services, tureens, sauce boats and 186 blue and white soup plates at little more than 6d a plate. Porcelain of this kind was spreading through middle-class English homes in the same decade, but servants on St Helena had it from the first unloading, with only the Company's 10 per cent added. The china sales alone, at £24 5s 9d, came to more than three times the whole of the ironmongery.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Blue & W Bak J Dishes 7 3 9 Salled Do 3 10 1 Soop Do 3 6 2 Mugs 3 4 24 3 9 Carried over £ 948 7 9	Dinner and tea wares such as teapots, cups and saucers matched the heavy sales of tea and sugar recorded at the start of the quarter's account, which together showed tea drinking as a settled habit of the island's households. A chafing dish was a metal pan set over a small charcoal burner, used to keep food warm at table or to cook gently. Shod shovels were wooden shovels with an iron edge fixed to the blade, cheaper than all-iron shovels and suited to digging soil. H hinges took their name from their shape when open, two upright leaves joined by a short crosspiece, and were common on cupboard and room doors. A reaping knife was a short curved blade for cutting corn or grass by hand, which, with the hoes, rake and scythe stones on earlier pages, pointed to small-scale cultivation by the Company's servants.
113	108	21st October Brought over £ 948 7 9 Haberdashery viz 111 Sowing Silk 2 19 76 Do Mohair 1 18 3 lb Ferry 13 10 1/2 18 Doz Mohair Coat Buttons 9 9 20 Do Do Br Do 7 6 1 Pr Cam Soap 7 1/2 1 Doz Silver Wire Br Buttons 2 3 2 Doz Do C Do 9 8 2 Do Do Br Do 4 4 2 1/6 D Gilt C Do 7 3 4 Do Do Br Do 6 8 1/2 Yard Tabby 4 8 2 Gro Horn Moulds 4 10 8 13 9 Paint viz 33 Blue Smalts 2 6 8 6 lb Indico 6 0 111 Whiting 2 9 6 Barrl Black 3 10 1/2 2 W Lead mixd 10 314 W Do dry 16 10 9 Stone Colour 4 10 1/2 6 Verdit Red mixd 3 1 1/2 2 1/2 Do Do dry 6 1/2 1 lb Verdit 2 2 8 Red Lead 2 2 3 1/2 Y Oaker 0 1/2 2 Umber 7	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 continued with sewing goods and buttons, followed by a range of paints and pigments. Brought forward, £948 7s 9d Sewing silk, 11 oz, £2 19s 0d Mohair thread, 16 oz, £1 18s 0d Ferret tape, 3 pieces, £0 13s 10½d Mohair coat buttons, 18 dozen, £0 9s 9d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 20 dozen, £0 7s 6d [...], 1 paper, £0 0s 7½d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 1 dozen, £0 2s 5d Silver wire coat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 9s 8d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 4s 4d Gilt coat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 7s 3d Gilt waistcoat buttons, 4 dozen, £0 6s 8d Tabby silk, 4 yards, £0 4s 8d Horn button moulds, 2 gross, £0 4s 10d Sewing goods total, £8 13s 9d Blue smalt, 35 lb, £2 6s 8d Indigo, 6 lb, £6 0s 0d Whiting, 1 cwt, £0 2s 9d [...] black, 6 lb, £0 3s 10½d White lead ground in oil, 2 lb, £0 0s 10d White lead in powder, 54 lb, £0 16s 10d Stone colour, 9 lb, £0 4s 10½d [...] red ground in oil, 6 lb, £0 3s 1½d [...] red in powder, 2½ lb, £0 0s 6½d Verdigris, 1 lb, £0 2s 2d Red lead, 8 lb, £0 2s 2d Yellow ochre, 3½ lb, £0 0s 9½d Umber, 2 lb, £0 0s 7d Yellow ochre in powder, 4 lb, £0 0s 9½d Carried forward, £967 10s 6d **Interpretations** Paint was sold in two forms, already ground in oil and ready to apply, or as dry powder for the buyer to grind and mix himself. The powder was far cheaper by weight, which explained why 54 lb of dry white lead sold against only 2 lb ready mixed. Households painting their own woodwork saved money by doing the grinding at home, and the sale of linseed oil on an earlier page supplied the binding medium. The pigments covered the standard house painter's range of the period. White lead, made by corroding lead in vinegar fumes, was the base of almost every light paint. Red lead served as a rust-proof primer for iron. Yellow ochre and umber were natural earths giving yellows and browns, while verdigris, a green crust formed on copper, provided the only common green. Stone colour was a ready-mixed pale grey or buff imitating dressed stone, popular for exterior walls and doors. Whiting was chalk ground fine and washed, used for limewash, putty and distemper. Blue smalt was powdered cobalt glass, used as a pigment and to whiten linen in the wash by masking

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 Y Oaker Dry 0 1/2 Carried over £ 967 10 6	yellowness. Indigo, a deep blue dye made from the leaves of an Asian plant, also served as a laundry blue and to dye cloth at home. At £6 0s 0d it was by far the most expensive item on the page, a sign of how highly the dye was valued. The button entries showed that most clothing was made up on the island rather than bought ready-made. Coat buttons were large and waistcoat buttons smaller, and they came in mohair, silver wire and gilt to suit different ranks and purses. Horn button moulds were the discs over which cloth or thread was worked to make covered buttons. Ferret was a narrow silk or cotton tape used for binding edges, and tabby was a plain-woven, often watered silk used for linings and waistcoats.
114	109	1765 Brought over £ 967 10 6 Pitch and Tar viz 3 1/2 Gall Tar 3 5 1 Brl Pitch 2 2 7 7 Rosin 16 8 3 7 8 Pewter viz 3 Chamber Pots 4 10 3 Basons 13 1 1 8 11 Glass Ware viz 31 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 2 4 166 Do Do 6 by 8 3 9 2 9 Tumblers 3 10 2 Sqr Glass 11 by 17 1/2 6 10 Do Do 10 by 12 3 19 1 Do Do 11 by 19 1 8 1 Do Do 11 by 12 1/2 1 6 31 Wine Glasses 10 9 2 Hand Shades 12 11 1 Beer Glasses 0 1/2 4 Qt Decanters 15 6 9 17 9 Shoes viz 12 1 Pr Shoes Ordiny 27 7 8 11 Do Do fine Shoes 3 7 10 9 Do Do Pumps 2 9 6 3 Do Do Channd Do 1 13 11 8 Do Boys Shoes 1 7 3 Shoes Carried over £ 36 6 1 Carried over £ 982 4 10	The quarter's record of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants, up to 30 September 1765, went on to cover pitch and tar, pewter, glass and footwear. Brought forward, £967 10s 6d Tar, 3½ gallons, £0 3s 5d Pitch, 1 cwt 10 lb, £2 2s 7d Rosin, 7 lb, £0 16s 8d Pitch and tar total, £3 2s 8d Pewter chamber pots, 3, £0 13s 10d Pewter basins, 3, £0 15s 1d Pewter total, £1 8s 11d Window panes, 8 by 10 inches, 31, £2 0s 4½d Window panes, 6 by 8 inches, 166, £3 9s 2d Tumblers, 7, £0 5s 10d Window panes, 11 by 17½ inches, 2, £0 6s 0d Window panes, 10 by 12 inches, 10, £0 19s 0d Window pane, 11 by 10 inches, 1, £0 1s 8d Window pane, 11 by 12½ inches, 1, £0 1s 6d Wine glasses, 31, £0 10s 9d Candle shades, 2, £0 12s 11d Beer glass, 1, £0 0s 7½d Quart decanters, 4, £0 15s 6d Glass total, £9 17s 9d Ordinary shoes, 124 pairs, £27 7s 8d Fine shoes, 11 pairs, £3 7s 10d Pumps, 9 pairs, £2 9s 6d Channel pumps, 5 pairs, £1 10s 11d Boys' shoes, 3 pairs, £1 7s 3d Shoes carried forward, £36 4s 7d Carried forward, £982 4s 10d **Interpretations** Window glass was sold by the pane, cut to set sizes measured in inches. The 166 small panes of 6 by 8 inches pointed to sash windows of the older pattern, built up from many small lights held in wooden glazing bars. Each pane had to be shipped out from England and survive the voyage, so households bought them singly as replacements and fixed them with the glaziers' brads and whiting putty sold on earlier pages. The few larger panes, up to 11 by 17½ inches, perhaps served better houses or new sashes. Shoes were the largest single class of goods on the page, with 124 pairs of plain everyday shoes sold in one quarter. The island had no tannery or shoemaking trade able to meet demand, so footwear for soldiers, servants and households came out ready-made from England. Pumps were light, low-cut shoes with thin soles worn indoors or for dancing and formal dress. Channel pumps had the sole stitching sunk into a groove cut in the leather, which protected the thread from wear and gave a neater finish. Candle shades were glass chimneys placed over a candle to shield the flame from draughts. They mattered on an island exposed to steady trade winds, where open doors and windows would otherwise blow out the light. Pitch, tar and rosin were the materials for sealing boats and casks and for proofing roofs and timbers against damp. Rosin, the solid

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			residue left after distilling turpentine from pine resin, was mixed with pitch to harden it.
115	110	21st October Brought over £ 982 4 10 Shoes brought over £ 36 6 1 2 Pr Womens Calf 6 7 Do Do Spanish 1 10 11 13 Do Do Calimanco 2 16 4 4 Do Girls Do 14 41 13 10 Books viz 2 Testaments 2 7 1/2 1 Bible 3 9 1 Common Prayer Book 3 1 3 Spelling Do 3 10 1/2 13 4 Cutlery Ware viz 12 S Knives 4 6 2 1/2 Doz Horn Hand Forks 1 7 1 1/2 Horn Combs 2 6 2 Ivory Do 2 6 1 Pr Shoe Buckles 7 2 Doz Sm Hand Knives & Forks 3 2 3 4 18 11 Tin Ware viz 1 Small Horn Lanthorn 3 2 Tin Lamps 6 8 1 Quart Tin 9 1 Hort Horn Lant 5 4 1 Watering Pot 3 10 1 Glass Lant 12 6 1 Hair Sive 11 Tin Ware Carried over 1 15 Carried over £ 1029 10 11	The record of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 finished the footwear and went on to books, cutlery and tinware. Brought forward, £982 4s 10d Shoes brought forward, £36 4s 7d Women's calf shoes, 2 pairs, £0 6s 0d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 7 pairs, £1 10s 11d Women's calamanco shoes, 13 pairs, £2 16s 4d Women's green calamanco shoes, 4 pairs, £0 14s 0d Shoes total, £41 15s 10d New Testaments, 2, £0 2s 7½d Bible, 1, £0 5s 9d Book of Common Prayer, 1, £0 3s 1d Spelling books, 3, £0 3s 10½d Books total, £0 15s 4d [...] knives, [...], £0 4s 6d Horn-handled forks, 2 dozen, £1 0s 7d Horn combs, 6, £0 2s 6d Ivory combs, 2, £0 2s 6d Shoe buckles, 1 pair, £0 0s 7d [...] knives and forks, 2 dozen, £3 2s 3d Cutlery total, £5 13s 11d Small horn lantern, 1, £0 3s 0d Tin lamps, 2, £0 6s 8d Quart tin, 1, £0 0s 9d [...] horn lantern, 1, £0 5s 4d Watering can, 1, £0 3s 10d Glass lantern, 1, £0 12s 6d Hair sieve, 1, £0 0s 11d Tinware carried forward, £1 15s 0d Carried forward, £1,027 10s 11d **Interpretations** Women's shoes appeared as a distinct class for the first time, with 26 pairs sold in the quarter. Most were calamanco shoes, whose uppers were made from calamanco, a glossy worsted cloth woven with a satin face and often brightly coloured or patterned. Cloth uppers were cheaper and lighter than leather and suited indoor wear, while the Spanish leather shoes were made from fine tanned goatskin or kid. The sales showed a settled population of wives and daughters among the Company's servants, who needed footwear distinct from the soldiers' heavy shoes. The Company store was also the island's only bookseller. Only Bibles, New Testaments, a prayer book and spelling books were sold in the quarter, all of them standard texts for religious instruction and teaching children to read. Spelling books taught reading through graded lists of words and short lessons, so their sale pointed to children being taught at home or in a school on the island. Horn lanterns had windows made of thin translucent sheets of cow horn, which were cheaper and far less fragile than glass. The glass lantern, at four times the price of the small horn one, was a better article perhaps meant for a house or office. A hair sieve had a mesh woven from horsehair, fine enough to sift flour or strain liquids in the kitchen.
116	111	1765 Brought over £ 1029 10 11 Tin Ware brought over £ 1 15 1/2 Sab Armd 1 3 2 Globe Lamps 1 1 Gall Funnel	The tally of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 went on with the last of the tinware, then woollen cloth, stockings and breeches, timber and a grindstone. Brought forward, £1,029 10s 11d Tinware brought forward, £1 15s 0d Sal ammoniac, 1 lb, £0 1s 3d Globe lamps, 2, £1 0s 0d Gallon funnel, 1, £0 2s 3d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 3 2 18 6 Serge viz 12 1/2 lb Serge 3 2 6 8 1/2 Scarlet 2 13 8 10 Ps Fustain 14 10 1 1/2 Do Sagathy 5 8 10 11 19 10 Haziers Ware viz 8 Pr India Cott Stockings 17 4 1/2 8 Pr fine Thread Do 19 10 1/2 11 Do Ordiny Do Do 1 15 1 1/2 4 Pr Lea Buck Breeches 2 6 8 10 Do Black Do 4 16 8 5 Pr Boys Stockgs 10 10 2 Do Mens Do 7 11 3 Do Girls Do 7 4 12 Do Engh Cott Do 4 10 6 16 12 3 Deals viz 1 Pine board 4 3 7 Double Deals 1 6 3 3 Single Do 6 5 1 16 11 Grind stones 1 3 1 Carried over £ 1063 1 6	Tinware total, £2 18s 6d Serge, 12½ yards, £3 2s 6d Crewel, 8½ lb, £2 13s 8d Fustian, 10 yards, £0 14s 10d Sagathy, 1½ [...], £5 8s 10d Serge and similar cloth total, £11 19s 10d India cotton stockings, 8 pairs, £0 17s 4½d Fine thread stockings, 3 pairs, £0 19s 10½d Ordinary thread stockings, 11 pairs, £1 15s 1½d Buckskin breeches, 4 pairs, £2 6s 8d Black breeches, 10 pairs, £4 16s 8d Boys' stockings, 5 pairs, £0 10s 10d Men's stockings, 2 pairs, £0 7s 11d Girls' stockings, 3 pairs, £0 7s 4d English cotton stockings, 12 pairs, £4 10s 6d Hosiery total, £16 12s 3d Pine board, 1, £0 4s 3d Double deals, 7, £1 6s 3d Single deals, 3, £0 6s 3d Deals total, £1 16s 11d Grindstone, 1, £0 3s 1d Carried forward, £1,063 1s 6d **Interpretations** Stockings came from two directions on this page. India cotton stockings, carried west on Company ships, sold at a little over 2s a pair, while English cotton stockings cost about 7s 6d a pair. St Helena's position on the route home from the East meant that Indian goods reached the island cheaply, undercutting English manufactures in a way that was far less common in England itself, where import restrictions on Indian cottons protected domestic makers. Deals were sawn planks of softwood, usually Baltic pine or fir, sold by standard thickness. A double deal was roughly twice as thick as a single one and was used for floors and heavier joinery, while single deals served for partitions, shelving and boxes. Along with the pine board, they showed that even plain building timber for household repairs had to be imported, because the island had little suitable timber of its own. Several textiles were specialised woollens. Serge was a hard-wearing twilled worsted used for coats and breeches. Crewel was a loosely twisted worsted yarn used for embroidery and darning, sold by weight. Fustian was a stout cloth of linen and cotton with a raised nap, worn by labourers and used for linings, and sagathy was a light woollen stuff, sometimes mixed with silk, used for coats and waistcoats. Sal ammoniac, the salt now called ammonium chloride, was used as a flux to clean metal surfaces before soldering and tinning. Its place among the tinware suggested it was bought for mending pots and pans, though it also served in medicine. Buckskin breeches were made of soft leather from deer or sheep, prized for riding and hard wear.
117	112	21st October Brought over £ 1063 1 6 Long Cloth viz 1 Pr Y 3 6 11 4 Do W 3 3 8 3 Do B 12 10 9 1/2 Do V 10 17 6 13 Do A 22 17 6 2 Do C 7 2 2 3 Do D 22 3 4	The record of goods sold from the Company's warehouses to its servants in the quarter ending 30 September 1765 continued with Indian long cloth, flag cloth, brass wares, woollens and wine. Brought forward, £1,063 1s 6d Long cloth marked Y, 1 piece, £3 6s 11d Long cloth marked W, 1 piece, £3 5s 8d Long cloth marked B, 3 pieces, £12 10s 0d Long cloth marked V, 2½ pieces, £10 17s 6d Long cloth marked A, 5 pieces, £22 17s 6d Long cloth marked C, 2 pieces, £7 2s 2d Long cloth marked D, 5 pieces, £22 3s 4d Long cloth marked E, 1 piece, £3 6s 2d Long cloth marked L, 2 pieces, £10 15s 8d Long cloth marked H, 2 pieces, £5 19s 0d Long cloth total, £108 15s 11d White bunting, 6 yards, £0 3s 1d Blue bunting, 3 yards, £0 4s 6d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Do E 3 6 2 2 Do L 10 13 8 2 Do H 3 19 128 13 11 Bunting viz 6 Yards W 3 1 8 Do B 4 6 7 7 Braziers Ware viz 1 Brass Cock 3 6 1 Sm Tea Kettle 13 6 17 Camblet viz 6 Yds Scarlet 1 4 6 4 Do Blue 17 5 2 1 11 Flannel 1 Yard 1 3 Kersey 8 Do 13 4 Wine viz 77 1/2 G Port 54 1 3 1/2 147 1/2 Do Lisbon 44 13 9 1/2 83 Do Mountn 25 17 1 124 17 2 £ 1300 13 10	Bunting total, £0 7s 7d Brass tap, 1, £0 1s 6d Small tea kettle, 1, £0 15s 6d Brass wares total, £0 17s 0d Scarlet camlet, 6 yards, £1 4s 6d Blue camlet, 4 yards, £0 17s 5d Camlet total, £2 1s 11d Flannel, 1 yard, £0 1s 5d Kersey, 3 yards, £0 13s 4d Port wine, 177½ gallons, £54 1s 3½d Lisbon wine, 147½ gallons, £44 12s 9½d Mountain wine, 85 gallons, £25 17s 1d Wine total, £124 11s 2d Total, £1,300 13s 10d **Interpretations** Wine was the largest single class of goods sold in the quarter, at £124 11s 2d, ahead even of the long cloth and the salt pork. More than 400 gallons went to the Company's servants in three months. Port came from the Douro valley in northern Portugal, Lisbon was a white wine shipped from the Portuguese capital, and Mountain was a sweet wine from the hills around Malaga in southern Spain. All three were fortified or strong wines that survived long voyages, and their prices of around 6s a gallon made them an everyday drink rather than a luxury on the island. Long cloth was a plain white or unbleached cotton woven in India in unusually long pieces, which gave the cloth its name. Each piece carried a letter mark showing its grade and source, and the Company's warehouse kept the marks when selling it on. The prices ran from a little over £3 to about £4 11s a piece depending on the mark, so buyers chose by quality rather than taking an ungraded bale. Cotton cloth of this kind was used for shirts, shifts, sheets and household linen, and its heavy sales confirmed how readily Indian textiles reached the island. Bunting was a light, loosely woven worsted used for flags and signal pennants, which would have suited an island that signalled the approach of ships. Camlet was a fine cloth originally of goat's hair and later of wool and silk, used for cloaks and coats. Kersey was a coarse, ribbed woollen cloth from the north of England, valued for warm outer garments and breeches.
118	113	1765 Sold to the Planters at 25 p Ct viz Camblet viz 13 Yds Blue 3 8 3 7 1/2 Do Red 1 15 2 5 3 5 Shirts 9 Yards brown Holland 2 7 Buckram 2 Do 2 3 Serge 6 1/2 Do Blue 1 17 7 Shalloon 19 Do Coloured 2 2 9 Hats viz 1 Mens Hat 1 2 1 Boys Do 7 7 1 9 7 Long Ells 7 Yards Blue 14 7 Shoes viz 1 Pr Mens Pumps 6 3 1 Do Do Chann Do	Sales from the Company's warehouses to the island's planters in the same quarter were recorded separately, at a mark-up of 25 per cent, beginning with cloth, hats, shoes and stockings. Blue camlet, 13 yards, £3 8s 3d Red camlet, 7½ yards, £1 15s 2d Camlet total, £5 3s 5d Brown holland for shirts, 9 yards, £2 0s 7d Buckram, 2 yards, £0 2s 3d Blue serge, 6½ yards, £1 17s 7d Coloured shalloon, 19 yards, £2 2s 9d Man's hat, 1, £1 2s 0d Boy's hat, 1, £0 7s 7d Hats total, £1 9s 7d Blue long ells, 7 yards, £0 14s 7d Men's pumps, 1 pair, £0 6s 3d Men's channel pumps, 1 pair, £0 7s 9d Men's ordinary shoes, 4 pairs, £1 0s 0d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 3 pairs, £0 14s 10d Women's calf shoes, 1 pair, £0 3s 4d Boys' shoes, 7 pairs, £1 7s 3d Shoes total, £3 19s 7d English cotton stockings, 1 pair, £0 8s 6d Boys' stockings, 6 pairs, £0 14s 9d Men's worsted stockings, 1 pair, £0 4s 6d Men's knitted stockings, 1 pair, £0 3s 9d Girls' stockings, 2 pairs, £0 3s 7d

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		7 9 4 Do Do Ordiy Shoes 1 3 Do Womens Spanish 14 10 1 Do Do Calf 3 4 7 Do Boys 1 7 3 3 19 7 Hosiers Ware viz 1 Pr English Cott Stockgs 8 6 6 Do Boys Do 14 9 1 Do Mens Worg Do 4 6 1 Do Do Knit Do 3 9 2 Do Girls Do 3 7 1 Pr Lea Breeches 18 2 2 10 3 Carried over £ 20 7	[...] breeches, 1 pair, £0 18s 2d Hosiery total, £2 10s 3d Carried forward, £20 0s 7d **Interpretations** The Company ran a two-tier price scale from the same warehouse. Its own servants paid cost plus 10 per cent, as the opening page of the quarter's account recorded on 21 October, while planters paid cost plus 25 per cent for the same goods. The obvious course of charging every buyer alike was set aside so that employment with the Company carried a material benefit in cheaper food, cloth and household goods. The planters were settlers who held land on the island and lived by farming rather than by Company wages, so they still depended on the store but at a higher price. The planters' purchases were small against the servants'. A single man's hat, a few pairs of shoes and odd lengths of cloth contrasted with the 124 pairs of shoes and hundreds of yards of cloth sold to servants in the same quarter. The steeper mark-up perhaps discouraged planters from buying more than they needed, while their limited cash income from selling produce would also have held their purchases down. Worsted stockings were knitted from long-staple wool combed so the fibres lay parallel, giving a smooth, strong yarn. Knitted stockings, listed separately at a lower price, were perhaps coarser hand-knitted goods, as against the finer framework-knitted stockings made on machines in the English Midlands.
119	114	21st October Brought over £ 20 7 Broad Cloth viz 1 1/4 Yds French Grey 1 7 4 3 Yds Blue 3 7 6 1 1/4 Yds Scarlet 1 4 1 5 12 11 Long Cloth 1 Pr B 2 16 9 Sold at 40 p Cent viz Sugar & Candy viz 956 Sugar 20 3 4 101 Candy 2 13 11 23 2 3 Flour 363 4 4 1 Tea viz 74 Congo 7 9 6 73 Single 7 7 9 50 Bohea 4 6 3 19 3 11 Sope 57 2 12 3 Rice 9 1 4 4 17 6 Leather viz 7 Sole 9 8 1 Calf Skin 12 8 1 1 8 Canvas 14 Yds Osnbrigs 15 2 Coffee 20 1 5	The planters' account for the quarter, under the date 21 October, continued with broadcloth and long cloth at the 25 per cent rate, before a fresh section of staples sold at a mark-up of 40 per cent. Brought forward, £20 0s 7d French grey broadcloth, 1¼ yards, £1 7s 4d Blue broadcloth, 3 yards, £3 7s 6d Scarlet broadcloth, 1¼ yards, £1 4s 1d Broadcloth total, £5 12s 11d Long cloth marked B, 1 piece, £2 16s 9d Sugar, 956 lb, £20 3s 4d Sugar candy, 101 lb, £2 13s 11d Sugar and sugar candy total, £23 2s 3d Flour, 363 lb, £4 4s 1d Congou tea, 74 lb, £7 9s 6d Singlo tea, 73 lb, £7 7s 9d Bohea tea, 50 lb, £4 6s 3d Tea total, £19 3s 6d Soap, 57 lb, £2 12s 3d Rice, 9 cwt 1 qr 4 lb, £4 17s 6d Sole leather, 7 lb, £0 9s 3d Calfskin, 1, £0 12s 8d Osnaburg canvas, 14 yards, £1 1s 8d Coffee, 20 lb, £0 15s 2½d Rope, 239 lb, £6 4s 5d Twine, 36 skeins, £1 10s 0d Cotton candlewick, ¾ lb, £0 2s 1d Twine and wick total, £1 12s 1d Carried forward, £93 14s 10d **Interpretations** A third price tier appeared on this page. Servants paid cost plus 10 per cent and planters cost plus 25 per cent for cloth and clothing, but the staples in this section, sugar, flour, tea, soap, rice, leather and rope, carried a mark-up of 40 per cent. The page did not name the buyers at this rate. The Company thus charged most heavily on everyday consumables, the goods buyers could least do without, while keeping cloth and clothing at the lower rate. The colour of the broadcloth, written out here in full as French grey, was a fashionable pale bluish grey used for coats. Sole leather was thick, heavily tanned ox hide cut for the soles of shoes and boots. Its sale alongside a calfskin for uppers suggested that some

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Cordage 239 6 4 5 Twine viz 36 Skains Twine 1 10 3/4 Cotton Wick 2 1 1 12 1 Carried over £ 93 14 10	planters made or mended their own footwear rather than paying for the imported shoes sold on earlier pages.
120	115	1765 Brought over £ 93 14 10 Thread viz 1/2 lb W Brown 4 9 1 Colourd 4 7 9 4 Candles 22 3 1 5 Sago 9 4 10 Oars 1 3 6 Starch 1 9 9 Pepper 2 1 6 Nails viz 1 2d Nails 1 1 3d Do 1 3 1 4d Do 10 14 1/2 6d Do 11 2 6 10d Do 4 1 1/2 Spikes 1 3 1/2 19 8 Hooks and Lines viz 10 1/2 Doz & Wt 2 Lines 3 3 9 3 Do 3 Do 16 9 4 1/2 Do 4 Do 1 8 10 2 Hambro Do 3 4 425 No 9 Hooks 13 4 150 12 Do 10 1/2 25 13 Do 0 225 1 Do 15 2 200 11 Do 4 6 275 15 Do 2 10 7 12 9 Braziers Ware 1 Pr Steel Snuff 4 4 Carried over £ 106 14 11	The section of goods sold at a 40 per cent mark-up in the 1765 quarter went on with thread, candles and small provisions, then nails, fishing tackle and a pair of snuffers. Brought forward, £93 14s 10d Whited-brown thread, ½ lb, £0 4s 9d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 4s 7d Thread total, £0 9s 4d Candles, 22 lb, £3 1s 5d Sago, 9 lb, £0 4s 10d Can, 1, £0 5s 6d Starch, 1 [...], £0 9s 9d Pepper, 2 lb, £0 1s 6d Twopenny nails, 1 lb, £0 1s 0d Threepenny nails, 1 lb, £0 1s 2½d Fourpenny nails, 1 lb, £0 0s 10d Sixpenny nails, 14 lb, £0 11s 2d Tenpenny nails, 6 lb, £0 4s 1½d Spikes, 3 lb, £0 1s 3½d Nails total, £0 19s 8d Number 2 fishing lines, 10½ dozen, £3 5s 9d Number 3 fishing lines, 3 dozen, £0 16s 9d Number 4 fishing lines, 4½ dozen, £1 8s 10d Hambro lines, 2, £0 3s 4d Number 9 fish hooks, 425, £0 13s 4½d Number 12 fish hooks, 150, £0 0s 10½d Number 13 fish hooks, 25, £0 0s 3d Number 1 fish hooks, 225, £0 15s 2d Number 11 fish hooks, 200, £0 4s 6d Number 15 fish hooks, 275, £0 2s 10d Hooks and lines total, £7 12s 9d Steel candle snuffers, 1 pair, £0 4s 4d Carried forward, £106 14s 11d **Interpretations** Fishing tackle again formed the largest group of goods in this section, worth more than all the provisions on the page together. Buyers at the 40 per cent rate took more than 200 lines and over 1,300 hooks, matching the heavy demand recorded on the servants' side of the account. The number 2 and number 9 sizes sold most in both sections, which suggested the same inshore fishing served every class of household on the island. Candle snuffers were a scissor-like tool with a small box fixed to one blade. They trimmed the charred end of a tallow candle's wick and caught the cut piece, which kept the flame bright and stopped the candle smoking and guttering. With tallow candles the main source of light, as the heavy candle sales elsewhere in the quarter showed, snuffers were an ordinary item in any household.
121	116	21st October Brought over £ 106 14 11 Haberdashery viz 12 Sowing Silk	The section of goods sold at a 40 per cent mark-up, under the date 21 October, went on with small amounts of sewing goods, naval stores, oil, china, tinware, timber, combs and pewter. Brought forward, £106 14s 11d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 3 Do Mohair 4 8 1 Doz Do Br Buttons 6 15 2 Pitch and Tar viz 1/2 Tar 1 1/2 Barl 16 Rosin 1 2 8 1 3 8 Oil viz 1/2 Linseed 4 1 1 1/2 Train 7 10 1 1/2 Florence 3 9 15 8 China Ware viz 4 1/2 B & W Snacks 1 1 6 Flag Pr Cups & Saucers 3 6 2 Bowls 2 4 6 11 Tin Ware viz 4 Tin Lamps 4 4 1/2 Sab Armd 1 8 6 Deals viz 3 Double Deals 14 6 1 Single Do 2 9 1/2 Baulk 6 0 1 3 6 Cutlery Ware 9 Horn Combs 2 3 Pewter 4 Basons 15 6 Carried over £ 111 19 7	Sewing silk, 12 skeins, £0 3s 0d Mohair thread, 3 skeins, £0 1s 8d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 1 dozen, £0 0s 6d Sewing goods total, £0 5s 2d Tar, ½ [...], £0 1s 0d Rosin, ½ barrel and 16 lb, £1 2s 8d Pitch and tar total, £1 3s 8d Linseed oil, ½ gallon, £0 4s 1d Train oil, 1½ gallons, £0 7s 10d Florence oil, 1½ bottles, £0 3s 9d Oil total, £0 15s 8d Blue and white saucers, 4, £0 1s 1d [...] cups and saucers, 6, £0 3s 6d Bowls, 2, £0 2s 4d China total, £0 6s 11d Tin lamp, 1, £0 4s 9d Sal ammoniac, ½ lb, £0 1s 3d Tinware total, £0 6s 0d Double deals, 3, £0 14s 6d Single deal, 1, £0 2s 9d Baulk of timber, ½, £0 6s 0d Timber total, £1 3s 6d Horn combs, 9, £0 2s 3d Pewter basins, 4, £1 5s 6d Carried forward, £111 19s 7d **Interpretations** Train oil was oil rendered from the blubber of whales or seals, and sometimes from fish livers. It was the cheapest lamp oil of the period and burned with a smoky, strong-smelling flame, so it lit workshops, guardrooms and poorer households where tallow candles were too costly. It was also used to dress leather and as a lubricant. A baulk was a roughly squared length of timber, larger than a deal, used for beams, posts and heavy framing. Selling half a baulk showed that the Company store would cut its stock to suit small buyers, which mattered on an island where every length of building timber had to be imported and was too valuable to waste.
122	117	1765 Brought over £ 111 19 7 Turners Ware viz 2 Scrubing Brushes 6 2 Hog Do 1 6 2 Flaskets Do 8 1 Punch Ladle 10 16 4 Iron Ware viz 4 Hilters 2 10 1 Pad Lock 2 2 1 Cupboard Do 3 11 12 Iron rimd Dr Br Kimbs 7 1 Claw Hammer 2 1 Pruning Saw 2 2 2 Scythe Stones	The 1765 section of goods sold at a 40 per cent mark-up continued with brushes and baskets, ironmongery, paint, lead and the first of the glassware. Brought forward, £111 19s 7d Scrubbing brushes, 2, £0 6s 0d Hog-bristle brushes, 2, £0 1s 6d Flaskets, 2, £0 8s 0d Punch ladle, 1, £0 0s 10d Wooden wares total, £0 16s 4d Sifter, 1, £0 2s 10d Padlock, 1, £0 2s 2d Cupboard lock, 1, £0 3s 11d Iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs, 1, £0 7s 0d Claw hammer, 1, £0 2s 0d Pruning saw, 1, £0 2s 2d Scythe stones, 2, £0 0s 8d Sail needle, 1, £0 0s 1d Box iron, 1, £0 10s 2d Ironmongery total, £1 11s 0d Indigo, 6 oz, £0 13s 10½d Blue smalt, 2 lb, £0 3s 4½d Blacking, 12 lb, £0 10s 0d Whiting, 4 lb, £0 0s 3d Paint total, £1 9s 6d Sheet lead, 17 lb, £0 4s 5d Lead shot, 1 lb, £0 0s 3d

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		8 1 Sail Needle 1 1 Box Iron 10 2 1 11 Paint viz 6 lb Indico 13 10 1/2 2 lb Smalts 0 4 1/2 12 lb Blacking 10 4 Whiting 3 1 9 6 Lead viz 17 Sh Lead 4 5 1 Shot 3 4 8 Glass Ware viz 2 Half Pint Glasses 1 6 1 Qt Decant 5 Glass Ware Carried over 6 6 Carried over £ 116 1 1	Lead total, £0 4s 8d Half-hour glasses, 2, £0 1s 6d Quart decanter, 1, £0 5s 0d Glassware carried forward, £0 6s 6d Carried forward, £116 1s 1d **Interpretations** Half-hour glasses were sand timers that emptied in thirty minutes. Aboard ship they kept the count of a watch, with a bell struck each time the glass was turned, and ashore they served for timing guard reliefs, cooking or church sermons. Their presence beside a sail needle, a three-sided needle for stitching heavy canvas, suggested a buyer with a boat or a seafaring trade. Blacking was lamp black or other soot-based pigment, sold here by the pound for blackening shoes, ironwork and stoves or for mixing into dark paint. A pruning saw had a narrow, often curved blade for cutting branches, which, with the scythe stones, pointed to orchard and garden work on the buyer's land.
123	118	21st October Brought over £ 116 1 1 Glass Ware brought over £ 6 6 2 Beer Glasses 3 4 11 Sqr Glass 10 by 12 12 10 3 Do Do 8 by 10 3 4 2 Do Do 6 by 8 1 1 1 12 1 £ 117 13 2 Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships from the 1st of July to the 30th September 1765 viz Pitch viz 6 Bl Tar 10 8 2 1/2 Do Pitch 6 8 9 1/2 Do Turpentine 1 18 2 1 Do & 4 Rosin 3 15 0 1/2 22 2 2 1/2 Nails 164 1/2 3 3 7 Oil viz 35 Gall Linseed 9 12 6 13 Do Train 3 7 6 13 Kersey 3 Yds 6 9 Twine viz 200 Sk Twine 8 15 2 Cott Wick 8 9 3	Under the date 21 October, the 40 per cent section closed with the remaining glassware, and a new section began for goods supplied to the Honourable Company's ships between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £116 1s 1d Glassware brought forward, £0 6s 6d Beer glasses, 2, £0 3s 4d Window panes, 10 by 12 inches, 11, £0 12s 10d Window panes, 8 by 10 inches, 3, £0 3s 4d Window panes, 6 by 8 inches, 2, £0 1s 1d Glassware total, £1 12s 1d Total, £117 13s 2d Tar, 6½ barrels, £10 8s 0d Pitch, 2½ barrels, £6 8s 9d Turpentine, ½ barrel, £1 18s 2d Rosin, 1¼ barrels, £3 13s 0½d Pitch, tar and turpentine total, £22 8s 2½d Nails, 164 lb, £5 3s 7d Linseed oil, 35 gallons, £9 12s 6d Train oil, 15 gallons, £3 7s 6d Oil total, £13 0s 0d Kersey, 3 yards, £0 6s 9d Twine, 200 skeins, £3 15s 0d Cotton candlewick, 2 lb, £0 8s 0d Twine and wick total, £4 3s 0d Files, 4, £0 3s 8d Sail needles, [...], £0 13s 0d Padlocks, 2, £0 4s 5d Carried forward, £51 3s 1½d **Interpretations** The new section showed St Helena serving as a supply base for the Company's own shipping. Vessels calling on the long voyages to and from the East drew tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, nails, oil and twine from the island warehouse to repair hulls, rigging and sails before the next leg. Unlike the sales to servants, planters and the 40 per cent buyers, the heading for this section stated no mark-up, which suggested goods passed to the ships as a transfer within the Company's own accounts rather than as a sale for profit. The naval stores formed a set used together in caulking and preserving a ship. Tar, distilled from

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Iron Ware viz 4 Files 3 8 104 Sail Needs 13 2 Pad Locks 4 5 Carried over £ 51 3 1 1/2	pine wood, coated rigging and timber against rot. Pitch, made by boiling tar down, was poured hot into seams over oakum to make them watertight. Turpentine, the volatile spirit distilled from pine resin, thinned paint and tar, while rosin, the solid left behind, hardened pitch so it held in the seams in warm weather. Linseed oil went into paint for the topsides, and train oil served for lamps aboard and to dress leather fittings.
124	119	1765 Brought over £ 51 3 1 1/2 Cordage 32 2 9 93 16 6 Canvas viz 9 20 Eng Canvas 21 17 6 1 60 Osenbrigs 10 9 1 32 6 7 Beef and Pork viz 13 Puncht Beef 237 6 1 3 Hhds Pork 136 8 8 373 14 9 Rice 44 1 12 23 6 10 Paint viz 43 Barrl Blacking 2 20 Brimstone 3 10 7 Verdigrease 3 6 53 Red Lead 1 20 White Do dry 9 7 4 11 Coals 3 Chaldrons 7 19 2 Deals viz 14 Pr Riga Timber 13 9 2 Elm Boards 19 3 Double Deals 14 3 12 Single Do 1 17 1 Pr of 4 Inch Oak Plank 1 19 1/2 Pr of 6 Do Do Do 1 11 11 7 19 11 Glass Ware 1 Half hour Glass 9 Masts 1 Sloops Mast 29 13 Turners Ware 2 Paint Brushes 1 6 Flour 310 3 11 Grindstone 1 3 7 Carried over £ 633 10 7 1/2	The 1765 section of goods supplied to the Honourable Company's ships continued with cordage, sailcloth, salt meat, rice, paint, coal, timber and a mast. Brought forward, £51 3s 1½d Rope, 32 cwt 2 qr 9 lb, £93 16s 6d English canvas, 9 bolts and 20 yards, £21 17s 6d Osnaburg canvas, 1 bolt and 60 yards, £10 9s 1d Canvas total, £32 6s 7d Salt beef, 13 puncheons, £237 6s 1d Salt pork, 3 hogsheads, £136 8s 8d Beef and pork total, £373 14s 9d Rice, 44 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, £23 6s 10d Blacking, 4½ barrels, £2 0s 0d Brimstone, 20 lb, £0 3s 10d Verdigris, 7 lb, £0 3s 6d Red lead, 53 lb, £1 0s 0d White lead in powder, 20 lb, £0 9s 7d Paint total, £4 0s 11d Coal, 3 chaldrons, £7 19s 2d Riga timber, 1½ pieces, £0 18s 9d Elm boards, 2, £0 19s 0d Double deals, 3, £0 14s 3d Single deals, 12, £1 17s 0d Oak plank 4 inches thick, 1 piece, £1 19s 0d Oak plank 6 inches thick, 1 piece, £1 11s 11d Timber total, £7 19s 11d Half-hour glass, 1, £0 0s 9d Sloop's mast, 1, £29 13s 0d Paint brushes, 2, £0 1s 6d Flour, 310 lb, £3 11s 0d Grindstone, 1, £0 3s 7d Carried forward, £633 10s 7½d **Interpretations** Salt meat made up well over half the value of goods passed to the ships on this page. Thirteen puncheons of beef and three hogsheads of pork, worth more than £373, restocked vessels for the long passage ahead. A puncheon was a large cask holding around 70 to 84 gallons, and a hogshead a slightly smaller one of about 63 gallons, both standard measures for packing meat in brine. The island warehouse thus acted as a victualling store as well as a chandlery, holding provisions shipped out from England in bulk and releasing them to vessels that had run short. Coal was sold by the chaldron, a large measure of about 25 to 27 hundredweight in London usage. Ships burned it in their galleys and in the armourer's forge, and the island had no fuel of its own beyond scarce wood, so every ton came out in ships' holds. Brimstone, or sulphur, was burned below decks to fumigate holds and drive out vermin, and was also an ingredient in gunpowder and medicine. Riga timber was fir or pine shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, prized for its straight grain and strength in spars and planking. Elm boards resisted rot when kept wet and served below the waterline, while thick oak plank was used for repairs to the hull itself. The sloop's mast, at £29 13s 0d, was the most costly single article, a reminder that a spar of that size could not be cut anywhere on the island and had to be held in store against the needs of passing vessels.
125	120	21st October Brought over	Under the date 21 October, the ships' section closed with bunting and tinware, and a new account

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£ 633 2 7 1/2 Bunting 4 Yds Red 4 2 Tin Ware viz 24 Lanthorn Leaves 7 2 T Lamps 3 2 1 Quart Funnel 6 4 lb Solder 5 4 1/2 1/2 Salamoniac 3 6 £ 1 9 6 1/2 £ 634 6 4 Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1765 viz Iron Ware 3 Plaistr Trowels 1 Bricklay Do Masons and Bricklayers 5 6 Pickaxes Masons 6 4 4 Helves Do 13 9 1 Whip Saw Sawyers use 2 4 1 Stone Do Masons Do 2 9 6 4 Joyners Rubstones Carpts 4 6 13 doz Wood Screws Castle 13 2 4 Spring Rat Traps L Wood & Do 4 1 Ditching Shovel for making Graves 6 11 1 Drill Bow Armourers use 4 6 1/2 19 Files Armour & Do 2 3 6 File Hafts Do 9 6 1 Watch Key G House 4 1/2 3 Stock Locks Castle 3 1 Claw Hammer Brickmakers 3 1 1/2 2 Gimblets Do 1 3 1/2 14 Hd Hamms Helves Workmn 3 1/2 1 Small Fry Pan Workmen 3 6 5 Large Rubbe Stones 1 Smith Do 1 Spitter Lock Companys Work 2 3 1/2 1 7 6 3 1 8 Spades Do 5 1/2 2 Plaistr Sives 1 12 1 7 1/2 Iron Ware Carried over £ 11 10 3	began charging to general expenses the stores issued for the Company's own use between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £633 10s 7½d Red bunting, 4 yards, £0 4s 2d Lantern horn leaves, 24, £0 7s 0d Tin lamps, 2, £0 3s 2d Quart funnel, 1, £0 0s 6d Solder, 4 lb, £0 5s 4½d Sal ammoniac, ½ lb, £0 3s 6d Tinware total, £0 19s 6½d Total, £654 6s 4d Plasterers' trowels, 3, and bricklayer's trowel, 1, for the masons and bricklayers, £0 5s 0d Pickaxes for the masons, 6, £0 6s 4d Helves for the masons, 4, £0 13s 9d Whipsaw for the sawyers, 1, £0 2s 4d Stone saw for the masons, 1, £2 9s 6d Joiners' rubstones for the carpenters, 4, £0 4s 6d Wood screws for the castle, 13 dozen, £0 13s 2d Spring rat traps for Longwood and elsewhere, 4, £0 4s 0d Ditching shovel for digging graves, 1, £0 6s 11d Drill bow for the armourers, 1, £0 4s 6½d Files for the armourers and others, 19, £0 2s 3d File handles, 6, £0 9s 6d [...] for the [...] house, 1, £0 0s 4½d Stock locks for the castle, 3, £0 0s 3d Claw hammer for the brickmakers, 1, £0 3s 1½d Gimlets for the brickmakers, 2, £0 1s 3½d Hand-hammer handles for the workmen, 14, £0 0s 3½d Small frying pan for the workmen, 1, £0 3s 6d Large rubbing files, 5, £0 2s 3½d [...] for Company work, 1, £1 7s 6d [...] lock for Company work, 1, £0 3s 1d Spades for Company work, 8, £0 0s 5½d Plasterers' [...], 2, £1 12s 0d [...], £1 0s 7½d Ironmongery carried forward, £11 10s 3d **Interpretations** The heading for general charges marked a change in the nature of the account. The goods in earlier sections were sold, to servants, planters, other buyers or the Company's ships, and so brought cash or credit back. These stores were issued free for the Company's own works and charged as running expenses of government. Each issue named the gang or place that drew it, the masons, sawyers, armourers, brickmakers, the castle or Longwood, which let the store account for every tool as it left the warehouse. The ditching shovel issued for digging graves showed that burial of the dead was a public charge met from Company stores. On an island where many residents were soldiers, sailors put ashore and slaves owned by the Company, the government took on the cost of interment rather than leaving it to families or a parish. Lantern leaves were the thin, translucent sheets of horn fitted as windows in horn lanterns, sold separately so broken panes could be replaced. Solder, an alloy of tin and lead, joined and mended tinware, with sal ammoniac used alongside it to clean the metal first. A drill bow was a bow strung with a cord wound round a drill shaft, which spun the bit back and forth as the bow was drawn, and rubstones were whetstones for honing carpenters' chisels and plane irons.
126	121	1765 Iron Ware brought over £ 11 10 3	The general charges for stores issued to the Company's own works in the 1765 quarter continued

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1/2 Yellow Spelter Armorer 5 1/2 1 Iron rimd Lock with Brass Knobs Castle 7 1/2 Borax 3 4 1 Packing Needle mending Bags in the Stores 1 1/2 12 1 2 Twine 3 Sks for mending Bags in the Stores and Brickmakers use 2 6 Oil viz 12 1/2 Gallns Train 2 2 4 6 1/2 Gall Linseed 1 Bottle Florence Compy Works Kitchen and Armourer 1 5 6 2 7 3 10 5 Turners Ware viz 7 Paint Brushes Castle 3 6 1 Hair Broom Store use 2 3 1/2 1 Birch Do Masons 3 1 Mop for the Fort Church 1 2 1/2 6 Wood Bowls 6 Platters Workmen 6 9 7 9 3 Labourers Baskets Companys Work 3 9 1 5 11 Candles viz 30 Castle 7 16 8 90 Council 9 6 3 4 Doctors Shop 7 10 2 Magazines 3 11 17 14 8 Scales & Weights viz 3 Pr Scales and Weights 11 12 11 Scales and Weights Carried over £ 11 12 11 Carried Over £ 34 14 3	with the last of the ironmongery and went on to oil, wooden wares, candles and scales. Ironmongery brought forward, £11 10s 3d Yellow spelter for the armourer, ½ lb, £0 0s 5½d Iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs for the castle, 1, £0 7s 0d Borax, ½ lb, £0 3s 4d Packing needle for mending bags in the stores, 1, £0 0s 1½d Ironmongery total, £12 1s 2d Twine for mending bags in the stores and for the brickmakers, 3 skeins, £0 2s 6d Train oil for Company works, the kitchen and the armourers, 12½ gallons, £2 2s 4d Linseed oil for Company works, the kitchen and the armourers, 6½ gallons, £1 5s 6d Florence oil for Company works, the kitchen and the armourers, 1 bottle, £0 2s 7d Oil total, £3 10s 5d Paint brushes for the castle, 7, £0 3s 6d Hair broom for the stores, 1, £0 2s 3½d Birch broom for the masons, 1, £0 0s 3d Mop for the fort church, 1, £0 1s 2½d Wooden bowls for the workmen, 6, £0 6s 9d Platters for the workmen, 6, £0 7s 9d Labourers' baskets for Company work, 3, £0 3s 9d Wooden wares total, £1 5s 11d Candles for the castle, 80 lb, £7 16s 3d Candles for the Council, 90 lb, £9 6s 3d Candles for the doctor's shop, 4 lb, £0 7s 10d Candles for the magazines, 2 lb, £0 3s 11d Candles total, £17 14s 3d Scales and weights, 3 sets, £11 12s 11d Scales and weights carried forward, £11 12s 11d Carried forward, £34 14s 3d **Interpretations** Candles were issued by office, and the allocation showed where public business was done after dark. The castle, seat of the Governor and the garrison command, and the Council between them drew 170 lb in the quarter, while the doctor's shop and the powder magazines received only a few pounds each. The tiny issue to the magazines reflected the danger of naked flame near gunpowder, where light was kept to a minimum and used only inside closed lanterns. Yellow spelter was a brass solder, an alloy of copper and zinc that melted at a lower heat than the metals it joined, and borax was the flux used with it to keep the joint clean while brazing. Both went to the armourer for repairing gun locks, fittings and other metal parts. The issue of a mop to the fort church showed that the Company maintained the island's place of worship from its own stores, as it met the cost of burials recorded on the previous page. The three sets of scales and weights, at £11 12s 11d, were among the costliest single issues in the general charges. Accurate weighing lay at the heart of the store system, since almost every sale and issue in the quarter was reckoned by the pound, hundredweight or quarter, and the Company needed standard weights to check both its own staff and the buyers at its counters.
127	122	21st October Brought over £ 34 14 3 Scales & Weights brought over £ 11 13 11 1 Beam 1 Pr Scale Boards 1 Pr Copper Scales & Brass Wts 12 Half Hundreds 2 Quarter Do Store use Iron Wts 7 3	The 1765 general charges for stores issued to the Company's own use continued, under the date 21 October, with weighing gear, a brass tap, pewter, arrack, canvas, nails and starch. Brought forward, £34 14s 3d Scales and weights brought forward, £11 12s 11d Scale beam for the stores, 1, £7 3s 0d Scale boards for the stores, 1 pair, £2 9s 6d Copper scales with brass weights for the stores, 1 pair, £5 3s 7d Half-hundredweight iron weights for the stores, 12, £5 0s 0d

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		2 9 6 5 3 7 5 9 10 32 4 10 Braziers Ware 1 Brass Cock Store use 3 4 Pewter viz 1 Crane 1 Quart Funnel Store use 15 1 2 3 17 4 Arrack 172 1/2 Gall Sundrys and Workmen in general 28 3 9 Canvas 5 1/4 Yards Osenbrigs for Baskets 4 6 Nails viz 2 2 23 3 2 4 43 6 20 10 12 20 15 40 10 Spikes Companys Work 1 4 1/2 1 3 1 2 1 2 5 3 9 4 6 5 4 3 1 1/2 3 7 1 Starch 4 3/4 for Linnen 2 7 Carried over £ 99 13 1	Quarter-hundredweight iron weights for the stores, 2, £0 9s 10d Scales and weights total, £32 4s 10d Brass tap for the stores, 1, £0 3s 4d Pewter crane for the stores, 1, £0 15s 1d Pewter quart funnel for the stores, 1, £0 2s 3d Pewter total, £0 17s 4d Arrack for various purposes and the workmen generally, 172½ gallons, £28 3s 9d Osnaburg canvas for buckets, 5¼ yards, £0 4s 6d Twopenny nails for Company work, 2 lb, £0 1s 4½d Threepenny nails for Company work, 23 lb, £1 0s 5d Fourpenny nails for Company work, 2 lb, £0 1s 2d Sixpenny nails for Company work, 43 lb, £1 2s 5d Tenpenny nails for Company work, 20 lb, £0 8s 9d Twentypenny nails for Company work, 12 lb, £0 4s 6d Fortypenny nails for Company work, 15 lb, £0 5s 4d Spikes for Company work, 10 lb, £0 3s 1½d Nails total, £3 7s 1d Starch for linen, 4¼ lb, £0 2s 7d Carried forward, £99 15s 1d **Interpretations** The issue of 172½ gallons of arrack to the workmen in one quarter showed spirits used as part of the reward for labour. Soldiers and others hired by the day for brickmaking, lime burning and work on the defences, as the wage pages for 1765 recorded, also received drams of arrack from the Company's stock. At £28 3s 9d it was the largest single item among the general charges so far, and a cheap way of keeping men at hard work on an island where cash wages were low. The weighing gear issued to the stores formed a complete set for heavy goods. A scale beam was the great balance arm hung from a frame, with scale boards slung from each end on which sacks and casks were set. Half-hundredweight and quarter-hundredweight iron weights went on the opposite board, so goods could be checked in the cwt and qr units used throughout the sales pages. The copper scales with brass weights served for smaller, finer quantities such as tea or spices. A pewter crane was a bent tube used as a siphon to draw liquor from a cask without disturbing the sediment, the companion of the brass tap and funnel issued alongside it for drawing off wine, arrack and oil in the stores.
128	123	1765 Brought over £ 99 13 1 Paint viz 2 1/2 Blue Smalts for Linnen 4 8 4 Indico Do 7 6 13 Barrl Black 2 Red Lead 33 W Lead mixed 3 Ven Red Do 1/2 Copperas 13 Whiting 1/2 Verdigrease 2 1/2 Yell Oaker mixd 1/2 Umber Compys Work 7 7 3 1/2	The 1765 general charges for stores issued to the Company's own use went on with paint, window glass and a large issue of timber. Brought forward, £99 15s 1d Blue smalt for linen, 2½ lb, £0 4s 3d Indigo for linen, 4 oz, £0 7s 6d [...] black for Company work, 13 lb, £0 7s 7d Red lead for Company work, 2 lb, £0 0s 5½d White lead ground in oil for Company work, 33 lb, £0 12s 4½d Venetian red ground in oil for Company work, 5 lb, £0 2s 3½d Copperas for Company work, ½ lb, £0 0s 3d Whiting for Company work, 12 lb, £0 0s 9d Verdigris for Company work, ½ lb, £0 1s 4½d Yellow ochre ground in oil for Company work, 2½ lb, £0 0s 6½d Umber for Company work, ½ lb, £0 0s 0¾d Paint total, £1 18s 5d

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		12 4 1/2 2 3 1/2 3 9 1 1 1/2 6 1/2 1/4 1 13 5 Glass viz 12 Sqr 8 by 10 17 Sqr 6 by 8 3 Sqr 10 by 12 Repr the Compys Houses 2 6 6 4 4 9 1/2 13 8 Deals viz 3 Elm Boards 22 double deals 129 Single 1 Pr 8 3/4 Riga Timber 6 1/2 Pr Elm Plank 2 1/2 Pr Oak Do of 5 Inches 1 3/4 Pr Do of 6 Inches 1 1/2 Pr Ash Do 132 Bundle Laths 1 Pr Oak plank of 4 In 2 Coffins 2 1/2 Baulks Compys Work 11 4 1/2 3 14 8 1/2 14 4 10 4 2 11 5 16 3 4 2 6 3 16 4 2 2 7 10 3 1 6 11 1 12 2 1 2 1 £ 56 9 5 Carried over £ 159 5 7	Window panes for repairing the Company's houses, 8 by 10 inches, 12, £0 8s 6d Window panes for repairing the Company's houses, 6 by 8 inches, 17, £0 6s 4d Window panes for repairing the Company's houses, 10 by 12 inches, 3, £0 4s 9½d Glass total, £0 19s 8d Elm boards for Company work, 3, £0 11s 4½d Double deals for Company work, 22, £5 14s 8½d Single deals for Company work, 129, £14 4s 10d Riga timber for Company work, 1¾ pieces, £4 2s 11d Elm plank for Company work, 6½ pieces, £5 16s 3d Oak plank 5 inches thick for Company work, 2½ pieces, £4 2s 6d Oak plank 6 inches thick for Company work, 1¾ pieces, £3 16s 4d Ash plank for Company work, 1½ pieces, £2 2s 0d Laths for Company work, 13 bundles, £7 10s 3d Oak plank 4 inches thick for Company work, 1 piece, £1 6s 11d Coffins, 2, £1 12s 2d Baulks of timber for Company work, 2½, £1 3s 2d Timber total, £56 9s 5d Carried forward, £159 5s 7d **Interpretations** The two coffins charged to general expenses confirmed that the Company paid for burials outright, supplying the box as well as the grave-digging shovel issued earlier in the same quarter. Those buried at public cost were perhaps soldiers, seamen put ashore and slaves owned by the Company, who had no family on the island to bear the expense. Timber was by far the largest charge on the page, at more than £56, and almost all of it went into the Company's building programme. The 129 single deals, 22 double deals and bundles of laths fitted the construction recorded in the wage pages for 1765 at Banks's, the castle and the officers' apartments. Laths were thin strips of split wood nailed across studs or joists as a base for plaster, so their issue pointed to new internal walls and ceilings. Window glass for repairing the Company's houses showed the Company acting as landlord to its officials, keeping their quarters in repair from its own stores. Venetian red was an earth pigment of iron oxide, originally from Italy, giving a warm brick-red for doors, shutters and ironwork. Copperas, or green vitriol, was iron sulphate, used to darken paint, to fix dyes and to make ink. The blue smalt and indigo issued for linen served as laundry blue, masking the yellow cast of washed cloth in the Company's kitchens and public buildings.
129	124	21st October Brought over £ 159 5 7 Cordage 65 for the Companys Works 1 3 Sope 19 for Linnen 12 3 Haberdashery viz 2 Pr Carnation Tape 1 Skn Silk for the Church 1 1 1/2 3 1/2 17 Lines viz 12 No 2 2 4	Under the date 21 October, the general charges for stores issued to the Company's own use in the 1765 quarter ran on through cordage, soap, lines, tools, coal and kitchen gear to a closing total. Brought forward, £159 5s 7d Rope for the Company's works, 6 lb, £0 1s 3d Soap for washing linen, 19 lb, £0 12s 3d Carnation tape for the church, 2 pieces, £0 1s 1½d Sewing silk for the church, 1 skein, £0 0s 5½d Sewing goods total, £0 1s 7d Number 2 lines for Company work, 12, £0 3s 5d Number 4 lines for Company work, 2, £0 1s 7d Sash line for Company work, 1, £0 0s 6d Hambro line for Company work, 1, £0 1s 6d Lines total, £0 7s 0d Case of fleams for bleeding cattle, 1, £0 5s 6d

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		1 Sash 1 Hambro Compys Work 3 5 1 7 6 1 6 7 Cutlery Ware viz 1 Case of Steams for Bleedg Cattle 5 6 1 Pruning Knife for Gardener 11 6 5 Challoe 1 Pr for Rubbers in the Castle 9 10 Corks 3 Sheet for the Castle 6 Coals 332 Bushels for the Armorers Shop and Burn Lime 23 7 Tin Ware viz 2 Tin Lamps 1 Qt Gall Funnel Compys Work 1 6 2 2 Lead 4 1/2 Sheet Do 3 8 Candy 4 for the doctors Shop 8 9 Iron Pots 1 large Iron Kettle for Boiling Soap 1 8 2 3 £ 188 12 3	Pruning knife for the gardener, 1, £0 0s 11d Cutlery total, £0 6s 5d Chelloes for cleaning cloths at the castle, 1 piece, £0 9s 10d Corks for the castle, 3 [...], £0 0s 6d Coal for the armourers' shop and for burning lime, 332 bushels, £23 7s 0d Tin lamps for Company work, 2, £0 1s 6d Two-gallon funnel for Company work, 1, £0 2s 2d Tinware total, £0 3s 8d Sheet lead for Company work, 42 lb, £0 8s 9d Sugar candy for the doctor's shop, ¾ lb, £0 1s 8d Large iron kettle for boiling [...], 1, £2 3s 0d Total, £188 12s 3d **Interpretations** Coal was the costliest item on the page, and its use showed a shift in how lime was burned. Earlier in 1765 soldiers had been paid to cut wood for the lime kilns, but this quarter 332 bushels of imported coal went to the armourers' forge and the kilns together. Wood was scarce on the island, and the scale of the building programme perhaps made it necessary to fire the kilns with coal brought out in ships' holds, despite the cost of more than £23. A fleam was a small lancet with a triangular blade, often several of different sizes folded into one case, used to open a vein. Bleeding was standard treatment for sick cattle and horses, and the issue of a case of fleams showed that the Company kept its own livestock and saw to their care from public stores. The sugar candy sent to the doctor's shop was used in medicine, dissolved to soothe coughs and sore throats or to sweeten bitter remedies. Carnation tape was a narrow tape dyed a pinkish red, issued with sewing silk for the church, perhaps for repairing hangings, cushions or the binding of books and vestments. Sash line was the cord running over a pulley inside a sash window frame to carry the counterweight, so its issue fitted the window repairs to the Company's houses recorded on the previous page. Chelloes cut up as rubbing cloths at the castle showed the cheap Indian cotton put to plain household use.
130	125	1765 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1765 Beef and Pork viz 2 Ps Beef 6 3 1/2 19 Ps Pork 2 15 9 1/2 3 2 1 Sugar and Candy viz 200 Candy 4 3 4 24 Sugar 6 4 9 4 Flour 737 5 7 1 1/2 Arrack 24 Gall 3 12 6 Oil 6 Bottles Florence 15 9 Rice 100 8 1 Pease 1 Bushel Split 8 9 Pepper 10 5 Salt 1 Bushel 4 11 Tea viz	A separate account charged as diet expenses the provisions issued from the stores between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Salt beef, 2 pieces, £0 6s 3½d Salt pork, 19 pieces, £2 15s 9½d Beef and pork total, £3 2s 1d Sugar candy, 20 lb, £4 3s 4d Sugar, 24 lb, £0 6s 0d Sugar and sugar candy total, £4 9s 4d Flour, 737 lb, £5 7s 6d Arrack, 24 gallons, £3 13s 6d Florence oil, 6 bottles, £0 15s 9d Rice, 100 lb, £0 8s 1d Split peas, 1 bushel, £0 8s 9d Pepper, 10 lb, £0 5s 0d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 11d Singlo tea, 6 lb, £0 7s 6d Congou tea, 2 lb, £0 2s 6d Tea total, £0 10s 0d Total, £19 9s 10d **Interpretations** Food and drink issued from the stores were kept apart from the general charges and entered under their own heading as diet. The clerk could have folded these provisions into the long list of tools, timber and candles charged to general expenses on the preceding pages, but chose to separate them so the cost of feeding could be seen at a glance. The mix of goods, with Florence oil, tea, sugar candy and arrack alongside flour and salt meat, pointed to a

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		6 Single 7 6 2 Congo 2 6 10 £ 19 9 10	table kept at public expense, perhaps for officials or for those the Company was bound to maintain. Split peas were dried peas with the husk removed and the seed split in two, which made them cook quickly into the thick pottage that formed a staple of shipboard and garrison diet. Salt was issued by the bushel for curing and seasoning, since fresh meat on the island had to be preserved for keeping.
131	126	21st October Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30th Septr 1765 viz Tea viz 85 Bohea 3 17 11 Oil 37 1/2 Gall 14 13 5 Nails viz 1 3 7 6 21 10 12 20 4 40 4 Spikes makg Forms for the Garrison Repr Garrn Barrks Coffins &c 3 1/2 3 7 1/2 9 2 1/2 6 9 1/2 1 5 1 3 1 3 Deals viz 32 Single Deals 1 double Do makg Forms & Coffins 3 10 2 3 5 3 13 7 Tin Ware 1 Tin Lamp for the use the Garrn Barks 9 Iron Ware viz 1 Small Fryg Pan Do Do 2 8 2 Helves New Barracks 1 2 3 10 Turners Ware viz 46 Wood Bowls 34 Platters Garrn Barrks & Garrison 2 11 9 2 3 11 4 15 8 Blankets 5 1 7 6 Thread viz 1 Coloured 3 3 1/2 Wh Brown 3 5 6 8 Carried over £ 30 2 11	Under the date 21 October, a further account charged to the garrison the stores issued for the soldiers' use between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Bohea tea, 85 lb, £3 17s 11d Oil, 37½ gallons, £4 13s 5d Threepenny nails for benches, gunners' barracks repairs, coffins and other work, 1 lb, £0 0s 3¾d Sixpenny nails for the same work, 7 lb, £0 3s 7¾d Tenpenny nails for the same work, 21 lb, £0 9s 2¼d Twentypenny nails for the same work, 13 lb, £0 6s 9¾d Fortypenny nails for the same work, 4 lb, £0 1s 5d Spikes for the same work, 4 lb, £0 1s 3d Nails total, £1 3s 0d Single deals for benches and coffins, 32, £3 10s 2d Double deal for benches and coffins, 1, £0 3s 5d Timber total, £3 13s 7d Tin lamp for the gunners' barracks, 1, £0 0s 9d Small frying pan for the gunners' barracks, 1, £0 2s 8d Tool handles for the new barracks, 2, £0 1s 2d Ironmongery total, £0 3s 10d Wooden bowls for the gunners' barracks and the garrison, 46, £2 11s 9d Platters for the gunners' barracks and the garrison, 34, £2 3s 11d Wooden wares total, £4 15s 8d Blankets, 5, £1 17s 6d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 3s 3d Whited-brown thread, ½ lb, £0 3s 5d Thread total, £0 6s 8d Carried forward, £30 2s 11d **Interpretations** The garrison had its own account, separate from the general charges and the diet expenses, so the cost of maintaining the soldiers could be set against the military establishment. Wooden bowls and platters by the dozen, benches, a frying pan and blankets were the basic furnishings of barrack life, issued to the gunners' barracks and the new barracks rather than bought by the men. The plain turned wooden ware suited a soldiers' mess, where pewter or china would have been costly to replace. The timber and nails for coffins showed that soldiers who died were buried at the cost of the garrison account. Coffins for others had been charged to general expenses earlier in the same quarter, which meant the clerk divided burial costs according to whether the dead belonged to the military or to the civil establishment.
132	127	1765 Brought over £ 30 2 10 Canvas 4 Yds Engh for a Cot 4 6 Lines 2 Whip Cord for Whips 6 Glass 3 Squares 6 by 8 1 1 £ 30 14 5	The garrison account for the quarter closed with a few further items, and a separate account then charged the stores issued for the Company's slaves between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £30 2s 11d English canvas for a cot, 4 yards, £0 4s 6d Whipcord for whips, 2 lb, £0 6s 0d Window panes, 6 by 8 inches, 3, £0 1s 7d Total, £30 14s 5d

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		Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1765 viz Hooks and Lines viz 600 No 9 350 1 100 12 125 13 425 14 Hooks for Fishermen 13 6 16 7 1/2 10 1/2 11 3 5 Doz 21 2 2 11 3 11 4 Lines for Do 10 6 3 12 1 7 Blankets 130 35 15 Sugar 164 1 18 5 Tea 6 lb Bohea 3 6 Deals 24 Single for the Black Hospital 2 4 2 Beef and Pork viz 154 Ps Pork 22 12 4 332 Ps Beef 52 4 5 74 16 9 Sailors Cloaths 19 Boys Shirts 2 12 2 Arrack 27 1/2 Gall for the Stonelayers Carpenters & Fishermen 4 9 11 Carried over £ 136 19	Number 9 fish hooks for the fishermen, 600, £0 13s 6d Number 1 fish hooks for the fishermen, 350, £0 16s 7½d Number 12 fish hooks for the fishermen, 100, £0 0s 10½d Number 13 fish hooks for the fishermen, 125, £0 0s 11d Number 14 fish hooks for the fishermen, 425, £0 3s 5d Number 2, 3 and 4 fishing lines for the fishermen, 21½, 11 and 11 dozen, £10 6s 3d Hooks and lines total, £12 1s 7d Blankets, 130, £35 15s 0d Sugar, 1 cwt 4 lb, £1 18s 5d Bohea tea, 60 lb, £3 0s 6d Single deals for the Black Hospital, 24, £2 4s 2d Salt pork, 154 pieces, £22 12s 4d Salt beef, 332 pieces, £52 4s 5d Beef and pork total, £74 16s 9d Boys' shirts as sailors' clothing, 19, £2 12s 2d Arrack for the stonelayers, carpenters and fishermen, 27½ gallons, £4 9s 11d Carried forward, £136 19s 0d **Interpretations** The Company's slaves had their own account, kept apart from the garrison and the civil charges so the cost of the slave workforce could be measured. The entries showed slaves working in skilled and productive roles: stonelayers, carpenters and fishermen all drew arrack, and the fishermen received some 1,600 hooks and more than 40 dozen lines. Fishing by slaves supplied food for the slave population itself and reduced the Company's need to issue salt meat, though more than £74 of beef and pork still went to them in the quarter. The 130 blankets issued at once, worth more than £35, perhaps marked a general distribution to the whole body of Company slaves as the southern-hemisphere winter months of July to September closed. The Black Hospital, for which 24 deals were issued, was a separate infirmary for slaves, showing that the Company kept sick slaves apart from the soldiers and civilians treated elsewhere. Whipcord was a hard-twisted cord of hemp or catgut, here issued expressly for making whips. Charged to the garrison account just before the slaves' section opened, it recorded the physical means of discipline alongside the blankets and food. A cot, made from the English canvas issued at the same point, was a canvas bed slung like a hammock with a wooden frame, used for the sick or wounded.
133	128	21st October Brought over £ 136 19 Shoes viz 32 Pr Mens Ordinary 2 Pr Womens Calf 2 Pr Boys Bl in the Castle 6 8 3 4 6 3 6 19 7 Rice 8456 36 13 5 Long Cloth viz 8 Pr U 2 Pr I 1 Pr No 6 7 Yds 7 for lying in Women and to Cloath the Black Women as Usual 11 1 4	Under the date 21 October, the account of stores issued for the Company's slaves in the 1765 quarter continued with shoes, rice, cloth and household goods. Brought forward, £136 19s 0d Men's ordinary shoes for the slaves at the castle, 32 pairs, £6 8s 0d Women's calf shoes for the slaves at the castle, 2 pairs, £0 5s 4d Boys' shoes for the slaves at the castle, 2 pairs, £0 6s 3d Shoes total, £6 19s 7d Rice, 84 cwt 3 qr 6 lb, £30 13s 5d Long cloth marked U for women in childbirth and the customary clothing of the slave women, 3 pieces, £11 1s 4d Long cloth marked I for the same purpose, 2 pieces, £2 15s 4d Long cloth number 6 for the same purpose, 1 piece, £1 8s 0d Long cloth number 7 for the same purpose, 7 yards, £0 5s 4d Long cloth total, £15 10s 0d

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		2 15 4 1 8 5 4 15 10 Hosiers Ware viz 1 Pr Women Stockgs 3 1 Oil 1/2 Gall Train 4 2 Challow 46 Pr 22 14 3 Iron Ware viz 3 Small Fryg Pans 3 1 1 Pad Lock for the Blacks House 1 6 9 7 Twine 2 Skeins for the Fishermen 1 Lead 27 Shot 4 4 Thread viz 12 Coloured 1 19 4 W Brown 1 7 3 6 Flour 11 for the Silk 1 7 Sope 2 1 3 Kersey 3 Pr 25 Yds to Cloath ye Blacks 8 17 Carried over £ 226 4 3	Women's stockings, 1 pair, £0 3s 1d Train oil, 1½ gallons, £0 4s 2d Chelloes, 46 pieces, £22 14s 3d Small frying pans, 3, £0 8s 1d Padlock for the slaves' house, 1, £0 1s 6d Ironmongery total, £0 9s 7d Twine for the fishermen, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Lead shot, 2 [...], £0 4s 4d Coloured thread, 11 lb, £1 19s 0d Whited-brown thread, 4 lb, £1 7s 0d Thread total, £3 6s 0d Flour for the sick, 11 lb, £0 1s 7d Soap, 2 lb, £0 1s 3d Kersey for clothing the slaves, 3 pieces of 25 yards, £8 17s 0d Carried forward, £226 4s 3d **Interpretations** The long cloth issued for women in childbirth showed the Company making a standing provision for slave mothers. The entry tied it to the customary clothing of the slave women, so lying-in allowances were a regular part of the slave account rather than an occasional kindness. Children born to Company slaves became Company property, and support for mothers at birth served the Company's interest in sustaining its workforce without buying new slaves. The padlock for the slaves' house pointed to the locking of slave quarters at night. Placed beside the whipcord issued for whips on the previous page, it showed the means of confinement and punishment entered in the same plain ledger as rice, cloth and blankets. Shoes went expressly to the slaves at the castle, 32 pairs for men and a few for women and boys. These were the household and working slaves attached to the seat of government, and the issue set them apart from those employed in the fields, fishing or building elsewhere, for whom no footwear appeared in the account. Rice, at more than 84 cwt in the quarter, formed the staple food of the slave ration, far cheaper than the flour issued only in small amounts for the sick.
134	129	1765 Brought over £ 226 4 3 Canvas 91 Yds Osenbrigs to Cloath ye Blacks 3 12 Pepper 3 1 6 Turners Ware viz 6 Platters 4 W Bowls for the Blacks at the usual Plan 7 9 4 6 12 3 Candles 1 for the Overs to Examine the Black House 1 11 Tin Ware 1 Rivetted Horn Lanthorn to Examine the Black House 4 11 £ 230 16 10 Malley Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1765 viz Tea 3 Bohea 2 9 Sugar 20 5 Beef 10 Ps 1 11 5 Oil viz 1/2 Gall Train 1 8 1/2 1 Bottle Florence	The account of stores issued for the Company's slaves in the 1765 quarter closed with cloth, wooden ware and the means of lighting night inspections, and a separate account then opened for the Malays. Brought forward, £226 4s 3d Osnaburg canvas for clothing the slaves, 91 yards, £3 12s 0d Pepper, 3 lb, £0 1s 6d Platters for the slaves at the [...] plantation, 6, £0 7s 9d Wooden bowls for the slaves at the [...] plantation, 4, £0 4s 6d Wooden wares total, £0 12s 3d Candles for the overseers to inspect the slaves' house, 1 lb, £0 1s 11d Riveted horn lantern for inspecting the slaves' house, 1, £0 4s 11d Total, £230 16s 10d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 2s 9d Sugar, 20 lb, £0 5s 0d Salt beef, 10 pieces, £1 11s 5d Train oil, ½ gallon, £0 1s 8½d Florence oil, 1 bottle, £0 2s 7½d Oil total, £0 4s 4d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 1s 3d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Soap, 6 lb, £0 3s 11d Arrack, 2½ gallons, £0 2s 2d Rice, 120 lb, £0 8s 3d Black broadcloth, 2¾ yards, £2 6s 9d Scarlet broadcloth, 2 yards, £1 12s 10d Broadcloth total, £4 5s 7d Carried forward, £7 11s 7d

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		2 7 1/2 4 4 Salt 1/2 Bushel 1 3 Pepper 1 6 Sope 6 3 11 Arrack 2 1/2 Gall 2 2 Rice 120 8 3 Broad Cloth viz 2 3/4 Black 2 6 9 2 Scarlet 1 12 10 4 5 7 Carried over £ 7 11 7	**Interpretations** The candles and riveted horn lantern issued so the overseers could inspect the slaves' house showed a routine of night checks on slave quarters. Taken with the padlock for the same house and the whipcord recorded earlier in the quarter, the entries revealed a system of locking, inspection and punishment run through the ordinary store account. The overseers were the men set over the slave gangs, and the lantern let them search the house after dark. The Malays had an account of their own, distinct from the general body of slaves. The goods issued to them differed sharply from the slave ration of rice, salt meat and coarse osnaburg. They received tea, sugar, Florence oil, arrack and black and scarlet broadcloth, the fine woollen sold elsewhere for officers' and gentlemen's coats. The separate heading and the quality of the goods pointed to Malays holding a higher standing than the Company's other slaves, perhaps as skilled workers or as people brought from the East under particular terms.
135	130	21st October Brought over £ 7 11 7 Shalloon viz 4 Yds Coloured 7 2 1 Do Scarlet 2 3 9 5 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr Cotton Stockgs 13 8 Haberdashery viz 5 Skn Silk 2 6 3 Mohair 2 1 4 7 Thread 1/2 W Brown 3 4 Buckram 3 Yards 2 9 Blankets 1 5 6 Long Cloth 1/2 Pr Y 1 10 5 Iron Ware 1 Helve 7 Shoes 1 Pr Chand Pumps 6 2 China Ware viz 6 Blue & White Soop Plates 2 9 6 Do & Do Snakers 1 3 2 Bowls 1 2 1 Tea pot 2 6 4 £ 11 18 4	Under the date 21 October, the account of stores issued for the Malays in the 1765 quarter continued with cloth, sewing goods, footwear and china before reaching its total. Brought forward, £7 11s 7d Coloured shalloon, 4 yards, £0 7s 2d Scarlet shalloon, 1 yard, £0 2s 3d Shalloon total, £0 9s 5d Cotton stockings, 2 pairs, £0 13s 8d Sewing silk, 5 skeins, £0 2s 6d Mohair thread, 3 skeins, £0 2s 1d Sewing goods total, £0 4s 7d Whited-brown thread, ½ lb, £0 3s 4d Buckram, 3 yards, £0 2s 9d Blanket, 1, £0 5s 6d Long cloth marked Y, ½ piece, £1 10s 5d Tool handle, 1, £0 0s 7d Channel pumps, 1 pair, £0 6s 2d Blue and white soup plates, 6, £0 2s 9d Blue and white saucers, 6, £0 1s 3d Bowls, 2, £0 1s 2d Teapot, 1, £0 0s 2d China total, £0 6s 4d Total, £11 14s 4d **Interpretations** The Malays received the full set of materials for making European-style clothes. Broadcloth and shalloon for coats and linings, buckram to stiffen collars and fronts, silk and mohair thread and long cloth for shirts all appeared in the same quarter. Together with cotton stockings and channel pumps, the issues pointed to garments cut and sewn on the island to a standard well above the osnaburg and kersey issued to the Company's other slaves. Their china, a teapot, saucers, bowls and soup plates, matched the tea and sugar recorded on the account's opening page. The Malays thus kept a household with the habits of the Company's own servants, a further sign that the clerk treated them as a distinct group whose upkeep was costed on more generous terms.
136	131	1765 Plantation Dr for the Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1765 viz Rice and Paddy viz 3149 Paddy 233 Rice for Poultry and Horses 6 7 8 1 11 7 3 7 Turners Ware viz	A further account charged to the Company's plantation the stores issued for farming between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Paddy for poultry and horses, 31 cwt 1 qr 9 lb, £6 7s 8d Rice for poultry and horses, 2 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £1 0s 11d Rice and paddy total, £7 8s 7d Labourers' baskets for the plantation, 9, £0 6s 9d Ox bows for the oxen, 6, £0 8s 3d Wooden wares total, £0 15s 0d

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		9 Labourers Baskets for the sd Plantn 6 9 6 Ox Bows for Oxen 8 3 15 Lines viz 1 No 4 1 Hambro to make Pads for Asses 5 1 6 1 11 Arrack 1/2 Gall for Men breaking Oxen 1 8 Canvas 3 English to make Pads for Asses 3 4 Cordage 21 for Thatching 7 5 Nails 1 40 1 20 1/2 10 6 1/2 6 repg Pasture Gates W Carts &c 4 1/2 4 1/2 2 1/2 3 4 1/2 4 4 Iron Ware viz 2 Hand Hatchets 2 Garden Rakes 1 Claw Hammer 3 Stock Locks Plantn House Maidn Garden and Pastures 3 6 4 10 1 3 1/2 3 1 1/2 6 Pick Axes Sandy Bay Plantations 13 9 1 Scythe Stone Long Wood 2 7 Plate Iron for the Wood Cart 2 7 1 19 5 Carried over £ 11 1 8	Number 4 line for making pads for the donkeys, 1, £0 0s 5d Hambro line for making pads for the donkeys, 1, £0 1s 6d Lines total, £0 1s 11d Arrack for the men breaking in oxen, ½ gallon, £0 1s 8d English canvas for making pads for the donkeys, 3 yards, £0 3s 4d Rope for thatching, 21 lb, £0 7s 5d Fortypenny nails for repairing pasture gates, carts and other work, 1 lb, £0 0s 4½d Twentypenny nails for the same work, 1 lb, £0 0s 4½d Tenpenny nails for the same work, ½ lb, £0 0s 2½d Sixpenny nails for the same work, 6½ lb, £0 3s 4¾d Nails total, £0 4s 4d Hand hatchets for the plantation house, Maldivia, the garden and the pastures, 2, £0 3s 6d Garden rakes for the same places, 2, £0 4s 10d Claw hammer for the same places, 1, £0 1s 3½d Stock locks for the same places, 3, £0 8s 1½d Pickaxes for the Sandy Bay plantations, 6, £0 13s 9d Scythe stone for Longwood, 1, £0 0s 2d Plate iron for the wood cart, 7 lb, £0 2s 7d Ironmongery total, £1 19s 5d Carried forward, £11 1s 8d **Interpretations** The plantation account showed the Company running its own farms at several places across the island, including the plantation house, Maldivia, Sandy Bay and Longwood, with gardens and pastures attached. The stores charged to it served livestock and field work rather than building: ox bows, pads for donkeys, rope for thatching, gates and carts. Working animals did the hauling and carrying, with oxen yoked for ploughing and carting and donkeys loaded with packs on the island's steep tracks. Paddy rather than milled rice went to the poultry and horses. The clerk issued more than 31 cwt of the unhusked grain against less than 3 cwt of clean rice, since paddy cost far less and needed no milling to serve as feed. The small quantity of rice perhaps went to younger birds or sick animals that could not manage the husk. The half gallon of arrack issued to the men breaking in oxen showed spirits given as a reward for dangerous work. Breaking an ox meant training a young animal to accept the yoke and pull, a slow and risky task with a strong, unwilling beast. The pads for the donkeys were padded saddles of canvas and cord, which protected the animals' backs from the loads they carried.
137	132	21st October Brought over £ 11 1 8 Shirts 4 Yds Brown Holland Pads for Asses 7 4 Oil 1 Gall Train use of the Long Wood 3 4 Deals viz 2/3 Pr Ash Plank to repr W Cart 1 12 2/3 Pr Oak Do of 6 Inch repr Carts 1 10 4 3 2 4 Tar 2 Gall for the Wood Cart 1 8 Cart Wheels 2 Axletrees for Do 17 7 Sand Bags 12 for Sandy Bay Plantation 7 6	Under the date 21 October, the plantation account for the 1765 quarter closed with cart repairs and sandbags, and a separate account then charged the stores issued for the Company's boats between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £11 1s 8d Brown holland for donkey pads, 4 yards, £0 7s 4d Train oil for use at Longwood, 1 gallon, £0 3s 4d Ash plank for repairing the wood cart, ⅔ piece, £1 12s 0d Oak plank 6 inches thick for repairing carts, ⅔ piece, £1 10s 4d Timber total, £3 2s 4d Tar for the wood cart, 2 gallons, £0 1s 8d Axletrees for the wood cart wheels, 2, £0 17s 7d Sandbags for the Sandy Bay plantation, 12, £0 7s 6d Total, £16 1s 5d

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		£ 16 1 5 Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1765 viz Nails viz 1 2 5 3 1 4 9 6 12 10 for Boats in General 8 1/2 2 2 1/2 7 4 3 1/2 5 3 13 5 Oil viz 7 Gallons Linsd 1/2 Do Train Boats in General 1 7 7 1 8 Lead 50 1/2 Sheet 1 9 3 6 4 Carried over £ 2 9	Twopenny nails for the boats generally, 1 lb, £0 0s 8¼d Threepenny nails for the boats generally, 3 lb, £0 2s 2¼d Fourpenny nails for the boats generally, 1 lb, £0 0s 7d Sixpenny nails for the boats generally, 9 lb, £0 4s 3½d Tenpenny nails for the boats generally, 12 lb, £0 5s 3d Nails total, £0 13s 5d Linseed oil for the boats generally, 7 gallons, £1 7s 7d Train oil for the boats generally, ½ gallon, £0 1s 8d Oil total, £1 9s 3d Sheet lead, 30 lb, £0 6s 4d Carried forward, £2 9s 0d **Interpretations** The wood cart absorbed most of the plantation's closing charges, with new axletrees, ash and oak plank and tar all issued for it in the quarter. An axletree was the fixed wooden beam on whose ends the wheels turned, and it wore quickly under heavy loads on rough ground. The cart's constant repair reflected the labour of hauling firewood and timber over the island's steep tracks, where carts broke down far faster than on level English roads. The Company's boats had their own account, just as the garrison, the slaves, the Malays and the plantation did. Splitting the stores by department let the clerk show how much each branch of island life cost to keep running. Linseed oil for the boats went into paint to protect their hulls from sun and salt water, and sheet lead was used to patch seams and sheathe the parts of a boat most exposed to wear.
138	133	1765 Brought over £ 2 9 Pitch & Tar viz 1 1/2 Barl 13 1/2 Gall Tar 2 8 5 1 1/2 Do Pitch 2 15 2 22 Rozen 4 7 40 Turpentine 8 4 5 16 6 Paint viz 21 Ven Red dry 4 4 1/2 12 Red Lead 2 9 12 White Do dry 4 6 6 Verdigrease 1 3 4 1/2 1/2 Copperas 3 6 Whiting 3 20 Brimstone 4 2 1 19 2 Thread 1/2 Coloured for the Engrs Boat 1 8 Canvas 5 Yds Osnbrigs Do 5 7 Cordage 773 Boats in General 13 13 9 Haberdashery 1 Pr Carnatn Tape 7 Beef & Pork viz 16 Ps Pork	The account of stores issued for the Company's boats in the 1765 quarter continued with naval stores, paint, rope, rations for the longboat crew, oars and iron. Brought forward, £2 9s 0d Tar, 1 barrel and 13½ gallons, £2 3s 5d Pitch, 1½ barrels, £2 15s 2d Rosin, 22 lb, £0 4s 7d Turpentine, 4 lb, £0 3s 4d Pitch and tar total, £5 16s 6d Venetian red in powder, 21 lb, £0 4s 4½d Red lead, 12 lb, £0 2s 9d White lead in powder, 12 lb, £0 4s 6d Verdigris, 6 lb, £1 3s 4½d Copperas, ½ lb, £0 0s 3d Whiting, 6 lb, £0 0s 3d Brimstone, 20 lb, £0 4s 2d Paint total, £1 19s 2d Coloured thread for the engineer's boat, ½ lb, £0 1s 8d Osnaburg canvas for the engineer's boat, 5 yards, £0 5s 7d Rope for the boats generally, 773 lb, £13 13s 9d Carnation tape, 1 piece, £0 0s 7d Salt pork for the longboat crew, 16 pieces, £2 7s 0d Salt beef for the longboat crew, 2 pieces, £0 6s 3d Beef and pork total, £2 13s 3d Sole leather, 3½ lb, £0 3s 3d Oars, 6, £1 3s 5d Twine for the engineer's boat, 3 skeins, £0 1s 6d Hand hatchets for the longboat, 3, £0 5s 3d Rod iron for the longboat, 9½ lb, £0 2s 3d Ironmongery total, £0 7s 6d Carried forward, £28 15s 3d **Interpretations** The salt meat issued to the longboat crew was charged to the boats' account rather than to diet or

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		2 Ps Beef Long Boat Men 2 7 6 3 2 13 3 Leather 3 1/2 Sole 3 3 Oars 6 1 3 3 Twine 3 Sks Engineers Boat 1 6 Iron Ware viz 3 Hand Hatchets 9 1/2 Rod Iron Long Boat 5 3 2 3 7 6 Carried over £ 28 13 3	the garrison. Feeding the boatmen thus counted as part of the cost of running the boat, so the full expense of each vessel could be read in one place. The longboat was the largest of the Company's boats, used to carry stores, water and men between ships at anchor and the shore. The engineer's boat had its own issues of canvas, thread and twine, which showed the island engineer kept a boat for his work. The fortification works at Banks's and elsewhere recorded earlier in 1765 lay along the coast, and a boat let the engineer reach and survey positions that were difficult to approach overland. Sole leather on a boat was used to line oar ports and protect the oars where they worked against the gunwale, and to make washers and pump valves. Rod iron was round bar iron, worked by the smith into bolts, rings and fittings for the longboat.
139	134	21st October Brought over £ 28 13 3 Arrack 2 1/2 Gallons for hauling up the Long Boat 8 3 Deals viz 7 Elm Boards 1 6 6 1/2 3 Single deals 6 7 1/2 2 Elm Planks 1 15 2/3 Pr Ash Do 1 12 5 2 Braize 5 Yds Red for the Engrs Boat 11 3 £ 34 15 4 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1765 viz Sugar 187 2 6 9 Flour 187 1 7 3 Salt 1 1/2 Bushel 5 6 Rice 407 1 9 5 Oil viz 9 1/2 Gall Train 1 11 10 1/8 Do Linseed 6 1 12 4 Iron Ware viz 1 Small Frying Pan 2 8 1 Helve 7 3 3 Canvas 9 Yds Eng for Cots 19 1 Carried over £ 7 14 7	Under the date 21 October, the boats' account for the 1765 quarter closed with arrack, timber and baize, and a separate account then charged the stores issued for the hospital between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £28 15s 3d Arrack for hauling up the longboat, 2½ gallons, £0 8s 3d Elm boards, 7, £1 6s 6½d Single deals, 3, £0 6s 7½d Elm planks, 2, £1 15s 0d Ash plank, ⅔ piece, £1 12s 0d Timber total, £5 0s 2d Red baize for the engineer's boat, 5 yards, £0 4s 3d Total, £34 15s 4d Sugar, 187 lb, £2 6s 9d Flour, 187 lb, £1 7s 3d Salt, 1½ bushels, £0 5s 6d Rice, 4 cwt 0 qr 7 lb, £1 9s 5d Train oil, 9½ gallons, £1 11s 10d Linseed oil, ⅛ gallon, £0 0s 6d Oil total, £1 12s 4d Small frying pan, 1, £0 2s 8d Tool handle, 1, £0 0s 7d Ironmongery total, £0 3s 3d English canvas for cots, 9 yards, £0 10s 1d Carried forward, £7 14s 7d **Interpretations** The arrack issued for hauling up the longboat showed the heavy boat being dragged clear of the water by hand after use, a task that called on many men at once. The Company rewarded the effort with a dram, as it did the men breaking in oxen on the plantation and the slaves working as stonelayers and fishermen, so spirits served across the island's accounts as a standard payment for hard or dangerous labour. The hospital had an account of its own, separate from the Black Hospital supplied from the slaves' account earlier in the quarter. Its stores were chiefly food suited to invalids, sugar, flour and rice, with train oil for lighting the wards through the night and English canvas for making cots. The heavy issue of oil, more than 9 gallons in three months, pointed to lamps kept burning while patients were nursed. Baize was a coarse woollen cloth with a long nap, often dyed red or green, used for linings, covers and cushions. In the engineer's boat it perhaps covered the seats or lined a chest for instruments and plans.
140	135	1765 Brought over £ 7 14 7 Turners Ware viz	The hospital account for the 1765 quarter closed with brushes, cot materials, glass and tea, and a separate account then charged the stores issued for

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		1 Scrubg Brush 2 11 2 Birch Brooms 8 3 7 Twine viz 1 Skn Twine for Cots 6 1/2 Cotton Wick 1 1 6 Nails viz 3 3 4 6 2 10 for Cots 2 2 1/2 2 1 10 1/2 5 2 Glass 10 Squares 8 by 10 7 1 Paint 3 Whiting 1 Tea 2 Bohea 1 10 £ 8 13 10 Fortifications Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1765 viz Iron 250 for Banks's Port Cullis &c 2 13 11 Twine 5 Skains for mending Sand Bags and making a Target 2 6 Candles 2 Use of the Magazines 3 11 Sand Bags 124 3 17 6 Turners Ware 2 B Brooms 8 Carried over £ 6 18 6	the fortifications between 1 July and 30 September 1765. Brought forward, £7 14s 7d Scrubbing brush, 1, £0 2s 11d Birch brooms, 2, £0 0s 8d Wooden wares total, £0 3s 7d Twine for cots, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d Cotton candlewick, ½ lb, £0 1s 0d Twine and wick total, £0 1s 6d Threepenny nails for cots, 3 lb, £0 2s 2½d Sixpenny nails for cots, 4 lb, £0 2s 1d Tenpenny nails for cots, 2 lb, £0 0s 10½d Nails total, £0 5s 2d Window panes, 8 by 10 inches, 10, £0 7s 1d Whiting, 3 lb, £0 0s 1d Bohea tea, 2 lb, £0 1s 10d Total, £8 13s 10d Iron for Banks's portcullis and other work, 259 lb, £2 13s 11d Twine for mending sandbags and making a target, 5 skeins, £0 2s 6d Candles for the magazines, 2 lb, £0 3s 11d Sandbags, 124, £3 17s 6d Birch brooms, 2, £0 0s 8d Carried forward, £6 18s 6d **Interpretations** The fortifications account tied the store issues to the building work paid for in the wage account that Thomas Kirkpatrick closed on 30 September 1765. That account had paid soldiers for more than 850 days of labour and Simon Whaley and other craftsmen for further work on Banks's portcullis. The 259 lb of iron charged here supplied the bars, straps and fittings for the same gate, so the cost of the portcullis was spread across two ledgers, labour in one and materials in the other. Sandbags were filled with earth and stacked to build or repair parapets and gun platforms, absorbing shot better than masonry. The 124 issued in the quarter, together with twine to mend them, pointed to earthwork defences being kept in order alongside the stone works. The target made with the same twine matched the target built and painted for the garrison on the wage pages earlier in 1765, which suggested regular gunnery or musketry practice. The hospital's cots were made on the spot from English canvas, twine and nails, as the canvas issued on the previous page and the nails and twine here showed. Building them locally from stores was cheaper than importing finished beds, and the canvas frames could be washed, mended and moved as patient numbers changed.
141	136	21st October Brought over £ 6 18 6 Oil viz 4 Bottles Florence for Field pieces 10 6 3/4 Train 2 6 13 Lines viz 7 No 4 2 9 Deals viz 56 Single Deals 16 double Do 1 Coffin for Banks Cullis & Works there 6 3 8 2 14 4 3 2 2/3 Pr Riga Timber 1 13 2 3 Pr Oak plank of 4 Inc 4 Pr Do Do of 5 Do	Under the date 21 October, the fortifications account for the 1765 quarter continued with oil for the guns, heavy timber and nails for Banks's, and ironmongery for the works. Brought forward, £6 18s 6d Florence oil for the field guns, 4 bottles, £0 10s 6d Train oil, ¾ gallon, £0 2s 6d Oil total, £0 13s 0d Number 4 lines, 7, £0 2s 9d Single deals for Banks's portcullis and the works there, 56, £6 3s 8d Double deals for the same works, 16, £2 14s 4d [...] for the same works, 1, £0 3s 2d Riga timber for the same works, ⅔ piece, £1 13s 2d Oak plank 4 inches thick for the same works, 3 pieces, £4 0s 7d Oak plank 5 inches thick for the same works, 4 pieces, £7 14s 7d Oak plank 6 inches thick for the same works, 5 pieces, £11 1s 10d Timber total, £33 11s 4d

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		5 Pr Do Do of 6 Do Do 4 7 7 14 7 11 1 10 33 11 4 Nails viz 4 6 20 10 22 20 8 40 6 Spikes for Banks's 2 1 3 9 8 3 2 10 1 11 1 3 10 Iron Ware viz 1 Splinter Lock 5 1/2 1 Stock Do for the Mount 2 3 1/2 2 Hand Hammer Helves 6 1 Large Fryg Pan Workmn at the Fort 3 11 6 Sail Needles to make a Target 6 8 1 Paint 1 Barl Blacking 7 [...] £ 42 18 1	Sixpenny nails for Banks's, 4 lb, £0 2s 1d Tenpenny nails for Banks's, 20 lb, £0 8s 9d Twentypenny nails for Banks's, 22 lb, £0 8s 3d Fortypenny nails for Banks's, 8 lb, £0 2s 10d Spikes for Banks's, 6 lb, £0 1s 11d Nails total, £1 3s 10d [...] lock, 1, £0 0s 5½d Stock lock for the Mount, 1, £0 2s 3½d Hand-hammer handles, 2, £0 0s 6d Large frying pan for the workmen at the fort, 1, £0 3s 11d Sail needles for making a target, 6, £0 0s 6d Ironmongery total, £0 8s 1d Blacking, 1 [...], £0 0s 7d Carried forward, £42 18s 1d **Interpretations** Thick oak plank made up most of the timber cost, with twelve pieces of 4 to 6 inch stock worth more than £22. Plank of that thickness was laid as gun platforms, the solid wooden floors on which cannon stood and recoiled, and was also used to frame heavy gates such as the portcullis at Banks's. Single and double deals and Riga timber, lighter stock, went into the lesser carpentry of the same works. Florence oil, the fine olive oil sold to servants by the bottle, was here issued for the field guns. Cleaning and lubricating the iron and brass of gun carriages and fittings with a pure vegetable oil prevented rust without leaving the sticky residue that cheap train oil formed. The large frying pan for the workmen at the fort showed that the building gangs cooked their own food on site, while sail needles for making a target confirmed that the garrison's targets were stitched from canvas.
142	137	1765 Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septembr 1765 viz Cordage 781 13 2 5 Twine 2 Sks 1 Iron Ware 4 Sail Needles 4 Masts viz 1 Spar 23 Ft long 15 7 1 1/2 Do 1 15 5 2 11 Deals viz 1 1/2 Pr Oak plank of 6 Inch 3 5 5 1 Pr Ash Do 2 8 5 13 5 £ 21 8 2 Mercury Snow Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septemr 1765 Masts viz 1 Spar 24 Feet long 15 8 1 1/2 Do 1 15 5 2 11 1 £ 2 11 1 St Helena 30th Septemr 1765 Errors Excepted (Signed) James Powell Storekeeper	The store accounts for the 1765 quarter ended with charges against two of the Company's island vessels, the *Fly* cutter and the *Mercury* snow, for stores issued to them between 1 July and 30 September 1765. The *Fly* cutter's account ran as follows. Rope, [...], £13 2s 5d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Sail needles, 4, £0 0s 4d Spar 22 feet long, 1, £0 15s 7d Spars, 1½, £1 15s 5d Masts and spars total, £2 11s 0d Oak plank 6 inches thick, 1½ pieces, £3 5s 5d Ash plank, 1 piece, £2 8s 0d Timber total, £5 13s 5d Total, £21 8s 2d The *Mercury* snow's account ran as follows. Spar 24 feet long, 1, £0 15s 8d Spars, 1½, £1 15s 5d Masts and spars total, £2 11s 1d Total, £2 11s 1d James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the accounts at St Helena on 30 September 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The quarter's records were divided between two officers, each answerable for a different kind of public property. Thomas Kirkpatrick signed for the cash on 30 September 1765, and James Powell signed for the stores on the same date. Each closed his account with the same reservation of errors, which allowed an auditor to correct mistakes without the signatory being held to have made a false return. Powell's name had already appeared in Kirkpatrick's cash account, where he received £2 17s 0d for 15 waistcoats and 10 pairs of trousers supplied for the Company's slaves. The storekeeper responsible for the Company's goods was thus also selling clothing to the Company in a private capacity. Holding the warehouse keys while trading with the

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			same employer gave him a position that the separate cash and store accounts were meant to keep under check. The *Fly* was the same vessel whose carpentry and sail-making were paid for in the wage account earlier in 1765, there described as a schooner and here as a cutter. Both terms denoted small, fast vessels used for local work, a cutter having a single mast with a large fore-and-aft sail. A snow such as the *Mercury* was a two-masted vessel rigged like a brig, with a small extra mast stepped just behind the mainmast to carry a spanker sail. Spars of 22 and 24 feet were masts or yards for these small craft, too long to be cut from any tree on the island and so held in store for repairs.
143	138	21st October Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honble Compys Ware Houses the 30th September 1765 viz Anchors viz 5 Anchors 1 Do on the West Rocks 3 Iron Hoops 2 Stocks 93 10 10 1 Anchor Stock 16 Feet long 6 3 7 1 Do 10 C 33 qrs 6 56 6 7 156 1 Bunting viz 10 Ps 30 1/2 Yds Red 7 1/2 Yds Do damagd 17 10 Ps 3 1/2 Yds Blue 1 Ps 36 1/4 Yds Do damagd 14 15 9 7 Ps 18 Yds White 2 Ps 42 1/4 Yds Do damagd 12 43 15 9 Broad Cloth viz 32 1/2 Yds Scarlet 2 1/2 Yds Do damaged 27 9 7 21 3/4 French Grey 19 8 10 Black 8 15 24 Blue 21 12 7 1/2 Dark Brown 6 11 3 23 1/2 Light Brown 24 2 9 108 7 3 Blankets 41 11 3 6 Buckram 8 Ps 7 1/4 Yds 9 3 Carried over £ 323 12 6	Under the date 21 October, the record went on to an inventory of the stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses on 30 September 1765. Anchors, 5; anchor on the West Rocks, 1; iron hoops, 3; anchor stocks, 2; together, £93 10s 10d Anchor stock 16 feet long, 1, £6 3s 7d Anchor of 10 cwt 3 qr 6 lb, 1, £56 6s 7d Anchors total, £156 1s 0d Red bunting, 10 pieces and 30½ yards, with 7½ yards damaged, £17 0s 0d Blue bunting, 10 pieces and 3½ yards, with 1 piece and 36¼ yards damaged, £14 15s 9d White bunting, 7 pieces and 18 yards, with 2 pieces and 42¼ yards damaged, £12 0s 0d Bunting total, £43 15s 9d Scarlet broadcloth, 32½ yards, with 2½ yards damaged, £27 9s 7d French grey broadcloth, 21¼ yards, £19 0s 8d Black broadcloth, 10 yards, £8 15s 0d Blue broadcloth, 24 yards, £21 12s 0d Dark brown broadcloth, 7½ yards, £6 11s 3d Light brown broadcloth, 23½ yards, £24 2s 9d Broadcloth total, £108 7s 3d Blankets, 41, £11 3s 6d Buckram, 8 [...] and 7¼ yards, £0 9s 3d Carried forward, £323 12s 6d **Interpretations** The closing inventory completed the quarter's store accounting. Powell had already listed every sale and every issue between 1 July and 30 September 1765, and this stocktaking put a money value on what was left. Set against the stock held at the start of the quarter and the goods received from ships, it allowed an auditor to check that nothing had gone missing from the warehouses unaccounted for. Damaged goods stayed on the books rather than being written off. Bunting and scarlet broadcloth spoiled in store, perhaps by damp, moth or rough handling, were counted and valued alongside sound stock. This kept the storekeeper answerable for the full quantity in his charge and left any decision to discard or sell off spoiled goods to higher authority. The anchors were held for ships rather than island use. A vessel that lost an anchor while riding in the road could draw a replacement from store before sailing on, and the heavy anchor of nearly 11 cwt, valued at more than £56, suited a large Company ship. The single anchor recorded on the West Rocks was perhaps set there as a fixed mooring point. An anchor stock was the crossbar fitted at the top of the shank, which turned the anchor so that one fluke dug into the seabed; a wooden stock 16 feet long belonged to a big anchor.
144	139	1765 Brought over £ 323 12 6 Braziers Ware viz 9 Brass Skimmers at 2/9 1/4 each 1 2 4	The inventory of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 September 1765 continued with brass and copper wares, books and salt meat. Brought forward, £323 12s 6d Brass skimmers at 2s 9¼d each, 9, £1 2s 4d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Do Do @ 2/8 each 2 8 2 Do Do @ 14/4 each 1 8 8 1 Warming Pan 11 3 11 Hasty Do with Covers 14 7 11 2 Do Do without Do 1 9 8 12 Large Brass Cocks 2 13 4 12 Bottling Do 2 4 1 Boyling Pot of 8 Gall 2 2 5 1 Copper Kettle of 6 Do 1 13 5 2000 Brass Nails 17 8 1 Pr Candlesticks 7 8 3 Pr Steel Snuffers 1 4 3 Saucepans of 2 Gallons 3 6 5 Do of 1 1/2 Do 3 8 9 2 Do of 3/4 Do 16 6 2 1/2 Brass Wire 7 6 24 Copper Plate 1 13 9 4 Boilers for the Crane 4 10 7 2 1/2 Brass for Soldering 6 2 45 2 7 Books viz 13 Bibles 2 11 3 21 Common Prayr Books 2 13 8 14 Testaments 16 8 13 Primmers 3 9 6 10 4 Beef & Pork viz 49 Hhds 14 Ps Pork 599 9 49 Puncs 44 Ps Beef 645 11 1 1244 11 10 Carried over £ 1624 17 3	Brass skimmer at 2s 8d, 1, £0 2s 8d Brass skimmers at 11s 4d each, 2, £1 2s 8d Warming pan, 1, £0 11s 3d [...] pans with covers, 11, £14 17s 11d [...] pans without covers, 2, £1 9s 8d Large brass taps, 12, £2 13s 4d Middling brass taps, 12, £2 0s 4d Boiling pot holding 8 gallons, 1, £2 2s 5d Copper kettle holding 6 gallons, 1, £1 13s 5d Brass nails, 2,000, £0 17s 3d Candlesticks, 1 pair, £0 7s 3d Steel candle snuffers, 3 pairs, £1 4s 0d Saucepans holding 2 gallons, 3, £3 6s 0d Saucepans holding 1½ gallons, 5, £3 0s 9d Saucepans holding ¾ gallon, 2, £0 16s 6d Brass wire, 2½ lb, £0 7s 6d Copper plate, 2½ [...], £1 13s 9d Rollers for the crane, 4, £4 10s 7d Brass for soldering, 2¾ lb, £0 6s 2d Brass and copper wares total, £45 2s 7d Bibles, 13, £2 11s 3d Books of Common Prayer, 21, £2 13s 3d New Testaments, 14, £0 16s 3d Primers, 13, £0 3s 9d Books total, £6 10s 4d Salt pork, 49 hogsheads and 14 pieces, £599 0s 9d Salt beef, 49 puncheons and 44 pieces, £645 11s 1d Beef and pork total, £1,244 11s 10d Carried forward, £1,624 17s 3d **Interpretations** Salt meat dominated the stock, worth £1,244 11s 10d against little more than £300 for everything listed before it. Set against the quarter's issues, the reserve was large. Servants bought 2,343 pieces of beef and pork, the ships took 13 puncheons of beef and 3 hogsheads of pork, and the slaves, the garrison and other departments drew more. Forty-nine casks of each meat still remained, enough to carry the island through several months without a fresh supply. Holding so much in reserve protected the settlement against delayed shipping, since St Helena depended on vessels from England for almost all its preserved food. The four rollers for the crane pointed to a crane at the landing place for hoisting casks and heavy goods from boats. Rollers were laid under heavy loads so they could be moved along a wharf or up a slope, and their value of more than £4 showed they were substantial pieces, perhaps of iron or heavy timber. A primer was a small elementary book used to teach children their letters and basic prayers, usually containing the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer and the catechism. With the spelling books sold during the quarter, the stock of primers, Bibles and prayer books showed the Company supplying the means of religious instruction and basic literacy on the island.
145	140	21st October Brought over £ 1624 17 3 Blocks viz 4 Iron bound Cat 1 5 8 2 Snatch Do 1 7 6 1 Do Single Do 5 4 Do dead Eyes 2 14 6 1 double Long Tackle 4 9 1 Do Block of 14 Inches 1 Do Do of 11 Do	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765, set down under the date 21 October, continued with ships' blocks, copper coin, coal, canvas, rope and wheeled equipment. Brought forward, £1,624 17s 3d Iron-bound cat blocks, 4, £1 5s 3d Iron-bound snatch blocks, 2, £1 7s 6d Iron-bound single block, 1, £0 5s 0d Iron-bound deadeyes, 4, £2 14s 6d Double long-tackle block, 1, £0 4s 9d Double block of 14 inches, 1, and double block of 11 inches, 1, £0 12s 0d Single block of 14 inches, 1, £0 5s 0d Blocks total, £6 14s 5d Irish copper halfpence, 53,910, £112 3s 4d Coal, 6 chaldrons, £15 4s 0d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		12 1 Single Do of 14 Do 5 6 14 5 Copper Money 53960 Irish half pence 112 2 4 Coals 6 Chaldrons 13 4 Canvas viz 11 Ps 43 Yards English 23 15 7 2 Ps 34 Yds Osenbrigs 9 8 4 600 yards Tickg 31 10 64 13 11 Cordage 70 2 11 of 4 Inc 23 2 19 3 1/2 65 23 3 1/2 13 1 4 3 13 2 1/2 2 2 20 Twine Thread 196 1 23 360 17 12 Cart Wheels viz 3 Pr Cart Wheels 20 4 9 7 Wheel Barrows 4 13 9 Spare Sides 15 8 Axletrees 3 10 8 29 3 5 Carried over £ 2212 3 6	English canvas, 11 pieces and 4½ yards, £23 15s 7d Osnaburg canvas, 2 pieces and 34 yards, £9 8s 4d Ticklenburg linen, 600 yards, £31 10s 0d Canvas total, £64 13s 11d Rope of 4 inches, 70 cwt 2 qr 11 lb Rope of 3¾ inches, 22 cwt 2 qr 19 lb Rope of 3½ inches, 63 cwt 0 qr 23 lb Rope of 3 inches, 18 cwt 1 qr 4 lb Rope of 2½ inches, 13 cwt 0 qr 0 lb [...] thread, 2 cwt 2 qr 20 lb Rope total, 196 cwt 1 qr 23 lb, £360 17s 2d Cart wheels, 3 pairs, £20 4s 9d Wheelbarrows, 7, £4 13s 0d Spare sides for wheelbarrows, 9, £0 15s 0d Axletrees, 3, £3 10s 3d Wheeled equipment total, £29 3s 5d Carried forward, £2,212 3s 6d **Interpretations** The store held 53,910 Irish copper halfpence, worth £112 3s 4d. The Company kept small change as a stock in its warehouse rather than leaving the island to rely on whatever coin passing ships brought. Wages, store sales and countless small payments recorded through the quarter were reckoned in pence and halfpence, and a remote island with no mint needed a reserve of low-value coin to keep them flowing. Irish halfpence were lighter and cheaper to obtain than English copper, which made them a practical choice for a colony where the Company controlled what passed as money. Rope was the most valuable single stock after the salt meat, at over £360 for more than 196 cwt. Rope was graded by its circumference in inches, so the 4-inch and 3½-inch sizes that made up the bulk of the stock were heavy cables and hawsers for mooring and rigging large ships. Together with the anchors and blocks, it showed the warehouse holding a ship chandler's reserve for vessels arriving damaged from the long passage. Ships' blocks were pulleys used in rigging and for hoisting. A cat block raised the anchor to the cathead at the bow, a snatch block had a side opening so a rope could be dropped in without threading the end through, and deadeyes were round wooden blocks with three holes used to set up the shrouds supporting a mast. Ticklenburg was a coarse, unbleached linen named after the German district of Tecklenburg, widely used for slave clothing, sacks and bedding.
146	141	1765 Brought over £ 2212 3 6 Cutlery Ware viz 12 Horse Combs 3 2 17 Shoe Knives 5 8 3 Butchers Do 11 3 doz Ivory Handle Knives & Forks 4 13 1 Do Horn Do & Do 9 4 11 Cases Steams 1 10 3 4 Chopping Knives 5 10 21 doz & 11 Pr Shoe Buckles 25 12 29 Do Knee Do 1 5 11 11 doz & 4 Pr Leather Garters damaged 2 doz 1 Pr Do good	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with cutlery and small leather goods, camlet, corks and a large stock of timber. Brought forward, £2,212 3s 6d Horse combs, 12, £0 3s 2d Shoemakers' knives, 17, £0 3s 8d Butchers' knives, 3, £0 0s 11d Ivory-handled knives and forks, 3 dozen, £4 13s 0d Horn-handled knives and forks, 1 dozen, £0 9s 4d Cases of fleams, 11, £1 10s 3d Chopping knives, 4, £0 5s 10d Shoe buckles, 31 dozen and 11 pairs, £25 12s 0d Knee buckles, 27 pairs, £1 5s 11d Leather garters, 11 dozen and 4 pairs damaged, and 2 dozen and 1 pair sound, £2 6s 6d Cutlery total, £36 12s 5d Blue camlet, 7 yards, £1 1s 4d Blue camlet, damaged, 16½ yards, £7 3s 0d Scarlet camlet, 17¼ yards, £3 4s 0d Camlet total, £11 8s 4d Corks, 53½ gross, £6 7s 2d Double deals, 134, £22 17s 10d

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		2 6 6 36 12 5 Camblet viz 7 Yds Blue 16 1/2 Do damaged 1 1 4 7 3 17 1/4 Do Scarlet 3 4 11 8 4 Corks 53 3/4 Gross 6 7 2 Deals viz 134 Double Deals 22 17 10 267 Single Do 29 9 7 10 Wainscot Boards 3 7 6 3 Elm Do 1 7 10 4 Pr Ash plank 9 12 1 Elm Do 17 6 2 Oak Do of 4 Inches 2 14 1 1/2 Do Do of 5 Do 3 6 6 3/4 Do Do of 6 Do 1 13 3 4 8/12 Pr Riga Timber 12 1 4 Deals Carried over £ 87 7 4 Carried over £ 2266 11 11	Single deals, 267, £29 9s 7d Wainscot boards, 10, £3 7s 6d Elm boards, 5, £1 7s 10d Ash plank, 4 pieces, £9 12s 0d Elm plank, 1 piece, £0 17s 6d Oak plank 4 inches thick, 2 pieces, £2 14s 0d Oak plank 5 inches thick, 1½ pieces, £3 6s 6d Oak plank 6 inches thick, ¾ piece, £1 13s 3d Riga timber, 4⅜ pieces, £12 1s 4d Timber carried forward, £87 7s 4d Carried forward, £2,266 11s 11d **Interpretations** The stock of shoe buckles showed how slowly some goods moved through the store. Nearly 400 pairs remained on hand, valued at £25 12s 0d, while the servants bought only a single pair in the whole quarter. Buckles were fashion goods shipped out in bulk, and once buyers on the island had what they needed the surplus sat in the warehouse for years. Every unsold pair kept the Company's money tied up in stock that earned nothing. The same pattern held for the fleams. Eleven cases remained, against one case issued to the general charges for bleeding cattle during the quarter, so the store held enough for years of ordinary use. The large reserves of timber, by contrast, reflected steady demand from the building programme, which consumed deals and plank in quantity every quarter. Wainscot was quartersawn oak, cut so the grain showed a fine figure, imported chiefly from the Baltic and used for panelling rooms and making good furniture. Knee buckles fastened breeches below the knee, and leather garters held up stockings, both standard parts of men's dress. A horse comb was a currycomb for grooming, and shoemakers' knives had short, stout blades for cutting and paring leather.
147	142	21st October Brought over £ 2266 11 11 Deals brought over £ 87 7 4 1 Pr Barrack Oak Plank 1 0 9 21 1/2 Coffins 4 7 9 1 Baulk 3 10 93 10 8 Earthen Ware viz 77 Milk Pans 3 1 1 Collering Do 4 3 6 Cheese Steel Do 2 Do Do Do broke 1 6 3 4 12 4 Flour 371 302 19 3 Grindstone viz 1 @ 6/1 1/2 6 1 1/2 2 @ 2/9 1/4 5 6 1/2 11 8 Glass Ware viz 77 Wine Glasses 2 4 11 23 Wine & Water Do 1 9 2 9 Quart decanters 1 11 6 10 Pt Do 1 3 4	Under the date 21 October, the inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with the last of the timber, earthenware, flour, grindstones and glass. Brought forward, £2,266 11s 11d Timber brought forward, £87 7s 4d Danzig oak plank, 1 piece, £1 0s 9d [...], 21½, £4 7s 9d Baulk of timber, 1, £0 3s 10d Timber total, £93 10s 8d Milk pans, 77, £3 1s 0d Colander, 1, £0 4s 3d Close-stool pans, 6, and 2 broken, together £1 6s 3d Earthenware total, £4 12s 4d Flour, 371 cwt, £302 19s 3d Grindstone at 6s 1½d, 1, £0 6s 1½d Grindstones at 2s 9¼d each, 2, £0 5s 6½d Grindstones total, £0 11s 8d Wine glasses, 77, £2 4s 11d Wine-and-water glasses, 23, £1 9s 2d Quart decanters, 9, £1 11s 6d Pint decanters, 10, £1 3s 4d Glass urinals, 5, £0 5s 0d Four-hour glasses, 3, £0 10s 0d Three-hour glass, 1, £0 3s 4d Half-hour glasses, 8, £0 3s 2d Minute glasses, 11, £0 5s 9d Salt cellars at 8s 3d a pair, 3 pairs, £1 4s 9d Salt cellars at 6s 0½d a pair, 2 pairs, £0 12s 1d Candle shades, 5, £1 9s 3d Glassware carried forward, £11 12s 3d Carried forward, £2,668 6s 3d **Interpretations** Flour was the second largest stock after salt meat, at 371 cwt worth £302 19s 3d. Grain grew poorly on the island, so bread depended on flour shipped out in casks, and the Company held a reserve

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 Cruets 5 3 Four Hour Glasses 10 1 Three Do Do 3 4 8 Half Do Do 3 2 11 Do Minute Do 5 9 3 Pr Salts @ 3/3 1 4 9 2 Pr Do @ 6/ 1/2 12 1 5 Candle Shades 1 9 3 Glass Ware Carried over £ 11 12 3 Carried over £ 2668 6 3	large enough to bridge long gaps between supply ships. Together the meat and flour accounted for well over half the value of the whole inventory, which showed the warehouse's first purpose as a food reserve for a settlement that could not feed itself. The sand glasses of different lengths formed a set for timekeeping at sea and ashore. Four-hour glasses measured a full watch aboard ship, half-hour glasses marked the bells within it, and minute glasses were used with the log line, sold during the quarter, to time how fast the knotted line ran out and so reckon a ship's speed. Without clocks reliable enough for shipboard use, these glasses were standard equipment that vessels needed to replace. The 77 milk pans pointed to dairying on the island. They were wide, shallow earthenware dishes in which fresh milk was left to stand so the cream rose and could be skimmed off for butter, which fitted the Company's own cattle recorded in the plantation account. Close-stool pans were the earthenware vessels set inside a close stool, a boxed seat used as an indoor privy. Glass urinals served for the sick, letting a physician examine a patient's urine, a standard part of diagnosis at the time, while wine-and-water glasses were tall glasses for drinking wine diluted with water.
148	143	1765 Brought over £ 2668 6 3 Glass Ware brought over £ 11 12 3 136 Sqr Glass 10 by 12 2 4 4 134 Sqr 8 by 10 6 13 51 Sqr 6 by 8 19 2 27 13 9 Hats viz 12 Mens Hats 10 11 14 Boys Do 4 5 2 14 16 2 Haberdashery viz 12 1/2 Whale Bone 1 1/4 Do Do damaged 3 12 6 9 9 Silk 17 4 7 11 Mohair 16 16 9 7 Pr Carnatn Tape 3 11 Gro doz 19 11 Mohair Coat Buttons 7 16 4 2 3 Do Br Do 9 38 doz Silver Wire C Do 8 14 2 5 1/2 doz Do Do Br Do 11 11 64 doz Do Coat Do 5 7 1 52 doz Do Breast Do 2 4 3 1/2 doz Do Coat Do 2 10 8 doz yellow Mett C Do 4 63 Gro Horn Moulds 7 3 6 3 doz Silver Breast Buttons 6 1 7 1/2 doz Gilt Coat Do	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with window glass, hats and a large stock of sewing goods and buttons. Brought forward, £2,668 6s 3d Glassware brought forward, £11 12s 3d Window panes, 10 by 12 inches, 136, £8 4s 4d Window panes, 8 by 10 inches, 184, £6 12s 0d Window panes, 6 by 8 inches, 51, £0 19s 2d Glassware total, £27 13s 9d Men's hats, 12, £10 11s 0d Boys' hats, 14, £4 5s 2d Hats total, £14 16s 2d Whalebone, 12½ lb, with 1¼ lb damaged, £3 12s 6d Sewing silk, 9 lb 9 oz, £17 4s 7d Mohair thread, 11 lb, £16 16s 9d Carnation tape, 7 pieces, £0 3s 11d Mohair coat buttons, 19 gross 11 dozen, £7 16s 4d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 2 gross 3 dozen, £0 9s 0d Silver wire coat buttons, 33 dozen, £8 14s 2d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 5½ dozen, £0 11s 11d Silver wire coat buttons, 64 dozen, £5 7s 1d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 52 dozen, £2 4s 0d Silver wire coat buttons, 3½ dozen, £0 2s 10d Yellow metal coat buttons, 8 dozen, £0 4s 0d Horn button moulds, 65 gross, £7 3s 6d Silver waistcoat buttons, 3 dozen, £0 6s 1d Gilt coat buttons, 7½ dozen, £1 2s 10d Gilt waistcoat buttons, 4 dozen, £0 6s 1d Cockades, 140, £1 14s 4d Worsted braid, 3 gross, £2 11s 0d Union cord, 7 pieces, £0 15s 9d Sewing goods carried forward, £77 12s 8d Carried forward, £2,710 16s 2d **Interpretations** The 140 cockades pointed to military dress. A cockade was a rosette or knot of ribbon worn on the side of a hat, and in the British service it was black, marking the wearer as a soldier or officer of the Crown. Holding so many in store let the garrison replace worn or lost hat badges on its own uniforms without waiting for a ship. Whalebone was baleen, the flexible horny plates from the mouths of certain whales, cut into strips to stiffen women's stays, bodices and hooped petticoats. Its presence in the store, with silk, mohair and button

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 2 10 4 doz Do Breast Do 6 1 110 Cockades 1 14 4 3 Gro Worsted Lace 2 11 7 Pr Union Cord 15 9 Haberdashery Carried over £ 77 12 8 Carried over £ 2710 16 2	moulds, showed that the island's women had their clothes and underpinnings made up locally from imported materials. Worsted braid was narrow woollen braid for binding and trimming garments, while union cord was a cord made from mixed fibres, usually linen and cotton twisted together.
149	144	21st October Brought over £ 2710 16 2 [...] brought over £ 77 12 8 [...] 1 3 [...] Thread 16 6 [...] Tabby 11 13 7 2 Ps White Buckram 1 10 11 92 14 4 Hosiers Ware viz 28 Pr Girls Stockings 22 Pr Do Do damaged 5 10 5 3 Pr Womens Do 3 Pr Do Do damaged 1 4 3 26 Pr Mens Cotton Stockings 3 17 3 25 Pr Fine Thread Do 7 10 98 Pr Do Ordinary Do Do 14 3 9 1 Pr Do Wove Do 3 7 17 Pr Do Knit Do 2 11 20 Pr Boys Do Do 4 Pr Do Do damaged 2 7 4 Pr Scarlet Worsted Breeches 2 2 44 10 1 Hooks & Lines viz 600 No 9 12700 1 200 2 3500 11 2750 12 3350 13 1000 15 625 14 Hooks 13 4 30 3 3 9 2 13 3 1 13 3 1 6 6 7 1 3 Hooks and Lines Carrd Over £ 37 12 10 Carrd Over £ 2848 7	Under the date 21 October, the inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with the remaining sewing goods, stockings and breeches, and the stock of fish hooks. Brought forward, £2,710 16s 2d Sewing goods brought forward, £77 12s 8d [...], 3 [...], £1 0s 3d [...] thread, [...], £0 16s 6d Tabby silk, [...], £11 13s 7d White buckram, 2 pieces, £1 10s 11d Sewing goods total, £92 14s 4d Girls' stockings, 28 pairs, with 22 pairs damaged, £5 10s 5d Women's stockings, 5 pairs, with 5 pairs damaged, £1 4s 3d Men's cotton stockings, 26 pairs, £3 17s 3d Men's fine thread stockings, 25 pairs, £7 10s 0d Men's ordinary thread stockings, 98 pairs, £14 3s 9d Men's worsted stockings, 1 pair, £0 3s 7d Men's knitted stockings, 1 pair, £0 2s 11d Boys' stockings, 20 pairs, with 4 pairs damaged, £2 7s 0d Scarlet worsted breeches, 4 pairs, £2 2s 0d Hosiery total, £44 10s 1d Number 9 fish hooks, 600, £0 13s 4d Number 1 fish hooks, 12,700, £30 3s 3d Number 2 fish hooks, 200, £0 0s 9d Number 11 fish hooks, 3,500, £2 13s 3d Number 12 fish hooks, 2,750, £1 13s 3d Number 13 fish hooks, 3,350, £1 6s 6d Number 15 fish hooks, 1,000, £0 7s 1d Number 14 fish hooks, 625, £0 5s 0d Hooks and lines carried forward, £37 12s 10d Carried forward, £2,848 0s 7d **Interpretations** The store held almost 25,000 fish hooks, more than half of them the large number 1 size. Set against the quarter's issues, about 4,000 hooks sold to servants, more than 1,300 at the 40 per cent rate and some 1,600 issued to the slave fishermen, the stock covered roughly three quarters of ordinary demand. The size mix had shifted, however. Only 600 number 9 hooks remained after heavy sales of that size to every class of buyer, while number 1 hooks, used for larger fish, had built up in quantity, which suggested the island's fishermen worked mainly with the smaller sizes and the large hooks moved slowly. Damaged hosiery, like the damaged cloth and garters on earlier pages, was counted with sound stock under a single value. Girls' stockings stood out, with 22 of the 50 pairs spoiled, perhaps by moth or damp in the warehouse during the island's cooler, wetter winter months.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
150	145	1765 Brought over £ 2848 7 Hooks & Lines brought over £ 37 12 10 1000 No 5 Hooks 18 7 32 1/2 doz No 2 18 1/2 doz 3 33 1/2 doz 4 Lines 5 13 9 3 12 10 8 2 12 Hambro Do 12 8 Deep Sea Do 2 5 1/2 Knot Sash Do 6 1 21 Whip Cord 3 2 7 62 6 8 Iron and Steel viz 74 2 6 Iron 18 2 11 1 1 8 Steel 2 17 5 21 4 Iron Ware viz 2 Iron rimd Locks A 2 5 1 Do Do B 1 1 1 2 Do Do D 2 4 2 1 No 2 17 8 34 Iron rimd Locks wth Brass Knobs 11 4 15 S Bolt Do 5 10 18 Chest Do 2 14 30 Cupboard Do 4 5 13 Splinter Do 8 7 6 Barrk door Do 1 10 11 Do Do Do wth Br Knobs 4 2 6 4 Do Do Cupboard Do 5 6 22 Stock Locks 4 50 Lead Nails damaged 1 2 11 46 Pr Shutter Hinges 4 16 9 Iron Ware Carried over £ 46 2 11 Carried Over £ 2931 7 7	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with fishing and other lines, bar iron and steel, and a large stock of locks and hinges. Brought forward, £2,848 0s 7d Hooks and lines brought forward, £37 12s 10d Number 5 fish hooks, 1,000, £0 12s 7d Number 2 fishing lines, 32½ dozen, £5 13s 9d Number 3 fishing lines, 18½ dozen, £3 12s 10d Number 4 fishing lines, 33½ dozen, £8 2s 0d Hambro lines, 12, £0 18s 0d Deep-sea lines, 8, £2 0s 0d Sash line, 5½ knots, £0 6s 1d Whipcord, 21 lb, £3 2s 7d Hooks and lines total, £62 6s 8d Bar iron, 14 cwt 2 qr 6 lb, £18 2s 11d Steel, 1 cwt 1 qr 8 lb, £2 17s 5d Iron and steel total, £21 0s 4d Iron-rimmed locks marked A, 2, £2 0s 5d Iron-rimmed lock marked B, 1, £1 1s 1d Iron-rimmed locks marked D, 2, £2 4s 2d Iron-rimmed lock number 2, 1, £0 17s 8d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, 34, £11 4s 0d Spring-bolt locks, 15, £5 10s 0d Chest locks, 18, £2 14s 0d Cupboard locks, 30, £4 5s 0d [...] locks, 13, £0 8s 7d Partition door locks, 6, £1 10s 0d Partition door locks with brass knobs, 11, £4 2s 6d Partition cupboard locks, 4, £0 5s 6d Stock locks, 22, £4 0s 0d Lead nails, damaged, 50 lb, £1 2s 11d Shutter hinges, 46 pairs, £4 16s 9d Ironmongery carried forward, £46 2s 11d Carried forward, £2,931 7s 7d **Interpretations** The stock of 21 lb of whipcord held in reserve, against the 2 lb issued for whips during the quarter, showed that the means of punishment were kept on hand like any other routine supply. The same store held 160 locks of different kinds, which matched the heavy demand for locks among servants recorded earlier and the padlock issued for the slaves' house. Deep-sea lines were long, heavily weighted sounding lines used from a ship to measure the depth of water far from shore and to bring up samples of the seabed. Lead nails were soft nails of lead, or iron nails with lead heads, used to fix sheet lead on roofs and gutters, where ordinary iron would rust and stain the metal. Bar iron and steel were the raw stock for the island's smiths and armourers, worked into tools, fittings and gun parts as the need arose.
151	146	1765 Brought over £ 2931 7 7 Iron Ware brought over £ 46 2 7 46 Brass Rings 3 6 2 Pr Planking Cards 12 8 1/2 82 Pr Barrk Hinges 6 16 8	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with the long run of ironmongery, chiefly hinges, farm and garden tools, and woodworking and masonry tools. Brought forward, £2,931 7s 7d Ironmongery brought forward, £46 2s 11d Brass rings, 46, £0 3s 6d [...] cards, 2 pairs, £0 12s 3½d [...] hinges, 82 pairs, £6 16s 3d Broad hoes, 16, £1 13s 7d Garden hoes, 14, £0 16s 4d

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		16 Broad Hoes 1 13 7 14 Garden Do 16 4 3 Grubbg Do 8 9 33 Pr Sheep Shears 2 1 11 10 Adzes 1 15 2 9 Gouges 3 1 4 Edging Irons 13 3 1 Tursing Do 2 11 1/2 10 Pick Axes 1 11 3 1 Auger 5 1/2 24 Paper Bills 7 6 37 Helves 1 1 7 5 Do for Hand Hatchets 1 3 2 Plaisterers Trowels 3 4 3 Brick layers Do 4 9 159 Packing Needles 1 3 2 10 Pr H Hinges with rising Joints 1 11 8 11 Pr Shutter Hinges 1 4 9 1 Pr Side Do 1 39 Pr H Hinges 3 5 16 Scythes 4 4 5 16 Do Stones 3 3 Pr Stone Saw heads 16 4 1/2 3 Stones Do 13 6 1 Whip Do 2 9 6 3 Cross Cut 3 7 3 Iron Ware Carrd Over £ 85 3 Carrd over £ 2931 7 7	Grubbing hoes, 3, £0 8s 9d Sheep shears, 33 pairs, £2 1s 11d Adzes, 10, £1 15s 2d Gouges, 9, £0 3s 1d Edging irons, 4, £0 13s 3d Turfing iron, 1, £0 2s 11½d Pickaxes, 10, £1 11s 3d Auger, 1, £0 0s 5½d [...] bills, 24, £0 7s 6d Tool handles, 37, £1 1s 7d Handles for hand hatchets, 5, £0 1s 3d Plasterers' trowels, 2, £0 3s 4d Bricklayers' trowels, 3, £0 4s 9d Packing needles, 159, £1 3s 2d H hinges with rising joints, 10 pairs, £1 11s 8d Shutter hinges, 11 pairs, £1 4s 9d Side hinges, 1 pair, £0 1s 0d H hinges, 39 pairs, £3 5s 0d Scythes, 16, £4 4s 5d Scythe stones, 16, £0 3s 0d Stone saw handles, 3 pairs, £0 16s 8½d Stone saws, 3, £0 13s 6d Whipsaw, 1, £2 9s 6d Crosscut saws, 3, £0 17s 3d Ironmongery carried forward, £85 0s 3d Carried forward, £2,931 7s 7d **Interpretations** The farm tools in store showed how the island's land was worked. Broad hoes and grubbing hoes broke ground and cleared roots, edging irons cut neat borders to beds and paths, and a turfing iron, a flat spade with a bent handle, lifted turf in sheets. Thirty-three pairs of sheep shears pointed to flocks large enough to need regular shearing, which fitted the pastures and livestock recorded in the plantation account. H hinges with rising joints had a spiral knuckle that lifted the door slightly as it opened, so it cleared a carpet or uneven floor and swung shut under its own weight. The whipsaw and crosscut saws covered the two main ways of cutting timber: a whipsaw was a long framed saw worked by two men to rip logs lengthwise into planks over a pit, while a crosscut saw cut across the grain to length. An adze was a cutting tool with an arched blade set at right angles to the handle, used to shape and dress beams.
152	147	1765 Brought over £ 2931 7 7 Iron brought over £ 85 3 4 Gun Smiths Saws 2 15 2 Joyners Rubstones 6 10 5 Pruning Saws 7 6 1 Hand Do 7 7 3 Joyners Hatchets 6 27 Hand Do 2 7 3 83 Gimblets 1 2	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with tools for smiths, joiners and masons, and with roasting jacks and bellows. Brought forward, £2,931 7s 7d Ironmongery brought forward, £85 0s 3d Gunsmiths' saws, 4, £2 15s 0d Joiners' rubstones, 2, £0 6s 10d [...] saws, 5, £0 7s 6d Handsaw, 1, £0 7s 7d Joiners' hatchets, 3, £0 6s 0d Hand hatchets, 27, £2 7s 3d Gimlets, 83, £1 0s 2d Stone wedges, 4, £0 2s 3d Jack spits, 9, £2 11s 7d Sail needles, 40, with 459 damaged, £2 2s 0d Files, 113, £2 16s 6d Smiths' rubbing files, 9, £2 5s 11d Spades, [...], £0 12s 0d Ditching shovels, 24, £5 6s 2d

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		4 Stone Wedges 2 8 9 Jack Spits 2 11 7 40 Sail Needles 459 Do Do damaged 2 2 113 Files 2 16 6 9 Smiths Rubbers 2 3 11 2 Spades 12 24 Ditching Shovels 5 6 2 17 Setting Hamrs 5 14 10 9 Drill Boxes 1 1 1/2 1 Bill Hook 2 3 1/2 63 Masons Tools 4 5 4 93 doz Wood Screws 1 12 1 Pr Dovetail Hinges 4 5 1 Large Jack 7 10 2 1 Midling Do 4 18 4 Small Do 10 1 10 2 Pr Fryg Pans 3 11 3 Mauls 1 4 7 1/2 8 Pr Hand Bellows 1 11 8 2 Pr Smiths Do 10 7 10 3 Corn Emery 2 7 Iron Ware Carried over £ 156 3 3 1/2 Carried over £ 2931 7 7	[...] hammers, 17, £5 14s 10d Drill boxes, 9, £3 1s 1½d Billhook, 1, £0 2s 3½d Masons' tools, 63, £4 5s 4d Wood screws, 9 dozen, £1 12s 0d Dovetail hinges, 1 pair, £0 1s 5d Large roasting jack, 1, £7 10s 2d Middling roasting jack, 1, £4 18s 0d Small roasting jacks, 4, £10 1s 10d Frying pans, 2, £0 3s 11d Mauls, 3, £1 4s 7½d Hand bellows, 8 pairs, £1 11s 3d Smiths' bellows, 2 pairs, £10 7s 10d Corn emery, 3 lb, £0 2s 1d Ironmongery carried forward, £136 3s 3½d Carried forward, £2,931 7s 7d **Interpretations** The roasting jacks were among the costliest single tools in store, the six together worth more than £22. A jack was a clockwork device driven by a falling weight, which turned a spit slowly before an open fire so meat roasted evenly without a servant turning it by hand. The nine jack spits held with them were the iron rods that carried the joint, and their presence showed the Company equipping kitchens for roasting fresh meat in the better households and the castle. Smiths' bellows were large, paired leather bellows mounted beside a forge to drive air through the fire and raise the heat needed to work iron. At more than £10 for two pairs, they were expensive equipment held against the failure of those in use at the armourers' and smiths' shops. Corn emery was emery ground to a coarse grain, used with oil to scour and polish metal, and drill boxes held the bits for a bow drill such as the one issued to the armourers during the quarter. The 459 damaged sail needles far outnumbered the 40 sound ones. Steel needles rusted readily in a damp warehouse, and their survival on the books showed again how spoiled stock stayed in the storekeeper's charge rather than being written off.
153	148	1765 Brought over £ 2931 7 7 Iron Ware brought over £ 156 3 3 1/2 10 1/2 Flour Emery 4 6 13 1/2 Spelter 1 9 1 5 3/4 Borax 4 4 2 5 Wire Rat Traps 1 9 7 31 Spring Do Do 2 14 3 3 Box Irons 1 1 6 6 1/2 Case Hardening 12 3 Plaisterers Sives 1 11 4 Coffee Mills 1 10 9 6 Chaffing Dishes 2 3 Plane Irons 1 10 Sets Jack Wheels	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with more ironmongery, including spare parts for roasting jacks, smiths' materials and kitchen wares. Brought forward, £2,931 7s 7d Ironmongery brought forward, £136 3s 3½d Stone emery, 10½ lb, £0 4s 6d Spelter, 13½ lb, £1 9s 1d Borax, 5¼ lb, £4 4s 2d Wire rat traps, 5, £1 9s 7d Spring rat traps, 31, £2 14s 3d Box irons, 3, £1 1s 6d Case-hardening compound, 6 lb, £0 12s 0d Plasterers' sieves, 3, £1 11s 0d Coffee mills, 4, £1 10s 9d Chafing dishes, 6, £2 0s 0d Plane irons, 3, £0 1s 0d Roasting jack wheels, 10 sets, £3 7s 3d Roasting jack chains, 11, £0 19s 0d Roasting jack weights and [...], 4, £1 16s 0d [...] squares, 28, £1 14s 5d Blank keys, 65, £2 7s 4d Drill strings, 3 [...], £0 12s 0d Plate iron, 221 lb, £4 2s 10d Rod iron, 9½ lb, £0 2s 2d [...] pans of hammered iron, 4, £3 10s 2d Saucepan of hammered iron, 1, £0 11s 2½d [...], 12, £1 0s 3d

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		3 7 3 11 Jack Chains 19 4 Jacks Weights & Shifters 1 16 28 Squared Squares 1 14 5 65 Blank Keys 2 7 4 3 Drill Strings 12 221 plate Iron 4 2 10 9 1/2 Rod Do 2 2 4 Hash pans 1 Sauce Pan Hamd Iron 3 10 2 11 2 1/2 12 Scrapers 1 3 1 Claw Hamer 1 6 50 File Hafts 3 2 1 Standing Vice 1 13 1 1 Pr Screw Stocks 11 7 10 Sickles 3 9 5 Iron Bindg Wire 5 Iron Ware Carrd Over £ 196 7 3 Carried Over £ 2931 7 7	Claw hammer, 1, £0 1s 6d File handles, 50, £0 3s 2d Standing vice, 1, £1 13s 1d Screw stocks, 1 pair, £0 11s 7d Sickles, 10, £0 8s 9d Iron binding wire, 5 lb, £0 5s 0d Ironmongery carried forward, £196 7s 3d Carried forward, £2,931 7s 7d **Interpretations** The spare wheels, chains and weights for roasting jacks showed the store keeping parts to repair the clockwork jacks listed on the previous page rather than replacing whole machines. Blank keys served the same purpose for the large stock of locks, letting a smith cut a new key to fit a lock whose original had been lost. Case-hardening compound was a mixture, usually of charcoal, bone or horn, packed round iron and heated so that carbon entered the surface and turned it to a thin skin of hard steel. Smiths used it for tools, gun parts and lock mechanisms that needed a hard wearing face over a tough core. Screw stocks were the frames holding dies for cutting threads on bolts, and a standing vice was a heavy vice fixed to a bench with a leg running to the floor, able to take the hammering of a smith's work. The four coffee mills fitted the coffee sold to servants and planters during the quarter. Coffee was bought as whole roasted or green beans, and each household ground its own in a small hand mill as it brewed.
154	149	1765 Brought over £ 2931 7 7 Iron Ware brought over £ 196 7 3 8 Garden Rakes 19 4 13 Rag Stones 4 2 Cast Back for a Forge 1 17 4 9 Drill Bows 1 3 200 8 2 Iron Kettles 3 6 15 2 Kersey viz 7 Ps 23 Yds Kersey 16 13 8 2 Ps 10 Yds Baize 7 5 23 18 8 Leather viz 3 3 7 Sole 20 4 15 Calf 7 9 5 27 9 9 Lead viz 2 1 Shot 2 5 10 10 Yds 2 Inch pipe 4 15 6 7 1 4 Long Ells 16 1/2 Yds Blue 1 7 6 Nails viz	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with the last of the ironmongery and went on to kettles, woollen cloth, leather, lead and a heavy stock of nails. Brought forward, £2,931 7s 7d Ironmongery brought forward, £196 7s 3d Garden rakes, 8, £0 19s 4d Ragstones, 12, £0 4s 0d Cast-iron backs for a forge, 2, £1 17s 4d Drill bows, 9, £1 0s 3d Ironmongery total, £200 8s 2d Iron kettles, 3, £6 15s 2d Kersey, 7 pieces and 23 yards, £16 13s 8d Baize, 2 pieces and 10 yards, £7 5s 0d Kersey and baize total, £23 18s 8d Sole leather, 3 cwt 3 qr 7 lb, £20 0s 4d Calfskins, 15, £7 9s 5d Leather total, £27 9s 9d Lead shot, 2 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £2 5s 10d Lead pipe 2 inches wide, 10 yards, £4 15s 6d Lead total, £7 1s 4d Blue long ells, 16½ yards, £1 7s 6d Twopenny nails, 4 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, £16 11s 4½d Threepenny nails, 13 cwt 0 qr 15 lb, £55 12s 7d Fourpenny nails, 3 cwt 3 qr 21 lb, £12 17s 3d Sixpenny nails, 14 cwt 0 qr 24 lb, £41 9s 2d Tenpenny nails, 13 cwt 2 qr 2 lb, £33 2s 4½d Twentypenny nails, 6 cwt 1 qr 19 lb, £13 9s 7½d Fortypenny nails, 6 cwt 0 qr 3 lb, £11 19s 3d Nails carried forward, £183 2s 1½d Carried forward, £3,198 8s 2d **Interpretations** The store held more than 61 cwt of nails worth £183 2s 1½d, far beyond the few hundredweight sold and issued during the quarter. Every nail for the island's houses, barracks, boats and fortifications had to come from England, and the Company kept years

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 1 6 2 16 11 4 1/2 13 18 3 53 12 7 3 3 21 4 12 17 3 14 24 6 41 9 2 13 2 2 10 33 2 4 1/2 6 1 19 20 13 9 7 1/2 6 3 40 11 19 9 Nails Carried over £ 183 2 1 1/2 Carried over £ 3198 3 2	of supply on hand so the building programme at Banks's, the castle and the barracks never stalled for want of them. The 10 yards of 2-inch lead pipe pointed to piped water at some point in the settlement, perhaps carrying water from a spring or cistern to the town, the castle or the landing place for watering ships. Lead was the standard material for such pipes because it could be bent and joined on site. The cast-iron backs for a forge were thick plates set behind the hearth to protect the brickwork from the intense heat of the fire. The nearly 4 cwt of sole leather and 15 calfskins showed that shoemaking and mending went on locally despite the large stock of imported shoes, since leather in the hide let a cobbler resole and repair footwear that would otherwise be thrown away.
155	150	21st October Brought over £ 3198 3 2 Nails brought Over £ 183 2 1 1/2 3 3 Scupper 2 3 2 12 Coopers Rivets 5 8 2 1 Glazr Brads 2 8 5 1/2 Tacks 11 1/2 3 Barrack Nails 1 8 3 3 Flooring Brads 1 9 6 2 2 Spikes 11 10 3 24 Clench 2 9 6 209 16 5 Masts viz 1 Teak Top Mast 7 1 Bow Sprit 8 10 6 1 Boom 5 10 2 Top Masts 11 Inc diamr 53 Feet Long 6 1 1 Bow Sprit 16 Do 34 Do 7 1 Top Mast 10 Do 31 Do 2 10 1 Sprit Sail Yd 7 1/2 Do 32 Do 1 5 1 Spar for a Stey Yard 22 Do 15 7 1 Fore Mast 15 1/2 Inc diamr 49 Do 7 10 1 Oak Cheek 1 10 3 1 Main Cap 1 5 4 43 17 8 Oil viz 220 Gall Train 46 19 2 663 Do Linseed 131 10 3 161 Bottles Florence 21 5 3 199 14 8 Oars 67 13 1 Carried over	Under the date 21 October, the inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with specialised nails, a stock of masts and spars for shipping, oil and oars. Brought forward, £3,198 8s 2d Nails brought forward, £183 2s 1½d Scupper nails, 0 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £2 0s 3d Coopers' rivets, 2 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, £5 8s 2d Glaziers' brads, 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £2 8s 5d Tacks, ¾ lb, £0 0s 11½d Barrack nails, 0 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £1 8s 0d Floor brads, 0 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £1 9s 0d Spikes, 6 cwt 2 qr 2 lb, £11 10s 0d Clench nails, 0 cwt 3 qr 24 lb, £2 9s 6d Nails total, £209 16s 5d Teak topmast, 1, £7 0s 0d Bowsprit, 1, £3 10s 6d Boom, 1, £5 10s 0d Topmasts 11 inches across and 53 feet long, 2, £6 1s 0d Bowsprit 16 inches across and 34 feet long, 1, £7 0s 0d Topmast 10 inches across and 31 feet long, 1, £2 10s 0d Spritsail yard 7½ inches across and 32 feet long, 1, £1 5s 0d Spar for 2 studding-sail yards, 22 feet long, 1, £0 15s 7d Foremast 15½ inches across and 49 feet long, 1, £7 10s 0d Oak cheek, 1, £1 10s 3d Main cap, 1, £1 5s 4d Masts and spars total, £43 17s 8d Train oil, 220 gallons, £46 19s 2d Linseed oil, 663 gallons, £131 10s 3d Florence oil, 161 bottles, £21 5s 3d Oil total, £199 14s 8d Oars, 67, £13 1s 0d Carried forward, £3,664 17s 11d **Interpretations** The masts and spars formed a reserve for ships arriving damaged after storms on the long passage. A vessel that had sprung a topmast or lost a bowsprit could be refitted at St Helena rather than limping on to the Cape or England. The teak topmast was Indian timber, carried west on Company ships, while the larger spars, up to 53 feet long and more than 15 inches across, were too big to be cut anywhere on the island. A cheek was a shaped piece of timber bolted to the side of a mast to support the trestle-trees, and a cap was the heavy wooden block that joined the top of one mast to the foot of the mast above it. Linseed oil was held in remarkable quantity, 663 gallons worth more than £131. Almost all of it went into paint, which protected timber from the strong sun and sea air on ships, boats, gun carriages and buildings. The scale of the stock reflected how much

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		£ 3669 17 11	woodwork the Company had to keep painted against weathering. Several of the nails had specialised uses. Clench nails were driven through overlapping boat planks and bent over on the inside, the method used to build clinker boats. Scupper nails had broad flat heads for fixing leather or lead flaps over the drain holes in a ship's side, and coopers' rivets fastened the iron hoops of casks.
156	151	1765 Brought over £ 3669 17 11 Paint viz 15 1 21 Whiting 1 16 1 1 2 Umber 1 15 6 21 Stone Oaker 9 2 1/2 1/2 Armenian Bole 13 11 1/2 1 13 Indico 11 14 4 27 2 13 White Lead dry 43 6 6 1 16 Do Do mixed 2 8 5 17 Stone Colour 13 16 5 1/2 1 3 22 Olive Do 19 6 1 5 Sky Blue 3 1 2 3 Verdigrease 16 7 3 1 2 25 Pearl Colour 4 5 2 9 Chocolate Do 1 17 11 1 2 8 Ven Red mixed 4 8 1 3 3 Yell Oaker mixd 2 1 3 1/2 1 2 6 Ven Red dry 1 16 3 3 White Copperas 4 6 1 2 10 Red Lead 2 9 2 dry Colours 5 2 2 11 Blue Smalts 20 8 1 1 19 Yell Oakr dry 1 9 9 7 2 Brimstone 3 3 3 1/4 Prussian Blue 7 4 28 Barrl Blacking 2 3 6 172 14 7 Pumps 1 12 13 5 Pease & Beans viz 2 Bushels Split Pease 17 6 1 1/2 Do Beans 2 12 6 3 10 Carried over £ 3855 15 11	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with a large stock of paints and pigments, a pump and dried pulses. Brought forward, £3,669 17s 11d Whiting, 15 cwt 1 qr 21 lb, £1 16s 0d Umber, 1 cwt 1 qr 2 lb, £1 15s 6d Stone ochre, 0 cwt 0 qr 21 lb, £0 9s 2½d Sugar of lead, ½ lb, £0 13s 11½d Indigo, 1 cwt 0 qr 13 lb, £11 14s 4d White lead in powder, 27 cwt 2 qr 13 lb, £43 6s 6d White lead ground in oil, 1 cwt 0 qr 16 lb, £2 3s 0d Stone colour, 5 cwt 0 qr 17 lb, £13 16s 5½d Olive colour, 1 cwt 3 qr 22 lb, £19 6s 0d Sky blue, 0 cwt 1 qr 5 lb, £3 1s 2d Verdigris, 0 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £16 7s 3d Pearl colour, 1 cwt 2 qr 25 lb, £4 0s 5d Chocolate colour, 0 cwt 2 qr 9 lb, £1 17s 11d Venetian red ground in oil, 1 cwt 2 qr 8 lb, £4 0s 3d Yellow ochre ground in oil, 1 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £2 1s 3½d Venetian red in powder, 1 cwt 2 qr 6 lb, £1 16s 3d White copperas, 0 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £4 0s 6d Red lead, 1 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, £2 0s 9d Dry colours, 0 cwt 0 qr 2 lb, £0 5s 0d Blue smalt, 2 cwt 2 qr 11 lb, £20 3s 0d Yellow ochre in powder, 1 cwt 1 qr 19 lb, £1 9s 9d Brimstone, 7 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £3 3s 3d Prussian blue, ¼ lb, £0 7s 4d Blacking, 23 barrels, £2 3s 6d Paint total, £172 14s 7d Pump, 1, £12 13s 5d Split peas, 2 bushels, £0 17s 6d Beans, 11½ bushels, £2 12s 6d Peas and beans total, £3 10s 0d Carried forward, £3,858 15s 11d **Interpretations** The paint stock held ready-mixed colours with names drawn from house decoration: stone colour, olive, pearl, chocolate and sky blue. These were the standard shades for panelling, doors and shutters in Georgian rooms, and their presence showed the Company finishing its buildings to current English taste rather than leaving them in bare limewash. White lead, the base of almost every light colour, made up the bulk of the stock at more than 27 cwt. Two items acted as driers rather than colours. Sugar of lead, a salt made by dissolving lead in vinegar, and white copperas, zinc sulphate, were stirred into oil paint in small amounts to make it set faster, which mattered in damp weather. Prussian blue was a strong, deep blue pigment made chemically from iron salts, far more powerful than smalt or indigo and costly by weight, which explained why only a quarter pound was held. The single pump, valued at £12 13s 5d, was perhaps a ship's chain or suction pump held for a vessel whose own had failed, since a leaking ship depended on its pumps to stay afloat on the long passage home.

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157	152	21st October Brought over £ 3852 15 11 Pewter viz 3 Quart Funnels 6 9 2 Qt Pots 5 6 2 Half Gallon Do 10 11 3 Pint Do 6 4 2 Cranes 1 10 2 3 Pewter Dishes @ 3/4 11 Do Do @ 6/6 damaged 1 5 3 11 6 1 Worm Tub & Still 10 12 4 7 Pewter Chamber Pots 1 5 1 Gall Pot 9 1 Cullender 7 7 1/2 5 Basons 11 10 1/2 20 17 5 Pitch & Tar viz 1/4 Barrl Turpentine 15 1 Do Rozin 1 13 11 2 13 11 Starch 2 1 5 7 14 7 Salt 20 Bushels 5 Sope 5 3 1 21 16 7 Shalloon viz 49 1/4 Yds Scarlet 5 12 10 41 Do Colourd 3 13 5 9 6 3 Serge viz 17 Yds Scarlet Serge 4 17 9 3 Ps Fustian 6 6 1 Do 19 1/2 Yds Sagathy 6 12 17 15 9 Carried over £ 3944 5	Under the date 21 October, the inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with pewter, a still, naval stores, starch, salt, soap and woollen cloth. Brought forward, £3,858 15s 11d Pewter quart funnels, 3, £0 6s 9d Pewter quart pots, 2, £0 5s 6d Pewter half-gallon pots, 2, £0 10s 11d Pewter pint pots, 3, £0 6s 4d Pewter cranes, 2, £1 10s 2d Pewter dishes at 8s 4d each, 3, £1 5s 0d Pewter dishes at 6s 6d each, damaged, 11, £3 11s 6d Still with worm and tub, 1, £10 12s 4d Pewter chamber pots, 7, £1 0s 5d Pewter gallon pot, 1, £0 9s 0d Pewter colander, 1, £0 7s 7½d Pewter basins, 5, £0 11s 10½d Pewter total, £20 17s 5d Turpentine, ½ barrel, £0 15s 0d Rosin, 1 barrel, £1 13s 11d Pitch and tar total, £2 8s 11d Starch, 2 cwt 1 qr 5 lb, £7 14s 7d Salt, 20 bushels, £5 0s 0d Soap, 5 cwt 3 qr 1 lb, £21 16s 7d Scarlet shalloon, 49¼ yards, £5 12s 10d Coloured shalloon, 41 yards, £3 13s 5d Shalloon total, £9 6s 3d Scarlet serge, 17 yards, £4 17s 9d Fustian, 3 pieces, £6 6s 0d Sagathy, 1 piece of 19½ yards, £6 12s 0d Serge and similar cloth total, £17 15s 9d Carried forward, £3,944 0s 5d **Interpretations** The still with its worm and tub, valued at £10 12s 4d, gave the Company the means to distil spirits on the island. The still itself was the pot in which a fermented wash was heated, the worm was the coiled pipe leading from it, and the tub held cold water round the worm so the vapour condensed into liquor. Spirits were issued in quantity throughout the quarter as a reward for labour, and a still let the Company produce some locally rather than relying wholly on arrack shipped from the East. It may also have served the doctor's shop for distilling medicinal waters. The pewter vessels were graded by capacity, from pint to gallon pots, and served the stores and kitchens for measuring and serving liquor. The eleven damaged pewter dishes stayed on the books at a reduced price of 6s 6d each against 8s 4d for sound ones, the only place in the inventory where damage was shown by a lower valuation rather than counted at a single figure with good stock.
158	153	1765 Brought over £ 3944 5 Shirts viz 24 Rolers 2 16 27 1/2 Ps Irish Linnen 44 17 3 13 Yds Brown Holland 1 13 49 6 3 Sailors Cloaths viz 132 Mens Shirts 22 2 11 103 Boys Do 1 Do Do damaged 14 6 11	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with shirting, sailors' clothing, scales and a very large stock of shoes. Brought forward, £3,944 0s 5d Rollers, 24, £2 16s 0d Irish linen, 27½ pieces, £44 17s 3d Brown holland, 13 yards, £1 13s 0d Shirting total, £49 6s 3d Men's shirts, 132, £22 2s 11d Boys' shirts, 103, with 1 damaged, £14 6s 11d Boys' jackets and breeches, 51, £20 9s 6d Men's jackets, 53, men's breeches, 33 pairs, and men's breeches damaged, 2 pairs, together £27 4s 9d Dutch caps, 167, £8 2s 5d Sailors' clothing total, £92 6s 6d Scale beams, 2, £14 6s 0d Scale boards, 1 pair, £3 19s 3d

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		51 Do Jackets and Breeches 20 9 6 53 Mens Do 33 Pr Do Breeches 2 Pr Mens Do damaged 27 4 9 167 Dutch Caps 8 2 5 92 6 6 Scales & Weights viz 2 Beams 14 6 1 Pr Scale Boards 3 19 8 18 5 8 Shoes viz 1055 Pr Mens Ordinary 209 13 4 7 Pr Do Fine Pumps 1 14 9 1 Pr Do Channel 6 2 3 Pr Do Shoes 16 9 3 Pr Do Boys Do 9 5 2 Pr Womens Calimanco 7 9 1 Pr Do Spanish 3 11 10 Pr Do Calf 1 6 8 1 Pr Girls Do 2 2 2 Pr Stretchers 5 2 215 6 1 Carried over £ 4319 4 11	Scales and weights total, £18 5s 3d Men's ordinary shoes, 1,055 pairs, £209 10s 4d Men's fine pumps, 7 pairs, £1 14s 9d Men's channel pumps, 1 pair, £0 6s 2d Men's fine shoes, 3 pairs, £0 16s 9d Boys' shoes, 3 pairs, £0 9s 5d Women's calamanco shoes, 2 pairs, £0 7s 7d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 1 pair, £0 5s 11d Women's calf shoes, 10 pairs, £1 6s 8d Girls' shoes, 1 pair, £0 2s 2d Shoe stretchers, 2 pairs, £0 5s 2d Shoes total, £215 6s 1d Carried forward, £4,319 4s 11d **Interpretations** The stock of 1,055 pairs of men's ordinary shoes was enough for many quarters. During the quarter 124 pairs went to servants, 32 pairs to the slaves at the castle and a few to planters, so the store held roughly six or seven quarters' supply. Shoes were bulky but durable, and holding a deep reserve protected the garrison and workforce against a long gap in shipping, at the cost of more than £209 of the Company's money sitting idle in the warehouse. The sailors' clothing was ready-made slop clothing, the standard dress sold to seamen. Men's and boys' shirts, short jackets, breeches and Dutch caps, close-fitting knitted woollen caps, could be supplied to crews of Company ships who had lost or worn out their kit on the voyage. The 19 boys' shirts issued to the slaves as sailors' clothing during the quarter came from this same stock. Shoe stretchers were wooden lasts in two parts with a wedge or screw between them, pushed into a shoe to ease it wider where it pinched. Their place among the stock suggested that imported shoes, made to English sizes, did not always fit the feet they were sold to.
159	154	[...] Brought over £ 4319 4 11 Twine viz 2 1 15 Twine [...] 2 Cotton Wick [...] [...] Ticking 2 Ps 14 Yards 36 9 1 Thread viz 15 1/2 Whited Brown 5 8 6 93 Coloured 16 11 6 22 Tin Ware viz 1 2 13 Solder 8 3 7 36 Tin Lamps 1 7 14 Cankens 10 3 10 Gallon Funnels 1 1 8 11 Quart Do 4 4 2 Pudding Pans 2 11 2 Watering Pots 1 12 3 36 Lanthorn Leaves 1 13 9 3 Globe Lamps 1 3 10	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with twine, ticking, thread, tinware and wooden wares. Brought forward, £4,319 4s 11d Twine, 2 cwt 1 qr 15 lb, £[...] Cotton candlewick, 2 [...], £[...] Twine and wick total, £[...] 2s 3d Ticking, 3 pieces and 14 yards, £36 9s 1d Whited-brown thread, 15½ lb, £5 8s 6d Coloured thread, 92 lb, £16 11s 6d Thread total, £22 0s 0d Solder, 0 cwt 1 qr 15 lb, £3 3s 7d Tin lamps, 36, £1 7s 0d Cannikins, 14, £0 10s 3d Gallon funnels, 10, £1 1s 3d Quart funnels, 11, £0 4s 4d [...] cans, 2, £0 2s 11d Watering cans, 2, £1 12s 3d Lantern horn leaves, 36, £1 13s 9d Globe lamps, 3, £1 3s 10d Sal ammoniac, 2 lb, £0 15s 6d Glass lanterns, 3, £1 19s 8d Tinware total, £14 2s 1d Paint brushes, 42, £1 5s 10d Scrubbing brushes, 36, £3 19s 2d Hair brooms, 22, £2 18s 7d [...], 7, £0 10s 6d Ox yokes, 9, £3 2s 7d Wooden wares carried forward, £16 16s 8d Carried forward, £4,417 16s 3d **Interpretations** The figures for twine and wick could not be recovered because the ink at the head of the page had faded too far to read. The nine ox yokes held in store matched the ox bows issued to the plantation during the quarter. A

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Salamoniac 15 6 3 Glass Lanthorns 1 19 8 19 2 1 Turners Ware viz 42 Paint Brushes 1 5 10 36 Scrubg Do 3 19 2 22 Hair Brooms 2 18 7 7 Fishermans Spokes 10 6 9 Yoakes for Oxen 8 2 7 Turners Ware Carried over £ 16 16 8 Carried over £ 4417 16 3	yoke was the heavy wooden beam laid across the necks of a pair of oxen, with the curved bows passing beneath each neck to hold it in place, so the store kept both parts to fit out new teams as young oxen were broken in. Cannikins were small tin drinking cans or cups, cheap and unbreakable, suited to soldiers, seamen and labourers.
160	155	1765 Brought over £ 4417 16 3 Turners Ware brought over £ 16 16 8 37 Ox Bows 2 10 1 11 Skimming Dishes 3 5 106 Shoe Brushes 2 19 7 3 Butchers Trays 11 2 Pump Boxes 10 Do with Iron Staples 2 1 6 13 Birch Brooms 6 9 9 Mops 10 3 13 Flaskets 1 19 11 11 Bowls 12 5 23 Platers 1 9 9 30 3 2 Total amount of European Goods £ 4447 19 5 India Goods Arrack 936 Gallons 146 13 10 Challoes 3 Pieces 1 9 8 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr Cotton Stockings 10 6 Coffee 1 2 21 7 17 6 Sago 2 5 1 6 3 Pepper 3 3 9 10 16 Sugar & Candy viz 227 1 25 Sugar 318 15 9 227 3 26 Candy 3 3 10 Do damaged 540 13 4 859 14 1 Tea viz 6 3 3 Bohea 34 15 9 4 2 Congo 28 2 6 1 2 5 Single	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 closed its European section with wooden wares and then began a separate section for goods from India and the East. Brought forward, £4,417 16s 3d Wooden wares brought forward, £16 16s 8d Ox bows, 37, £2 10s 11d Skimming dishes, 11, £0 3s 5d Shoe brushes, 106, £2 19s 7d Butchers' trays, 3, £0 11s 0d Pump boxes, 2, and pump boxes with iron staples, 10, together £2 1s 6d Birch brooms, 13, £0 6s 9d Mops, 9, £0 10s 3d Flaskets, 15, £1 19s 11d Bowls, 11, £0 12s 5d Platters, 23, £1 9s 9d Wooden wares total, £30 3s 2d Total value of European goods, £4,447 19s 5d Arrack, 935 gallons, £146 13s 10d Chelloes, 3 pieces, £1 9s 3d Cotton stockings, 2 pairs, £0 10s 6d Coffee, 1 cwt 2 qr 21 lb, £7 17s 6d Sago, 0 cwt 2 qr 5 lb, £1 6s 3d Pepper, 3 cwt 3 qr 9 lb, £10 16s 0d Sugar, 227 cwt 1 qr 25 lb, £318 15s 9d Sugar candy, 227 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, and damaged sugar candy, 3 cwt 3 qr 10 lb, together £540 12s 4d Sugar and sugar candy total, £859 14s 1d Bohea tea, 6 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £34 15s 9d Congou tea, 4 cwt 0 qr 2 lb, £23 2s 6d Singlo tea, 1 cwt 2 qr 5 lb, £10 16s 3d Tea total, £73 14s 6d Carried forward, £5,550 1s 9d **Interpretations** The inventory divided the stock by origin, closing the European goods at £4,447 19s 5d before opening a separate section for India goods. Goods from the East reached St Helena on the Company's homeward ships and were valued on a different basis from those sent out from England, so keeping them apart let the Company's directors judge each trade on its own terms. The split also showed how heavily the island's consumption leaned on the East, with sugar, sugar candy, arrack and tea all drawn from that side of the Company's trade. Sugar and sugar candy together made up the largest India stock, at nearly £860 for more than 450 cwt. Sugar candy was held in the same quantity as ordinary sugar, which reflected how widely it was used on the island as a sweetener in tea and punch rather than as a rare confection. Arrack, at 935 gallons, was the other great Eastern staple, enough to sustain the issues to workmen and sales to servants for several quarters.

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		10 16 3 73 14 6 Carried over £ 5550 1 9	Pump boxes were the wooden valve chambers fitted inside a ship's or well pump, which wore out with constant use and were kept as spares, the ten with iron staples ready for fixing in place. Skimming dishes were shallow wooden dishes for lifting cream off milk set in the pans listed earlier in the inventory, and butchers' trays were wide wooden trays for carrying joints of meat.
161	156	21st October Brought over £ 5550 1 9 Long Cloth viz 23 Ps L 137 4 19 Ps D 76 11 1 43 1/2 Ps C 140 9 4 33 Ps A 121 14 6 34 Ps B 77 4 2 1 1/4 Ps H 3 1 10 1/2 Ps E 13 10 1/2 Ps No 5 1 7 1/2 Ps 7 13 8 558 13 2 Candles 25 1 16 243 14 6 China Ware viz 268 Meat Dishes 1172 Do Plates [...] 1 8 53 Salled Dishes 2 3 6 2 Deep Do Do 10 6 11 Square Baking Do 1 9 4 7 Blue & White Do Do 15 2 34 Soup Dishes 10 6 304 Soup Plates 9 5 2 4 Turreen Soup Do 1 15 16 Half Pint Cups & Saucers 7 2 27 Guglets & Basons 3 12 4 Mugs 6 207 Snackers 2 3 1 93 Bowls 3 19 2 37 Tea Pots 3 12 6 16 Sauce Boats 6 4 China Ware Carried over £ 80 7 1 Carried over £ 6392 9 5	Under the date 21 October, the India goods in the inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 continued with long cloth, candles and a large stock of Chinese porcelain. Brought forward, £5,550 1s 9d Long cloth marked L, 23 pieces, £137 4s 0d Long cloth marked D, 19 pieces, £76 11s 1d Long cloth marked C, 43½ pieces, £140 9s 4d Long cloth marked A, 33 pieces, £121 14s 6d Long cloth marked B, 34 pieces, £77 4s 2d Long cloth marked H, 1¼ pieces, £3 1s 10d Long cloth marked E, ½ piece, £0 13s 10d Long cloth number 5, ½ piece, £1 0s 7d Long cloth number 7, ½ piece, £0 13s 3d Long cloth total, £558 13s 2d Candles, 25 cwt 3 qr 16 lb, £243 14s 6d Meat dishes, 268, and plates, 1,172, together £40 1s 8d Salad dishes, 58, £2 3s 6d Deep salad dishes, 2, £0 10s 6d Enamelled baking dishes, 11, £1 9s 4d Blue and white baking dishes, 7, £0 15s 2d Soup dishes, 34, £10 0s 6d Soup plates, 404, £9 5s 2d Enamelled soup dishes, 4, £1 15s 0d Half-pint cups and saucers, 16, £0 7s 2d Goglets and basins, 27, £3 12s 0d Mugs, 4, £0 6s 0d Saucers, 207, £2 3s 1d Bowls, 95, £3 19s 2d Teapots, 37, £3 12s 6d Sauce boats, 16, £0 6s 4d China carried forward, £80 7s 1d Carried forward, £6,392 9s 5d **Interpretations** Candles appeared among the India goods rather than with the European stock, which showed that the island's main supply of lighting came from the East. More than 25 cwt was held, worth £243 14s 6d, enough to meet the heavy issues to the castle, the Council and servants' households for many months. The porcelain stock ran to well over 2,000 pieces, including 1,172 plates and 404 soup plates, yet was valued at little more than £80. The low prices reflected the way Chinese porcelain travelled, packed as ballast in the holds of tea ships, so the Company could hold whole dinner services in reserve at a cost far below their value in England. Enamelled pieces were painted over the glaze in coloured enamels, a finer and dearer decoration than plain blue and white, and were priced accordingly. A goglet was a long-necked water bottle of porous earthenware or porcelain, common in India. Water kept in an unglazed goglet stayed cool as moisture seeped through the walls and evaporated, and the matching basin stood beneath it, which made the pair a practical washstand set for a warm climate.
162	157	1765 Brought over £ 6392 9 5 China Ware brought over £ 80 7 1	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1765 closed with the last of the china and the stock of rice and paddy. Brought forward, £6,392 9s 5d China brought forward, £80 7s 1d

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		10 Chamber pots 15 8 Salts 5 3 Butter Covers & Dishes 9 24 Quart Pint Cups & 30 Saucers 7 82 3 1 Rice and Paddy viz 133 1 Rice 66 12 6 156 3 Paddy 30 10 96 13 4 Total amount of European & India Goods £ 6571 5 10 St Helena 30th Septr 1765 Errors Excepted (signed) Danl Corneille Mulering Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of September last which was as follows viz	Chamber pots, 10, £0 15s 0d Salt cellars, 3, £0 5s 0d Butter dishes with covers, 3, £0 9s 0d Quarter-pint cups, 24, and saucers, 30, together £0 7s 0d China total, £82 3s 1d Rice, 133 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £66 12s 6d Paddy, 156 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £30 0s 10d Rice and paddy total, £96 13s 4d Total value of European and India goods, £6,571 5s 10d Daniel Corneille signed the inventory at St Helena on 30 September 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Company's cash for September was then counted and checked, with the sums recorded in detail. **Interpretations** The inventory carried a different signature from the rest of the store accounts. James Powell, the storekeeper, signed for the sales and issues of the quarter, but Daniel Corneille signed for the stock left in the warehouses. Having a second officer count and value what remained meant the storekeeper could not certify his own closing balance, so any gap between what Powell recorded as issued and what Corneille found on the shelves would come to light. The count of the Company's cash that followed applied the same principle to money. Kirkpatrick had signed his cash account on 30 September 1765, and an examination of the cash actually held for the month set the coins and notes in the chest against his figures. Stores and cash were both checked by someone other than the officer answerable for them. Paddy was held in larger quantity than milled rice, more than 156 cwt against 133 cwt. As the plantation and slave accounts showed, paddy went chiefly to feed poultry and horses, while milled rice formed the staple of the slave ration, so the two stocks together supported both the island's livestock and its labour force.
163	158	21st October Cash Dr 1765 Septr 1 To Balance remaining £ 9218 4 8th To Ship Calcutta 67 9 1 30th To Rents 538 16 2 To James Powell recd of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 1418 7 To Plantation for Provisions Sold 135 2 8 To Licences for Public Houses 17 10 £ 11443 5 3 Per Contra Cr 1765 Septr 30th By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &ca in the Quarter ending this day 3632 1 8 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 7271 8 In Cash notes 539 15 7 7811 3 7 £ 11443 5 3	Under the date 21 October, the Company's cash account for September 1765 set out the money received and paid out, with the balance held at the end of the month. Receipts 1 September 1765, balance in hand, £9,272 0s 4d 8 September 1765, received from the ship *Calcutta*, £67 9s 1d 30 September 1765, rents, £536 16s 2d Received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending 30 September 1765, £1,413 7s 0d Plantation, for provisions sold, £136 2s 8d Licences for public houses, £17 10s 0d Total, £11,443 5s 3d Payments 30 September 1765, sums advanced to the paymaster to meet salaries and other charges for the quarter ending that day, £3,632 1s 8d Balance in coin, £7,271 8s 0d Balance in cash notes, £539 15s 7d Balance in hand total, £7,811 3s 7d Total, £11,443 5s 3d **Interpretations** The cash account drew together the threads of the quarter's records. James Powell paid into the treasury £1,413 7s 0d for the stores he had sold to servants, planters and other buyers, and the Company's plantation paid in for the provisions it had sold. On the other side, the paymaster drew cash to meet salaries and wages, which he then accounted for in the long list of payments signed by Thomas Kirkpatrick on 30 September 1765. Each officer handled one part of the money, and the treasury account showed how the parts fitted together.

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			Rents brought in £536 16s 2d, more than a third of what the stores yielded. The Company owned the land of St Helena and let it to planters and others, so it drew a landlord's income alongside its trading profit. The licences for public houses, at £17 10s 0d, showed the Company also controlling and taxing the sale of drink, which gave it both revenue and a means of regulating taverns in a settlement full of soldiers and seamen. The balance was held partly in coin and partly in cash notes. The notes were paper promises issued on the island and accepted in payment like money, which eased the shortage of coin on a remote station where every shilling had to be shipped in. Most of the balance was still kept in specie, which suggested that coin remained the trusted form of reserve.
164	159	1765 Mr John Desfountain this day presented the following petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of John Desfountain Senr Sheweth That your petitioner hath a Lease expired containing sixteen Acres of Land lying in the East division of this Island, and there being a small piece of the Honble Companys Waste Land adjoining to the said sixteen Acres, your Petitioner is therefore desirous of having the same humbly begs your Worship & Council will grant him the renewal of the afore said Lease with the addition of the piece of waste Land beforementioned And your petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) John Desfountain 21 October 1765 Granted the renewal of the Lease and Ordered the said Ground to be viewed John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	John Desfountain senior presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council at St Helena on 21 October 1765. He explained that his lease on 16 acres of land in the island's East division had run out. A small strip of the Company's unused land lay next to his holding, and he wanted to take it on as well. He asked the Governor and Council to renew his lease and to add the adjoining piece of land to it. The Council agreed to renew the lease. Before deciding on the extra land, it ordered the ground to be inspected. The decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille [...] Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council split Desfountain's request in two. Renewing an existing lease on land he already farmed was granted at once, but the obvious course of adding the neighbouring strip in the same order was not taken. The Council instead sent someone to view the ground first. Waste land belonged to the Company and was not yet let to anyone, so before handing it over the Council needed to know its extent, its quality and whether it touched roads, water or a neighbour's claim. An inspection protected the Company's property and set a fair basis for the rent the new land would carry. The petition showed how land on St Helena was held. Settlers did not own their farms outright but leased them from the Company for fixed terms, and when a lease expired the tenant had to apply to the Governor and Council to renew it. This gave the Company steady control over who occupied its land and on what terms, and it explained the £536 16s 2d in rents paid into the treasury in the same quarter. The East division was one of the districts into which the island was divided for administration and the allocation of land.
165	160	22nd October At a Consultation held on Monday the 22nd day of October 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 21 Octr 1765 Tuesday the 22nd Died Evan Knowles Soldier The Storekeeper brought in his Account of Waste upon Store goods for the Year ending the 30th September last He declaring	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 28 October 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its previous meeting on 21 October 1765, approved them and signed them. A soldier named Evan Knowles had died on Tuesday 22 October. The storekeeper presented his account of stock lost from the warehouses during the year ending 30 September 1765. He assured the Council that the figures were correct and that the losses could not have been avoided. The Council ordered the account to be recorded in full. It charged £62 16s 2d to profit and loss for goods lost through leakage, wastage and short weight or measure when stock was drawn off by the gallon or weighed out by the pound during the year.

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		the same to be real & unavoidable. We ordered it to be entered which is as follow viz Profit and Loss Dr £ 62 16 2 for Loss by Leakage, Waistage short weight, and measure by drawing by the Gallon &c and weighing by the pound &c In the Year ending the 30th September 1765 viz Arrack viz 33 1/2 Galls 5 9 2 Coffee 33 1 9 2 Rice 4 3 13 1 19 7 Candy 2 1 13 19 10 Sugar 2 17 9 6 3 Cordage 132 11 13 Sope 1 15 4 2 Nails 1 3 7 1/2 3 13 11 Leather 23 Sole 1 1 Pease 1 Bushel 2 9 Starch 20 10 10 Carrd over £ 59 5 9	Arrack, 33½ gallons, £5 9s 2d Coffee, 35 lb, £1 9s 2d Rice, 3 cwt 3 qr 15 lb, £1 17s 0d Sugar candy, 2 cwt 1 qr 13 lb, £19 10s 0d Sugar, 2 cwt 0 qr 17 lb, £9 6s 3d Rope, 1 cwt 3 qr 2 lb, £11 13s 0d Soap, 1 cwt 0 qr 15 lb, £4 2s 0d Nails, 1 cwt 3 qr 7½ lb, £3 13s 11d Sole leather, 23 lb, £1 1s 0d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 2s 9d Starch, 20 lb, £0 10s 10d Carried forward, £59 5s 9d **Interpretations** The account recognised that goods bought in bulk could never all be sold in full measure. Arrack drawn off a gallon at a time leaked and evaporated from the cask, sugar and candy lost weight as they dried or were spilled when weighed out by the pound, and rope and soap shrank in store. Writing these losses off to profit and loss turned an unavoidable shortfall into a recognised cost of trade, so the gap between what the warehouse received and what it sold would not appear as theft or negligence. The storekeeper's own declaration was the basis on which the Council accepted the losses. That placed the burden on him to vouch for the account, and his statement became part of the record against which the stock count of 30 September 1765, signed by Lieutenant Governor Corneille, could be compared. An unusually large loss on one item, such as the £19 10s 0d of sugar candy, would stand out in this list and invite questions.
166	161	1765 Brought over £ 59 5 9 Salt viz 10 Bushels English 2 3 4 2 3 23 Cape 1 9 3 9 1 Paint viz 13 Stone Colour 3 7 1 Olive Do 1 9 3 Pearl Do 2 1 2 Verdigrease 7 9 1/2 9 Venetian Red mixed 4 1 1/2 11 Yell Oaker dry 2 3 3 Chocolate Colour 1 9 1 3 4 Glass Ware viz 11 Sqrs 8 by 10 6 Sqrs 11 by 19 9 Sqrs 6 by 8 4 Sqrs 10 1/2 by 13 3/4 1 Candle Shade 1 Tumbler broke 7 9 1/2 9 3 4 1/2 3 5 3 10 9 1 12 2 China Ware viz 2 Guglets & Basons	The account of stock lost from the warehouses during the year ending 30 September 1765 continued with salt, paint and broken glass and china. Brought forward, £59 5s 9d English salt, 10 bushels, £2 3s 4d Cape salt, 2 cwt 3 qr 23 lb, £1 0s 9d Salt total, £3 4s 1d Stone colour, 13 lb, £0 3s 7d Olive colour, 7 lb, £0 1s 9d Pearl colour, 3 lb, £0 2s 1d Verdigris, 2 lb, £0 7s 9½d Venetian red ground in oil, 9 lb, £0 4s 1½d Yellow ochre in powder, 11 lb, £0 2s 3d Chocolate colour, 3 lb, £0 1s 9d Paint total, £1 3s 4d Window panes, 8 by 10 inches, broken, 11, £0 7s 9½d Window panes, 11 by 19 inches, broken, 6, £0 9s 0d Window panes, 6 by 8 inches, broken, 9, £0 3s 4½d Window panes, 10½ by 12¾ inches, broken, 4, £0 5s 5d Candle shade, broken, 1, £0 3s 10d Tumbler, broken, 1, £0 0s 9d Glass total, £1 12s 2d Goglets and basins, broken, 2, £0 5s 4d Meat dishes, broken, 4, £0 8s 0d Soup dishes, broken, 6, £1 10s 0d Soup plates, broken, 9, £0 4s 2d Saucers, broken, 4, £0 2s 10d Teapots, broken, 2, £0 2s 0d Quarter-pint cups and saucers, broken, 5, £0 1s 9d Blue and white baking dishes, broken, 3, £0 6s 6d Salad dish, broken, 1, £0 1s 9d Mug, broken, 1, £0 1s 6d China total, £3 0s 10d Total, £68 16s 2d James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1765,

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		4 Meat Dishes broke 3 4 8 6 Soop Do Do 1 10 9 Do Plates 4 Snackers 2 Tea Pots 5 Quart Pt Cups & Saucers 3 B & White Baking dishes 1 Salled Dish 1 Mug broke 4 2 2 10 2 1 9 6 6 1 9 1 6 3 10 £ 68 16 2 St Helena 30th Septr 1765 Errors Excepted (signed) James Powell Storekeeper William	reserving the right to correct any errors, and William [...] signed with him. **Interpretations** Breakage of glass and china was treated as part of ordinary wastage rather than as a loss someone had to answer for. Fragile goods were unpacked, stacked, counted and handed across the counter many times in a year, and a few broken plates, panes and teapots were the expected cost of trading in them. Listing every broken piece by kind and value, rather than lumping it into a single sum, still let the Council see exactly what had been lost and judge whether the storekeeper's claim of unavoidable loss was reasonable. Salt lost weight in store as it absorbed and shed moisture with the island's changing damp and dry spells, and some was spilled each time it was measured out by the bushel. Paint ground in oil skinned over and hardened in its pots, while dry pigments were lost as dust in weighing, which accounted for the small losses across the range of colours.
167	162	22nd October William Pinchen Soldier this day presented the last Will and Testament of Evans Knowles Soldier deceased desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto. The Will is as follows viz October 21st 1765 I Evan Knowles Taylor & private Centinel in the Company commanded by Capt Brozett belonging to the Honorable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in the Garrison of St Helena being of sound Mind but weak in Body make this my last Will & Testament imprimis I commit my Body to be buried at the discretion of my Commander & my Soul to the Almighty praying To receive it with Mercy at the day of Judgement as to my Worldly Effects I give and dispose of to my trusty and well beloved Friend William Pinchen Cordwainer in the aforesaid Company signed in the presence of Witness my Hand Evan Knowles Witness Benj Granger Richd Playford Captain Henry Brozett and William Holbrook Master Mason, this day presented the following Petitions viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Henry Brozett Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of hiring a small piece	William Pinchen, a soldier, came before the Council on 28 October 1765 with the last will of Evan Knowles, a fellow soldier who had died on 22 October. He asked for the will to be proved. The Council accepted it as valid once the witnesses had confirmed it on oath. Knowles had made his will on 21 October 1765. He described himself as a tailor and a private soldier in the company under Captain Prozett, part of the East India Company's garrison on St Helena. Although weak in body, he declared himself of sound mind. He left the place and manner of his burial to his commanding officers and commended his soul to God in the hope of mercy at the Last Judgement. He gave everything he owned to his trusted friend William Pinchen, a shoemaker serving in the same company. Knowles signed the will before two witnesses, Benjamin Granger and Richard Plafford. Captain Henry Prozett and William Holbrook, the master mason, then each presented a petition. Prozett addressed his to Governor Skottowe and the Council. His petition opened with a request to rent a small piece. **Interpretations** The Council acted as the island's probate court. A will had no legal force until it was proved, and with no separate church or civil court on St Helena, the Governor and Council heard the witnesses on oath and confirmed the document themselves. Proving the will gave Pinchen clear title to Knowles's possessions, which protected him against any later claim and let the garrison settle the dead man's affairs quickly. Knowles left his burial to the discretion of his officers because the garrison, not his family, would bury him. The stores issued to the garrison account in the quarter just ended included timber and nails for making coffins, so the Company met the cost of a soldier's funeral from public stores. Both Knowles and Pinchen practised trades alongside their military duty, as a tailor and a shoemaker, which fitted the pattern seen in the wage accounts of soldiers earning extra money as craftsmen and labourers.
168	163	1765 piece of the Honble Companys Waste Ground adjoining to the Ground lately	Captain Henry Prozett asked Governor Skottowe and the Council to let him rent a small piece of the Company's unused land next to the plot recently taken by William Holbrook, the master

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		hired by William Holbrook Master Mason to Erect a House upon humbly requests that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) 22nd Octr 1765 Henry Brozett Ordered the said Ground to be viewed To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of William Holbrook Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of disposing of His property in a Lease for a piece of Ground lying in James's Valley adjoining to the House of James Torbett Cooper, and the Receipt of Captains Mitchell and Brozett, as Tenants for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) 22nd October 1765 Wm Holbrook Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	mason. He wanted to build a house there and requested a lease for the ground. Prozett signed the petition at St Helena on 28 October 1765. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. William Holbrook addressed a petition of his own to the Governor and Council on the same day. He held a lease on a piece of ground in James's Valley, next to the house of James Corbett, a cooper, and wished to dispose of it. He asked the Council to accept Captains Mitchell and Prozett as the new tenants. The Council granted the request, and the decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council treated the two petitions differently on the same day. Holbrook's request to pass his existing lease to Captains Mitchell and Prozett was granted outright, while Prozett's request for the adjoining waste land was held back until the ground had been viewed. The obvious course of settling both in one order, since they concerned neighbouring plots and the same officer, was passed over. A transfer of land already surveyed and let raised no new questions, whereas fresh Company land had to be measured and assessed before it could be leased. The Council had followed the same practice with John Desfountain's adjoining strip on 21 October 1765. A tenant could not simply sell or hand on his lease. Holbrook had to petition for the Council's consent before Mitchell and Prozett could take his place, which kept every change of occupier under the Company's eye. The Council could thus refuse an unsuitable tenant and make sure the rent continued to be paid by someone it had approved.
169	164	4th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th Day of November 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 22nd October 1765 Friday the 1st arrived the Princess Augusta's Boat at Banks's half an Hour past four oClock in the afternoon Saturday 2nd Do the Honble Companys Ship Princess Augusta from China The Accountant reports that the Honble Companys Books of Accounts are Ballanced to the 30th September last, We Ordered them to be Copyd as fast as possible Julio Fabiana this day presented the following petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Julio Fabiana Sheweth That your Petitioner having obtained liberty to remain upon the said Island thinks with your Worships Permission and his own Industrious endeavours he would be able to build himself a House That he conceives it would not be displeasing to your Worship to grant him a Lease of some convenient Spot for that Purpose	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 4 November 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its previous meeting on 28 October 1765, approved them and signed them. A boat from the *Princess Augusta* had landed at Banks's at half past four on the afternoon of Friday 1 November. The Company's ship *Princess Augusta* herself arrived from China on Saturday 2 November. The accountant reported that the Company's account books had been balanced up to 30 September. The Council ordered copies to be made as quickly as possible. Julio Fabiana then presented a petition to the Governor and Council. He had already received permission to stay on the island. With their approval and through his own hard work, he hoped to build himself a house. He asked the Council to grant him a lease on a suitable plot for that purpose. **Interpretations** Fabiana's petition revealed that living on St Helena was a privilege granted by the Council, not a right. He had first needed formal permission to remain before he could ask for land, which showed the Company controlling who settled on the island as closely as it controlled who held its leases. His name suggested he was not British, and newcomers of that kind were perhaps watched with particular care on a fortified station guarding the route to the East. The *Princess Augusta* sent a boat ahead to Banks's a day before the ship came to anchor. Banks's was a defended point on the coast, as the fortification accounts for 1765 showed, and a boat landing there allowed the garrison to identify the approaching vessel before she entered the road. The Council's

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			order to copy the balanced accounts quickly came just as a homeward ship from China arrived, perhaps so that the books could travel to the Company's directors in London aboard her.
170	165	1765 That encouraged with such hopes, your Petitioner has already pitched upon that ground which joins to John Jacks's House, and as sixty fathom Front upon fifty in Depth would answer his Intention humbly requests your Worship and Council will in your Goodness, allow him to build upon the above premisses on usual Terms and your Petitioner will as in duty bound ever pray Ordered the said piece of ground to be viewed As there were only six head of Cattle left upon the arrival of the Ship Princess Augusta, and Captain Maddison acquainting Us that he was in great want of fresh Provision, we were under the necessity (although it is two Months sooner than the usual return) of Ordering the following Advertisement to be published viz Island St Helena 4th November 1765 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before Monday next the 11th Instant a signed Account of their Number of Cattle each of them have for slaughter for the Year 1766 Per Order of Council (signed) Mattw Bazett Secretary John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Julio Fabiana told the Council that, in hope of a favourable answer, he had already chosen a plot next to John Jacks's house. A site measuring 60 fathoms along the front and 50 fathoms deep would suit his plans. He asked for permission to build there on the usual terms. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. Only six cattle remained on the Company's hands when the *Princess Augusta* arrived, and Captain Maddison reported that his ship badly needed fresh provisions. The Council therefore decided to issue its usual notice to the islanders two months earlier than normal. The notice, dated 4 November 1765, required every inhabitant to deliver a signed return to the Secretary's office by Monday 11 November. Each return was to state how many cattle the owner had available for slaughter in 1766. Matthew Bazett, the Secretary, signed it on the Council's behalf, and the decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council broke from its normal timetable for the cattle returns. The notice was usually issued two months later, and the obvious course was to wait until then. The arrival of the *Princess Augusta* with a crew short of fresh food, set against only six cattle left to the Company, forced the Council to act at once. Calling for the returns early let it see straight away how much beef the island could supply, so the ship could be victualled and sent on without waiting. The returns themselves were a means of controlling the island's meat. Planters had to declare every head of cattle fit for slaughter, which allowed the Council to plan the supply of fresh beef to Company ships and the garrison for the coming year. A planter could not quietly sell his beasts elsewhere or hold them back, since the Company knew in advance what each farm could provide. Fresh meat mattered greatly to crews arriving after months on salt rations, and St Helena's value as a refreshment station depended on having it ready. Fabiana's plot of 60 by 50 fathoms measured roughly 360 feet by 300 feet, a generous site for a house and garden. As with the requests from Desfountain and Prozett for unused land, the Council would not grant it until the ground had been viewed.
171	166	11th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th Day of November 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 4th November 1765 Mr Matthew Burling reports that he has been on board the Ship Princess Augusta to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows viz Muster Roll of Ship Princess Augusta Thomas Maddison Commander Willm Boyed Chief Mate Robt Kerr 2d Do	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 11 November 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 4 November 1765, approved them and signed them. Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Princess Augusta* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but had found none. He entered the ship's muster roll as follows. Thomas Maddison, commander William Boyd, chief mate Robert Weir, second mate Thomas Pomeroy, third mate John Sharpe, fourth mate Charles Peter Sautier, fifth mate John Barrett, purser Robert Sinclair, surgeon John Cobham, carpenter John Campbell, boatswain

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		Thos Pomeroy 3d Do John Sharpe 4th Do Chas Peter Sautuir 5th Do John Barrett Purser Robt Sinclair Surgeon John Cobham Carpenter John Campbell Boatswain Wm Haggie Gunner John Mitchel Capt Stewd Willm Baxter Ships Do Willm Jones Sailmaker Alexander Shann Cooper Judge Shody Capt Cook Thos Atkinson Ships Do John Harrison Carpr 1st Mate Robt Simpson Do 2d Do Peter Frazier Surg Mate John Mitchell Coopers Mt John Bennett Butcher Sam Lawrence Quartermr Mathew Duncan Do Thos Hunter Do James Smallwood Caulkr Mte John Ponsonby Boatswn Do Andrew Nichols Gunners Do Samuel Phillips Iran La Ville Capts Servt Robt Ogleby Midshipn Fran Armitage Do Mark North Mastsmn Thos Barker 2d Mts Do Robt Lowe Boats Do David Bond Gunrs Do George Rees Carpenters Do John Fireoub Surg Servt James Sheppard Seaman Thos Atkins Seaman Frances Dulaney Wm Jennison George Adamson John Rees George Jay	William Haggie, gunner John Mitchell, captain's steward William Baxter, ship's steward William Jones, sailmaker Alexander Shane, cooper Judge Shedy, captain's cook Thomas Atkinson, ship's cook John Harrison, carpenter's first mate Robert Simpson, carpenter's second mate Peter Frazier, surgeon's mate John Mitchell, cooper's mate John Bennett, butcher Samuel Lawrence, quartermaster Matthew Duncan, quartermaster Thomas Hunter, quartermaster James Smallwood, caulker John Ponsonby, boatswain's mate Andrew Nicholls, gunner's mate Samuel Phillips, captain's servant Isaac La Ville, captain's servant Robert Ogleby, midshipman Francis Armitage, midshipman Mark North, [...] Thomas Barker, [...] [...] Lowbroke, [...] David Bond, gunner's mate George Rees, carpenter's mate John Freind, surgeon's assistant James Sheppard, seaman John Atkins, seaman Francis Delaney William Jennison George Adamson John Ross George Jay Christ[...] **Interpretations** The search for deserters aboard a homeward ship was a standing safeguard of the garrison. Soldiers, servants and slaves on St Helena had no lawful way off the island without the Council's leave, and a ship bound for England offered the easiest means of escape. By sending a member of the Council aboard to call every man by name against the ship's roll, the Company could detect anyone hidden among the crew before the vessel sailed. The roll entered in the consultation book also gave a record against which the crew could be checked again at departure. The roll set out the full order of an East Indiaman's company. Below the commander stood five mates in rank, then the purser, surgeon and the warrant officers in charge of carpentry, rigging and guns, each with mates and servants of their own. Specialists such as the sailmaker, cooper, caulker and butcher kept the ship and her stores in order on a voyage that could last more than a year. Midshipmen were young men training as officers, and the captain's servants were boys learning the sea under his patronage.
172	167	11th November Brought over £ 5 11 38 Bottles Beer 9 6 68 Do Arrack 3 16 6 165 Beef 3 9 9 188 Mutton 3 13 4 12 Fowles 18 2 Turkeys 10	An account dated 11 November, continued from an earlier page, recorded further provisions and their cost. Brought forward, £5 11s 0d Beer, 38 bottles, £0 9s 6d Arrack, 63 bottles, £3 16s 6d Beef, 165 lb, £3 9s 9d Mutton, 188 lb, £3 13s 4d Fowls, 12, £0 18s 0d Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Pig, 1, £0 5s 0d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Butter, 62 lb, £3 2s 0d Sugar candy, 62 lb, £1 5s 3d Flour, 334 lb, £2 3s 7½d

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		1 Pig 5 1 Lamb 10 62 Butter 3 2 62 Candy 1 5 8 334 Flour 2 3 7 1/2 £ 26 4 4 1/2 Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of October 1765 Guns Fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, Powder Expended 14th Saluted Major Moore going on board: Guns Fired 13, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, Powder Expended 13 Saild the Bute: Guns Fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, Powder Expended 9 25th Fired being the Anniversy of his Majestys Accesn: Guns Fired 21, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 18, Powder Expended 23 8 Fired with small Arms for Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 28 4 Powder for priming at different Times: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 8 Do for the Funeral of Evan Knowles: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 2 4 Do for the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 1 12 Total: Guns Fired 43, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 40, Powder Expended 35 14 Copper Rivets for the Bute 50 Worm for a nine pounder Broke 1 Queins broke at the Main Fort 2 Handspikes broke on the Line 4 Do for the Company's Works 6 Tallow for the Boats 10 Cartridge Paper for the Secretary's Office 1 Rammer head for an 18 Broke 1 (signed) Archd Mitchell	Total, £26 4s 4½d The artillery then reported the guns fired and the powder and equipment used during October 1765. The calibres heading three of the columns could not be recovered, so those guns are identified below only by their place in the table. 14 October 1765, salute for Major Mo[...] going aboard, 13 guns fired, 0 guns of the first calibre, 0 guns of the second calibre, 13 guns of the third calibre, 13 lb 0 oz of powder used Salute on the sailing of the *Bute*, 9 guns fired, 0 guns of the first calibre, 0 guns of the second calibre, 9 guns of the third calibre, 9 lb 0 oz of powder used 25 October 1765, salute for the anniversary of the King's accession, 21 guns fired, 2 guns of the first calibre, 1 gun of the second calibre, 18 guns of the third calibre, 23 lb 8 oz of powder used Musket fire for the same anniversary, 28 lb 4 oz of powder used Priming at various times, 8 lb 0 oz of powder used Funeral of Evan Knowles, 2 lb 4 oz of powder used Main guard, 1 lb 12 oz of powder used Total, 43 guns fired, 2 guns of the first calibre, 1 gun of the second calibre, 40 guns of the third calibre, 85 lb 14 oz of powder used Copper rivets for the *Bute*, 50 Worm for a nine-pounder, broken, 1 Quoins broken at the Main Fort, 2 Handspikes broken on the Lines, 4 Handspikes broken at the Company's works, 6 Tallow for the boats, 10 Cartridge paper for the Secretary's office, 1 Rammer head for a [...]-pounder, broken, 1 Archibald Mitchell signed the artillery return. **Interpretations** Gunpowder was accounted for down to the ounce. Every salute, every round of musketry and even the priming of guns was entered with the exact weight used, because powder was costly, could not be made on the island and was the garrison's means of defence. The return let the Council check the magazines against what the artillery claimed to have fired, in the same way the store accounts checked goods against sales and issues. Salutes marked the island's public life. A ship sailing or an officer going aboard received a salute in proportion to rank, while the King's accession on 25 October drew 21 guns and a volley of small arms from the garrison. Evan Knowles, whose death on 22 October and will proved on 28 October 1765 were recorded earlier, was buried with musket volleys over his grave, the honour given to a private soldier. The broken equipment showed the wear of working heavy guns. A worm was a corkscrew-like tool on a long staff for drawing out the remains of a charge from the bore, and a rammer drove the powder and shot home. Quoins were wooden wedges set under the breech to raise or lower the gun's aim, and handspikes were stout wooden levers used to shift the gun carriage, which broke easily under the strain.
173	168	11th November Brought over £ 5 11 38 Bottles Beer 9 6 68 Do Arrack 3 16 6 165 Beef 3 9 9 188 Mutton 3 13 4 12 Fowles	An account dated 11 November, continued from an earlier page, recorded further provisions and their cost. Brought forward, £5 11s 0d Beer, 38 bottles, £0 9s 6d Arrack, 63 bottles, £3 16s 6d Beef, 165 lb, £3 9s 9d Mutton, 188 lb, £3 13s 4d Fowls, 12, £0 18s 0d Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Pig, 1, £0 5s 0d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d

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		18 2 Turkeys 10 1 Pig 5 1 Lamb 10 62 Butter 3 2 62 Candy 1 5 8 334 Flour 2 3 7 1/2 £ 26 4 4 1/2 Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of October 1765 Guns Fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, Powder Expended 14th Saluted Major Moore going on board: Guns Fired 13, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, Powder Expended 13 Saild the Bute: Guns Fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, Powder Expended 9 25th Fired being the Anniversy of his Majestys Accesn: Guns Fired 21, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 18, Powder Expended 23 8 Fired with small Arms for Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 28 4 Powder for priming at different Times: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 8 Do for the Funeral of Evan Knowles: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 2 4 Do for the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended 1 12 Total: Guns Fired 43, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 40, Powder Expended 35 14 Copper Rivets for the Bute 50 Worm for a nine pounder Broke 1 Queins broke at the Main Fort 2 Handspikes broke on the Line 4 Do for the Company's Works 6 Tallow for the Boats 10 Cartridge Paper for the Secretary's Office 1 Rammer head for an 18 Broke 1 (signed) Archd Mitchell	Butter, 62 lb, £3 2s 0d Sugar candy, 62 lb, £1 5s 3d Flour, 334 lb, £2 3s 7½d Total, £26 4s 4½d The artillery then reported the guns fired and the powder and equipment used during October 1765. 14 October 1765, salute for Major Mo[...] going aboard, 13 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 13 lb 0 oz of powder used Salute on the sailing of the *Bute*, 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder used 25 October 1765, salute for the anniversary of the King's accession, 21 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 18 two-pounders, 23 lb 8 oz of powder used Musket fire for the same anniversary, 28 lb 4 oz of powder used Priming at various times, 8 lb 0 oz of powder used Funeral of Evan Knowles, 2 lb 4 oz of powder used Main guard, 1 lb 12 oz of powder used Total, 43 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 40 two-pounders, 85 lb 14 oz of powder used Copper rivets for the *Bute*, 50 Worm for a nine-pounder, broken, 1 Quoins broken at the Main Fort, 2 Handspikes broken on the Lines, 4 Handspikes broken at the Company's works, 6 Tallow for the boats, 10 Cartridge paper for the Secretary's office, 1 Rammer head for a [...]-pounder, broken, 1 Archibald Mitchell signed the artillery return. **Interpretations** Gunpowder was accounted for down to the ounce. Every salute, every round of musketry and even the priming of guns was entered with the exact weight used, because powder was costly, could not be made on the island and was the garrison's means of defence. The figures showed a fixed saluting charge of half the weight of shot for each gun: 1 lb for a two-pounder, 1½ lb for a three-pounder and 2 lb for a four-pounder. Salutes were fired from the lightest pieces, saving powder and sparing the heavy guns that defended the coast. The return let the Council check the magazines against what the artillery claimed to have fired, as the store accounts checked goods against sales and issues. Salutes marked the island's public life. A ship sailing or an officer going aboard received a salute in proportion to rank, while the King's accession on 25 October drew 21 guns and a volley of small arms from the garrison. Evan Knowles, whose death on 22 October and will proved on 28 October 1765 were recorded earlier, was buried with musket volleys over his grave, the honour given to a private soldier. The broken equipment showed the wear of working heavy guns. A worm was a corkscrew-like tool on a long staff for drawing out the remains of a charge from the bore, and a rammer drove the powder and shot home. Quoins were wooden wedges set under the breech to raise or lower the gun's aim, and handspikes were stout wooden levers used to shift the gun carriage, which broke easily under the strain.
174	169	1765 We this day received the following Letter from Captain Maddison viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs The Princess Augusta not having Provision	The Council received a letter from Captain Thomas Baddison of the *Princess Augusta*, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council and dated 11 November 1765. He explained that his ship did not carry enough provisions for the voyage from St Helena to England. She could not safely continue

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		sufficient for her passage from hence to England I am obliged to request you will please to take it into your consideration as she cannot with safety proceed on her Voyage without a further supply, Fresh Provision is also absolutely necessary for the healths of my Ships Company who for these seven Months past, have had little or no refreshment till their arrival at this Island, and the Major part of them are now far gone in the Scurvy, our principal dependance must be on keeping the People in health, in a leaky Ship, our Mizen Mast being sprung and our Rudder Head should so bad, that we are obliged to get it on shore to repair, will be the means of detaining us some days longer here than we otherways should have been I am Worshipful Sir & Sirs Your most obedt humble Servant St Helena (signed) 11th November 1765 Thomas Maddison Upon which we sent for Captain Maddison and desired to know what quantity of fresh provision he required, he acquainted Us that he could not do with less than fourteen days to carry away with him, We therefore agreed to supply him out of the next Years return, having a leaky Ship, and his People very bad with the Scurvy, his going to any other Port might endanger the safety of the Ship	without fresh supplies, and he asked the Council to take this into account. Fresh food was also essential for the health of his crew. For seven months before reaching the island, the men had eaten little or nothing fresh, and most of them were now badly affected by scurvy. Keeping the crew healthy mattered all the more because the ship was leaking. Her mizzen mast had split, and the head of her rudder was in such poor condition that it would have to be taken ashore for repair. Baddison warned that this work would keep the ship at the island for some days longer than planned. The Council sent for Baddison and asked how much fresh food he needed. He replied that he could manage with nothing less than fourteen days' supply to take with him. The Council agreed to provide it from the cattle due to be declared for the following year. The ship was leaking and her crew were very sick with scurvy, so the Council judged that sending her on to any other port might put her at risk. **Interpretations** The Council chose to draw on the next year's cattle rather than refuse the request or direct the ship elsewhere. With only six head of cattle left to the Company, the obvious course was to send the *Princess Augusta* on to another port for supplies. The Council set that aside because a leaking ship with a sick crew might not survive the extra passage. This decision explained the order of 4 November 1765 calling in the islanders' cattle returns two months early, since the Council needed to know at once how much beef the planters could provide for 1766. Scurvy was the disease of long voyages, caused by a diet without fresh fruit, vegetables or meat. Sufferers grew weak, their gums swelled and bled, old wounds reopened and many died. A ship whose crew was badly affected could not be worked safely, which was why Baddison tied his request for fresh food directly to the danger posed by his leaking hull. A sprung mast was one split or cracked along the grain, which could give way under the strain of the sails. The rudder head was the top of the rudder, where the tiller fitted to steer the ship, and a weakness there threatened the vessel's ability to steer at all. Lifting it ashore for repair showed the island's role as a place where Company ships could be patched up before the final leg home.
175	170	11th November Captain Mitchel this day presented the following Letter to Us viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governr & Council of the Island St Helena Gentlemen You may remember that in my Remarks on the Fortifications of this Island I took Occasion to mention, that as the Clay in several Parts of this Island appeared to be of a nature very proper for making Bricks, which, if accomplished would be of the greatest service as well in the intended repairs of the Fortifications as on the Construction of the other public Buildings belonging to the Company, I therefore proposed to make some Tryals on the different Sorts of Clay in order to ascertain their Quality, and the possibility of bringing this Measure to bear. The result of these Tryals has not been so favourable as the appearance of the Clay and the Opinion of those who had been conversant in this Business gave me Room to	Captain Mitchell presented a letter to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 11 November 1765. He reminded them that in his earlier report on the island's fortifications he had noted clay in several places that seemed well suited to brickmaking. Locally made bricks would be of great value for repairing the defences and for building the Company's other public works. He had therefore arranged trials of the different kinds of clay to test their quality and to see whether brickmaking could succeed. The results fell short of what the look of the clay and the advice of experienced men had led him to hope. Mitchell put this chiefly down to salt in the clay, which made the bricks brittle and prone to crack in the sun and in the kiln. The few men he could find with any experience of the work lacked skill, and he had no proper drying sheds or other equipment. He had sent a sample of the bricks for the Council to examine. He offered either to carry out further trials or to give up the attempt altogether, as the Council preferred. Mitchell then turned to the Plantation House, whose prompt repair the directors in London had recommended and which was badly needed to save the building from falling into ruin. **Interpretations**

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		expect, which I apprehend is principally owing to the Clays being impregnated with a Saline Quality which renders it Brittle and liable to crack by the Influence of the Sun and Fire. To this may be added the unskilfulness of those few Persons I could find who had ever been employed in Works of this Sort, and the want of the proper shades and other conveniences. I have ordered a Specimen of these Bricks to be laid before you and shall either make some further Tryals, or discontinue the Attempt entirely, as you shall please to give directions As the immediate Repair of the Plantation House was recommended by the directors at home and indeed was a Measure absolutely necessary to prevent its falling into Ruin, I sometime ago	Mitchell's letter explained the brickmaking recorded in the wage accounts for 1765, where soldiers were paid for 206½ days making bricks and a further 134 days helping the brickmakers. Those payments were the cost of the trials he described. Bricks made on the island would have saved the expense and risk of shipping them from England, which made success worth a real effort, but salt in the clay defeated it. Salt in clay was a serious fault in brickmaking. As the bricks dried and were fired, the salts drew moisture and crystallised within them, so they cracked, crumbled and flaked. On an island exposed to sea winds and spray, clay near the surface was perhaps bound to carry salt, and without fresh water to wash it out the problem could not easily be cured. Mitchell left the decision to the Council rather than abandoning the trials on his own authority. That kept the cost of further experiment under its control and placed the choice between persisting and giving up with the body that answered to the directors in London.
176	171	1765 ago took a particular Survey of it, and found that the greatest Part of the Roof by the absurdity of its Construction, was ready to fall in and that the drains between the several Pitches, by being made with so little Slope, & by being very injudiciously covered with Lead, which had crack'd and blistered in many Places, had leak'd very considerably As Mr Robinson the Carpenter undertook to compleat the Roof, with the superfluous Timber now in Store, and as the Companys Carpenters are not immediately wanted for any other Service I proposed to have taken the opportunity of the dry season and the Interval before the Arrival of the Storeship (after which the Workmen will probably have other Employment) to have completed this Part of the Repairs, after which they could have compleated the interior Parts of it as Opportunities offered. The Drains or Gutters I proposed to have covered with Terras, which by giving them a proper Slope, and by that means preventing the Waters Standing I apprehend would effectually secure this part from any future Leakage If however any of the Gentlemen should doubt the possibility of effecting this, a Tryal may be made by terrassing one of the present Gutters. The principal Inconvenience of which will be that by this delay we shall probably lose the opportunity of compleating the Roof during the dry Season and it is to be questioned whether after the arrival of the Storeship we ever shall have so much Leisure or so good an opportunity of compleating this, as the present I shall be glad to receive the Directions of the Governor & Council on this subject & have the honour to be with the greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most obedient & most humble Servant St Helena (signed) 11th Novembr 1765 A Mitchell On considering the above Letter we sent for Captain	Captain Mitchell's letter of 11 November 1765 went on to describe the state of the Plantation House. He had made a careful survey of the building some time before. Because the roof had been badly designed, most of it was close to collapse. The gutters between the separate slopes of the roof had been laid almost flat and poorly covered with lead, which had cracked and blistered in many places and let in a great deal of water. Mr Robinson, the carpenter, had offered to finish the roof using surplus timber already held in store. The Company's carpenters were not needed for other work at that moment. Mitchell therefore proposed to use the dry season, and the gap before the storeship arrived, to complete the roof. Once the storeship came, the workmen would probably be taken up with other tasks. The interior could then be finished later as time allowed. He planned to line the gutters with terras rather than lead. Laid to a proper fall, this would stop water lying in them and protect the roof against leaks in future. If any member of the Council doubted the method, one of the existing gutters could be lined as a trial. Mitchell warned that the delay would probably cost them the chance to finish the roof in the dry months. He doubted whether, once the storeship had arrived, they would again have as much spare labour or as good an opening. He asked for the Council's instructions. After considering the letter, the Council sent for Captain Mitchell. **Interpretations** Terras was a hydraulic mortar, made by mixing lime with a ground volcanic stone of the same name imported chiefly from the Rhineland through Dutch ports. Unlike ordinary lime mortar, it set hard under water and resisted damp, which made it the standard material for lining cisterns, drains and gutters. Mitchell proposed it because lead had failed on the roof, expanding and contracting in the strong sun until it split and lifted from the boards. The arrival of the storeship governed the island's labour. When a ship came in with stores from England, carpenters and other workmen were needed to land, unpack and house the cargo, and to repair whatever had been damaged on the voyage. Mitchell's plan used the quiet interval before her arrival, and surplus timber already paid for, so the repair would draw on neither new materials nor labour needed elsewhere. Mitchell also offered the Council a cautious alternative: a trial on a single gutter before

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		Mitchell	committing to the whole roof. He set against it the real cost of delay, the likely loss of the dry season, so that the Council could weigh the risk of an untried method against the risk of leaving the roof to fail.
177	172	11th November Mitchell and had a Sample of the Bricks brought before Us which appears to be very bad and few of them fit for use but considering their Utility for the use of the Fortifications have consented to another Tryal and recommended to Captain Mitchell to have the Clay prepared for some Months before the Working of it as the likeliest method to extract that Saline Quality At the same time recommended to Captain Mitchell to make an experiment of the Terras on one of the Gutters of the Plantation House before he proceeds to the repairing of the Roof, as any further Expence would be unnecessary unless he can be positive of securing the Gutters from Leaking John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council called Captain Mitchell before it and examined the sample of bricks. They proved very poor, and few were fit to use. Even so, the Council judged that bricks would be so useful for the fortifications that a further trial was worth making. It advised Mitchell to have the clay dug and left to weather for some months before working it, as the method most likely to draw out the salt. The Council also advised Mitchell to test the terras on a single gutter of the Plantation House before starting work on the roof. Any further spending would be wasted unless he could be sure the new lining would keep the gutters from leaking. The decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Both of Mitchell's proposals met a cautious answer, though in opposite directions. On the bricks, the sample was bad enough to justify giving up, which Mitchell himself had offered as one choice. The Council kept the trial going because locally made bricks would spare the cost of shipping them for the fortifications, and it set a new condition: clay left to weather for months so that rain and air could leach the salt out before moulding. On the roof, Mitchell had pressed for doing the whole job at once in the dry season and warned that delay would lose it. The Council chose the slower course he had offered only as a concession, a trial on one gutter, preferring to risk the season rather than spend on an untested method. The pattern showed the Council guarding the Company's money against both waste and lost opportunity. It would pay a little more for further brick trials when the possible saving was large, but it would not commit to a full roof repair until the new material had proved itself on a small scale.
178	173	13th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th Day of November 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 11th November 1765 We this day Granted the two following Setts of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz One set to Capt Thomas Maddison for seven hundred and seventy pounds payable to himself or Order And one set to Mr William Boyd for one hundred & eighty pounds seven shillings payable to Mr Matthew [...] or order both drawn at Ninety days sight Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of October last, which is as follows viz	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 18 November 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 11 November 1765, approved them and signed them. The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Company's Court of Directors in London. Captain Thomas Baddison received one set for £770 0s 0d, payable to himself or to whomever he named. Mr William Boyd received the other set for £180 7s 0d, payable to Mr Matthew [...] or his nominee. Both bills fell due ninety days after they were presented in London. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for October, with the sums recorded in detail. **Interpretations** Bills of exchange moved money between St Helena and London without shipping coin. A ship's officer with cash on the island, perhaps from private trade carried in his allowance of cargo, paid it into the Company's treasury and received in return a written order on the directors in London to pay him the same sum there. The island gained coin it badly needed for wages and daily business, while the officer avoided the risk of carrying gold and silver on the voyage home.

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			Issuing bills in sets meant writing several identical copies, each sent home by a different route or vessel. Whichever arrived first would be paid and the others became void, which guarded against the loss of a single paper at sea. The ninety days' grace after presentation gave the directors time to check the bill against the island's own accounts before paying out. William Boyd was the chief mate of the *Princess Augusta*, as the muster roll entered on 11 November 1765 showed. His bill, like his captain's, was probably the proceeds of private dealings during the ship's stay, turned into a draft on London before she sailed.
179	174	13th November Cash Dr 1765 October 1st To Balance remaining £ 7311 3 7 £ 7311 3 7 Per Contra Cr 1765 Octor 31st By Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn by Major Moore upon John Purling Esqr payable to the Honble the Court of Directors 170 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 7101 8 7 In Cash Notes of no use 539 5 7641 3 7 £ 7311 3 7 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council's examination of the Company's cash for October 1765, entered on 18 November, showed a single payment during the month. Receipts 1 October 1765, balance in hand, £7,311 3s 7d Total, £7,311 3s 7d Payments 31 October 1765, cash given in exchange for a set of bills drawn by Major Monro on John Purling Esquire, payable to the Company's Court of Directors, £170 0s 0d Balance in coin, £7,101 8s 7d Balance in cash notes no longer in use, £39 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £7,141 3s 7d Total, £7,311 3s 7d The examination was signed by the following members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The bill drawn by Major Monro worked in the opposite direction to those issued to Captain Baddison and William Boyd on 18 November 1765. Monro took £170 in coin from the island treasury and handed over a bill on John Purling, his agent or banker in London, who would pay the same sum to the Court of Directors. Monro, who received a salute on going aboard ship on 14 October 1765, thus left the island with cash in hand while the Company recovered the money at home. The treasury acted as a bank for officers coming and going, and every such exchange had to balance against a matching payment in London. The cash notes were entered separately as no longer in use. Paper notes issued on the island circulated as money only so long as the Company honoured them, and notes withdrawn, damaged or superseded were kept apart from the working balance. Recording them in this way stopped dead paper from being counted as spendable cash while still accounting for every note the treasury held. The full Council signed the monthly cash examination. No single officer could vouch for the balance alone, and the signatures of the Governor and three councillors made each of them answerable to the directors for the figures.
180	175	25th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th Day of November 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 13th Novemr 1765	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 25 November 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 18 November 1765, approved them and signed them. The Company's ship *Princess Augusta* had sailed for England on Tuesday 19 November. The Council ordered a public notice, dated 25 November 1765, to be issued to all the island's inhabitants. It announced that various damaged goods belonging to the Company would be sold by

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		Tuesday the 19th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Princess Augusta for England Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz Island St Helena 25th November 1765 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island, that on Monday next in the afternoon will be sold at Public Auction at the Market House Sundry damaged Goods belonging to the Honble Company for ready Money Per order of Council (signed) M Bazett Secretary Captain John Howard this day applied to Us to have a Mortgage Bond Registered Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	public auction at the Market House on the afternoon of Monday 2 December, for cash only. Matthew Bazett, the Secretary, signed the notice on the Council's behalf. Captain John Howard applied to have a mortgage bond entered in the register. The Council granted his request, and the decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The auction cleared stock that the inventory of 30 September 1765 had carried as damaged: spoiled bunting and camlet, girls' stockings, leather garters, pewter dishes and hundreds of rusted sail needles. Rather than hold these goods indefinitely at their book value, the Council turned them into coin. Selling at public auction let buyers set the price for imperfect goods, and insisting on cash ruled out the credit that Company servants and planters often expected, so the treasury received money at once. Registering Captain Howard's mortgage bond showed the Council acting as the island's land registry. A mortgage bond pledged property, usually a lease or a house, as security for a loan. Entering it in the Council's records gave the lender a public claim against the property, so a later buyer or creditor could not take it free of the debt. Since all land was held on Company leases that needed the Council's consent to transfer, a register of charges against those leases let the Council see who held an interest in each holding before approving any change of tenant.
181	176	2nd December At a Consultation held on Monday the 2nd Day of December 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 November 1765 The Lieutenant Governor this day presented the following Letter viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor and Council Gentlemen As the Engineer has already informed you of his success in having found out Lime Stone at Sandy Bay tho it was thought sometime ago to have been entirely Exhausted but from my own knowledge am satisfy'd of a sufficient supply as long as the Island last. I need not represent to you the Utility of so useful a Discovery but mean to point out the means of rendering it to the Honorable Company [...] both for carrying on the Fortifications of this Island which must be an Acknowledged Advantage, as well as a future Profit I think may accrue therefrom As necessity is the Mother of invention, the Practice of the Inhabitants with respect to their Building strongly Verifies the above from the use of the Mud Mortar, which I must own I think very inferior to what I have seen in other Country's Consequently	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 2 December 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 25 November 1765, approved them and signed them. Lieutenant Governor Corneille presented a letter to the Governor and Council. Arthur [...] had already reported his success in finding limestone at Sandy Bay. The supply there had been thought some time before to be completely worked out, but Corneille knew from his own observation that it would last as long as the island needed it. He did not think it necessary to argue how valuable the find was. Instead, he wished to show how it could serve the Company, both in building the island's fortifications and as a source of future profit. Corneille observed that necessity drove invention, and the islanders' way of building proved it. They used a mortar made of mud, which he considered far worse than what he had seen in other countries. He judged it a poor substitute, fit only to make up for the lack of anything better, especially for plastering the inside and outside of houses. **Interpretations** The limestone at Sandy Bay underpinned work already under way. The wage accounts for 1765 paid soldiers for almost 900 days quarrying and burning limestone, and coal was issued for burning lime in the same quarter. A reliable source of stone meant the Company could keep making lime mortar for the defences at Banks's and elsewhere instead of shipping lime from abroad. Corneille saw a second use beyond the fortifications. Islanders building their own houses relied on mud mortar, clay mixed with water, which washed out in rain and gave walls no lasting strength. If the Company burned lime from Sandy Bay and sold it to the inhabitants, it could improve the island's

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		can only supply the want of a better, particularly as to the outside and Inside Plaistering of their Houses, I am therefore of opinion	buildings and earn a steady income, turning a military supply into a commercial one.
182	177	1765 That this Article if made within the Purchase of the Inhabitants will turn out of great advantage to Them and at the same time very Profitable to the Honorable Company. For which reason I lay before You Gentlemen an Estimate of the Yearly expence of that Article both as to the burning of it with Wood as well as Coals, and apprehend from that Estimate we ought to fix the price of Eighteen pence p Bushel which will always be a Considerable Profit to the Honble Company and greatly lessen their Expence according to the demand made for it, and I think within Purchase of every Man that can afford to Build. This my Proposal I lay before You Gentlemen to be Transmitted for the Honble the Court of of Directors as I imagine it will always be a satisfaction to them to be informed of the Expence of any Undertaking that we apprehend may be for their Advantage, and by continuing it even when their necessary Works are Compleated turn out much to their profit. To make my Estimate as near as Possible I have taken the whole Expence of their Slaves for five Years past, and made my Calculation upon an Average one Year with another what each Slave stands the Honble Company in. I have also added an additional Evaluation making it up ten pounds p Head to make allowance for their first Cost, and in so doing believe I have made as fair a Calculation as the nature of things will admit of. The Accompt stands thus for Slaves Slaves, Expence, Each Slave on an Average 1761: Slaves 187, Expence £ 775 17 4, Each Slave on an Average £ 4 2 6 1762: Slaves 204, Expence 675 17 8, Each Slave on an Average 3 6 4 1763: Slaves 201, Expence 784 9 6, Each Slave on an Average 3 18 1764: Slaves 202, Expence 954 10 6, Each Slave on an Average 4 14 6 1765: Slaves 284, Expence 1276 16 5, Each Slave on an Average 4 9 11 £ 21 11 3 Total Expence of each Slave upon an Average for five Years past £ 4 2 3	Corneille went on to argue that lime, if priced within the reach of the islanders, would greatly benefit them and at the same time bring the Company a good profit. He laid before the Council an estimate of the yearly cost of burning lime, both with wood and with coal. On that basis he proposed a fixed price of 18d a bushel. That price would always give the Company a healthy margin and, depending on demand, would greatly reduce its own costs. It would also put lime within reach of anyone who could afford to build. He asked the Council to send his proposal to the Court of Directors. He believed the directors would always welcome an account of the costs of any venture meant for their benefit. Continuing the work even after the Company's own essential building was finished would, in his view, prove very profitable to them. To make his estimate as accurate as possible, Corneille had taken the whole cost of the Company's slaves over the past five years. From this he worked out what each slave cost the Company in an average year. He then added a further allowance, bringing the figure up to £10 a head, to cover the original purchase price of the slaves. He believed this was as fair a calculation as the circumstances allowed. His figures for the slaves were as follows. 1761, 187 slaves, total cost £775 17s 4d, average cost per slave £4 2s 6d 1762, 204 slaves, total cost £675 17s 8d, average cost per slave £3 6s 4d 1763, 201 slaves, total cost £784 9s 6d, average cost per slave £3 18s 0d 1764, 202 slaves, total cost £954 10s 6d, average cost per slave £4 14s 6d 1765, 284 slaves, total cost £1,276 16s 5d, average cost per slave £4 9s 11d Sum of the yearly averages per slave, £20 11s 2d Average yearly cost per slave over the five years, £4 2s 3d **Interpretations** Corneille treated slaves as capital in the lime works. Their food, clothing and keep averaged about £4 a year each, but he raised the figure to £10 a head to account for their purchase price, spreading the cost of buying a slave across his working years. This was a costing of labour as an investment that wore out, much as a merchant might allow for the depreciation of a ship, and it showed slavery woven directly into the Company's estimates of profit. The figures revealed a sharp increase in the slave workforce in 1765. Numbers held steady at around 200 from 1762 to 1764, then rose to 284. The extra slaves matched the building programme recorded across the year, with heavy work on Banks's, the castle and the barracks, brickmaking trials and the quarrying and burning of limestone. The rise in total cost, from under £680 in 1762 to more than £1,276 in 1765, came chiefly from the larger number of slaves rather than from higher spending on each. The 18d a bushel price was set to serve two ends at once. It had to be low enough for ordinary islanders to replace mud mortar with lime, yet high enough to cover the cost of slave labour and fuel and leave a margin for the Company. By asking for the proposal to go to the directors, Corneille sought their approval for turning a military supply into a trade.
183	178	2nd December Expence of Burning Lime with Wood 3 White Men at 1 Shilling p Day Sundays excepted	Corneille set out his estimates for burning lime, first using wood as fuel.

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		£ 46 19 11 Blacks at £ 10 p Year each 110 25 Kills of Wood at £ 2 p Kill 50 £ 206 19 25 Kills at 500 Bushels p Kill makes 12500 Bushels If 12500 Bushels Costs £ 206 19 1 Bushel Answer 4 pence With Coals 2 White Men at 1/ p day Sundays excepted £ 31 6 6 Blacks at £ 10 p Year each 60 30 Chaldrons of Coals at £ 2 4 p Chaldron 66 30 Chaldrons of Coals will burn 12060 Bushels of Lime £ 157 6 If 12060 Bushels Costs £ 157 6 1 Bushel Answer 3 pence By the above estimate you will observe that the expence with Wood exceeds that of Coals by reason of the Number of Hands that is required to fetch the same, nor do I think that Measure can long be persisted as the Quality required exceeds what I could have thought. But as the Engineer has Indented for thirty Chaldron for that purpose, have made the latter Estimate according to the Quantity of Lime the above Coals will Burn. I have not included the expence of Powder that may be required for Blowing, as it was impossible to determine that but by the softness of the Stone, and the Vein lying near the Surface can amount to a very trifling addition, and have the Honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient most humble Servant St Helena (signed) 2nd Decemb 1765 Dan Corneille	3 white labourers at 1s a day each, excluding Sundays, £46 19s 0d 11 slaves at £10 a year each, £110 0s 0d 25 kilns' worth of wood at £2 a kiln, £50 0s 0d Total cost with wood, £206 19s 0d Output, 25 kilns at 500 bushels a kiln, 12,500 bushels of lime Cost per bushel, 12,500 bushels for £206 19s 0d, 4d a bushel He then worked out the cost of burning with coal. 2 white labourers at 1s a day each, excluding Sundays, £31 6s 0d 6 slaves at £10 a year each, £60 0s 0d 30 chaldrons of coal at £2 4s 0d a chaldron, £66 0s 0d Total cost with coal, £157 6s 0d Output, 30 chaldrons of coal burning 12,060 bushels of lime Cost per bushel, 12,060 bushels for £157 6s 0d, 3d a bushel Corneille pointed out that burning with wood cost more because of the many men needed to gather and carry the fuel. He doubted that wood could be relied on for long, since the amount required was greater than he had expected. The engineer had already ordered 30 chaldrons of coal for lime burning, so Corneille based his second estimate on the amount of lime that quantity would produce. He had left out the cost of gunpowder for blasting the stone, because it could not be known in advance. The stone was soft and the seam lay close to the surface, so he expected the extra cost to be very small. Corneille signed the letter at St Helena on 2 December 1765. **Interpretations** The estimates showed lime costing the Company 3d or 4d a bushel to produce, against the selling price of 18d that Corneille had proposed. That margin of four to six times the cost explained his confidence that the trade would be profitable, even after allowing for the slaves' purchase price within the £10 a head he charged for their labour. The switch from wood to coal reflected the island's shrinking timber. Gathering enough wood for 25 kilns took eleven slaves and three overseers, and Corneille judged the demand could not be met for long. Coal, though it had to be shipped in, needed fewer hands and burned more lime per pound spent. The coal issued for burning lime during the quarter ending 30 September 1765, and the engineer's order for 30 chaldrons, showed the change already under way before Corneille set out his figures. A chaldron of coal held about 36 bushels. The white labourers paid by the day were perhaps soldiers or free workmen acting as kiln-burners and overseers, while the slaves did the heavy work of quarrying, carrying and stoking.
184	179	1765 As we find by the above Calculation that one Shilling and three pence will be a considerable profit to the Honble Company, We have agreed to pursue the Method above represented and to sell to the Inhabitants what Lime can be spared from their Works We this day Executed the two following Leases viz One to Captain Henry Bazett for a piece of ground lying in James's Valley, containing sixty feet in Front and forty four feet in Depth at 15/ p Annum And one to Julio Fabiano for a piece of Ground lying in James's Valley, containing sixty feet in Front and sixty feet Depth at 15/ p Annum	The Council found from Corneille's figures that a price of 1s 3d a bushel would still give the Company a good profit. It agreed to adopt his plan and to sell the islanders whatever lime could be spared from the Company's own works. The Council also signed two leases that day. Captain Henry Prozett received a plot in James's Valley measuring 60 feet along the front and 44 feet deep, at a rent of 15s a year. Julio Fabiana received a plot in James's Valley measuring 60 feet along the front and 60 feet deep, also at 15s a year. The leases were signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations**

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		John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council set the price of lime below the figure Corneille had proposed. He had recommended 18d a bushel, but the Council fixed it at 1s 3d, judging that the lower price still left a considerable profit over a production cost of 3d or 4d. The cut made lime easier for ordinary islanders to afford, which served Corneille's aim of replacing mud mortar in their houses and was likely to increase sales. The Council also kept the Company's own needs first, offering for sale only what the fortifications and public works could spare. The two leases followed the inspections the Council had ordered on 28 October and 4 November 1765, when Prozett and Fabiana first asked for land. Both plots lay in James's Valley and carried the same rent of 15s a year, regardless of their slightly different sizes, which suggested a standard charge for a house plot there rather than a rate fixed strictly by area.
185	180	9th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th Day of December 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, approved and signed, dated the 2nd December 1765 Yesterday died Amelia Daughter of Stephen Young Planter The 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 Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of November 1765 viz 16 Bottles Port Wine 1 4 24 Do Lisbon 1 16 6 Do Mountain 9 18 Do Beer 3 7 60 Do Arrack 3 1 6 118 Beef 2 9 2 157 Mutton 3 5 3 1 Kidd 5 35 Butter 1 15 300 Flower 2 3 9 60 Candy 1 £ 17 18 3	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 9 December 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council approved and signed the minutes of its meeting on 2 December 1765. Amelia, the daughter of Stephen Young, a planter, had died the previous day. The gunner's and steward's accounts for November were presented, checked and approved. The steward's account listed the food and drink used at the Company's table during November 1765. Port wine, 16 bottles, £1 4s 0d Lisbon wine, 24 bottles, £1 16s 0d Mountain wine, 6 bottles, £0 9s 0d Beer, 18 bottles, £0 3s 7d Arrack, 60 bottles, £3 7s 6d Beef, 118 lb, £2 9s 2d Mutton, 157 lb, £3 5s 3d Kid, 1, £0 5s 0d Butter, 35 lb, £1 15s 0d Flour, 300 lb, £2 3s 9d Sugar candy, 60 lb, £1 0s 0d Total, £17 18s 3d **Interpretations** The Company kept a public table at the castle, where the Governor, councillors and officials dined, along with guests such as visiting ship captains. Its costs were met from Company funds and checked each month like any other account. The provisions listed on 11 November 1765, with beer, arrack, beef, mutton, poultry and a lamb, belonged to the same table for the month before, and the two lists together showed fresh meat, wine and spirits forming the core of its fare. The steward bought fresh meat by the pound, beef and mutton at about 5d a pound, and a whole kid, a young goat. Goats ran wild on St Helena and were a ready source of meat when cattle were scarce, as they had been when the *Princess Augusta* arrived in early November 1765. The death of a planter's daughter entered in the consultation book showed the Council keeping a running record of deaths on the island, alongside the arrivals and departures of ships.
186	181	1765 Artillery Stores expended in November 1765 Guns Fired, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended Oz 1 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended Oz 0 An Alarm off Turks Cap for the same Ship: Guns Fired 2, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended Oz 0	The artillery return for November 1765 listed the guns fired and the powder and stores used during the month. 1 November 1765, alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder used Alarm at Turk's Cap for the same ship, 2 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 4 lb 0 oz of powder used 2 November 1765, salute on the arrival of the *Princess Augusta*, 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0

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		2 Arrived the Princess Augusta: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended Oz 0 4 Powder to the Governor: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 0 19 Sailed the Princess Augusta: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended Oz 0 21 Powder for Blowing Rocks at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended Oz 0 24 Do for repairing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 0 25 Do for Blowing Stone for the Black Hospital: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended Oz 0 29 Do at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended Oz 0 Do for priming at Sundry times: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 3, Powder Expended Oz 0 Do for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended Oz 8 30 Do for Blowing: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 14, Powder Expended Oz 0 Total: Guns Fired 26, 4 lb 4, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended lb 67, Powder Expended Oz 8 Tallow for the use of Boats, Carts in the Wood, Banks's Cullis Plantn House and Carpenters lb 56 Handspike Broke on the Line 1 Field Carriage rotten and not fit for service 1 1 9 Powder Box broke on the Line 1 Handspikes Issued for the use of the Works 6 Sponge staves Do 2 Handspikes broke at Banks's 3 Copper Clouts issued for new Carriages 12 Iron Shod Forks for the use of the Works 4 Handspikes for the Carpenter 6 (signed) Mitchell	three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder used 4 November 1765, powder supplied to the Governor, 1 lb 0 oz 19 November 1765, salute on the sailing of the *Princess Augusta*, 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder used 21 November 1765, powder for blasting rocks at Rupert's, 2 lb 0 oz 24 November 1765, powder for remaking the cartridges at the Main Guard, 1 lb 0 oz 25 November 1765, powder for blasting stone for the Black Hospital, 6 lb 0 oz 29 November 1765, powder for blasting at Rupert's, 6 lb 0 oz Powder for priming at various times, 3 lb 0 oz Powder for signals, 0 lb 8 oz 30 November 1765, powder for blasting, 14 lb 0 oz Total, 26 guns fired, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 18 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 67 lb 8 oz of powder used Tallow for the boats, the carts in the wood, Banks's portcullis, the Plantation House and the carpenters, 36 lb Handspike broken on the Lines, 1 Field gun carriage rotten and unfit for service, 1 Bed for a nine-pounder broken on the Lines, 1 Handspikes issued for the works, 6 Sponge staves issued for the works, 2 Handspikes broken at Banks's, 3 Copper clouts issued for new carriages, 12 Iron-shod trucks for the works, 4 Handspikes for the carpenter, 6 Archibald Mitchell signed the return. **Interpretations** The alarm guns of 1 November showed the island's warning system at work. When a sail was sighted, the lookout posts fired alarm guns so that the garrison could stand to arms until the ship was identified. The second alarm at Turk's Cap was fired for the same vessel, which was the *Princess Augusta*: her boat landed at Banks's that afternoon and she came into the road the next day to a salute. A full alarm used more powder than the arrival salute itself, since every ship had to be treated as a possible enemy until her colours and signals were confirmed. Gunpowder served building as much as defence. More than 28 lb in the month went on blasting rock at Rupert's and stone for the Black Hospital, so the magazines also supplied the quarrying for the island's public works. This matched Corneille's remark on 2 December 1765 that powder would be needed to blast limestone, and it explained why the return recorded every pound used for works as carefully as for salutes. The rotten field carriage and broken gun bed showed how quickly timber decayed in the damp air of the island's heights. A bed was the wooden base on which a heavy gun's carriage rested, and copper clouts were thin plates nailed over the wood of new carriages to protect points of wear. Trucks were the small solid wheels of a gun carriage, here shod with iron for moving loads at the works, and sponge staves carried the wet sheepskin used to swab out the bore after each shot so no burning fragment could set off the next charge.
187	182	9th December We this day Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published viz Island St Helena 9th December 1765 This is to give Notice to all the Planters upon the said Island that they are hereby required to attend the Governor and Council	On 9 December 1765 the Council ordered a public notice to be issued. It required every planter on the island to attend the Governor and Council at the castle at ten o'clock on the morning of Monday 16 December. Matthew Bazett, the Secretary, signed the notice on the Council's behalf.

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		at the Castle on Monday next at the Hour of ten oClock in the morning Per Order of Council (signed) Matthew Bazett Secy As the Fly Schooner has not answered the purpose she was intended for and her Bottom being very bad. We determined to break her up, and apply the Materials towards repairing the Long Boats &ca John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The schooner *Fly* had not served the purpose for which she was intended, and her hull below the waterline was in very poor condition. The Council decided to break her up and use her materials to repair the longboats and other vessels. The decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council chose to break up the *Fly* rather than repair her once more. The Company had spent steadily on her through 1765: soldiers and a sailmaker were paid for carpentry and sail work aboard her, and the stores account for the quarter ending 30 September 1765 charged her £21 8s 2d for rope, spars and oak and ash plank. The obvious course was to keep patching her, but the Council judged that further money would be wasted on a vessel that had never done the work expected of her and whose bottom was failing. Breaking her up turned a failing asset into a store of materials. Her planking, timbers, iron fittings, rigging and sails could all be reused on the longboats and the Company's other boats. On an island with almost no timber of its own, where every plank and spar came by ship, salvaging a hull was a sensible use of what was already on hand.
188	183	16th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th Day of December 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 9th December 1765 Pursuant to the Order Published last Monday the Planters this day attended, when we represented to them the necessity there was of supplying the Market of a Wednesday with Sheep Goats, and Hogs, as the return of Black Cattle for the next Year, will not afford more than one Beast a Week, in consequence of which we Ordered the following Advertise ment to be published viz Island St Helena 16th December 1765 This is to give Notice to all the Planters upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before Monday next the 23rd Instant a Signed Account of what Sheep Goats and Hogs each of them have, as likewise the Number of Sheep they intend for sale the next Year Notice is hereby further given that they are also to transmit an Account on or before the time abovementioned of their Number of Horses and to distinguish them by their several Denominations As the return of the Number of Cattle for Slaughter for the Year 1766 have been already made This is therefore to give further Notice that if any Person have more than they purpose to sell, that they are also to return them at the time beforementioned that they may be added to the List Per Order of Council (signed) M Bazett Secretary	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 16 December 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 9 December 1765, approved them and signed them. The planters came before the Council as the notice issued the previous Monday had required. The Council explained that the Wednesday market would have to be supplied with sheep, goats and pigs. The returns of cattle for the coming year showed that the island could provide no more than one beast a week. The Council then ordered a further notice, dated 16 December 1765. Every planter had to deliver a signed return to the Secretary's office by Monday 23 December. Each return was to state how many sheep, goats and pigs the planter owned, and how many sheep he intended to sell during the coming year. By the same date planters also had to report their horses, listed separately by kind. Because the cattle returns for slaughter in 1766 had already been made, the notice added that anyone with more cattle than they had declared for sale should report them as well, so that they could be added to the list. Matthew Bazett, the Secretary, signed the notice on the Council's behalf. **Interpretations** The cattle returns called in early on 4 November 1765 had exposed a serious shortage. One beast a week could not feed the garrison, the officials and the townspeople, still less supply ships calling for fresh meat. The *Princess Augusta* had already been given fourteen days' fresh provisions drawn from the cattle due for 1766, which reduced the stock further. The Council's answer was to widen the meat supply to smaller animals and to press planters to declare any cattle they had held back. The Wednesday market was a regulated weekly sale through which planters supplied fresh food to the town. By requiring signed returns of sheep, goats and pigs and of the sheep each planter meant to sell, the Council could plan what the market would offer through the year and hold planters to their declared numbers. Calling the planters in person before issuing the order gave the measure more force than a notice

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			alone, since each man heard the reason directly from the Governor and Council. The return of horses by kind, whether stallions, mares, geldings or colts, perhaps served a different purpose. Horses were needed for transport and for the island's defence, and a full count let the Council know what mounts and draught animals were available.
189	184	16th December We also upon the Scarcity of Flour in the Honorable Company's Stores, and the Yam this Year failing, have Contracted with several of the Planters for what Potatoes they have to spare at the rate of four Shillings p Bushel which is a Shilling p Bushel Cheaper than the usual price, but yet too dear for the Soldier to pay in lieu of Bread, therefore agreed to sell them to the Garrison at three Shillings p Bushel and charge the other Shilling to the Honorable Company As the Honorable Company's Plantations are at present very Young, and no Rice in their Stores, we have been obliged to buy some Yams for the Support of their Slaves for which we paid the usual price of three Shillings p Hundred Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of November last, which is as follows viz	The Council also dealt with a shortage of flour in the Company's stores and the failure of that year's yam crop. It had agreed with several planters to buy whatever potatoes they could spare at 4s a bushel, a shilling less than the usual price. That was still too expensive for the soldiers to pay in place of bread. The Council therefore decided to sell the potatoes to the garrison at 3s a bushel and to charge the remaining shilling to the Company. The Company's own plantations were still too young to yield crops, and there was no rice left in its stores. The Council had therefore been forced to buy yams to feed the Company's slaves, paying the usual price of 3s a hundredweight. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for November, with the sums recorded in detail. **Interpretations** The Council chose to subsidise the soldiers' potatoes instead of passing on the full cost. The obvious course was to resell at the 4s a bushel the Company had paid, but the record showed that price was beyond what soldiers could afford as a substitute for bread. By taking a shilling a bushel on itself, the Company kept the garrison fed and avoided the unrest that hunger could provoke among troops on a remote station, at a cost it judged worth bearing. Stocks had fallen fast since the inventory of 30 September 1765, which recorded 371 cwt of flour, 133 cwt of rice and more than 156 cwt of paddy. Within eleven weeks the rice was gone and flour had run short. The slaves alone had drawn nearly 85 cwt of rice in the previous quarter, and the *Princess Augusta* had to be supplied for her voyage home. With no supply ship yet arrived, the island fell back on what its own farms could grow. Potatoes and yams were the island's local staples, grown by planters as a substitute for imported grain. Yams, a starchy tuber, fed the slaves when rice ran out, and their failure that year left the Company exposed. The note that its plantations were still very young showed the Company trying to build up its own food production, but not yet able to rely on it.
190	185	1765 Cash Dr 1765 Novr 1st To Balance remaining £ 7641 3 7 To Ship Princess Augusta 56 8 1 13th To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows viz One Set to Captn Thomas Maddison for £ 770 One Set to Mr Matthew Pirchard 180 7 950 7 £ 8647 18 8 Per Contra Cr 1765 Novr 30th By Balance remaining viz In Specie £ 8108 3 8 In Cash notes of no use 539 15 £ 8647 18 8 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling	The Council's examination of the Company's cash for November 1765 showed receipts from the *Princess Augusta* and from the bills of exchange issued during her stay. Receipts 1 November 1765, balance in hand, £7,641 3s 7d Received from the ship *Princess Augusta*, £56 8s 1d 18 November 1765, cash received in exchange for two sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: one set to Captain Thomas Baddison for £770 0s 0d and one set to Mr Matthew Perchard for £180 7s 0d, together £950 7s 0d Total, £8,647 18s 8d Payments 30 November 1765, balance in coin, £8,108 3s 8d 30 November 1765, balance in cash notes no longer in use, £539 15s 0d Total, £8,647 18s 8d The examination was signed by the following members of the Council. John Skottowe

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		Thos Kirkpatrick	Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The cash account confirmed how the bills of exchange granted on 18 November 1765 worked. Captain Baddison and the bill made payable to Matthew Perchard brought £950 7s 0d in coin into the treasury, and in return the Company undertook to pay the same sums in London. The island's stock of coin rose by almost £1,000 in a single month, with no cash paid out at all, which showed how much the treasury depended on visiting ships to replenish its specie. The £56 8s 1d received from the *Princess Augusta* was perhaps payment for the fresh provisions and stores supplied to her during her stay. Every ship that called added to the island's cash in this way, through purchases of food, water and stores and through officers turning their private money into bills on London.
191	186	23rd December At a Consultation held on Monday the 23rd Day of December 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 16th Decemr 1765 Mr Matthew Bazett this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Matthew Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath two Leases containing Eleven Acres of Land lying in the East Division of this Island, expired, humbly requests that your Worship and Council will grant him a renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray 23rd Decr 1765 (signed) Mattw Bazett Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 23 December 1765. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 16 December 1765, approved them and signed them. Matthew Bazett presented a petition dated 23 December 1765. He held two leases covering 11 acres of land in the East division of the island, and both had expired. He asked the Governor and Council to renew them. The Council granted his request, and the decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Bazett was the Council's own Secretary, who signed its public notices, yet he had to petition for the renewal of his leases in the same form as any planter. His office gave him no exemption from the Company's control over land. As with John Desfountain's renewal on 21 October 1765, a request to renew land already held and surveyed was granted at once, with no inspection ordered, since nothing new was being taken from the Company's unused ground.
192	187	6th Jany At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th Day of January 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governr Mr Matthew Burling Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 23rd December 1765 Saturday the 28th December passed by a Ship at a great distance Yesterday Thomas Jones Soldier Hanged himself Samuel Bowers this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor and Council Jany 1st 1766 The humble Petition of Saml Bowers Sheweth That your Petitioner having had the misfortune of losing	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 6 January 1766. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 23 December 1765, approved them and signed them. A ship had passed the island far out to sea on Saturday 28 December. Thomas Jones, a soldier, had hanged himself the previous day. Samuel Bowers presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council dated 1 January 1766. He had lost his boat on the night of Friday 27 December. He was certain that some of the Company's slaves had taken it. The boat had been his only means of earning a living, and he asked the Council to consider his loss. Owners were customarily held responsible for any damage their slaves caused. The Council was satisfied that the Company's slaves had wrecked Bowers's boat, and it agreed to pay him £5 5s 0d, the amount the boat had cost him.

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		his Boat on friday night last, and that he is upon a sure foundation that his Boat was taken away by some of the Slaves belonging to the Honorable Company, he humbly hopes that your Worship and Council will take this unfortunate loss into your Consideration, it being the Sole dependance of your Petitioners support for Subsistance in Life and shall as in duty bound for ever pray As it is Customary for the Masters to make good whatever damages at any time are done by their Slaves and it appearing to Us that the Honorable Company's Slaves had Staved the Petitioners Boat. We agreed to pay him five pounds five Shillings the Sum she Cost him The Long Boat Men this day presented the following Petition viz	The longboat crew then presented a petition of their own. **Interpretations** The Council applied to the Company the same rule it would have enforced against any private owner. Under island custom a master answered for the damage his slaves did, and the Company, as the largest slaveholder, accepted that liability once the evidence pointed to its own slaves. It could have used its position to deny the claim or to demand fuller proof, but paying Bowers the full cost of the boat upheld a rule on which every planter relied when his own property suffered at the hands of another man's slaves. The custom also placed the burden of controlling slaves squarely on their owners. A master who had to pay for every loss had strong reason to watch, lock up and discipline the people he held, which helped explain the padlock, the night inspections of the slaves' house and the whipcord recorded in the Company's own store accounts for 1765. The death of Thomas Jones was entered without comment beside the passing of a distant ship. A soldier's suicide, like the death of Evan Knowles in October, was recorded as a matter of garrison fact.
193	188	6th January To the Worshipful Governor & Council The humble Petition of the Honorable Company's Long boats Men Sheweth That at the time when your Petitioners engaged to serve in the Long Boat for six pounds a Year the employment was easy and their attendance not always wanted which with the advantages they expected to derive from assisting the Honorable Companys Ships Induced them to accept the terms then offered them That the manner in which they are now employed is intirely different, and is become altogether unsuitable as well as extremely laborious and hazardous Requiring their Constant attendance, Labour and Vigilance by night as well as by Day, and exposing them to all the Casualties of Weather, as well as the Intemperance of Climate in a manner to which none of the rest of the Compys Workmen are at all liable That our present Salary is only at the rate of fivepence p Day and Fatigues we go thro requires more for natural Support We therefore humbly hope you will be pleased to grant Us such an Addition to our wages as you shall judge the nature of our employment, and the Fatigues and Dangers attending it deserves And your Petitioners shall ever pray &c In consequence of the above Petition and the Engineer having assured Us that their Labour is more fatiguing than others of the Garrison employed at the Honble Compys Works, they are often obliged to Work in the night time. We agreed to pay them one Shilling p Day as formerly practised, and not keep them at any fixed Salarys. And Capt Mitchell representing the Necessity of having another Long Boat, We have fixed Willm French to be the other Coxswain at twenty pounds p Ann for	The longboat crew addressed their petition to the Governor and Council. When they first agreed to serve in the longboat for £6 a year, the work had been light and they were not always needed. That, together with the extra earnings they expected from helping the Company's ships, had persuaded them to accept the terms offered. Their work had since changed completely. It had become constant, exhausting and dangerous. They had to be on hand and on watch at all hours, night and day, exposed to every kind of weather in a way that none of the Company's other workmen faced. Their pay worked out at only 4d a day, which was not enough to feed men doing such hard work. They asked the Council to raise their wages to whatever it thought the nature, strain and danger of the work deserved. The engineer confirmed that their labour was harder than that of any of the soldiers employed on the Company's works, and that they often had to work through the night. The Council therefore agreed to pay them 1s a day, as had been the practice before, instead of a fixed yearly wage. Captain Mitchell also explained that a second longboat was needed. The Council appointed William French as coxswain of the second boat at £20 a year, for as long as the service required two boats. **Interpretations** The Council did more than raise the fixed wage the boatmen asked to have increased. It abandoned the yearly salary altogether and returned to paying by the day at 1s, roughly three times their former rate. Day wages matched pay to the work actually done, so the Company paid heavily in busy seasons when ships were in the road and less in quiet ones. The rate also put the boatmen level with the soldiers paid 1s a day for general labour on the works in 1765, so their pay reflected the same standard the Company already used. The engineer's word decided the matter. The Council did not take the boatmen's account on trust but asked Mitchell, who directed their work, whether it was as hard as they claimed. His confirmation turned a request into a settled change of pay. William French had already worked for the Company as a sailmaker, paid for sail work on the *Fly* in the wage accounts for 1765. Appointing an experienced hand as coxswain of the second boat gave it a skilled seaman in charge. His £20 a year was

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		the time the Service requires the employment of two Boats	tied explicitly to the need for two boats, so the post would lapse once that need passed.
194	189	1766 James Goudy Soldier who has served about a twelve Month of his Contracted time, this day applied to Us for his discharge from the Garrison having procured Thomas Mudge Soldier whose time is expired to serve the remaining four Years, as the said Mudge is a good Man we have agreed to the Exchange and discharged Goudy accordingly John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of January 1766 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 6th Jany 1766 Tuesday the 7th Died John Grainger Corporal The Plantation Account for the last Quarter, and the Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of December last were this day brought in which were examined and approved, and are as follow viz	James Gowdy, a soldier who had served about twelve months of his agreed term, asked the Council to release him from the garrison. He had found Thomas Mudge, a soldier whose own term had ended, willing to serve the four years remaining on Gowdy's engagement. The Council considered Mudge a good soldier, agreed to the exchange and discharged Gowdy. The decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 13 January 1766. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 6 January 1766, approved them and signed them. John Grainger, a corporal, had died on Tuesday 7 January. The plantation account for the previous quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for December were presented, checked and approved, and their figures were entered in the record. **Interpretations** Soldiers on St Helena served for a fixed term, here five years, and could not simply leave before it ended. Gowdy secured his release by finding a substitute, a common practice in armies of the period, in which a man wishing to leave provided another to take his place, often for a payment agreed between them. Mudge, whose own service had run out, chose to re-engage for four more years rather than go home, perhaps for money from Gowdy or because he preferred to stay on the island. The Council did not grant the exchange automatically. Its approval rested on Mudge being a good man, since the garrison would gain nothing by losing a sound soldier for an unreliable one. The obvious course was to hold Gowdy to his engagement, and the substitute's character was what made the Council set that aside. The arrangement kept the garrison at full strength while giving a soldier a lawful way out.
195	190	13th January Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Quarter ending the 31st December 1765 Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kidds, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses [...]asses, Asses [...]asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkey, Poultry Geese Remaining the 30th Septembr: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 37, Neat Cattle Calves 58, Neat Cattle Yearlings 50, Neat Cattle Heifers 30, Neat Cattle Steers 30, Neat Cattle Oxen 17, Neat Cattle Total 275, Sheep Ewes 354, Sheep Weathers 45, Sheep Lambs 102, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 608, Goats Ewes 109, Goats Weathers 34, Goats Kidds 93, Goats Rams 7, Goats Total 243, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 4, Horses Total 7, Asses [...]asses 1, Asses [...]asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkey 14, Poultry Geese 4	The plantation account set out the Company's stock of cattle and other animals for the quarter ending 31 December 1765. Remaining 30 September 1765, cattle: 3 bulls, 37 cows, 58 calves, 50 yearlings, 30 heifers, 30 steers, 17 oxen, total 275 Remaining 30 September 1765, sheep: 354 ewes, 45 wethers, 102 lambs, 7 rams, total 608 Remaining 30 September 1765, goats: 109 nannies, 34 wethers, 93 kids, 7 billies, total 243 Remaining 30 September 1765, pigs: 1 sow, 4 young pigs, total 5 Remaining 30 September 1765, horses: 3 horses, 4 mares, total 7 Remaining 30 September 1765, donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Remaining 30 September 1765, poultry: 30 fowls, 18 ducks, 14 turkeys, 4 geese Increase, cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 3 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 3 Increase, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 20 lambs, 1 ram, total 21 Increase, goats: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 15 kids, 0 billies, total 15 Increase, pigs: 0 sows, 0 young pigs, total 0 Increase, horses: 1 horse, 1 mare, total 2 Increase, donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0

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		Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 3, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 20, Sheep Rams 1, Sheep Total 21, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kidds 15, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 15, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 1, Horses Mares 1, Horses Total 2, Asses [...]asses 0, Asses [...]asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 7, Poultry Turkey 5, Poultry Geese 3 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 37, Neat Cattle Calves 61, Neat Cattle Yearlings 50, Neat Cattle Heifers 30, Neat Cattle Steers 30, Neat Cattle Oxen 17, Neat Cattle Total 278, Sheep Ewes 354, Sheep Weathers 45, Sheep Lambs 122, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 629, Goats Ewes 109, Goats Weathers 34, Goats Kidds 108, Goats Rams 7, Goats Total 258, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 9, Asses [...]asses 1, Asses [...]asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 60, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkey 19, Poultry Geese 7 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 4, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 4, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 10, Sheep Ewes 19, Sheep Weathers 39, Sheep Lambs 4, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 62, Goats Ewes 12, Goats Weathers 19, Goats Kidds 3, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 34, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses [...]asses 0, Asses [...]asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 24, Poultry Ducks 4, Poultry Turkey 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 10, Sheep Weathers 16, Sheep Lambs 9, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 35, Goats Ewes 13, Goats Weathers 2, Goats Kidds 7, Goats Rams 3, Goats Total 25, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses [...]asses 0, Asses [...]asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 2, Poultry Ducks 3, Poultry Turkey 0, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining 31st Decr 1765: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 33, Neat Cattle Calves 59, Neat Cattle Yearlings 50, Neat Cattle Heifers 30, Neat Cattle Steers 26, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 267, Sheep Ewes 325, Sheep Weathers 90, Sheep Lambs 109, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 532, Goats Ewes 84, Goats Weathers 13, Goats Kidds 98, Goats Rams 4, Goats Total 199, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 9, Asses [...]asses 1, Asses [...]asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 34, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkey 19, Poultry Geese 7 28th Octobr Died Cork 14th Novr Do Dawson 22nd Do Do Jelly 27th Decemr Do Erasmus 2nd Novr Born a male Child named Gabriel 13th Decemb Do a Male Child Died the same Day Yam Expended for the Slaves 32224 Do Bought 43290 Total 25514 (signed) Dan Corneille	Increase, poultry: 30 fowls, 7 ducks, 5 turkeys, 3 geese Total, cattle: 3 bulls, 37 cows, 61 calves, 50 yearlings, 30 heifers, 30 steers, 17 oxen, total 278 Total, sheep: 354 ewes, 45 wethers, 122 lambs, 8 rams, total 629 Total, goats: 109 nannies, 34 wethers, 108 kids, 7 billies, total 258 Total, pigs: 1 sow, 4 young pigs, total 5 Total, horses: 4 horses, 5 mares, total 9 Total, donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Total, poultry: 60 fowls, 25 ducks, 19 turkeys, 7 geese Killed, cattle: 0 bulls, 4 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 4 steers, 1 ox, total 10 Killed, sheep: 19 ewes, 39 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, total 62 Killed, goats: 12 nannies, 19 wethers, 3 kids, 0 billies, total 34 Killed, pigs: 0 sows, 0 young pigs, total 0 Killed, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Killed, donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Killed, poultry: 24 fowls, 4 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Died, cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 Died, sheep: 10 ewes, 16 wethers, 9 lambs, 0 rams, total 35 Died, goats: 13 nannies, 2 wethers, 7 kids, 3 billies, total 25 Died, pigs: 1 sow, 2 young pigs, total 3 Died, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Died, donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Died, poultry: 2 fowls, 3 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Remaining 31 December 1765, cattle: 3 bulls, 33 cows, 59 calves, 50 yearlings, 30 heifers, 26 steers, 16 oxen, total 267 Remaining 31 December 1765, sheep: 325 ewes, 90 wethers, 109 lambs, 8 rams, total 532 Remaining 31 December 1765, goats: 84 nannies, 13 wethers, 98 kids, 4 billies, total 199 Remaining 31 December 1765, pigs: 0 sows, 2 young pigs, total 2 Remaining 31 December 1765, horses: 4 horses, 5 mares, total 9 Remaining 31 December 1765, donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Remaining 31 December 1765, poultry: 34 fowls, 18 ducks, 19 turkeys, 7 geese The account also recorded deaths and births among the Company's slaves on the plantation during the quarter. 23 October 1765, death of Cork 14 November 1765, death of Dawson 22 November 1765, death of Jilly 27 December 1765, death of Erasmus 2 November 1765, birth of a boy named Gabriel 13 December 1765, birth of a boy who died the same day The yams used to feed the slaves were recorded as follows. Yams from the plantation issued for the slaves, 22,224 Yams bought, 3,290 Total yams, 25,514 Daniel Corneille signed the account. **Interpretations** The births and deaths of the Company's slaves were entered in the same account as its cattle, sheep and poultry. Cork, Dawson, Jilly and Erasmus appeared directly beneath the tally of animals killed and dead, and the infant Gabriel was recorded like the increase of the flocks. The plantation account treated slaves as part of the stock of the estate, counted for gains and losses at the end of each quarter, which matched Corneille's own costing of

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			slaves as capital at £10 a head on 2 December 1765. Of the two boys born, one died on the day of his birth, and four adults died in three months. The slaughter figures reflected the meat shortage the Council faced. Only ten cattle were killed in the quarter, against 62 sheep and 34 goats. With cattle scarce, the Company drew its fresh meat chiefly from sheep and goats, the course the Council pressed on the planters at the Wednesday market on 16 December 1765. Losses from disease or accident were also heavy among small stock, with 35 sheep and 25 goats dying rather than being killed, which perhaps reflected poor pasture or exposure in the wet winter months. Most of the yams fed to the slaves came from the Company's own plantation, with only 3,290 bought from planters after the failure of the crop and the exhaustion of rice reported in December. The yam supply thus carried the slave population through the shortage, though at a level the Council clearly considered precarious. The table used the standard terms of the period. Neat cattle meant oxen, cows and their young, as distinct from sheep and goats. Wethers were castrated males kept for meat, steers were young castrated bulls being raised for beef or draught, and yearlings were animals in their second year.
196	191	1766 Artillery Stores Expend in the Month Decr 1765 Guns Fired, 4 lb, 3 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended Oz 2nd Powder to repair the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 5 5th Do Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 0 9th Do to Blow Rocks: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended Oz 0 13th Do to repair the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended Oz 10 16th Do to Blow Rocks: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended Oz 0 24th Do to repair the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 2 28th An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended Oz 0 Powder for signals: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended Oz 8 Total: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended lb 28, Powder Expended Oz 9 3 Handspikes broke on the Line 3 Gun Carriages for 32 Pounders Condemned 14 lb Tallow for the Carpenters Carts in the Wood, & Boats 20 Iron Shod Trucks for repairg the Trucks Carriages 1 Muscovy Light unserviceable 1 Gun Carriage for 12 Pr rotten 1 Quire Paper for making Portfires (signed) Archd Mitchell Sundry's Expended at the Honble Company's Table in the Month of December 1765 14 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 1 12 Do Lisbon 1 7 10 Do Mountain 15 24 Do Beer 5 62 Do Arrack 3 9 6	The artillery return for December 1765 listed the guns fired and the powder and stores used during the month. 2 December 1765, powder for remaking cartridges at the Main Guard, 1 lb 5 oz 5 December 1765, powder for remaking cartridges at the Main Guard, 1 lb 0 oz 9 December 1765, powder for blasting rocks, 6 lb 0 oz 13 December 1765, powder for remaking cartridges at the Main Guard, 0 lb 10 oz 16 December 1765, powder for blasting rocks, 6 lb 0 oz 24 December 1765, powder for remaking cartridges at the Main Guard, 1 lb 2 oz 28 December 1765, alarm for a ship passing the island, 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder used Powder for signals, 0 lb 8 oz Total, 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 28 lb 9 oz of powder used Handspikes broken on the Lines, 3 Carriages for 32-pounder guns condemned, 3 Tallow for the carpenters, the carts in the wood and the boats, 14 lb Iron-shod trucks for repairing truck carriages, 20 Muscovy glass light, unserviceable, 1 Carriage for a 12-pounder gun, rotten, 1 Paper for making portfires, 1 quire Archibald Mitchell signed the return. The steward's account listed the food and drink used at the Company's table during December 1765. Port wine, 14 bottles, £1 1s 0d Lisbon wine, 18 bottles, £1 7s 0d Mountain wine, 10 bottles, £0 15s 0d Beer, 24 bottles, £0 5s 0d Arrack, 62 bottles, £3 9s 6d Beef, 142 lb, £2 18s 9d Mutton, 314 lb, £6 10s 10d Carried forward, £16 7s 1d **Interpretations** Three carriages for 32-pounders were condemned in a single month, with a 12-pounder carriage found rotten as well. The 32-pounders were the heaviest guns defending the island, and without sound carriages they could not be aimed or fired. The losses followed the rotten field carriage and broken nine-pounder bed reported in November 1765, which

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		142 Beef 2 18 9 314 Mutton 6 10 10 Carried over £ 16 7 1	showed timber decaying steadily in the damp of the island's batteries and leaving the defences dependent on replacements shipped from England. Powder for remaking cartridges at the Main Guard was issued four times in the month. Cartridges were bags of cloth or paper holding a measured charge, and damp air soon spoiled the powder inside them, so they had to be emptied and refilled regularly to keep the guard's guns ready. Portfires were stiff paper tubes packed with a slow-burning mixture, used to touch off a gun's priming, and the paper for making them was cut and rolled by the gunners themselves. Muscovy glass was mica, split into thin clear sheets and used in place of glass in lanterns because it did not shatter, which made it safe for use near powder. The table account showed the cattle shortage reaching the castle. Mutton doubled from 157 lb in November to 314 lb in December, while beef rose only slightly, from 118 lb to 142 lb. The Governor's own table thus followed the course the Council urged on the planters at the Wednesday market on 16 December 1765, turning from beef to sheep.
197	192	13th Jany Brought over £ 16 7 1 1 Lamb 10 12 Fowls 18 2 Ducks 3 2 Turkeys 10 40 Butter 2 62 Candy 1 2 269 Flour 3 19 3 2 Kids 10 1 Goat 10 £ 26 8 The Lieutenant Governor this day represented to Us that Thomas Warne the Honble Company's Overseer was a very improper Person for that Station, on Account of his irregularity's & neglect of Duty, We therefore have dismissed him from that employ, and have appointed Daniel Tongue who was Overseer in the Long Wood to take charge of both departments at the usual Salary of sixty pounds p Year and discharged him from the Garrison John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The steward's account of food and drink used at the Company's table during December 1765 continued under the date 13 January 1766. Brought forward, £16 7s 1d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Fowls, 12, £0 18s 0d Ducks, 2, £0 3s 0d Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Butter, 40 lb, £2 0s 0d Sugar candy, 62 lb, £1 0s 2d Flour, 269 lb, £3 19s 3d Kids, 2, £0 10s 0d Goat, 1, £0 10s 0d Total, £26 8s 0d Lieutenant Governor Corneille told the Council that Thomas Warne, the Company's overseer, was quite unfit for the post because of his irregular conduct and neglect of his duties. The Council dismissed him. It appointed Daniel Jongue, already the overseer at Longwood, to take charge of both posts at the usual salary of £60 a year, and released Jongue from the garrison. The decision was signed by the following members. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council did not replace Warne with a new man but gave his duties to Jongue alongside his own, paying one salary of £60 for the two posts. Filling the vacancy in the ordinary way would have meant a second salary. Combining the posts saved the Company money and placed the oversight of its slaves in the hands of a man it already trusted, at a time when the Company's slave workforce had grown to 284 and food was short. The overseers ran the slave gangs on the Company's plantations and works and inspected the slaves' quarters at night, as the candles and lantern issued for that purpose in 1765 showed. A careless overseer endangered both the discipline of the slaves and the output of the plantations, which explained the Council's readiness to act on Corneille's report. Jongue had been serving as overseer while still a soldier, and releasing him from the garrison turned him into a civilian official wholly in the Company's civil employment.
198	193	20th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th day of January 1766 at the	A meeting of the Council took place at the castle on Monday 20 January 1766. Those present were Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel

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		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 13th [...] Saturday the 18th died Susannah Wife of John Bagley Planter The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections [...] Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 October and [...] December 1765 which were examined and approved, and are as follo[...] Collections of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble [...] Ware Houses from the 1st of October to the 31st of December 1765 viz Sold to the Honble Company's Servants at 10 p Cent viz Sugar & Candy viz 6269 Sugar 91 2 5 1/2 2135 Candy 43 13 6 1/2 [...] Tea viz 209 Congo 16 19 7 22 Single 1 15 9 242 Bohea 13 3 8 [...] Flour viz 1674 Flour 12 4 1 285 22 Do Bisket 24 10 [...] Sope 183 [...] Carrd over £ [...]	Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council read the minutes of its meeting on 13 January 1766, approved them and signed them. Susannah, the wife of John Bagley, a planter, had died on Saturday 18 January. The storekeeper presented his record of sales and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter running from 1 October to 31 December 1765. The Council checked and approved them. The storekeeper's record listed the goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses during that quarter, beginning with sales to the Company's servants at a mark-up of 10 per cent. Sugar, 6,269 lb, £91 2s 5½d Sugar candy, 2,135 lb, £43 13s 6½d Sugar and sugar candy total, £[...] Congou tea, 209 lb, £16 19s 7d Singlo tea, 22 lb, £1 13s 9d Bohea tea, 242 lb, £13 3s 2d Tea total, £[...] Flour, 167¼ [...], £12 4s 1d Flour, [...] bushels, £24 18s 0d Flour total, £[...] Soap, 143 lb, £[...] Carried forward, £[...] **Interpretations** The totals for each class of goods could not be recovered because the ink in the right-hand column had faded beyond reading. Tea sales to servants fell sharply against the quarter ending 30 September 1765. Singlo dropped from 126 lb to 22 lb, Congou from 380 lb to 209 lb and Bohea from 617 lb to 242 lb. The inventory of 30 September 1765 had left only about 1½ cwt of Singlo in store, so the fall reflected a stock running down with no supply ship arriving to replace it. Sugar moved the other way, with more than 6,000 lb sold against a large reserve of 227 cwt. With flour short and rice exhausted by December, households perhaps leaned more heavily on sugar, which the store still held in plenty. The storekeeper's sales and the paymaster's accounts were presented together and approved at the same meeting. Setting the goods sold against the money paid out let the Council check each officer's quarter against the other before the accounts went to London.
199	194	20th January Brought over £ 457 16 7 Rice and Paddy viz 12 3 Rice 7 3 125 Paddy 5 4 7 5 7 Beef and Pork viz 3093 Ps Beef 309 16 1869 Do Pork 186 18 496 14 Salt 2 1/3 15 1 Candles 422 46 12 Sago 50 1 2 11 Twine 41 Skains 1 2 7 Arrack 7 1/2 Gallons 1 17 6 Starch 53 1 15 4 Coffee 10	Under the date 20 January 1766, the record of goods sold to the Company's servants at a 10 per cent mark-up in the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued with provisions, cloth and household stores. Brought forward, £437 16s 7d Rice, 12 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £7 0s 3d Paddy, 125 lb, £0 5s 4d Rice and paddy total, £7 5s 7d Salt beef, 3,093 pieces, £309 16s 0d Salt pork, 1,869 pieces, £186 18s 0d Beef and pork total, £496 14s 0d Salt, 2⅔ bushels, £0 15s 1d Candles, 422 lb, £46 12s 0d Sago, 50 lb, £1 2s 11d Twine, 41 skeins, £1 2s 7d Arrack, 7½ gallons, £1 17s 6d Starch, 53 lb, £1 15s 4d Coffee, 10 lb, £0 9s 2d Pepper, 43 lb, £1 7s 0d Sole leather, 133 lb, £6 18s 1d Calfskins, 10, £5 6s 10d Leather total, £12 4s 11d Men's hats, 5, £4 16s 10d Boys' hats, 10, £3 7s 1d Hats total, £8 3s 11d Buckram, 12 yards, £0 12s 6d Rope, 151½ lb, £2 19s 10d

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		9 2 Pepper 43 1 7 Leather viz 133 Sole Leather 6 18 1 10 Calf Skins 3 6 10 12 4 11 Hats viz 5 Mens Hats 4 16 10 10 Boys Do 3 7 1 8 3 11 Buckram 12 Yards 12 6 Cordage 131 1/2 2 19 10 Kersey 7 Yards 10 9 Baize 3 Do 6 10 Corks 5 1/2 Gross 14 Pease 1/2 Bushel 1 2 Carried over £ 1022 11 2	Kersey, 7 yards, £0 10s 9d Baize, 3 yards, £0 6s 10d Corks, 5½ gross, £0 14s 0d Peas, ⅛ bushel, £0 1s 2d Carried forward, £1,022 17s 2d **Interpretations** Salt beef sales to servants rose more than tenfold against the quarter ending 30 September 1765, from 274 pieces to 3,093, while salt pork fell slightly from 2,069 to 1,869 pieces. The shift tracked the shortage of fresh meat that the Council confronted in November and December 1765, when only one beast a week could be spared from the island's herds. Households unable to buy fresh beef at the market turned to the casks of salt beef in the Company's store, which the inventory of 30 September 1765 had shown to be ample at 49 puncheons. The large reserve held against delayed shipping thus served instead to bridge a failure of local supply. Rice sales collapsed at the same time, from 48 cwt in the previous quarter to less than 13 cwt. This matched the Council's report on 16 December 1765 that no rice remained in store, and showed the warehouse selling the last of its stock before running out.
200	195	1766 Brought over £ 1022 . 17 . 8 Lead Cwt shut 6 . 13 Oars 1 . 4 . 3 Nails viz. 2 . . 2 . 1 . 6½ 15½ . . 3 . 12 . 7 16 . . 4 . 10 . 4 44 . . 6 1 . 5 . 2 32 . . 10 . 16 . - 13 . . 20 . 5 . 5 1 . . 40 . 4¾ 1 Spikes . 4¼ 1 glazrs Brads . 1 . 11 1 Board Nail . 4½ 3 . 14 . 7 Pewter 4 Chamber Pots 1 . 2 . 10 Oil viz. 32 Gallns Train 7 . - . 11 14½ Linseed 3 . 1 . 9 15 Bottles Florence 2 . 3 . 9 12 . 6 . 5 Shoes viz. 174 Prs Mens Ordinary Shoes 38 . 3 . 6 3 Prs Do fine Pumps . 10 . 4½ 2 Prs Womens half Leather Shoes . 5 . 11	The account for 1766 continued with the following goods and their values, opening with the total brought forward from the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,022 17s 8d Lead shot, 6 lb, £0 1s 3d Oars, 1, £0 4s 3d Nails, as follows: 2 lb of twopenny nails, £0 1s 6½d 15½ lb of threepenny nails, £0 12s 7d 16 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 10s 4d 44 lb of sixpenny nails, £1 5s 3d 32 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 16s 0d 13 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 5s 5d 1 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 0s 4½d 1 lb of spikes, £0 0s 4½d 1 lb of glaziers' brads, £0 1s 11d 1 lb of [...] nails, £0 0s 4½d Subtotal for nails, £3 14s 7d Pewter chamber pots, 4, £0 12s 10d Oil, as follows: 32 gallons of train oil, £7 0s 11d 14½ gallons of linseed oil, £3 1s 9d 15 bottles of Florence oil, £2 3s 9d Subtotal for oil, £12 6s 5d Shoes, as follows: 174 pairs of men's everyday shoes, £33 3s 6d 3 pairs of men's fine pumps, £0 10s 4½d 2 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £0 5s 11d 1 pair of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 4s 3½d Subtotal for shoes, £39 15s 1d Shalloon, as follows: 13½ yards of coloured shalloon, £1 7s 0d 19½ yards of scarlet shalloon, £2 9s 2d Subtotal for shalloon, £3 16s 2d Total carried forward, £1,083 8s 5d **Interpretations** Train oil was oil rendered from whale blubber or seal fat. It served mainly as lamp fuel and for dressing leather, and its bulk purchase here points to lighting for the garrison, the Company's buildings and the forts. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, was the standard base for paint and for treating timber, and would have gone into the constant upkeep of wooden structures, gun carriages and boats. Florence oil was fine olive oil shipped from Tuscany through

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Pr Do Spanish Do Do . 4 . 3½ 39 . 15 . 1 Shalloon viz. 13½ Yds Coloured 1 . 7 . - 19½ Scarlet 2 . 9 . 2 3 . 16 . 2 Carrd over £ 1083 . 2 . 3	Leghorn, sold in distinctive straw-wrapped flasks. It was a table and medicinal oil, which explains why it came by the bottle rather than by the gallon and cost far more per measure. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted cloth, named after Châlons-sur-Marne in France. Its main use was as a lining for coats and military uniforms, and the scarlet length in particular matches the lining of soldiers' red coats. Spanish leather was a soft, fine-grained goatskin or sheepskin tanned in the Spanish manner, prized for quality footwear, and its price here sat close to that of a pair of plain men's shoes despite being a single women's pair. The nails were graded by the old penny system, in which the name originally reflected the price per hundred and later served simply as a size scale, from small twopenny nails up to heavy fortypenny ones. The quantities here are weights, since the sums correspond to a price of roughly sixpence to tenpence a pound. Glaziers' brads were small headless nails used to hold window glass in its frame. The 174 pairs of ordinary men's shoes stood far apart from every other footwear entry. Such a quantity of plain shoes was probably intended for issue to the soldiers of the garrison or the Company's labourers rather than for private sale, while the handful of fine pumps and women's shoes reflected the smaller demand from officers' and settlers' households.
201	196	2d January Brought over £ 1083 . 2 . 3 Thread viz. 6½ lb Brown 2 . 9 . 3 4 Coloured . 15 . - 3 . 4 . 3 Tin Ware viz. 3 Water Pots . 13 . 4½ 2 Lamps . 6 . 3 2 Lanthorn Leaves . 2 1 Tin Quart Funnel . 5 2 Solder . 2 . - 1 . 5 . 2 Broad Cloth viz. 9¼ Blue 9 . 13 . 4½ 2½ Ln Grey 2 . 2 . 1½ 12 Scarlet 10 . 4 . - 3¼ Black 3 . 2 . 6 25 . 2 . - China Ware viz. 9 Setts Dishes & Plates 9 . - . - 95 Snuchers 1 . 3 . 9 36 B & W Soop Plates . 13 . 6 7 Camber Pots . 11 . 2 31 Bowls 1 . 2 . 5 4 Guglets & Basons . 12 . 4 6 Tea pots . 5 . 6	The account continued on 2 January with the following goods and their values, beginning from the total carried forward from the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,083 8s 5d Thread, as follows: 6½ lb of brown thread, £2 9s 5d 4 lb of coloured thread, £0 15s 0d Subtotal for thread, £3 4s 5d Tinware, as follows: 3 water pots, £0 13s 4½d 3 lamps, £0 6s 3d 2 lantern panes, £0 0s 3d 1 tin quart funnel, £0 0s 5d 2 lb of solder, £0 2s 0d Subtotal for tinware, £1 3s 2d Broadcloth, as follows: 9¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £9 13s 4½d 2½ yards of iron-grey broadcloth, £2 3s 1½d 12 yards of scarlet broadcloth, £10 4s 0d 3¼ yards of black broadcloth, £3 2s 6d Subtotal for broadcloth, £25 3s 0d Chinaware, as follows: 9 sets of dishes and plates, £9 0s 0d 95 saucers, £1 3s 9d 36 blue and white soup plates, £0 13s 6d 7 chamber pots, £0 11s 3d 31 bowls, £1 3s 5d 4 water jugs and basins, £0 12s 4d 6 teapots, £0 5s 6d 1 soup dish, £0 6s 6d 1 deep salad dish, £0 3s 9d 10 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 0d 6 quart cups and saucers, £0 1s 11d 1 enamelled baking dish, £0 2s 11d Subtotal for chinaware, £15 2s 3d Total carried forward, £1,128 5s 11d **Interpretations** The chinaware was Chinese export porcelain, carried home in quantity by East India Company ships returning from Canton. Vessels on that route called at St Helena, which made porcelain far easier to come by on the island than its price in England might suggest. The blue and white soup plates were the standard underglaze cobalt ware made in vast numbers for the European market. The manuscript's guglets were narrow-necked water bottles, usually of

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Soop Dish . 6 . 6 1 Deep Sallad Do . 3 . 9 10 Half pint Cups & Saucers . 5 . - 6 Quart Do & Do . 1 . 11 1 Enamell Bak[e]d Dish . 2 . 11 15 . 2 . 3 Carried over £ 1128 . 5 . 11	porous earthenware, that kept drinking water cool through evaporation; the clerk listed them as a set with their basins, so they served as a washstand jug and bowl. Broadcloth was a dense, heavily fulled woollen cloth, mostly from the West Country and Yorkshire, and the costliest textile on these pages at roughly a pound a yard. The colours were telling. Scarlet, blue, iron grey and black were the shades of officers' coats, facings and formal civilian dress, so this cloth probably supplied uniforms and the clothing of the island's officials rather than everyday wear. The lantern panes were thin translucent sheets of horn, scraped and pressed flat, which filled the sides of a lantern in place of glass. They were cheap and unbreakable, which suited lanterns carried outdoors and about the forts. The solder on the same list points to tinware being mended locally rather than replaced.
202	197	1765 Brought over £ 1128 . 5 . 11 Shirts 7 Brown Holland . 2 . - 2 Prs Irish Linnen 3 . 11 . 2 3 . 13 . 2 Haberdashery viz. 53 Sk[...] [...] 1 . 10 . 11 43 Do Mo[...] 1 . 4 . - 6 lb Whale [...] 1 . 17 . 9 2 Doz Mo[...] [...] . 9 2 Doz [...] . 4 . 9½ 1 Pr Whi[...] [...] [...] 1 Pr Gal[...] [...] 2½ Yards [...] [...] 3½ Doz [...] [...] 1 Pr B[...] [...] 7 . 15 . 9 Braziers Ware viz. 1 Pr Candlesticks . 3 . 5 Painting viz. 23 Whiting . 3 . 5 22 Blue Smalts 1 . 14 . 4½ 23 Indico 2 . 17 . 9 2 lb Blacking . 5 . - 2 Ven[...] Red [...] . 10 . 11 47 White Lead Do . 19 . 7 54 Stone colour 1 . 9 . 3 2 [...] [...] . 2 . 3½ 16½ White Lead dry . 5 . 10 ½ White Copperas . 6½ 2½ Verdigrease . 10 . 3½	The account continued with the following goods and their values, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,128 5s 11d Sheets, as follows: 1 pair of brown holland sheets, £0 2s 0d 2 pairs of Irish linen sheets, £3 11s 2d Subtotal for sheets, £3 13s 2d Haberdashery, as follows: 53 [...], £1 10s 11d 43 [...], £1 4s 0d 6 lb of whalebone, £1 17s 9d 2 dozen [...], £0 0s 9d 2 dozen [...], £0 4s 9½d 1 pair of [...], [...] 1 pair of [...], [...] 2½ yards of [...], [...] 3½ dozen [...], [...] 1 pair of [...], [...] Subtotal for haberdashery, £7 15s 9d Brass and copper ware: 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 3s 5d Painting materials, as follows: 23 lb of whiting, £0 3s 5d 22 lb of blue smalt, £1 14s 4½d 23 lb of indigo, £2 17s 9d 2 lb of blacking, £0 5s 0d 2 lb of Venetian red, ground in oil, £0 10s 11d 47 lb of white lead, ground in oil, £0 19s 7d 54 lb of stone-coloured paint, £1 9s 3d 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d 16½ lb of dry white lead, £0 5s 10d ½ lb of white copperas, £0 0s 6½d 2½ lb of verdigris, £0 10s 3½d Subtotal for painting materials, £9 0s 1d Total carried forward, £1,140 3s 3d **Interpretations** Most of the haberdashery entries could not be recovered because the lower part of each line is blurred, leaving only the quantities and some of the sums. Whalebone, the one item that survives, was baleen from the mouths of whales rather than bone. It was cut into strips to stiffen women's stays and bodices, so its presence among sewing goods was entirely in keeping. The painting materials formed a working house-painter's stock. Whiting was finely ground chalk, used as a cheap white filler and in distemper for walls. Smalt was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, the standard blue pigment for paint and also used to whiten linen in the wash. Venetian red was a natural iron-oxide earth giving a durable brownish red, favoured for doors, shutters and exposed woodwork. Stone colour was a ready-mixed pale grey-buff paint imitating dressed stone, widely used on render and timber to give buildings a more substantial look.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Paint Carried over £ 9 . 0 . 1 Carried over £ 1140 . 3 . 3	White lead, supplied both ground in oil and dry, was the main body of almost all light-coloured paint and gave a hard, weather-resistant finish. Verdigris, a green copper acetate, served as a pigment and as a preservative on timber. White copperas was zinc sulphate, added in small quantities to paint as a drying agent, which explains why only half a pound was needed. The heavy weight of white lead and stone colour against the small amounts of pigment points to large surfaces being painted, probably the Company's buildings and fortifications rather than private houses. Brown holland was an unbleached linen, rough and serviceable, while Irish linen was a finer bleached cloth. The difference in price between the single pair of holland sheets and the two pairs of Irish linen reflected that gap in quality.
203	198	21 January Brought over £ 1140 . 3 . 3 Paint brought over £ 9 . - . 1 6 Chocolate Colour . 3 . 10½ 2 Ven Red dry . 5½ 2 Red Lead . 7 ¼ Umber . 1 9 . 5 . 1 Iron Ware viz. 32 Iron rimd Locks & Brass Knobs 1 . 1 . 9 3 Chests Do . 9 . 11 2 Stock Do . 6 . 5½ 4 Splinter Do . 2 . 2 3 Prs H Hinges . 3 . 2 2 Hasps & Staples . 1 . 7½ 3 Spring Rat [...] . 5 . 9½ 1 Frying Pan . 3 1 Smoothing Iron . 1 . 6½ 2 Prs Sheep Shears . 3 . - 4 Dutch Shovels . 9 . 9 1 Hand Hatchet . 1 . 11 2 Scythe Stones . 8 1 Doz Wood Screws . 4½ 2 Prs Pattens . 3 . 8½ 4 . 2 . 3 Hosiers Ware viz. 2 Prs Wst Stockings . 4 . 11 11 Do Fine Worsted & Thread Do 1 . 15 . 1 6 Do Do Thread Do 1 . 9 . 10½ 7 Do Do Eng Cotton Do 2 . 12 . 7½ 3 Prs Scarlt Breeches 1 . 14 . 9 7 . 17 . 3	The account continued on 21 January, beginning from the total carried forward and the running figure for painting materials. Total brought forward, £1,140 3s 3d Painting materials brought forward, £9 0s 1d 6 lb of chocolate-coloured paint, £0 3s 10½d 2 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 0s 5½d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 7d ¼ lb of umber, £0 0s 1d Subtotal for painting materials, £9 5s 1d Ironware, as follows: 3 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £1 1s 9d 3 chest locks, £0 9s 11d 2 stock locks, £0 6s 5½d 4 [...] locks, £0 2s 2d 5 pairs of H hinges, £0 3s 2d 2 hasps and staples, £0 1s 7½d 3 spring rat traps, £0 3s 9½d 1 [...], £0 3s 0d 1 smoothing iron, £0 1s 0½d 2 pairs of sheep shears, £0 3s 0d 2 ditching shovels, £0 9s 9d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 11d 2 scythe stones, £0 0s 8d 1 dozen wood screws, £0 0s 4½d 2 pairs of pattens, £0 3s 8½d Subtotal for ironware, £4 2s 5d Hosiery, as follows: 2 pairs of [...] stockings, £0 4s 11d 11 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £1 15s 1d 6 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £1 9s 10½d 7 pairs of men's English cotton stockings, £2 12s 7½d 3 pairs of scarlet breeches, £1 14s 9d Subtotal for hosiery, £7 7s 3d Total carried forward, £1,160 18s 0d **Interpretations** Stock locks were large locks set in a wooden case and fixed to the face of an outside door, the usual fitting for storehouses and outbuildings. Chest locks secured trunks and sea chests, while hasps and staples allowed a padlock to be added. Taken with the H hinges, these items show doors and containers being fitted out, and the emphasis on locking hardware reflected the need to secure stores on an island where goods were scarce and costly to replace. Pattens were wooden-soled overshoes raised on an iron ring, strapped over ordinary shoes to keep them clear of mud. Scythe stones were whetstones for sharpening scythe blades in the field. Together with the sheep shears and ditching shovels, they point to the farming side of island life, where pasture, hay and drainage were part of keeping the settlement fed. Chocolate colour was a dark brown paint, popular for doors, skirting and other woodwork that took hard wear. Umber was a natural brown earth pigment used to darken and warm other colours, and

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		Carried over £ 1160 . 18 . -	red lead was a bright orange-red lead oxide valued as a priming coat that protected iron and timber from rust and rot. These small additions completed the painting stock begun on the previous page. Stockings were graded by material, and the prices followed. Thread stockings, knitted from linen yarn, were the cheapest; worsted stockings, from combed long-staple wool, cost more; and English cotton stockings were the dearest per pair, since fine cotton hosiery was still a relatively new and fashionable product of the Nottingham and Derby frame-knitters.
204	199	1766 Brought over £ 1160 . 18 Glass Ware viz. 50 Sqrs Glass 6 by 8 1 . - . 10 37 Do Do 8 by 10 1 . 10 . 10 1 Do Do 10 by 12 . 1 . 6 2 Box Glasses . 2 . 7 60 Wine Do 1 . 18 . 4 4 . 14 . 1 Long Cloth viz. 19 Ps Lg A 29 . 15 . 3 6 Do B 18 . - . - 3 Do C 10 . 16 . 4 3 Do D 13 . 6 . - 2 Do L 10 . 16 . - 79 . 13 . 7 Turners Ware viz. 26 Shoe Brushes . 16 . 3 6 Paint Do . 3 . 9 1 Scrub Do . 2 . 5½ 2 Hair Brooms . 4 . 2 1 Bucket . 3 . 4½ 1 . 10 . 6 Deals viz. 1 Doubl Deal . 3 . 9½ 1 Single Do . 2 . 5½ . 6 . 3 Canvas viz. 40 Yds Osnaburgs 1 . 17 . 7 18 Yds Tecklenburgs 1 . 1 . 2 2 . 18 . 9 Carried over £ 1250 . 1 . 2 **Margin Notes:** [...] 13 . 7	The account continued with the following goods and their values, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,160 18s 0d Glassware, as follows: 50 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £1 0s 10d 57 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £1 10s 10d 1 pane of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 1s 6d 2 beer glasses, £0 2s 7d 60 wine glasses, £1 18s 4d Subtotal for glassware, £4 14s 1d Longcloth, as follows: 19½ pieces of grade A longcloth, £29 15s 3d 6 pieces of grade B longcloth, £18 0s 0d 3 pieces of grade C longcloth, £10 16s 4d 3 pieces of grade D longcloth, £13 6s 0d 2 pieces of grade E longcloth, £10 16s 0d Subtotal for longcloth, £79 15s 7d Turned and brush ware, as follows: 26 shoe brushes, £0 16s 3d 6 paint brushes, £0 5s 9d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 5½d 2 hair brooms, £0 4s 2d 1 flasket, £0 3s 4½d Subtotal for turned and brush ware, £1 10s 6d Deal boards, as follows: 1 double deal, £0 3s 9½d 1 single deal, £0 2s 5½d Subtotal for deal boards, £0 6s 3d Canvas, as follows: 40 yards of osnaburg, £1 17s 7d 12½ yards of tecklenburg, £1 1s 2d Subtotal for canvas, £2 18s 9d Total carried forward, £1,250 1s 2d **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain-woven Indian cotton, made in long pieces mainly on the Coromandel Coast and shipped to Europe by the East India Company. The letters A to E marked the Company's own quality sorts, which allowed cloth to be priced and issued by grade without measuring the weave each time. At almost £80 it was by far the largest single group on this page, showing how much the island depended on Indian textiles that reached it directly from Company ships rather than by way of London. Osnaburg and tecklenburg were coarse, unbleached linens named after the Westphalian districts of Osnabrück and Tecklenburg where they were woven. Both were cheap, hard-wearing cloths used for sacking, work clothing and covers, and osnaburg in particular was the standard fabric for clothing slaves across the Atlantic world. Their listing here under canvas reflected that rough, utilitarian character. Deals were sawn softwood planks, usually Baltic fir or pine, sold in standard sizes; a double deal was thicker than a single one. Their appearance by the single plank, at several shillings each, showed how scarce good building timber was on an island that had lost much of its native woodland.

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			The window glass came in small standard panes measured in inches, sized for the sash windows of the period, with only a single pane of the larger size. A flasket was a long shallow basket with handles, used for carrying linen or produce. The turners' heading covered brushes, brooms and similar wooden household goods made by turners and brushmakers.
205	200	21st January Brought over £ 1250 . 1 . 2 Hooks and Lines viz. 200 No 7 . 10 . 6 50 . . 9 . 1 . 2½ 75 . . 13 Hooks . 7½ 150 . . 15 . 1 . 2½ 32 . . 2 . 12 . 1 28 . . 4 Lines . 10 . 1 1 Deep Sea . 5 . 6 2 Hambro . 3 . 4 2 . 4 . 7 Cuttlery Ware viz. 1 Doz Pen Knives & Forks . 10 . 3 1 Pr Teeth Garters . 4½ 1 Shoe Knife . 4½ . 11 . - Books viz. 7 Primmrs . 2 . - 1 Comm Prayer Book . 3 . 1 . 5 . 1 Serge viz. 3¼ Yds Scarlet Serge 1 . 2 . 2 1 Do Frizilby . 2 . 11 ¾ Pd [...] . 14 . 9 1 . 19 . 10 Earthen Ware 6 Milk Pans . 5 . 3 Camblet Eyes Scarlt 1 . 4 . 7 £ 1256 . 11 . 6 Sold **Margin Notes:** [...]	The account continued on 21 January with the following goods and their values, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,250 1s 2d Fish hooks and lines, as follows: 200 fish hooks, size 7, £0 10s 6d 50 fish hooks, size 9, £0 1s 2½d 75 fish hooks, size 13, £0 0s 7½d 150 fish hooks, size 15, £0 1s 2½d 32 fishing lines, size 2, £0 12s 1d 24 fishing lines, size 4, £0 10s 1d 1 deep-sea line, £0 5s 6d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 3s 4d Subtotal for fish hooks and lines, £2 4s 7d Cutlery, as follows: 1 dozen knives and forks with staghorn handles, £0 10s 3d 1 pair of leather garters, £0 0s 4½d 1 shoemaker's knife, £0 0s 4½d Subtotal for cutlery, £0 11s 0d Books, as follows: 7 primers, £0 2s 0d 1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 3s 1d Subtotal for books, £0 5s 1d Serge, as follows: 5½ yards of scarlet serge, £1 2s 2d 1 yard of [...] serge, £0 2s 11d 7½ yards of Scotch serge, £0 14s 9d Subtotal for serge, £1 19s 10d Earthenware: 6 milk pans, £0 5s 3d Camlet, [...], £1 4s 7d Total, £1,256 11s 6d The clerk marked the whole account as sold. **Interpretations** The single word written beneath the final total changed the character of the whole run of entries from 1766 onward. These were not stores held for the Company's own use but a consignment of goods that had passed into the hands of buyers on the island. A total of more than £1,250 in plain household, building and clothing goods showed how far the settlers depended on imported stock for almost every manufactured item, from window glass to fish hooks. The fishing tackle was graded by number, with hooks running from the larger size 7 down to the small size 15 and lines graded by thickness. A deep-sea line was a long, heavy line with weights for fishing in open water off the coast. Hamburg lines were strong lines of a type named after the Hamburg trade in which they were made and sold. The quantities, with hundreds of hooks, point to fishing as a regular source of food for the inhabitants rather than an occasional pastime. Camlet was a fine woven cloth originally of goat or camel hair, later made from wool, silk or a mixture of the two, and used for cloaks, coats and hangings. Serge was a twilled woollen cloth, harder-wearing than broadcloth and cheaper, so scarlet serge offered a more economical choice for red garments. Primers were small elementary reading books containing the alphabet, prayers and simple lessons, which made them the standard first schoolbook for children. Milk pans were wide, shallow earthenware vessels in which milk stood so that the cream could rise and be skimmed off for butter.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
206	201	1766 Sold to the Planters at 25 Pt Ct viz. Buckram 1 Yard . 1 . 2 Broad Cloth viz. 6¼ Yds Grey 7 . 7 . 11 1¼ Scarlet 1 . 4 . 3 2½ Brown 2 . 9 . 3 ½ Blue . 11 . 3 11 . 12 . 8 Hosiers Ware viz. 4 Prs Mens fine Thread Stockings 1 . 10 . - 4 Prs Do Eng Cotton Do 1 . 14 . 2 2 Prs Boys Do . 5 . - 4 Prs Girls Do . 11 . 2 4 . - . 4 Hats viz. 3 Mens Hats 3 . 6 . - 1 Boys Do . 7 . 7 3 . 13 . 7 Shalloon 1 Yd Scarlt . 2 . 10 Shoes viz. 1 Pr Mens Channl Pumps . 7 . 3½ 4 Prs Do Do 1 . 4 . 10 2 Prs Do fine Shoes . 13 . 11½ 1 Pr Boys Do . 3 . 11 3 Prs Womens Calf Skin Do . 10 . - 1 Pr Girls Do Do . 2 . 8½ 22 Prs Mens Ordinary Do 5 . 10 . - 8 . 13 . 2 Haberdashery viz. 9 Sks Silk . 6 . 9 6 Do Mohair . 3 . 9 ½ Doz Silk Br. Buttns . 1 . 5 . 11 . 11 Carried over 22 . 15 . 6	The goods on this page were sold to the planters at an advance of 25 per cent, as follows. 1 yard of buckram, £0 1s 2d Broadcloth, as follows: 6½ yards of iron-grey broadcloth, £7 7s 11d 1¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £1 4s 3d 2¼ yards of brown broadcloth, £2 9s 3d ½ yard of blue broadcloth, £0 11s 3d Subtotal for broadcloth, £11 12s 8d Hosiery, as follows: 4 pairs of men's fine thread stockings, £1 10s 0d 4 pairs of men's English cotton stockings, £1 14s 2d 2 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 5s 0d 4 pairs of girls' stockings, £0 11s 2d Subtotal for hosiery, £4 0s 4d Hats, as follows: 3 men's hats, £3 6s 0d 1 boy's hat, £0 7s 7d Subtotal for hats, £3 13s 7d 1 yard of scarlet shalloon, £0 2s 10d Shoes, as follows: 1 pair of men's channel pumps, £0 7s 8½d 4 pairs of men's channel pumps, £1 4s 10d 2 pairs of men's fine shoes, £0 13s 11½d 1 pair of boys' shoes, £0 3s 11d 3 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £0 10s 0d 1 pair of girls' calfskin shoes, £0 2s 8½d 22 pairs of men's everyday shoes, £5 10s 0d Subtotal for shoes, £8 13s 2d Haberdashery, as follows: 9 skeins of silk, £0 6s 9d 6 skeins of mohair, £0 3s 9d ½ dozen silk breast buttons, £0 1s 5d Subtotal for haberdashery, £0 11s 11d Total carried forward, £[...] 15s 6d **Interpretations** The heading showed the terms of sale rather than the cost of the stock. Goods were passed to the planters at 25 per cent above their recorded value, a fixed advance meant to cover freight, risk and the seller's return without leaving prices to bargaining. The effect showed in the shoe prices. On the 1766 account, 174 pairs of men's everyday shoes stood at £33 3s 6d, or under 4s a pair, while here 22 pairs sold for £5 10s 0d, exactly 5s a pair. Iron-grey broadcloth showed a similar rise, from about 17s a yard on the list of 2 January to well over 20s a yard here. The buyers named in the heading were the planters, the landholders who farmed the island's plantations. Selling to them at a set advance gave the settlers access to imported goods that no local shop could stock, while tying them to the official supply as their main source of cloth, shoes and household wares. Channel pumps were light, low-cut shoes in which the sole stitching was sunk into a groove, or channel, cut in the leather, giving a neater edge and a more finished look than ordinary shoes. Buckram was a stiff, coarse cloth treated with glue or size, used to stiffen collars, cuffs, hat brims and the linings of coats. Mohair was yarn spun from the hair of the Angora goat, sold in skeins for sewing buttonholes and trimmings. Breast buttons were the smaller buttons used down the front of a waistcoat or coat, as distinct from the larger coat buttons.
207	202	21st January Brought over £ 22 . 15 . 6 Long Cloth viz. 1 Ps A 1 . 14 . 7 2 Do B 5 . 13 . 6 1 Do C	Sales to the planters continued on 21 January with the following goods, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £28 15s 8d Longcloth, as follows: 1 piece of grade A longcloth, £1 14s 7d 2 pieces of grade B longcloth, £5 13s 6d 1 piece of grade C longcloth, £4 1s 11d Subtotal for longcloth, £11 10s 0d

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		4 . 1 . 11 11 . 10 . - Thread 3 lb Colr . 14 . 6 Sold at 40 Pr Cent viz. Sugar and Candy viz. 48 lb Sug 16 . 17 . 11 21 lb Candy 6 . 3 . 8 22 . 11 . 7 Tea viz. 12 lb Congo 13 . 12 . 3 43 lb Bohea 2 . 19 . 1 1 Sing . 2 . 3 16 . 13 . 7 Flour 2 Cwt 3 . 1 . 5 Candles 1 lb 1 . 14 . - Rice 1 lb . 1 . 9 Soap 4 lb 2 . 7 . - Oars 12 . 10 . 11 Cordage 41 lb 10 . 17 . 2 Salt 4 Bush . 3 . 6 Pepper 1 lb . 9 Twine 3 Sk 6 . 8 Sago 3 lb 1 . 2 Starch 2 lb 1 . 8 Coffee 2 lb 2 . 4 Carried over £ 99 . 13 . 8	3 lb of coloured thread, £0 14s 6d The following goods were sold at an advance of 40 per cent. Sugar and sugar candy, as follows: 487 lb of sugar, £16 17s 11d 21[...] lb of sugar candy, £6 3s 8d Subtotal for sugar and sugar candy, £22 11s 7d Tea, as follows: 121 lb of congou tea, £13 12s 3d 43 lb of bohea tea, £2 19s 1d 1 lb of singlo tea, £0 2s 3d Subtotal for tea, £16 13s 7d 268 lb of flour, £3 1s 5d Candles, 1 [...], £1 14s 0d 12 lb of rice, £0 1s 9d 43 lb of soap, £2 7s 0d 2 oars, £0 10s 11d 417 lb of cordage, £10 17s 2d 4½ bushels of salt, £0 3s 6d 1 lb of pepper, £0 0s 9d 3 [...] of twine, £0 6s 8d 3 lb of sago, £0 1s 2d 3 lb of starch, £0 1s 8d 3 lb of coffee, £0 2s 4d Total carried forward, £99 13s 8d **Interpretations** Two rates of advance ran side by side on this page. Cloth and thread continued at the 25 per cent recorded on the previous page, while groceries, tea, provisions and ship's stores were marked up by 40 per cent. The higher rate fell on goods that were consumed rather than worn, and on which the planters had no alternative source, so the sellers could take a larger return without losing custom. Imported food and fuel were where the island's dependence on shipping showed most sharply, and the pricing reflected that. Three grades of Chinese tea appeared. Bohea was the cheapest and most widely drunk black tea, made from coarser leaves; congou was a better black tea, more carefully worked, and here formed the bulk of the purchase; singlo was a green tea of middling quality. All three came from Canton aboard East India Company ships, and the quantity bought by the planters, over 160 lb, showed that tea drinking had spread well beyond the officers' tables. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly into large, hard lumps on threads, used as a sweetmeat and as a remedy for coughs. Sago was a starchy meal from the pith of East Indian palms, made into puddings and given to invalids as a light, easily digested food. Starch, sold alongside it, was for stiffening linen rather than eating. The 417 lb of cordage stood out among the provisions. Rope in that quantity served for boats, fishing, hauling and farm work, and its purchase by the planters pointed to the practical demands of working steep land and landing goods through the surf.
208	203	Brought over £ 99 . 13 . 8 China Ware viz. 1 Chambr Pot . 2 . 2 1 Sett Dishes and Plates 1 . 3 . 7 3 Enamelld Bakg Dishes . 11 . 3 2 B & W Bakg Do . 6 . 2 2 Soop Pots . 2 . 4 2 Bowls . 2 . 4 7 Snuchrs	Sales to the planters continued with the following goods, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £99 13s 8d Chinaware, as follows: 1 chamber pot, £0 2s 2d 1 set of dishes and plates, £1 3s 7d 3 enamelled baking dishes, £0 11s 3d 2 [...] baking dishes, £0 6s 2d 2 teapots, £0 2s 4d 2 bowls, £0 2s 4d 7 saucers, £0 2s 7d 2 water jugs and basins, £0 7s 11d 1 salad dish, £0 1s 1d Subtotal for chinaware, £3 1s 5d 22 lb of lead shot, £0 5s 11d

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		. 2 . 7 2 Guglets and Basons . 7 . 11 1 Sallad Dish . 1 . 1 3 . 1 . 5 Lead 22 lb Shot . 5 . 11 Oil viz. 2½ G Train . 10 . 9 2½ G Linseed . 12 . 5 1 . 3 . 2 Glass 2 Sq 8 by 10 . 2 . 2 Pewter 4 Chaml Pots . 4 . 1 Leather 13 lb Sole . 18 . 3 Canvas 17½ Yds Osnab . 19 . 8 Nails viz. 1 . . 2 . 1 . - 2 . . 4 . 1 . 8 10 . . 6 . 7 . 3½ 8 . . 10 . 3 . 6 ½ . . 3 . 6½ 6 Spikes . 4 . 1 1 . - . 6 Turners Ware 2 Shoe Brushes . 1 . 6 Carried over £ 107 . 10 . 4	Oil, as follows: 2½ gallons of train oil, £0 10s 9d 2½ gallons of linseed oil, £0 12s 5d Subtotal for oil, £1 3s 2d 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 2s 2d 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 4s 1d 13 lb of sole leather, £0 18s 3d 11½ yards of osnaburg canvas, £0 19s 8d Nails, as follows: 1 lb of twopenny nails, £0 1s 0d 2 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 1s 8d 10 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 7s 3½d 8 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 6d ½ lb of threepenny nails, £0 0s 6½d 6 lb of scupper nails, £0 4s 1d Subtotal for nails, £1 0s 6d Turned ware: 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 6d Total carried forward, £107 10s 4d **Interpretations** Almost every item here matched a line in the consignment entered under 1766 and on 2 January, from the pewter chamber pots and enamelled baking dishes to the 8 by 10 inch window panes and the penny-graded nails. The planters were drawing on that same stock in small lots, a pane or two of glass and a few pounds of nails at a time. That pattern pointed to the goods being released piecemeal to individual households as each needed them, rather than being taken up wholesale by a merchant for resale. Scupper nails were short nails with broad, flat heads, made for fixing leather or lead flashing around the scuppers, the drainage holes in a ship's side. On land the same nails served wherever thin sheet material had to be held flat without tearing. Sole leather was thick, heavy cowhide tanned for the bottoms of shoes and boots, and its sale by weight showed that footwear was being mended or made on the island, not merely bought ready-made.
209	204	21st January Brought over £ 107 . 10 . 4 Paint viz. 3 lb Indico . 13 . 1½ 6 W Lead dry . 2 . 10½ 5 Stone Colour . 3 . 8 18 Ven Red mix'd . 5 . 2 1 Lamp Black . 9½ 1 Yellw Oaker dry . 3½ 1 . 5 . 11 Iron Ware viz. 2 Hand Hatchets . 5 . - 1 Dutch Shovel . 6 . 3 1 Pr Sheep Shears . 2 . - 1 Stock Lock . 4 . - 1 Sd Bill Do . 10 . 4 1 . 7 . 7 Hooks and Lines viz. 250 No 1 . 16 . 10 50 . . 9 . 1 . 6½ 28 . . 13 Hooks	Sales to the planters continued on 21 January with the following goods, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £107 10s 4d Painting materials, as follows: 3 lb of indigo, £0 13s 1½d 6 lb of dry white lead, £0 2s 10½d 5 lb of stone-coloured paint, £0 3s 8d 13 lb of Venetian red, ground in oil, £0 5s 2d 1 lb of bone black, £0 0s 9½d 1 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 0s 3½d Subtotal for painting materials, £1 5s 11d Ironware, as follows: 2 hand hatchets, £0 5s 0d 1 ditching shovel, £0 6s 3d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 2s 0d 1 stock lock, £0 4s 0d 1 [...] lock, £0 10s 4d Subtotal for ironware, £1 7s 7d Fish hooks and lines, as follows: 250 fish hooks, size 7, £0 16s 10d 50 fish hooks, size 9, £0 1s 6½d 25 fish hooks, size 13, £0 0s 3½d 25 fish hooks, size 14, £0 0s 3½d 100 fish hooks, size 15, £0 1s 1d 18 fishing lines, size 2, £0 7s 4½d 6 fishing lines, size 3, £0 2s 9d 13 fishing lines, size 4, £0 9s 7½d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 4d Subtotal for fish hooks and lines, £2 4s 1d Cutlery: 6 shoemaker's knives, £0 3s 0d Books: 1 New Testament, £0 1s 8d Total, £112 12s 7d The clerk marked these goods as sold. **Interpretations**

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		. 3½ 25 . . 14 . 3½ 100 . . 15 . 1 . 4½ 18 No 3 . 7 . 4½ 6 . . 3 . 2 . 9 18 . . 4 Lines . 9 . 7½ 2 Hambro . 4 . 4 2 . 4 . 1 Cutlery Ware 6 Shoe Knives . 3 . - Books 1 Testament . 1 . 8 £ 112 . 12 . 7 Sold	Bone black was a deep black pigment made by charring animal bones in a closed vessel, used for black paint and for darkening other colours. Yellow ochre was a natural clay coloured by iron oxide, cheap and lightfast, and widely used for warm yellow and buff paintwork. Indigo, the costliest pigment on this page, was the blue dye from the leaves of the indigo plant, imported from India or the Americas; in paint it gave a deep blue, though it was more often used for dyeing cloth. The six shoemaker's knives, bought together with the sole leather on the previous page, pointed to a working shoemaker among the planters' households. Shoes, mended and made locally from imported leather, were cheaper to maintain than to replace entirely from the ship-borne stock.
210	205	1766 Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships from 1st of October to the 31st Decemr 1765 viz. Nails viz. 6 . . 2 10 . . 4 26 . . 6 23 . . 10 76 . . 20 23 . . 40 6 Scuppers 10 Bow 11 Spikes 17 Copr Rivets 6 . 13 . 5 Twine 11 Skeins . 3 . 2 . 1 Thread 1 lb Colr . 4 . 10 Paint viz. 20 Lamp Black . 16 . 8 30 W Lead dry 1 . 13 . 4 40 Red Lead . 15 . 10 1 Verdigr . 3 . 6 3 . 16 . 4 Bunting viz. 5 Yds Red . 5 . 3 5 Do Blue . 4 . 1 5 Do White . 5 . 9 . 15 . 1 Lines 2 Hambro . 4 . 4 Canvas 3 Ps Eng 9 . 16 . - Oil viz. 44 G Train 10 . 9 . 11 24 G Linseed 6 . 12 . 6 17 . 2 . 5 Carried over £ 41 . 11 . 6	The stores on this page were sold to the East India Company's ships between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765, as follows. Nails, as follows: 6 lb of twopenny nails 10 lb of fourpenny nails 26 lb of sixpenny nails 23 lb of tenpenny nails 76 lb of twentypenny nails 23 lb of fortypenny nails 6 lb of scupper nails 10 lb of [...] nails 11 lb of spikes 1 lb of copper [...] Total for all nails, £6 15s 5d 11 skeins of twine, £3 2s 1d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 4s 10d Painting materials, as follows: 20 lb of lampblack, £0 16s 8d 30 lb of dry white lead, £1 13s 4d 40 lb of red lead, £0 15s 10d 1 lb of verdigris, £0 3s 6d Subtotal for painting materials, £3 16s 4d Bunting, as follows: 5 yards of red bunting, £0 5s 3d 4 yards of blue bunting, £0 4s 1d 5 yards of white bunting, £0 5s 9d Subtotal for bunting, £0 15s 1d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 4d 3 pieces of English canvas, £9 14s 0d Oil, as follows: 46½ gallons of train oil, £10 9s 11d 24½ gallons of linseed oil, £6 12s 6d Subtotal for oil, £17 2s 5d Total carried forward, £41 11s 6d **Interpretations** The buyers here were not settlers but the Company's own ships, supplied over a three-month period while they lay in the road. The mix of goods showed what a vessel needed after months at sea: heavy nails and spikes for repairs to hull and fittings, canvas for patching sails, oil for lamps and for dressing timber, and red lead and white lead for protecting woodwork and ironwork against salt water. The island thus served as a repair and supply station on the long passage, with its imported stock sold back to the Company's ships as well as to the planters. Bunting was a light, loosely woven worsted cloth made specifically for flags. Bought by the yard in red, white and blue, it allowed a ship's crew to make or mend ensigns, pendants and signal flags, which wore out quickly in the wind. Lampblack was a fine soot collected from burning oil or resin, used as a black

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			pigment for paint and for blacking rigging and ironwork. Unlike the sales to the planters, the nails were entered without separate prices and charged as a single sum. Ships' carpenters drew mixed quantities over several weeks, and a single total was simpler to settle against each vessel's account than a priced line for every size.
211	206	20th January Brought over £ 41 . 11 . 6 Pitch and Tar viz. 1 Barl 4 Cwt Rozin 2 . 14 . - ¼ Do Turpentine 1 . 1 . - 3 . 15 Cordage 572 . 2 . 2 61 . 7 . 2 Flour 6 Cwt 7 . 3 . 6 Glass Ware viz. 6 Sq Glass 6 by 8 . 3 . 3 2 Half Minute Glasses . 1 . 9 . 5 . - Beef and Pork viz. 11 Puncheons Beef 200 . 16 . - 6 Hhds Pork 102 . 6 . 6 303 . 2 . 6 Iron Ware 6 Splinter Locks . 4 . 9 Coals 3 Chaldrons 9 . 6 . - Rice and Paddy viz. 26 . 3 . 4 Rice 17 . 2 . 6 35 . 2 . 24 Paddy 11 . - . - 28 . 2 . 6 Deals ½ Pr of 4 Inch Oak plank 1 . 12 . - Turners Ware 6 Paint Brushes . 4 . 6 £ 506 . 19 . 11	Sales to the Company's ships continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £41 11s 6d Pitch and tar, as follows: 1 barrel of rosin, £2 14s 0d ¼ barrel of turpentine, £1 1s 0d Subtotal for pitch and tar, £3 15s 0d 57 cwt 2 qr 2 lb of cordage, £61 7s 2d 670 lb of flour, £7 3s 6d Glassware, as follows: 6 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 3s 3d 2 half-minute glasses, £0 1s 9d Subtotal for glassware, £0 5s 0d Beef and pork, as follows: 11 puncheons of beef, £200 16s 0d 6 hogsheads of pork, £102 6s 6d Subtotal for beef and pork, £303 2s 6d 6 [...] locks, £0 4s 9d 3 chaldrons of coal, £9 5s 0d Rice and paddy, as follows: 26 cwt 3 qr 4 lb of rice, £17 2s 6d 35 cwt 2 qr 24 lb of paddy, £11 0s 0d Subtotal for rice and paddy, £28 2s 6d 12 ft of 4-inch oak plank, £1 12s 0d 6 paint brushes, £0 4s 6d Total, £506 19s 11d **Interpretations** Salt meat dominated the page, with beef and pork accounting for more than half of everything sold to the ships over the quarter. A puncheon was a large cask holding roughly 70 to 120 gallons, and a hogshead a somewhat smaller one of about 50 to 60 gallons, both packed with meat in brine. Selling provisions in such bulk turned the island's stores into a victualling depot for homeward and outward ships whose own supplies had run low on the passage. Paddy was rice still in its husk, as harvested, whereas the rice entered above it had already been husked and cleaned. Paddy weighed more for the same amount of food, which explains its lower price per hundredweight. Taking it unhusked suited a ship's company that could pound it aboard as needed, since rice in the husk kept far better at sea. Half-minute glasses were small sandglasses running for exactly 30 seconds, used with the log line to measure a ship's speed. A sailor timed how many knots on the line ran out while the glass emptied, which gave the speed in knots. Their sale here showed ships replacing navigational instruments that had broken in use. Rosin was the hard residue left after distilling pine resin, and turpentine the volatile spirit drawn off in the same process. Both went into the paying and caulking of a ship's seams, mixed with pitch and tar to seal the hull. A chaldron was a large measure for coal, about 25 to 27 hundredweight in the London reckoning, and coal at sea fed the galley fire and the armourer's forge.
212	207	1766 Damaged Goods Sold at Publick Auction viz. Bunting viz. 7½ Yds Red . 1 . 3 1 Ps 36 yds ¾ Blue . 7 . 3	The damaged goods on this page were sold at public auction in 1766, as follows. Bunting, as follows: 7½ yards of red bunting, £0 1s 3d 1 piece of blue bunting, 36½ yards, £0 7s 3d 2 pieces of white bunting, 42½ yards, £0 12s 4d Subtotal for bunting, £1 1s 3d

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		27 Ps 42 ½ Yds White . 12 . 4 1 . 1 . 3 Broad Cloth 2½ Yds Scarlet 1 . 16 . 6 Cuttlery Ware 11 . 4 Pr Leather Garters . 1 . 6 Camblet 16½ Yds Blue 3 . 11 . - Haberdashery 1 lb Whal Bone . 3 Hosiers Ware viz. 22 Girls Stockings 1 . 2 . 1 3 Do Womens Do . 2 . 6 4 Prs Boys Do . 6 . 4 1 . 10 . 11 Candy 3 . 3 . 10 5 . 7 . 6 Sailors Cloaths 2 Prs Breeches . 3 . 6 Pewter 14 Dishes 3 . 19 . 3 Iron Ware viz. 459 Sail Needles . 5 . - 50 Lead Nails . 5 . 6 . 10 . 6 £ 18 . 3 . 2	2½ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £1 16s 6d Cutlery: 11 pairs of leather garters, £0 1s 6d 16½ yards of blue camlet, £3 11s 0d Haberdashery: 1 lb of whalebone, £0 0s 3d Hosiery, as follows: 22 pairs of girls' stockings, £1 2s 1d 3 pairs of women's stockings, £0 2s 6d 4 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 6s 4d Subtotal for hosiery, £1 10s 11d 3 cwt 3 qr 10 lb of sugar candy, £5 7s 6d Sailors' clothing: 2 pairs of breeches, £0 3s 6d 14 pewter dishes, £3 19s 3d Ironware, as follows: 459 sail needles, £0 5s 0d 50 lb of lead nails, £0 5s 6d Subtotal for ironware, £0 10s 6d Total, £18 3s 2d **Interpretations** Damaged stock was not put through the fixed advances charged to the planters and the ships, but sold off to the highest bidder. Spoiled goods could not bear a mark-up on their recorded value, and an auction let the market set whatever they would still fetch, turning losses into some return rather than leaving them to rot in the storehouse. The prices showed how deep the loss ran. On the ships' account for October to December 1765, red, blue and white bunting went at roughly a shilling a yard, while here more than 80 yards of it brought in barely a pound, about threepence a yard. A pound of whalebone fetched threepence, against more than six shillings a pound on the earlier haberdashery list. The goods most affected were cloth, sugar candy and small iron items, the classes most prone to damp, mould, insects and rust after a long voyage and storage in a moist climate. Sugar candy dissolved and caked when it took on water, and needles and nails rusted, which explains their presence here in quantity. Sail needles were heavy three-sided needles for stitching canvas, used with a leather palm to force them through. Lead nails were short nails with broad heads, made for fixing sheet lead to roofs and gutters. Sailors' clothing, often known as slops, was cheap ready-made wear sold to seamen, and the breeches entered here belonged to that trade.
213	208	28th January Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Nails viz. 23¼ . . 2 1 . - . 9 13 . . 3 . 10 . 6½ 13 . . 4 . 3 . 4½ 59½ . . 6 1 . 14 . 6½ 71 . . 10 for the Compys Works 1 . 15 . - 25 . . 20 . 2 . 9 4 . . 40 . 1 . 7 13 Copper Rivets . 6 . 9 1 Scupper . 6 1 Glazrs Brads . 1 . 11 1½ Tacks . 2 . ½ 6 . 10 . 10 Iron Ware viz. 2 Frying Pans for the Cattle & Men employd at the Compys Works	On 20 January the general charges account was debited for stores issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765, as follows. Nails for the Company's works, as follows: 28¼ lb of twopenny nails, £1 0s 9d 13 lb of threepenny nails, £0 10s 6½d 13 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 3s 4½d 59¼ lb of sixpenny nails, £1 14s 6½d 71 lb of tenpenny nails, £1 15s 0d 25 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 2s 9d 4 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 1s 7d 13 lb of copper [...], £0 6s 9d 1 lb of scupper nails, £0 0s 6d 1 lb of glaziers' brads, £0 1s 11d 1½ lb of tacks, £0 0s 2½d Subtotal for nails, £6 10s 10d Ironware, as follows: 2 frying pans for the Castle and the men at the Company's works, £0 4s 4d 7 [...] keys for the Castle, the smith's shop and other places, £0 5s 3½d 6 spring rat traps for Plantation House, £0 11s 7½d 6 [...] stones, £0 1s 7½d Ironware for the Company's works, as follows: 2 mauls, £0 16s 5d 7 hand hatchets, £0 12s 3d 5 [...] locks, £0 2s 5d 11 stock locks, £1 11s 5d 36 [...] hasps, £0 2s 3d

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		. 4 . 4 7 B Hasps for the Cattle Smiths Shop &c . 5 . 3½ 6 Spring Rat Traps Plant. House . 11 . 7¼ 6 Razr Stones . 1 . 7½ 2 Mauls . 16 . 5 7 Hand Hatchets . 12 . 3 5 Splinter Locks . 2 . 5 11 Stock . . Do 1 . 11 . 5 36 Pots Hasps Compys Works . 2 . 3 1 Cross Cutt Saw 1 . 5 . 9 4 Rakes . 9 . 3 2 Broad Hoes . 4 . 9½ 16 Helves . 9 . 4 Iron Ware Carried over £ 6 . 17 . 6½ Carried over £ 6 . 10 . 10	1 crosscut saw, £1 5s 9d 4 rakes, £0 9s 3d 2 broad hoes, £0 4s 9½d 16 tool handles, £0 9s 4d Subtotal for ironware carried forward, £6 17s 6½d Total carried forward, £6 10s 10d **Interpretations** This page recorded a third way in which stock left the storehouse. Goods were neither sold to the planters nor to the ships but issued for the Company's own use, and their value was charged to the general charges account. That account gathered the running costs of governing and maintaining the settlement, so every nail driven into a Company building and every lock fitted to a Company door was booked as an expense of administration. The heading marked general charges as the debtor, meaning the cost was set against the Company's revenue on the island rather than recovered from any buyer. The named destinations showed where the Company's spending fell. The Castle was the fortified seat of government in Jamestown, housing the Governor, the council and the garrison's command, with a smith's shop among its working buildings. Plantation House was the Company's country residence for the Governor in the interior, and its rat traps pointed to the constant struggle against vermin in stored food and buildings on the island. The bulk of the nails and tools went to the Company's works, its building, repair and road-making gangs. Mauls were heavy wooden or iron-headed hammers used for driving stakes, wedges and posts. Broad hoes had wide blades for clearing and turning soil, and tool handles were bought loose in quantity because they broke far more often than the iron heads they carried. A crosscut saw was a long two-man saw for cutting timber across the grain, the main tool for felling and sizing trees.
214	209	28th January Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Nails viz. 23¼ . . 2 1 . - . 9 13 . . 3 . 10 . 6½ 13 . . 4 . 3 . 4½ 59½ . . 6 1 . 14 . 6½ 71 . . 10 for the Compys Works 1 . 15 . - 25 . . 20 . 2 . 9 4 . . 40 . 1 . 7 13 Copper Rivets . 6 . 9 1 Scupper . 6 1 Glazrs Brads . 1 . 11 1½ Tacks . 2 . ½ 6 . 10 . 10 Iron Ware viz. 2 Frying Pans for the Cattle & Men employd at the Compys Works . 4 . 4 7 B Hasps for the Cattle Smiths Shop &c . 5 . 3½ 6 Spring Rat Traps Plant. House . 11 . 7¼ 6 Razr Stones	The general charges account continued in 1766 with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £6 10s 10d Ironware brought forward, £6 17s 6½d Ironware for the Company's works, as follows: 9 ditching shovels, £1 12s 6d 1 cupboard lock, £0 2s 10d 1 chest lock, £0 3s 0d 2 pickaxes, £0 6s 3½d 1 iron-rimmed [...] lock, £0 5s 0d 1 large standing vice, £1 13s 1d 1 stone saw, £0 4s 6d 5 ditching shovels, £1 2s 1d 1 smith's bellows, £5 5s 3½d 1 plasterer's sieve, £0 10s 4d ½ lb of flour emery, £0 0s 3d 2 smith's rubbers, £0 10s 2½d 2 files, £0 1s 0d 6 needles, £0 0s 6d 2 saws for cutting stone, £0 9s 0d 1 wire rat trap, £0 5s 11d Subtotal for ironware, £19 15s 4d Mats [...] for beating paddy, £2 15s 0d Fish hooks and lines for the Castle, the Governor's fishermen and the Company's works, as follows: 12 fishing lines, size 3, £0 3s 11d 43 fishing lines, size 4, £0 16s 5d 22 fishing lines, size 2, £0 6s 5d 1 [...] line, £0 1s 1½d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 6d Fish hooks for the Governor's fishermen, as follows: 25 fish hooks, size 7, £0 1s 2½d 50 fish hooks, size 9, £0 1s 1½d

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		. 1 . 7½ 2 Mauls . 16 . 5 7 Hand Hatchets . 12 . 3 5 Splinter Locks . 2 . 5 11 Stock . . Do 1 . 11 . 5 36 Pots Hasps Compys Works . 2 . 3 1 Cross Cutt Saw 1 . 5 . 9 4 Rakes . 9 . 3 2 Broad Hoes . 4 . 9½ 16 Helves . 9 . 4 Iron Ware Carried over £ 6 . 17 . 6½ Carried over £ 6 . 10 . 10	25 fish hooks, size 15, £0 0s 2½d 25 fish hooks, size 12, £0 0s 3½d 25 fish hooks, size 2, £0 1s 2d Subtotal for fish hooks and lines, £1 16s 4d Total carried forward, £30 17s 6d **Interpretations** The Governor kept his own fishermen, supplied with hooks and lines at the Company's cost and charged to general expenses alongside the works and the Castle. Fishing on this footing was an official provision rather than a private trade, feeding the Governor's household and probably the Company's people more widely, and its cost sat in the same account as tools and building materials. The mats for beating paddy connected with the paddy sold to the ships on 20 January. Unhusked rice had to be threshed and pounded to free the grain, and the mats gave a clean surface on which to beat it without losing the rice in the dirt. Their issue as a Company charge showed that paddy was also being processed on the island for the Company's own use. The tools pointed to a smithy and a stone-working gang. A smith's bellows, by far the costliest single item, drove the forge fire, and a standing vice bolted to a bench held iron while it was filed or bent. Smith's rubbers were coarse heavy files for rough shaping, while flour emery was finely ground abrasive for polishing metal. The stone saws and plasterer's sieve belonged to the masons and plasterers who built and repaired the Company's walls and buildings.
215	210	28th January Brought over £ 30 . 17 . 6 Twine 16 Skeins Castle Govr Fish. & Compys Work . 8 . - Lead viz. 23 lb Sheet Lead for the Governors Fishery . 2 . 4 6 Shott and Companys Works . 1 . 1 . 3 . 5 Turners Ware viz. 3 Hair Brooms . 10 . 6 2 Mops . 10 . - 3 Wood Bowls . 5 . 9 25 Paint Brushes Compys Works & Castle 1 . 3 . 6½ 3 Platters . 2 . 10½ 1 Shoe Brush . 6½ 2 Flaskets . 6 . 2 2 Scurf Brushes . 4 . 6 1 Birch Broom . 4½ 2 . 14 . 2 Oil viz. 16½ Gallns Train Compys Works 2 . 14 . 1 31½ Gallns Linseed 6 . 4 . - 2 Bottles Florence Doctor & Smiths Shop . 5 . 3 9 . 3 . 4 Coals 279 Bushels for burning Lime 13 . 4 . - Cordage 2 lb for tying the Arbor Thatching the Fort Church and Companys Work . 4 . 3 . 4 Arrack 37 Galls Sundays & Working general	The general charges account continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £30 17s 6d 16 skeins of twine for the Castle, the Governor's fishermen and the Company's works, £0 8s 0d Lead, as follows: 23 lb of sheet lead for the Governor's fishermen, £0 2s 4d 6 lb of shot for the Castle and the Company's works, £0 1s 1d Subtotal for lead, £0 3s 5d Turned and brush ware for the Company's works and the Castle, as follows: 3 hair brooms, £0 10s 6d 2 mops, £0 10s 0d 3 wooden bowls, £0 3s 9d 25 paint brushes, £0 13s 6½d 3 platters, £0 2s 10½d 1 shoe brush, £0 0s 6½d 2 flaskets, £0 6s 2d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 5d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 4½d Subtotal for turned and brush ware, £2 14s 2d Oil, as follows: 16½ gallons of train oil for the Company's works, £2 14s 1d 31½ gallons of linseed oil for the Company's works, £6 4s 0d 2 bottles of Florence oil for the doctor and the smith's shop, £0 5s 3d Subtotal for oil, £9 3s 4d 279 bushels of coal for burning lime, £13 4s 0d 2 cwt 1 qr of cordage for tying the arbour and for thatching at the fort, the church and the Company's works, £4 3s 4d 37[...] gallons of arrack for Sunday issues and general work, £57 14s 6d Deal boards and timber for the Company's works, as follows: 30 double deals, £5 2s 6d 42 single deals, £4 12s 9d 1 baulk, £0 3s 10d 17 uffers, £3 9s 5d 1 elm board, £0 5s 7d

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		5 . 14 . 6 Deals viz. 30 Double Deals 5 . 2 . 6 42 Single Do 4 . 12 . 9 1 Baulk Companys Works . 2 . 10 17 Euffers 3 . 9 . 5 1 Elm Board . 5 . 7 13 . 13 . 1 Carried over £ 131 . 9 . 7	Subtotal for deal boards and timber, £13 14s 1d Total carried forward, £119 11s 8d **Interpretations** Arrack was by far the largest charge on the page, costing more than all the timber, oil and coal together. It was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap or fermented rice, brought to the island cheaply aboard the Company's ships. Its issue on Sundays and for general work showed drink being used as part of the reward for labour. A regular ration of spirits kept the Company's workmen and soldiers at their tasks and served as a cheap supplement to wages, and charging it to the general account treated it as an ordinary running cost of getting work done. The coal was bought to burn lime, the essential first step in making mortar and plaster. Limestone or shell was heated in a kiln until it broke down into quicklime, which was then slaked with water for building. Taken with the stone saws and plasterer's sieve on the previous page, it pointed to a sustained programme of masonry on the Company's buildings and defences. Cordage was issued for thatching at the fort, the church and the works, showing that some of the island's buildings were still roofed with thatch tied down with rope rather than covered in slate or tile. Uffers were rough poles or small spars of Baltic or Norwegian fir, used for scaffolding, rafters and light framing. A baulk was a squared beam of roughly hewn timber, used for heavier structural work. The Florence oil went to the doctor, who used fine olive oil in medicines and dressings, and to the smith's shop, where it served to oil delicate tools and finished metal. The sheet lead for the Governor's fishermen was perhaps cut up for sinkers on their lines.
216	211	1766 Brought over £ 130 . 9 . 4 Paint viz. 26 Lamp Blacking . 14 . 3 1 Umber . 3 1½ Copperas . 1 . 5 55 White Lead mixed . 19 . 10½ 703 Whiting . 14 . 3 47 Ven Red mixed Compys Works 1 . 1 . 6½ 20 Verdigrease 3 . 17 . 11 33 Sky Blue 3 . 1 . 2 33 White Lead dry . 11 . 10½ 113 Stone Colour 2 . 16 . 6½ ½ Sacar Saturn . 7 1 Blue Smalts for Linnen . 1 . 6½ 6 Indico . 11 . 3½ 14 . 13 . 4 Candles viz. 90 Castle 150 Council 3 Secretary Office 4 Doctors Shop 3½ Compys Works 35 . 11 . -	The general charges account continued in 1766 with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £130 9s 4d Painting materials for the Company's works, as follows: 26 lb of bone black, £0 14s 3d 1 lb of umber, £0 0s 3d 1½ lb of copperas, £0 1s 5d 55 lb of white lead, ground in oil, £0 19s 10½d 703 lb of whiting, £0 14s 3d 47 lb of Venetian red, ground in oil, £1 1s 6½d 20 lb of verdigris, £3 17s 11d 33 lb of sky blue, £3 1s 2d 33 lb of dry white lead, £0 11s 10½d 113 lb of stone-coloured paint, £2 16s 6½d ½ lb of sugar of lead, £0 0s 7d Blueing for linen, as follows: 1 lb of blue smalt, £0 1s 6½d 6 [...] of indigo, £0 11s 3½d Subtotal for painting materials, £14 13s 4d Candles, as follows: 90 [...] for the Castle 150 [...] for the Council 3 [...] for the Secretary's office 4 [...] for the doctor's shop 3½ [...] for the Company's works Total for candles, £35 11s 0d 30 [...] of soap for washing linen, £2 15s 0d Tinware, as follows: 2 lamps for the men at the Company's works, £0 1s 6d 2 lb of solder for the Castle, £0 7s 2d 1 lb of sal ammoniac for the Castle, £0 5s 7½d 2 water pots for the Company's works, £0 3s 1½d 1 globe lamp, £0 13s 3d Subtotal for tinware, £1 15s 3d

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		Sope 30 for Linnen 2 . 15 Tin Ware viz. 2 Lamps for Men employd at the Compys Work . 1 . 6 3 lb Solder . 7 . 2 1 Salmoniac Castle . 5 . 7½ 2 Water Pots Companys Works . 3 . 1½ 1 Globe Lamp . 13 . 3 1 . 15 . 3 Candy 6 lb for the Govr Gardn & Doctors Shop 1 . 5 . 10 Carried over £ 176 . 10 . 2	6 lb of sugar candy for the [...] and the doctor's shop, £1 5s 10d Total carried forward, £176 10s 2d **Interpretations** The candle issue showed the working shape of the island's government. The Council took 150 units, far more than the Castle with 90, while the Secretary's office, the doctor's shop and the works drew only a few each. Light was a real cost on the island, and the Council's share pointed to its meetings, correspondence and business running well into the evenings, since every consultation and letter to the Company had to be copied by candlelight. Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, used by tinsmiths and smiths as a flux to clean metal surfaces so that solder would take. Issued together with solder for the Castle, it showed that lamps, pots and other tinware were being mended there rather than sent away. A globe lamp was a hanging oil lamp with a glass globe around the flame, the costliest single piece of tinware here, suited to lighting a public room or passage. Sugar of lead was lead acetate, a sweet-tasting white salt added to oil paint in small amounts to make it dry faster. Sky blue was a ready-mixed pale blue paint, usually white lead tinted with smalt or Prussian blue. The smalt and indigo entered separately were not for paint at all but for linen, where a little blue in the final rinse counteracted yellowing and made washed cloth look whiter. Sugar candy issued to the doctor's shop was a medicine as well as a sweet, dissolved in water or mixed with other ingredients to soothe coughs and sore throats.
217	212	28 January Brought over £ 176 . 10 . 2 Tea 6 for the Fevers and Gardens . 6 . 6 Canvas viz. 24½ Yds Osnabrgs for Buckets and Rubbers the Castle . 9 . 11 29½ Yds Engl Canvas [...] for the [...] and Captain Mitchel 1 . 13 . 2 2 . 3 . 1 Iron 57 for a Forge & to make stone Hammers . [...] China Ware viz. 6 Bowls . 6 . - 6 Snuchers . 1 . 3 2 Enameld Bakg Dishes Castle . 5 . 4 2 Blue & White Do . 4 . 4 2 Sallad Do . 1 . 6 . 17 . 5 Thread viz. 1 lb Whited Brown Companys . 7 . - 2 Coloured Works . 6 . 10 . 13 . 10 Braziers Ware 1 Bottling Cock . 3 . 4 Cuttlery 1 Horse Comb for the Lieut Governor . 3 Pitch and Tar 3 lb Rozin for the Castle . 6 £ 181 . 6 . 4	The general charges account continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £176 10s 2d 6 [...] of tea for the [...] and the gardener, £0 6s 6d Canvas, as follows: 24½ yards of osnaburg for buckets and rubbers at the Castle, £0 9s 11d 29½ yards of English canvas for the [...] and Captain Mitchel, £1 13s 2d Subtotal for canvas, £2 3s 1d 57 lb of iron for a forge and stonecutters' hammers, £0 18s 0d Chinaware for the Castle, as follows: 6 bowls, £0 6s 0d 6 saucers, £0 1s 3d 2 enamelled [...], £0 5s 4d 2 blue and white [...], £0 4s 4d 2 salad [...], £0 1s 6d Subtotal for chinaware, £0 17s 5d Thread for the Company's works, as follows: 1 lb of whited-brown thread, £0 7s 0d 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 6s 10d Subtotal for thread, £0 13s 10d Brass and copper ware: 1 [...] cock, £0 3s 4d Cutlery: 1 hair comb for the Lieutenant Governor, £0 0s 9d Pitch and tar: 3 lb of rosin for the Castle, £0 0s 6d Total, £181 6s 4d **Interpretations** Several entries charged the personal use of named officials to the Company's general account. The Lieutenant Governor's hair comb, the canvas issued to Captain Mitchel and the tea for the gardener were small sums, but each showed that the line between the Company's running costs and the private needs of its officers was drawn generously. Household goods for those in office passed through

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			the stores as allowances in kind, a quiet perquisite of holding a post on the island. The iron was taken to make a forge and to forge hammers for the stonecutters, matching the stone saws and the coal for burning lime recorded earlier on this account. The Company was not simply buying finished tools but having its own smith make them on the spot from bar iron, which was cheaper and more reliable than waiting for replacements to arrive by sea. Whited-brown thread was linen thread bleached only partly, leaving it a pale fawn rather than a clean white. It was stronger and cheaper than fully bleached thread and served for heavy sewing such as canvas, sacking and work clothing.
218	213	1766 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Flour 279 lb 6 . 8 . 2 Candy 186 3 . 7 . 6 Arrack 60 Galls 9 . 2 . 9 Rice 200 1 . - . - Beef and Pork viz. 3 Ps Beef . 9 . 5 31 Do Pork 4 . 11 . - 5 . - . 5 Salt 1½ Bushels . 6 . 4 Tea 9 lb Congo . 12 . 9 Oil 6 Bottles Florence . 15 . 10 Pease 1 Bushel . 1 . 1 £ 27 . 10 . 10 Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Oil 136 lb Train 22 . 17 . - Blankets 6 1 . 10 . - Arrack 45 Galls for Drams on Muster Days in Dect last Quart being omitted 7 . 1 . 7 Tea 82 lb Bohea 3 . 15 . 2 Candles 25 for the Officers on Duty 2 . 10 . - Paint viz. 13 Yell Oaker dry Colouring Accoutrs . 3 . 9 23 Whiting . 7 . 4 . 4 Iron Ware viz. 3 Hand Hatchets for the Ser Guards . 5 . 3 3 Hatchet Helves . 9 . 6 . - Carried over 38 . [...]	The diet expenses account was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. 279 lb of flour, £6 8s 2d 136 lb of sugar candy, £3 7s 6d 60 gallons of arrack, £9 2s 9d 200 lb of rice, £1 0s 0d Beef and pork, as follows: 3 pieces of beef, £0 9s 5d 31 pieces of pork, £4 11s 0d Subtotal for beef and pork, £5 0s 5d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 6s 4d [...] of congou tea, £0 12s 9d 6 bottles of Florence oil, £0 15s 10d ½ bushel of peas, £0 1s 1d Total, £27 10s 10d The garrison account was debited for the following stores, issued over the same period from 1 October 1765 to 31 December 1765. 136½ gallons of train oil, £22 17s 0d 6 blankets, £1 10s 0d 45 gallons of arrack for drams on muster days in December, left out of the last quarter's account, £7 1s 7d 32 lb of bohea tea, £3 15s 2d 25 [...] of candles for the officers on duty, £2 10s 0d Painting materials for colouring accoutrements, as follows: 13 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 3s 9d 22 lb of whiting, £0 0s 7d Subtotal for painting materials, £0 4s 4d Ironware for the [...] guards, as follows: 3 hand hatchets, £0 5s 3d 3 hatchet handles, £0 0s 9d Subtotal for ironware, £0 6s 0d Total carried forward, £38 3s 1d **Interpretations** The diet expenses account gathered the food and drink the Company provided at its own cost, kept separate from the general charges of the works and the Castle. Its contents were those of a household table rather than a ration store: tea, sugar candy, Florence oil and peas alongside the staples of flour, rice and salt meat. Splitting provisions from tools and materials in this way let the Company see exactly what it spent on feeding its people, as distinct from what it spent on building and maintenance. The arrack issued to the garrison was tied to muster days, when soldiers paraded for inspection and roll call. A dram on those occasions rewarded attendance and helped make an unpopular duty bearable. The note that the December issue had been left out of the previous quarter's account and was now added showed the clerk correcting the record after the event, so that the garrison was charged in full even though the spirit had already been drunk. The yellow ochre and whiting were issued for colouring the soldiers' accoutrements, the belts, pouches and slings worn with uniform. Mixed into a

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			wash, these cheap earths gave leather and webbing a uniform buff or white finish for parade. The train oil, issued in much larger quantity than to the Company's works, lit the guardrooms, barracks and sentry posts through the night, and the candles for officers on duty served the same purpose in their quarters.
219	214	28th Jany Brought over £ 38 . 7 . 1 Tin Ware viz. 2 Lamps to rep. Lanthorns . 6 . - 11 Lanthorn Leaves . 3 . 5 . 9 . 5 Turners Ware viz. 3 Wood Bowls for the several Guards . 3 . 5 16 platters . 15 . 4 . 18 . 9 Glass Ware 1 Half hour Glass Rank & Guard . 1 . - Nails 1 lb Tacks for Drums . 7 Lines 4 Whip Cord for Whips . 11 . 11 £ 40 . 8 . 9 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Arrack 66½ Galls for the Fishers Black Corps Stone Layers Head 10 . 9 . 2 Sugar and Candy viz. 23¼ Sugar for the Sick & Blks at Christms 4 . 3 . 6 1 Candy for Jewish Butcher for destroyg Wild Cattle . 5 4 . 3 . 11 Flour 34 for the Sick . 7 . 10 Beef and Pork viz. 7 Ps Beef 1 . 2 . - 8 Ps Pork 1 . 2 . 6 2 . 4 . 6 Oil 2 Galls Train . 6 . 1 Carried over £ 17 . 12 . 1	The garrison account continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £38 7s 1d Tinware for repairing lanterns, as follows: 3 lamps, £0 6s 0d 11 lantern panes, £0 3s 5d Subtotal for tinware, £0 9s 5d Turned ware for the various guards, as follows: 3 wooden bowls, £0 3s 5d 16 platters, £0 15s 4d Subtotal for turned ware, £0 18s 9d Glassware: 1 half-hour glass for Banks's guard, £0 1s 0d ½ lb of tacks for drums, £0 0s 7d 4 lb of whipcord for whips, £0 11s 11d Total, £40 8s 9d The account kept for the Company's slaves was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. 66½ gallons of arrack for the slave fishermen and the Company's stonelayers and [...], £10 9s 2d Sugar and sugar candy, as follows: 25[...] lb of sugar for the sick and for the slaves at Christmas, £4 3s 6d 1 lb of sugar candy for [...] for killing wild cats, £0 0s 5d Subtotal for sugar and sugar candy, £4 3s 11d 3½ [...] of flour for the sick, £0 7s 10d Beef and pork, as follows: 7 pieces of beef, £1 2s 0d 8 pieces of pork, £1 2s 6d Subtotal for beef and pork, £2 4s 6d 2 gallons of train oil, £0 6s 1d Total carried forward, £17 12s 1d **Interpretations** The manuscript headed this account simply as Blacks, its term for the slaves owned by the Company and set to work as fishermen, stonelayers and labourers. Giving them a separate account alongside the garrison and the diet table treated their upkeep as a distinct running cost of the settlement. Most of what they received here was not basic subsistence but extras: arrack for the fishermen and stone gangs, sugar at Christmas and food for the sick. These issues worked as incentives within a system of forced labour, rewarding the skilled workers on whom the Company's fishing and building most depended. The single pound of sugar candy for killing wild cats recorded a bounty paid in kind. Feral cats preyed on poultry, game birds and young livestock, and the Company paid whoever destroyed them. Settling the reward in sweets rather than cash suited a payee who was perhaps a slave with no use for coin, and it cost the Company only fivepence from stock it already held. The half-hour glass for Banks's guard measured the watches kept by the sentries at that post, so that each turn of duty ran for a fixed time and the guard could be changed or rounds made on schedule. Tacks for drums fixed the heads and braces of the garrison's drums, which beat the calls for the day, and the whipcord was a hard-twisted cord for whip lashes, probably for the drivers of the Company's cattle.
220	215	1766 Brought over £ 17 . 12 . 1 Tea 75½ Bohea	The account for the Company's slaves continued in 1766 with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £17 12s 1d

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		3 . 9 . 2 Chelloes 1 Ps for a Black Woman . 9 . 11 Pepper 21 lb . 10 . 6 Sailors Cloaths viz. 1 Mans Jacket for a Black Boy 1 Pr Breeches . 2 . ½ 2 Shirts . 6 . 9½ . 14 . 10 Shoes viz. 43 Prs Ordinary for the Handy Crafts Men 8 . 12 1 Pr Womans Calf for a Black Woman in the Castle . 2 . 3 8 . 14 . 3 Long Cloth ½ Ps A for the lying in Women . 13 . 10 Turners Ware viz. 2 Wood Bowls . 2 . 3 2 Platters . 1 . 11 . 4 . 2 Iron Pots 1 Large Iron Kettle 2 . 5 . 1 Iron Ware viz. 1 Black Key for the Black House . 3 25 Sail Needles . 2 . 1 . 2 . 9 Hosiers Ware viz. 2 Prs Womens Wst Stockgs for the Blacks . 6 . 2 2 Prs Boys Do in the Castle . 4 . - . 10 . 2 Hooks and Lines viz. 25 No 9 Hooks for the Fisherman . 1½ 50 . . 13 12 . . 2 Lines . 3 . 3½ . 4 . 5 Carried over £ 35 . 11 . 7	[...] of bohea tea, £3 9s 2d 1 piece of chelloes for a slave woman, £0 9s 11d 21 lb of pepper, £0 10s 6d Sailors' clothing for a slave boy, as follows: 1 man's jacket, £0 0s 0d 1 pair of breeches, £0 2s 7½d 2 shirts, £0 6s 9½d Subtotal for sailors' clothing, £0 14s 10d Shoes, as follows: 43 pairs of everyday shoes for the craftsmen, £8 12s 0d 1 pair of women's calfskin shoes for a slave woman at the Castle, £0 2s 3d Subtotal for shoes, £8 14s 3d ½ piece of grade A longcloth for the women in childbirth, £0 13s 10d Turned ware, as follows: 2 wooden bowls, £0 2s 3d 2 platters, £0 1s 11d Subtotal for turned ware, £0 4s 2d Iron pots: 1 large iron kettle, £2 5s 1d Ironware, as follows: 1 blank key for the slave house, £0 0s 8d 25 sail needles, £0 2s 1d Subtotal for ironware, £0 2s 9d Hosiery for the slaves at the Castle, as follows: 2 pairs of women's worsted stockings, £0 6s 2d 2 pairs of boys' worsted stockings, £0 4s 0d Subtotal for hosiery, £0 10s 2d Fish hooks and lines for the fishermen, as follows: 25 fish hooks, size 9, £0 0s 1½d 50 fish hooks, size 13, £0 0s 0d 12 fishing lines, size 2, £0 3s 3½d Subtotal for fish hooks and lines, £0 4s 5d Total carried forward, £35 11s 7d **Interpretations** Chelloes were checked or striped cotton cloths woven in western India, chiefly around Surat, and shipped in quantity by the East India Company. Cheap and colourful, they were widely used for clothing in the tropical and African trades, and a single piece issued to a slave woman would have made her a dress or wrapper. The issues showed a clear ranking among the Company's slaves. The 43 pairs of shoes went to the craftsmen, the skilled masons, carpenters and smiths whose work was most valuable, while most labourers went without. Slaves attached to the Castle also received stockings and, in one case, calfskin shoes, marking out household servants who were seen by officials and visitors and were dressed accordingly. The half piece of longcloth for women in childbirth provided swaddling and bedding for mothers and newborns. The Company had a direct stake in those births, since the children of its slaves became its property, and the cloth was a small investment in keeping both mother and child alive. The slave house was the building where the Company's slaves were lodged, and the blank key, cut to fit on the spot, served to lock it. The large iron kettle was a communal cooking pot, probably for preparing the slaves' meals in bulk.
221	216	28th Jany Brought over £ 35 . 11 . 7 Thread viz. 1 lb Whited Brown . 7 . - 1 lb Coloured . 3 . 5 . 10 . 5 Salt ½ Bushel for the Ungango Blacks . 1 Candles ½ lb to examine the Black House . 2	The account for the Company's slaves continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £35 11s 7d Thread, as follows: 1 lb of whited-brown thread, £0 7s 0d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 5d Subtotal for thread, £0 10s 5d ½ bushel of salt for the Ungango slaves, £0 1s 0d ½ lb of candles for inspecting the slave house, £0 2s 0d 71 yards of tecklenburg canvas, £3 13s 11d

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		Canvas 71 Yds Ticklenburgs 3 . 13 . 11 Haberdashery viz. 10 Doz Mohair Coat Buttons Blacks in the Castle . 6 . 8 6 Sk Silk for the Fishermen for Lines . 3 . 1 . 9 . 9 Rice and Paddy viz. 74 . 2 . 26 Rice 37 . 2 . 6 66 . . 2 Paddy beaten into Rice 12 . 13 . - 49 . 15 . 6 £ 90 . 5 . 9 Mallay Dr for the follwg Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Beef and Pork viz. 16 Ps Beef 2 . 10 . 4 1 Ps Pork . 2 . 11 2 . 13 . 3 Arrack 6 Gallons . 12 . 10 Sugar and Candy viz. 30 Sugar . 12 . 6 6 Candy . 2 . 6 . 15 Rice 130 . 16 . 3 Carried over £ 15 . 3 . 4 **Margin Notes:** 16	Haberdashery, as follows: 10 dozen mohair coat buttons for the slaves at the Castle, £0 6s 3d 6 skeins of silk for the fishermen's lines, £0 3s 6d Subtotal for haberdashery, £0 9s 9d Rice and paddy, as follows: 74 cwt 2 qr 6 lb of rice, £37 2s 6d 66 cwt 2 qr of paddy beaten into rice, £12 13s 0d Subtotal for rice and paddy, £49 15s 6d Total, £90 3s 9d The account for the Malay slaves was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. Beef and pork, as follows: 16 pieces of beef, £2 10s 4d 1 piece of pork, £0 2s 11d Subtotal for beef and pork, £2 13s 3d 6 gallons of arrack, £0 18s 10d Sugar and sugar candy, as follows: 50 lb of sugar, £0 12s 6d 6 lb of sugar candy, £0 2s 6d Subtotal for sugar and sugar candy, £0 15s 0d 130 lb of rice, £0 16s 3d Total carried forward, £5 3s 4d **Interpretations** The Company kept its Malay slaves on a separate account from the rest, and the salt issue named a further group, the Ungango slaves, by origin. Sorting slaves by where they had been brought from mattered in practice. Malays from the East Indies and Africans from different regions differed in language, diet and skills, and the Company recorded and provisioned them as distinct groups. The Malay account, heavy in rice and with almost no pork, reflected a diet suited to people from the rice-growing East and perhaps to Muslim practice. Rice was the staple of the slaves' ration, and at nearly £50 for the quarter it dwarfed every other item. The paddy beaten into rice linked directly to the mats for beating paddy charged to the general account on 20 January. The Company bought unhusked rice cheaply from passing ships and had its own slaves thresh and pound it, turning their labour into a saving on the cost of their food. The half pound of candles for inspecting the slave house recorded a night search of the quarters where the Company's slaves slept. Such checks confirmed that everyone was present and that nothing forbidden, such as stolen goods, weapons or drink, was hidden there, and they formed a routine part of controlling a captive workforce. The silk for the fishermen's lines was used to make fine, strong snoods, the short lengths joining the hook to the main line, which fish were less likely to see or bite through. The mohair coat buttons for the slaves at the Castle matched the better clothing issued to household servants on the previous page.
222	217	1766 Brought over £ 5 . 3 . 4 Tea 5 lb Bohea . 4 . 7 Oil ½ Train . 2 . 6 Sope 8 lb . 5 . 6 Pepper 1 lb . 6 Salt ½ Bushel . 2 . 6 £ 5 . 18 . 11 Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Rice and Paddy viz. 376 Rice	The account for the Malay slaves continued in 1766 with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £5 3s 4d 5 lb of bohea tea, £0 4s 7d ½ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 6d 3 lb of soap, £0 3s 6d 1 lb of pepper, £0 0s 6d ½ bushel of salt, £0 2s 6d Total, £5 18s 11d The Plantation account was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. Rice and paddy, as follows: 376 lb of rice, £1 13s 9d 4,535 lb of paddy, £7 16s 11d Subtotal for rice and paddy, £9 10s 8d

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		1 . 13 . 9 4535 Paddy 7 . 16 . 11 9 . 10 . 8 Long Cloth 1 Ps A for the Dairy 1 . 7 . 8 Turners Ware viz. 6 Birch Brooms Plant. House Gard. . 2 . 3 4 Ox Bows for Oxen . 5 . 5 2 Pr Yoaks 1 . 16 . 2 2 . 3 . 10 Nails viz. ½ . . 2 . 4½ 1 . . 4 to rep. Gates & Hedlocks . 7 5 . . 6 . 2 . 7½ 1 . . 20 . 4½ . 3 . 11 Iron Ware viz. 6 Ditching Shovels Plant. House Garden 1 . 6 . 6 1 Stock Lock . 2 . 10 Iron Ware Carried over £ 1 . 9 . 4 Carried over £ 13 . 6 . 1	1 piece of grade A longcloth for the dairy, £1 7s 8d Turned ware, as follows: 6 birch brooms for the Plantation House garden, £0 2s 3d 4 ox bows for the oxen, £0 5s 5d 2 pairs of yokes for the oxen, £1 16s 2d Subtotal for turned ware, £2 3s 10d Nails for repairing gates and [...], as follows: ½ lb of twopenny nails, £0 0s 4½d 1 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 0s 7d 5 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 2s 7½d 1 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 4½d Subtotal for nails, £0 3s 11d Ironware for the Plantation House garden, as follows: 6 ditching shovels, £1 6s 6d 1 stock lock, £0 2s 10d Subtotal for ironware carried forward, £1 9s 4d Total carried forward, £13 6s 1d **Interpretations** The Plantation account covered the Company's own farm and gardens attached to Plantation House, run as a working estate rather than a private residence. Its stores showed a mixed farm: oxen for ploughing and hauling, a dairy, gardens kept with brooms and drained with ditching shovels, and gates mended against straying stock. The Company produced at least part of its own food, milk and butter there instead of depending entirely on what ships could bring. The 4,535 lb of paddy, far more than the husked rice issued alongside it, pointed to the slaves working on the estate being fed largely on unhusked rice that they pounded themselves. Buying paddy instead of clean rice cost the Company less per pound, as the price per hundredweight on this page showed, and the labour of husking it fell on the people it fed. Ox bows were the curved wooden collars passed under an ox's neck and fixed into the yoke, which lay across the necks of a pair of animals and carried the load. Bought in pairs with their bows, the yokes pointed to oxen as the main draught animals on steep ground where horses were less sure-footed. The longcloth for the dairy served as straining cloth for milk and for wrapping and pressing cheese and butter.
223	218	28th Jany Brought over £ 13 . 6 . 1 Iron Ware brought over £ 1 . 9 . 4 6 Scythes Plantation House Garden 1 . 11 . 9 6 Hatchet Helves Long Wood . 3 . 6 1 Black Key for the Cook . 2 2 Garden Hoes . 2 . 4 4 Prs Sheep Shears for Shearing Sheep . 5 . 4 3 . 12 . 11 Oil 2¾ Galls Overseer in the Long Wood . 9 . 3 Arrack 5½ Galls for a Sement at Plantation and for the Sheep Shearers . 16 . 6 Paint 1 Ven Red dry for markg Sheep . 2 Cordage 28 for the Oxen . 9 . 11 Cuttlery Ware viz. 2 Shoe Knives Plantation House Garden . 8	The Plantation account continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £13 6s 1d Ironware brought forward, £1 9s 4d 6 scythes for the Plantation House garden, £1 11s 9d 6 hatchet handles for Longwood, £0 3s 6d 1 blank key for the [...], £0 0s 3d 2 garden hoes, £0 2s 4d 4 pairs of sheep shears for shearing sheep, £0 5s 4d Subtotal for ironware, £3 12s 11d 2¾ gallons of oil for the overseer at Longwood, £0 9s 3d 5½ gallons of arrack for a [...] at Plantation and for the sheep shearers, £0 16s 6d 1 lb of dry Venetian red for marking sheep, £0 0s 2d 23 lb of cordage for the oxen, £0 9s 11d Cutlery, as follows: 2 [...] knives for the Plantation House garden, £0 0s 8d 2 butcher's knives for Plantation House, £0 0s 8d Subtotal for cutlery, £0 1s 4d 6 fishing lines, size 4, for Longwood and Sandy Bay, £0 2s 4d

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		2 Butchers Do Plantation House . 8 . 1 . 4 Lines 6 No 4 for the Long Wood & Sandy Bay . 2 . 4 Pepper 1 lb for the Cattle . 6 Sugar 31 for a Sement at Plantn House 1 . 3 Twine 1 Skein . 6 Cart Wheels 1 Axeltree Long Wood . 3 . 10 £ 20 . 8 . 7 Boat Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Beef and Pork viz. 3 Ps Beef 1 . 5 . 2 21 Ps Pork 3 . 1 . 8 4 . 6 . 10 Carried over £ 4 . 6 . 10	1 lb of pepper for the Castle, £0 0s 6d 8 lb of sugar for a [...] at Plantation House, £0 [...]s 3d 1 skein of twine, £0 0s 6d Cart wheels: 1 axletree for Longwood, £0 3s 10d Total, £20 8s 7d The boat account was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. Beef and pork, as follows: 3 pieces of beef, £1 5s 2d 21 pieces of pork, £3 1s 8d Subtotal for beef and pork, £4 6s 10d Total carried forward, £4 6s 10d **Interpretations** The Plantation account reached well beyond Plantation House itself. Longwood, on the high plain to the east, had its own overseer and drew oil, tools and an axletree for its carts, while fishing lines went to Longwood and Sandy Bay. The Company ran these places as outlying parts of a single estate, with a supervisor on the spot and stores charged centrally, so that grazing, farming and fishing across the island were managed as one enterprise. Sheep were kept in numbers large enough to need four pairs of shears and a team of shearers, who received arrack for the work. Paying a task gang in spirits for a seasonal job like shearing avoided a cash wage while still drawing willing effort. The Venetian red for marking sheep served to brand each fleece with a daub of colour, showing ownership on an island where Company and private flocks grazed side by side and strays could easily be claimed. The boat account covered the Company's boats and their crews, who landed cargo, carried messages and ferried people between ships in the road and the shore. Its provisions of salt beef and pork fed the boatmen during their quarter of work.
224	219	1766 Brought over £ 4 . 6 . 10 Paint viz. 25½ Ven Red mixed . 11 . 3 3 Yellow Oaker Do . 7½ 2 Barrels Blacking . 1 . 1½ ½ Umber . 1 ¼ Copperas Boats in general . 3 19 Red Lead . 4 . 4 2 Verdigrease . 7 . 4½ 2 Stone Color . 11½ 1 . 6 . 10 Nails viz. 8 . . 40 . 2 . 10 3 . . 4 . 1 . 9 15 . . 6 . 7 . 10 31 . . 10 to rep. Boats in general . 13 . 6 13 . . 20 . 6 . 9 6 Spikes . 1 . 10 1 . 13 . 6 Deals viz. 34 Single Deals	The boat account continued in 1766 with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £4 6s 10d Painting materials for the boats generally, as follows: 25½ lb of Venetian red, ground in oil, £0 11s 3d 3 lb of yellow ochre, ground in oil, £0 0s 7½d 2 [...] of blacking, £0 1s 1½d ½ lb of umber, £0 0s 1d 1 lb of copperas, £0 0s 3d 19 lb of red lead, £0 4s 4d 2 lb of verdigris, £0 7s 4d 2 lb of stone-coloured paint, £0 0s 11½d Subtotal for painting materials, £1 6s 10d Nails for repairing the boats generally, as follows: 8 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 2s 10d 3 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 1s 9d 15 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 7s 10d 31 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 13s 6d 13 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 6s 9d 6 lb of spikes, £0 1s 10d Subtotal for nails, £1 14s 6d Deal boards for the boats generally, as follows: 34 single deals, £3 15s 1d 1 elm board, £0 5s 7d 1 wainscot board, £0 6s 9d Subtotal for deal boards, £4 7s 5d Pitch and tar for the boats generally, as follows: 20½ gallons of tar, £0 17s 1d ½ barrel of rosin, £0 19s 5d Subtotal for pitch and tar, £1 16s 6d Oil for the boats generally, as follows: 2½ gallons of linseed oil, £0 9s 11d 4½ gallons of train oil, £0 14s 3d Subtotal for oil, £1 4s 2d Total carried forward, £14 16s 3d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 . 15 . 1 1 Elm Board Boats in general . 5 . 7 1 Wainscot Do . 6 . 9 4 . 7 . 5 Pitch and Tar viz. 20½ Galls Tar Boats in General . 17 . 1 ½ Barrl Rozin . 19 . 5 1 . 16 . 6 Oil viz. 2¾ Galls Linseed Boats in general . 9 . 11 4¼ Do Train . 14 . 3 1 . 4 . 2 Carried over £ 14 . 16 . 3	**Interpretations** The stores issued to the boats in a single quarter amounted to a running rebuild. Thirty-four deals, more than 70 lb of nails and spikes, tar, rosin and paint pointed to planking being replaced and seams recaulked on a regular basis. The Company's boats worked in open water, landing goods and people from ships in the road, and constant wear from the swell and the rocks meant that maintenance was a steady charge rather than an occasional one. Wainscot was high-grade oak imported from the Baltic, straight-grained and quarter-sawn so that it resisted warping and splitting. It cost more than ordinary deal, and a single board here was perhaps for a part of a boat that took particular strain, such as a thwart, gunwale or transom. Elm, which kept well when constantly wet, was the usual choice for keels and the lower planking of small craft.
225	220	28th Jany Brought over £ 14 . 16 . 3 Arrack 2½ Galls for Men employd in the Boats . 7 . 10 Oars 12 for the Boats in general 2 . 6 . 9 Leather 10 Sole . 9 . 4 Twine 1 Skein . 6 Turners Ware 2 Birch Brooms . 9 Cordage 7 lb . 2 . 8 £ 18 . 4 . 1 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Tea 14 lb Bohea . 12 . 10 Sugar 403 5 . - . 9 Flour 403 2 . 18 . 9 Rice 342 1 . 10 . 7 Oil 16 Galls Train 2 . 13 . 8 Salt 2⅔ Bushels . 10 . 8 China Ware 12 Snuchers . 2 . 6 Tin Ware 1 Lamp . 9 Glass 1 Sq 8 by 10 . 9 Turners Ware 2 Birch Brooms . 9 £ 13 . 12 . -	The boat account continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £14 16s 3d 2½ gallons of arrack for the men working in the boats, £0 7s 10d 12 oars for the boats generally, £2 6s 9d 10 lb of sole leather, £0 9s 4d 1 skein of twine, £0 0s 6d Turned ware: 2 birch brooms, £0 0s 9d 7 lb of cordage, £0 2s 8d Total, £18 4s 1d The hospital account was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. 14 lb of bohea tea, £0 12s 10d 403 lb of sugar, £5 0s 9d 403 lb of flour, £2 18s 9d 342 lb of rice, £1 18s 7d 16 gallons of train oil, £2 13s 8d 2½ bushels of salt, £0 10s 8d Chinaware: 12 saucers, £0 2s 6d Tinware: 1 lamp, £0 2s 0d 1 pane of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 0s 9d Turned ware: 2 birch brooms, £0 0s 9d Total, £13 12s 0d **Interpretations** Sugar was the costliest item issued to the hospital, outweighing flour in both quantity and value. In the medicine of the period it was treated as a restorative, given to the sick in gruels, possets and sweetened drinks, and it helped make bitter remedies palatable. The hospital's weekly diet of rice, flour and sugar formed a light, easily digested ration distinct from the salt beef and pork issued to working men, reflecting a deliberate change of food for those under care. The sole leather issued to the boats was probably for the leathering of oars, wrapped around the shaft where it worked against the rowlock to stop wear. The dozen new oars bought at the same time pointed to heavy use and frequent breakage in the surf, which matched the steady repairs to the boats recorded on the previous page.
226	221	1766 Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Iron Ware 733 Iron for Bankss Cullis . 9 . 3 . 5 Paint viz. 8 White Lead mixed . 3 . - 14 Barrels Blackg for paintg Field	The fortification account was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. Ironware: 733 lb of iron for Banks's Cullis, £9 3s 3d Painting materials for painting the shed, the guns, the gun carriages and Banks's Cullis, as follows: 8 lb of white lead, ground in oil, £0 3s 0d 14 [...] of blacking, £0 7s 10½d 1 [...] of whiting, £0 1s 0d

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		. 7 . 10½ 3 Whiting pieces Gun Carriages . 1 22 Stone Colour Bankss Cullis &c . 10 . 6½ ½ Stone Umber . 2 1 . 1 . 8 Oil 5 Galls ¾ Linsd for paintg Field pt Gun Carrgs Bankss Cullis &c 2 . 12 . 10 Turners Ware 12 Paint Brushes . 6 . 6 Arrack 1¼ Gl for Hills Black to paint Gun Carriages . 2 . 9 Cordage 197 for raisg Stones at Bankss and hoisting in the Cullis 3 . 9 . 9 Twine 1 Skein . 6 Nails viz. 2 . . 40 . 3 12 Spikes . 3 . 9 . 4 . 5 Iron Ware 13 Plate Iron for Bankss Cullis . 4 . 10 £ 17 . 6 . 3 Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1765 viz. Arrack 2 Galls . 6 . 3 Bunting 2¾ Yds Red . 1 . 11 Cordage 95 lb 16 . 17 . 10 Carried over £ 17 . 6 . -	22 lb of stone-coloured paint, £0 10s 6½d ½ lb of [...] umber, £0 0s 2d Subtotal for painting materials, £1 1s 8d 5½ gallons of linseed oil for painting the shed, the guns, the gun carriages and the flanks of Banks's Cullis, £2 12s 10d Turned ware: 12 paint brushes, £0 6s 6d [...] gallons of arrack for [...]'s slaves painting the gun carriages, £0 2s 9d 107 lb of cordage for raising stones at Banks's and hoisting at the Cullis, £3 9s 9d 1 skein of twine, £0 0s 6d Nails, as follows: 2 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 0s 8d 12 spikes, £0 3s 9d Subtotal for nails, £0 4s 5d Ironware: 13 lb of plate iron for Banks's Cullis, £0 4s 10d Total, £17 6s 3d The account for the cutter *Fly* was debited for the following stores, issued between 1 October 1765 and 31 December 1765. 2 gallons of arrack, £0 6s 3d 2½ yards of red bunting, £0 1s 11d 9 cwt 3 qr of cordage, £16 17s 10d Total carried forward, £17 6s 0d **Interpretations** The fortification account showed building work under way at Banks's, the battery guarding one of the island's landing places, already named on the garrison account for its guard and half-hour glass. More than 700 lb of iron, cordage for raising stones and plate iron all went to the works there, which pointed to new masonry and fittings rather than routine upkeep. The flanks, gun carriages and guns were painted at the same time, so the quarter's spending covered both enlarging the defences and protecting the artillery against weather and salt air. The arrack for a named owner's slaves painting the gun carriages recorded labour hired from a private household rather than drawn from the Company's own slaves. The owner was paid separately, if at all, and the drink went to the workers themselves as an inducement. Painting gun carriages needed many hands for a short period, and borrowing slaves from settlers spared the Company from diverting its own gangs from the masonry. The *Fly* was a cutter, a small, fast single-masted vessel. Nearly ten hundredweight of cordage in a single quarter amounted to re-rigging her, and the red bunting was for her ensign or pendant, which identified her as a Company vessel when she sailed on patrol or carried messages around the coast.
227	222	28th Jany Brought over £ 17 . 6 . - Oil 1½ Galls Train . 5 . 2 Tin Ware 1 Lamp . 9 Twine 9 Skeins . 4 . 6 Deals 2 Euffers . 3 . 2 Nails viz. ½ . . 2 4 . . 20 4 . . 40 4 Spikes ½ Tacks . 5 . 1 Leather 1 lb Sole . 11 Candles 4 lb . 3 . -	The account for the cutter *Fly* continued on 20 January with the following stores, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £17 6s 0d 1½ gallons of train oil, £0 5s 2d Tinware: 1 lamp, £0 0s 9d 9 skeins of twine, £0 4s 6d Timber: 2 uffers, £0 3s 2d Nails, as follows: ½ lb of twopenny nails 4 lb of twentypenny nails 4 lb of fortypenny nails 4 spikes ½ lb of tacks Total for all nails, £0 5s 1d 1 lb of sole leather, £0 0s 11d 4 [...] of candles, £0 3s 0d Ironware: 12 needles, £0 1s 0d 2 deep-sea lines, £0 10s 0d Turned ware: 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 5d Total, £19 13s 10d

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		Iron Ware 12 Needles . 1 . - Lines 2 Deep Sea . 10 . - Turners Ware 2 Scrubbg Brushes . 4 . 5 £ 19 . 13 . 10 St Helena 31st December 1765 Errors Excepted (signed) James Rowett Accot	James Powell, the accountant, signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The closing reservation, a standard merchant's formula, meant that the signature did not bind its maker to every figure above it. Mistakes in addition, pricing or entry could still be put right later without the signer being held to have certified a false account. The quarter's own records showed why this mattered: the garrison account carried 45 gallons of arrack for December muster days that had been left out earlier and were added afterwards. The reservation kept the door open for exactly that kind of correction when the Company's auditors in London compared these figures with the storekeeper's returns. The account was closed with the date of the quarter's end, 31 December 1765, although the pages around it were written up on 20 and 21 January. The clerk stated the period the issues covered, not the day the copying was done, so that every charge fell into the correct quarter for the Company's books.
228	223	1766 List of the Honble Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys Diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing the 1st October and ending the 31st December 1765 viz. John Skottowe Esqr Governor Salary 125 . - Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 . 14 . 9 156 . 14 . 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govr Saly 62 . 10 . - Do Diet Money 25 . - 87 . 10 . - Matthew Turling of Council Saly 15 . - Do Accountant 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 Engineers Saly 50 . - Do Diet Money 25 . - Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - 77 . 10 John Stanhoury Chaplain Saly 25 . - Do Diet Money 15 . - 40 . - Matthew Bazett Secretary Saly 17 . 10 . - Do Diet Money 15 . - Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - 35 . - James Rowett Storekeeper Saly 17 . 10 . - Do Diet Money	The following list set out the salaries, diet money and other allowances paid to the East India Company's officers and servants on St Helena for the quarter from 1 October 1765 to 31 December 1765. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe, total, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille, total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Furling, member of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Furling, salary as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Furling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Furling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Matthew Furling, total, £62 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchel, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchel, diet money, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchel, house rent, £2 10s 0d Archibald Mitchel, total, £77 10s 0d John Sh[...], chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d John Sh[...], diet money, £15 0s 0d John Sh[...], 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 **Interpretations** Basic salary made up only part of what each officer received. Diet money paid for meals in place of a seat at the Company's table, house rent covered lodging for those without official quarters, and gratuities rewarded extra service. For the secretary and the storekeeper, the allowances together came to as much as the salary itself. Paying officials in this layered way let the Company keep the formal salary scale low while adjusting each person's real income to their duties and living arrangements. Matthew Furling's entry showed how posts were combined. As a councillor he drew a modest salary, but as accountant he received more, and with diet money and a gratuity his total reached four times his

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		15 . - Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - 35 . - Carried over £ [...]	council pay. On a small island with few qualified men, a single officer often carried several offices at once, and the pay followed the work rather than the rank. Governor Skottowe's allowance for servants was entered as usual, marking it as a fixed customary sum rather than an expense he had to justify each quarter. Several people on this list appeared earlier in the stores accounts. The hair comb charged to general expenses on 20 January went to the Lieutenant Governor, Daniel Corneille, and the English canvas issued the same day to Captain Mitchel went to Archibald Mitchel, the engineer, whose responsibility for the island's works explained the large building programme at Banks's on the fortification account.
229	224	28th January Brought over £ 504 . 4 . 9 William Wrangham Factor Saly 7 . 10 . - Do Diet Money 10 . - Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - Do Assistant to the Governor 10 . - 30 . - Jonathan Dereton Factor Saly 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 22 . 10 Britannicus Wright Writers Saly 5 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 17 . 10 . - John Goodwin Writer Saly 5 Do Diet Money 10 15 . 10 . - Robert Stanley Surgeon Saly 9 . 15 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 22 . 5 . - John Pritchard Surgeon Mates Saly 6 . 5 Do Diet Money 10 . - Do House Rent 2 . 10 18 . 5 . - Richard Beale Judge Advocate Saly 10 . - Do Schoolmaster 3 . 3 . 3 13 . 10 . 3 Samuel Alexander Overseers Saly 7 . 10 Thomas Warne 12 . 10 20 . - Carried over £ 663 . 13	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £504 4s 9d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, pay as assistant to Governor Skottowe, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £30 0s 0d Jonathan Dexton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Dexton, diet money, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Dexton, pay as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Jonathan Dexton, total, £22 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 John Good[...], writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Good[...], diet money, £10 0s 0d John Good[...], total, £15 0s 0d Robert B[...]ley, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert B[...]ley, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert B[...]ley, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert B[...]ley, total, £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 John Pritchard, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, pay as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, total, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Warne, overseer, salary, £12 10s 0d Samuel Alexander and Thomas Warne, total, £20 0s 0d Total carried forward, £663 13s 0d **Interpretations** Factor and writer were grades in the East India Company's civil service, not descriptions of the work done. A writer was the most junior rank, a clerk at the start of his career, and a factor the next step up. On St Helena these men filled whatever posts were needed: William Wrangham served as the Governor's assistant and Jonathan Dexton as assistant storekeeper under James Powell. The extra sums for those duties sat on top of their grade salaries, so rank fixed a man's base pay and his actual job added to it. Diet money was the largest element of pay for the junior staff. A writer's salary was half his diet allowance, and for the surgeon's mate diet money exceeded salary outright. The Company was in effect paying these young men chiefly to feed themselves, a sign that its formal salaries had not kept pace with the cost of living on an island where almost all food beyond the basics came by ship. Richard Beale held two posts that had little to do with each other. As judge advocate he advised on and conducted military courts martial for the garrison, and as schoolmaster he taught the island's children.

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			Combining them reflected the shortage of educated men available, since anyone able to read law and keep accounts could equally be set to teaching.
230	225	1766 Brought over £ 663 . 13 . - William Holbrook Master Mason Saly 30 . - Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Saly 19 . 10 49 . 10 . - John Robinson Carpenters Saly 25 . - Joseph Chamberlain Carpentr Mate Saly 12 . 10 . - 37 . 10 . - Phillip Mahoney Clerk of Peace 10 . - John Bazett Superintendt over ye Hompys Slaves 10 . - Thomas Watts Gardener 10 . - James Torbett Cooper 8 . 15 . - George Bazett Steward 7 . 10 Samuel Perry Clerk & Instrument Cleaner 1 . 5 Thomas Payne Overseer of the Hompys Workmen 6 . 16 . 10½ Zedekiah Saunderson Groom 2 . - John Dobson Armourer 10 . 10 . - Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms 6 . 5 . - John Criswell Patron of the Long Boat 7 . 10 . - John Price Marshall & Goaler 7 . 10 . - William Smith Clerk 5 . - 93 . 1 . 10½ First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Saly 45 . 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 Saly 18 . 5 . - Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - 27 . 11 . 10½ Carried over £ 944 . 11 . 1½	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £663 13s 0d 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, £25 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, salary, £12 10s 0d Total for the carpenters, £37 10s 0d Phillip Mahoney, Clerk of the Peace, £10 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d Thomas Watts, gardener, £10 0s 0d James Torbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d George Bazett, steward, £7 10s 0d Samuel Perry, clerk and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Payne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d John Dobson, armourer, £10 10s 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 officers, £93 1s 10½d First Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, total, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain, total, £27 11s 10½d Total carried forward, £944 11s 1½d **Interpretations** The Company's slaves had their own salaried superintendent, John Bazett, paid the same as the gardener and the Clerk of the Peace. His post matched the separate stores account kept for the slaves and the candles issued for inspecting their house on 20 January. Placing a named officer in charge of the Company's slave workforce gave a single person responsibility for their discipline, rations and labour, and made their management a regular branch of the island's administration. Several men drew pay from more than one post. Thomas Kirkpatrick appeared on the previous list as a councillor and here as captain of the First Company, with his military pay far exceeding his council salary. Solomon St Maurice was both master at arms and a lieutenant in the same company. Civil and military offices were not kept apart on the island, and the same small group of men governed, sat in judgement and commanded the garrison. The patron of the longboat, rendered here as coxswain, was the man in charge of the Company's principal boat and its crew. The term came from the Portuguese word for a master or skipper and was widely used in the Company's eastern service. John Price combined the offices of marshal and gaoler, carrying out arrests and court orders and keeping the island's prisoners, while Phillip Mahoney as Clerk of the Peace kept the records of the magistrates'

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			proceedings. Together they made up the working machinery of the island's law.
231	226	28th January Brought over £ 944 . 11 . 1½ Solomon Jacob Adjutant Saly 22 . 16 . 3 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ 29 . 13 . 1½ Sergeants John Stewart Decemr 5th resigned 5 . 10 . - Do from the 6th December Centinel 1 . 1 . 8 Phillip Mahoney 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Payne 7 . 12 . 1 William Bannister 7 . 12 . 1 29 . 7 . 11 Corporals Joseph Stacey 5 . 6 . 5½ Anthony Reynolds 5 . 6 . 5½ William Bunn 5 . 6 . 5½ Henry Howell Decemr 5th made Serjt 3 . 17 . - Do Sergeant from 6th Do 2 . 3 . 4 21 . 19 . 8½ Drummers Richard Platfoot 5 . 6 . 5½ Joseph Beecham 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels John Stewart Cadet 3 . 16 . ½ John Allis 3 . 16 . ½ John Arlinstall 3 . 16 . ½ John Allman 3 . 16 . ½ James Avery 3 . 16 . ½ James Armstrong 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carried over £ 22 . 16 . 3 Carried over £ 1036 . 4 . 9½	The list of salaries and pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £944 11s 1½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob, total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: John Stewart, as sergeant until he resigned on 5 December 1765, £5 10s 0d John Stewart, as private soldier from 6 December 1765, £1 1s 8d Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Thomas Payne, £7 12s 1d William Bannister, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £29 7s 11d Corporals: Joseph Stacey, £5 6s 5½d Anthony Reynolds, £5 6s 5½d William Bunn, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell, as corporal until he was made sergeant on 5 December 1765, £3 17s 0d Henry Howell, as sergeant from 6 December 1765, £2 3s 4d Total for corporals, £21 19s 3½d Drummers: Richard Platfoot, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Beecham, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers: John Stewart, cadet, £3 16s 0½d John Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Arlinstall, £3 16s 0½d John Allman, £3 16s 0½d James Avery, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £22 16s 3d Total carried forward, £1,036 4s 9½d **Interpretations** Pay was calculated by the day, so a change of rank mid-quarter split a man's entry in two. John Stewart gave up his sergeant's stripes on 5 December 1765 and served the rest of the quarter in the ranks at a lower rate. On the same date Henry Howell was promoted from corporal to fill the vacancy. The garrison did not leave the post empty or bring in an outsider; it promoted from the corporals immediately, keeping the number of sergeants fixed and rewarding a man already known to the officers. The manuscript called its private soldiers sentinels, the usual term in the Company's forces for men of the lowest rank who stood guard. A cadet among them, John Stewart, was a young man of good family serving in the ranks while he waited for a commission. He drew a private's pay but was marked out as a future officer, and his place on the list showed the route by which the island's lieutenants were often found. Phillip Mahoney and Thomas Payne, listed here as sergeants, appeared on the previous page as Clerk of the Peace and as overseer of the Company's workmen. Non-commissioned officers were among the few literate and reliable men available, and the Company drew on them for civil posts while keeping them on the military muster.
232	227	[Upper left of the page faded; entries there are partly illegible.] 1766 Brought over £ 1036 . 4 . 9½ Centinels brought over	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with the remaining private soldiers, carried on from the totals of the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,036 4s 9½d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		[...] [...] [...]wick Decemr 5th made [...] [...] Do Corporal from 6th Decemr [...] [...] [...]own [...] [...] [...]chmans [...] Thomas Blake 3 . 16 . ½ Moses Biffin 3 . 16 . ½ John Britt 3 . 16 . ½ John Barnes 3 . 16 . ½ Timothy Bryan 3 . 16 . ½ Daniel Belford 3 . 16 . ½ Emanuel Bravner 3 . 16 . ½ William Benson Decemr 7th Enlisted 1 . 10 Edward Cockar 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Crabb 3 . 16 . ½ William Clifsold 3 . 16 . ½ Patrick Conner 3 . 16 . ½ Isaac Clay 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Dadley 3 . 16 . ½ John Davis 3 . 16 . ½ John Dew 3 . 16 . ½ Davis Davis 3 . 16 . ½ James Drake 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Durham 3 . 16 . ½ James Dunn 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Calls 3 . 16 . ½ Adam Evans 3 . 16 . ½ Cornelius Fish 3 . 16 . ½ William French 3 . 16 . ½ William Greenwood 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carried over £ 126 . 19 . 6 Carried over £ 1036 . 4 . 9½	Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £22 16s 3d [...]wick, as private soldier until made corporal on 5 December 1765, [...] [...]wick, as corporal from 6 December 1765, [...] [...] [...]own, [...] [...] [...]hmans, [...] Thomas Blake, £3 16s 0½d Moses Biffin, £3 16s 0½d John Britt, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Bryan, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Belford, £3 16s 0½d Emanuel Brewer, £3 16s 0½d William Benson, from his enlistment on 7 December 1765, £1 0s 10d Edward Cockar, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, £3 16s 0½d William Clifford, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Conner, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dow, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Ealls, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d William Green[...], £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £[...] Total carried forward, £1,036 4s 9½d **Interpretations** The top lines of the page and the closing subtotal for the private soldiers have faded beyond recovery, leaving several names and all their sums unreadable. The faded entry at the head of the page completed a chain of promotions set off by John Stewart's resignation. When Henry Howell moved up from corporal to sergeant on 5 December 1765, a private soldier was made corporal on the same day to take Howell's place. Each vacancy was filled from the rank immediately below, so that a single resignation passed down through the company and every grade stayed at full strength. William Benson's entry showed recruitment taking place on the island itself, with his pay starting from the day he enlisted rather than from the beginning of the quarter. A man joining the garrison in December was paid for little more than three weeks, and the clerk's day-by-day reckoning kept the Company from paying for service not yet given.
233	228	28th January Brought over £ 1036 . 4 . 9½ Centinels brought over £ 126 . 19 . 6 John Grainger 3 . 16 . ½ William Hawks 3 . 16 . ½ William Henderson 3 . 16 . ½ James Hodge	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with further private soldiers, carried on from the totals of the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,036 4s 9½d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £126 19s 6d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d William Hawks, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, £3 16s 0½d John Houston, £3 16s 0½d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 . 16 . ½ John Houston 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Haddock 3 . 16 . ½ William Holmes 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Knight 3 . 16 . ½ William Lisle 3 . 16 . ½ Duncan McClaren 3 . 16 . ½ William Munford 3 . 16 . ½ John May 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Meares 3 . 16 . ½ John McAllister 3 . 16 . ½ John Pickering 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Rick 3 . 16 . ½ Michael Reid 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Roberts 3 . 16 . ½ William Robinson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Ransome 3 . 16 . ½ George Rowe 3 . 16 . ½ William Rowlands 3 . 16 . ½ Silvanus Rolf 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Rogers 3 . 16 . ½ William Swatry 3 . 16 . ½ John Springthorne 3 . 16 . ½ John Shares 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Terry 3 . 16 . ½ John Taylor 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 237 . 4 . 8½ Carried over £ 1036 . 4 . 9½	Edward Haddock, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Lilly, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaren, £3 16s 0½d William Munford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Meares, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rich, £3 16s 0½d Michael Reid, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransome, £3 16s 0½d George Rowe, £3 16s 0½d William Rowlands, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolf, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 0½d William Searby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorne, £3 16s 0½d John Shears, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £237 4s 8½d Total carried forward, £1,036 4s 9½d
234	229	1766 Brought over £ 1036 . 4 . 9 Centinels brought over £ [...] Richard [...]ington 3 . 16 . ½ William Tipper 3 . 16 . ½ Luke Vernon 3 . 16 . ½ John Whittingdale 3 . 16 . ½ Benjamin Wise 3 . 16 . ½ John Weston 3 . 16 . ½ George Wall 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Younas	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with the last of the First Company's private soldiers and the officers and sergeants of the Second Company. Total brought forward, £1,036 4s 9½d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £237 4s 8½d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youens, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windatt, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Yates, until his transfer on 6 December 1765, £2 15s 10d Total for private soldiers, £274 4s 11d Second Company:

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		3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Windall 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Yates 6th Decemr Transf 2 . 15 . 10 274 . 4 . 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 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 Worthington 7 . 12 . 1 William Greenough 7 . 12 . 1 John Fish 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Carried over £ 1441 . 14 . 4½	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 Welsh, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welsh, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welsh, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Ware Welsh, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, £7 12s 1d Thomas Wolfington, £7 12s 1d William Greenough, £7 12s 1d John Fish, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Total carried forward, £1,441 14s 3½d **Interpretations** The Bazett family held a remarkable share of the island's posts. Henry Bazett commanded the Second Company, Matthew Bazett was secretary, George Bazett was steward and John Bazett was superintendent of the Company's slaves, and a John Bazett also appeared here among the sergeants. On an island with a small settled population, office passed readily within established families, and a single household could reach into the civil administration, the garrison and the management of the slaves at the same time. Thomas Yates was paid only to 6 December 1765, when he was transferred. His pay stopped on this company's list from that date, and he would have been carried on whichever list he joined, so that no man was paid twice for the same days.
235	230	28th Jany Brought over £ 1441 . 14 . 3½ Corporals William Stapleford 5 . 6 . 5½ Samuel Clare 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Newton 5 . 6 . 5½ George Freeman 5 . 6 . 5½ 21 . 5 . 10 Drummers Robert Davis 5 . 6 . 5½ Francis Keane 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Samuel Alstone 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Adams 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Banks 3 . 16 . ½ William Birch 3 . 16 . ½ William Brooks 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Bott 3 . 16 . ½ Nicholas Bushell 3 . 16 . ½ Daniel Bye 3 . 16 . ½	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with the corporals, drummers and private soldiers of the Second Company. Total brought forward, £1,441 14s 3½d Corporals: William Stapleford, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Clare, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Newton, £5 6s 5½d George Freeman, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers: Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Francis Keane, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers: Samuel Alstone, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bolt, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d William Bell, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, £3 16s 0½d William Corfee, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £72 4s 9½d Total carried forward, £1,473 13s 0½d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Byrne 3 . 16 . ½ William Bell 3 . 16 . ½ John Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Couzens 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Cheverly 3 . 16 . ½ William Conquest 3 . 16 . ½ William Clay 3 . 16 . ½ John Crawley 3 . 16 . ½ William Carfree 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carrd over £ 72 . 4 . 9½ Carried over £ 1473 . 13 . ½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	
236	231	1766 Brought over £ 1473 . 13 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 72 . 4 . 9½ Robert Dickins 3 . 16 . ½ William Drinnan 3 . 16 . ½ George Exton 3 . 16 . ½ William Finch 3 . 16 . ½ William Fullwood 3 . 16 . ½ William Fry 3 . 16 . ½ John Forbes 3 . 16 . ½ William Fletcher Enlisd 10th Decemr . 18 . 4 John Gisdale 3 . 16 . ½ John Gray 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Green 3 . 16 . ½ Charles Goulding 3 . 16 . ½ James Gates 3 . 16 . ½ William Harris Senr 3 . 16 . ½ William Harris Junr 3 . 16 . ½ Abraham Harding 3 . 16 . ½ John Hawksworth 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Hylis 3 . 16 . ½ William Hockly 3 . 16 . ½ John Holbrook 3 . 16 . ½ James Hudson 3 . 16 . ½ William Hunt 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Hailes 3 . 16 . ½	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with further private soldiers of the Second Company. Total brought forward, £1,473 13s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £72 4s 9½d Robert Dickins, £3 16s 0½d William Drennan, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Fullwood, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, £3 16s 0½d William Fletcher, from his enlistment on 10 December 1765, £0 18s 4d John Girdle, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, £3 16s 0½d Charles Golding, £3 16s 0½d James Gates, £3 16s 0½d William Harris the elder, £3 16s 0½d William Harris the younger, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d John Hawksworth, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hyles, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d James Hodson, £3 16s 0½d William Hunt, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hopkinson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £179 12s 3½d Total carried forward, £1,473 13s 0½d

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		William Hayes 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Hopkinson 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Instone 3 . 16 . ½ William Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Jeremiah Jordon 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Jones [...] Centinels Carrd over £ 179 . 12 . 3½ Carried over £ 1473 . 13 . ½	
237	232	28th January Brought over £ 1473 . 13 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 179 . 12 . 3½ John Jacks Enlistd 3d December 1 . 4 . 2 Samuel Hillson 3 . 16 . ½ Evan Knowles October 2d Deceased . 13 . 4 Henry Kirkham 3 . 16 . ½ Edmond Leech 3 . 16 . ½ John Lewis Transfd 9th December 2 . 13 . 4 Thomas Mudge 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Miller 3 . 16 . ½ James Mannington 3 . 16 . ½ John Morrice 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Perry 3 . 16 . ½ William Pinchon 3 . 16 . ½ Stephen Prior 3 . 16 . ½ Abraham Payne 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Richards 3 . 16 . ½ John Christian Rifs 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Rowis 3 . 16 . ½ Benjamin Springer 3 . 16 . ½ John Shrubshall 3 . 16 . ½ William Stone 3 . 16 . ½ John Sabourin 3 . 16 . ½ Gregory Southwood Enlistd 3d Decemr 1 . 4 . 2 Avery Trueman 3 . 16 . ½ John Tucker 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Warrill 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Wyatt Transfd 2d December 2 . 12 . 6 268 . 6 . 8 Carried over	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with the remaining private soldiers of the Second Company. Total brought forward, £1,473 13s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £179 12s 3½d John Jacks, from his enlistment on 3 December 1765, £1 4s 2d Samuel Kitson, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, until his death on 22 October 1765, £0 13s 4d Henry Kirkham, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leach, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, until his transfer on 9 December 1765, £2 13s 4d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Henry Miller, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, £3 16s 0½d John Morrise, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchon, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Prior, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Payne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Richards, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Ruff, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Norris, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Springer, £3 16s 0½d John Shrubshall, £3 16s 0½d William Stone, £3 16s 0½d John Sabourin, £3 16s 0½d Gregory Southwood, from his enlistment on 3 December 1765, £1 4s 2d Avery Trueman, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Worrall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, until his transfer on 2 December 1765, £2 12s 6d Total for private soldiers, £268 6s 8d Total carried forward, £1,741 19s 8½d **Interpretations** Evan Knowles's pay ran only to the day of his death on 22 October 1765, three weeks into the quarter. The sum still stood as a charge on the list because wages earned before death were owed to the dead man's estate, to be set against any debts he left on the island or paid to his heirs. Keeping the entry ensured that a soldier's death closed his account cleanly rather than leaving earned pay unrecorded. Two men, John Jacks and Gregory Southwood, enlisted on the same day, 3 December 1765, and William Fletcher followed a week later. Recruits arriving in a cluster within days of each other pointed to men taken on from a single source at one time, perhaps from a ship in the road, to fill places left by deaths and transfers during the quarter.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£ 1741 . 19 . 8½	
238	233	1766 Brought over £ 1741 . 19 . 8½ Third Company Richard Beale Captain 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 Bridgwater Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - 27 . 11 . 10½ Sergeants Roger Welman 7 . 12 . 1 William Robinson 7 . 12 . 1 Barnard Millard 7 . 12 . 1 David Patton 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Corporals William Roberts 5 . 6 . 5½ William Gordon 25th Novr reduced 3 . 5 . 4 Do Centinel from 26th Do 1 . 10 John Vaughan 5 . 6 . 5½ James Stork 5 . 6 . 5½ 20 . 4 . 8½ Drummers John Roads 5 . 6 . 5½ George Ramsay 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 . 16 . ½ James Anderson 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carrd over £ 7 . 12 . 1 Carrd Over £ 1904 . 11 . 11	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with the officers, sergeants, corporals and drummers of the Third Company, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £1,741 19s 8½d Third Company: Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgwater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgwater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgwater, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger Welman, £7 12s 1d William Robinson, £7 12s 1d Bernard Millard, £7 12s 1d David Patton, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals: William Babcock, £5 6s 5½d William Gordon, as corporal until reduced to the ranks on 25 November 1765, £3 5s 4d William Gordon, as private soldier from 26 November 1765, £1 10s 0d John Vaughan, £5 6s 5½d James York, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £20 13s 8½d Drummers: John Fowles, £5 6s 5½d George Ramsay, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers: Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £7 12s 1d Total carried forward, £1,904 11s 11d **Interpretations** William Gordon was reduced from corporal to private on 25 November 1765, and his pay dropped on the following day. Unlike John Stewart, who resigned his sergeant's post, Gordon's change of rank was imposed on him. Reduction to the ranks was the standard punishment for a non-commissioned officer who had misbehaved, and it struck at his pay as well as his standing, so the loss was recorded precisely to the day in the quarterly list. Richard Beale, already entered as judge advocate and schoolmaster, also commanded the Third Company. His captain's salary was far larger than his pay for the other two posts combined. The same man thus conducted courts martial, taught the island's children and led a company of the garrison, which showed how thinly the Company's educated officers were spread across its civil and military needs.
239	234	28th January Brought over £ 1904 . 11 . 11 Centinels brought over £ 7 . 12 . 1 Charles Abraham 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Brown 3 . 16 . ½ John Britt 3 . 16 . ½ Mark Batts 3 . 16 . ½ Benjamin Bennett	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with further private soldiers of the Third Company. Total brought forward, £1,904 11s 11d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £7 12s 1d Charles Abraham, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d John Butt, £3 16s 0½d Mark Batts, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorne, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beardow, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 . 16 . ½ John Blinkorne 3 . 16 . ½ Frederick Wm Beardsow 3 . 16 . ½ Wm Caleb Baldwin 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Brown 3 . 16 . ½ John Cook 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 . 16 . ½ William Clifton 3 . 16 . ½ William Carr 3 . 16 . ½ Francis Clancey 3 . 16 . ½ John Chapman 3 . 16 . ½ Michael Downey 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Davis 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Dudley 3 . 16 . ½ Charles Edgels 3 . 16 . ½ William Foster 3 . 16 . ½ John Foxen 3 . 16 . ½ Alexander Gray 3 . 16 . ½ Fisher Gamble 3 . 16 . ½ Archibald Grayham 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Gregory 3 . 16 . ½ Felix Hyder 3 . 16 . ½ John Hilliard 3 . 16 . ½ John Herring 3 . 16 . ½ William Hill 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carrd over £ 117 . 17 . 3½ Carried over £ 1904 . 11 . 11 **Margin Notes:** [...]	Richard Brown, £3 16s 0½d John Cook, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, £3 16s 0½d Francis Clancey, £3 16s 0½d John Chapman, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dudley, £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgels, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d John Foxon, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Grey, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gamble, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Graham, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gregory, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £117 17s 3½d Total carried forward, £1,904 11s 11d
240	235	1766 Brought over £ 1904 . 11 . 11 Centinels brought over £ 117 . 17 . 3½ William Hopkins 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Jones 3 . 16 . ½ Josiah Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ James Lee 3 . 16 . ½ John Long	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with further private soldiers of the Third Company. Total brought forward, £1,904 11s 11d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £117 17s 3½d William Hopkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourne, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d John Lemmon, £3 16s 0½d James Long, from his enlistment on 10 December 1765, £0 18s 4d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 . 16 . ½ John Langridge 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Lambourne 3 . 16 . ½ Bryan Lynch 3 . 16 . ½ John Limmon 3 . 16 . ½ James Long Enlistd 10th December . 18 . 4 Charles Neufague 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Mafee 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Morris 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Matthews 25th Novemr made Corpl 2 . 6 . 8 Do Corporal from the 6th November 2 . 2 . - John Millar 3 . 16 . ½ James Moyce 3 . 16 . ½ Abraham Major 3 . 16 . ½ John Copswater 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Perry 3 . 16 . ½ James Pilldor 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Pinchon 3 . 16 . ½ William Probus 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Prince 3 . 16 . ½ John Robertson 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Rock Centinels Carrd Over £ 222 . 1 . 4½ Carried Over £ 1904 . 11 . 11	Charles Mourgague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Mase, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morriss, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, as private soldier until made corporal on 25 November 1765, £2 6s 3d Thomas Matthews, as corporal from 26 November 1765, £2 2s 0d John Millar, £3 16s 0½d James Moyse, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d John [...]water, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d James Pilder, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchon, £3 16s 0½d William P[...], £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, £3 16s 0½d John Roberson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Roach, [...] Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £222 1s 4½d Total carried forward, £1,904 11s 11d **Interpretations** Thomas Matthews was made corporal on 25 November 1765, the same day William Gordon of the Third Company was reduced to the ranks. The vacancy left by Gordon's demotion was filled at once from among the private soldiers, so the company never stood a corporal short and the disgraced man's replacement drew the higher rate from the very next day.
241	236	28th January Brought over £ 1904 . 11 . 11 Centinels brought over £ 222 . 1 . 4½ Adam Scott 3 . 16 . ½ David Scott 3 . 16 . ½ John Smith 3 . 16 . ½ John Shuland 3 . 16 . ½ John Scotcham Transfd 9th December 2 . 18 . 4 Henry Standford 3 . 16 . ½ John Thompson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Taylor 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Upton 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Vincent 3 . 16 . ½ John Wybird 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Ward 3 . 16 . ½	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with the last private soldiers of the Third Company and the officers of the Fourth Company. Total brought forward, £1,904 11s 11d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £222 1s 4½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d John Shuland, £3 16s 0½d John Scotsham, until his transfer on 9 December 1765, £2 13s 4d Henry Standford, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Upton, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Wybird, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d John Walker, £3 16s 0½d James [...]emp, £3 16s 0½d Richard [...]inney, £3 16s 0½d Total for private soldiers, £282 0s 4d Fourth Company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, diet money, £6 16s 10½d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Edward Welch 3 . 16 . ½ John Walker 3 . 16 . ½ James Kemp 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Linney 3 . 16 . ½ 282 . - . 4 Fourth Company John Howard Captain Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Henry De Lanne 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 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 . - 27 . 11 . 10½ Carried over £ 2287 . 8 . 6	Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry De Laune, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert, total, £27 11s 10½d Total carried forward, £2,287 8s 6d
242	237	1766 Brought over £ 2287 . 8 . 6 Sergeants John Fleming 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Rudy 7 . 12 . 1 John Simcox 7 . 12 . 1 Daniel Armin 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Corporals William Readman 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Jones 5 . 6 . 5½ Jonathan Lake 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Thras 5 . 6 . 5½ 21 . 5 . 10 Drummers John Martin 5 . 6 . 5½ George Wils 5 . 6 . 5½ John Slade 5 . 6 . 5½ 15 . 19 . 4½ Centinels John Allen 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Allum Transfd 9th December 2 . 18 . 4 William Allen 3 . 16 . ½ George Burnell 3 . 16 . ½ John Blackwell 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Blackwell 3 . 16 . ½ John Brooks 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Bickerstaff	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with the sergeants, corporals, drummers and private soldiers of the Fourth Company. Total brought forward, £2,287 8s 6d Sergeants: John Fleming, £7 12s 1d Thomas Hardy, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, £7 12s 1d Daniel Armin, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals: William Steadman, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Jones, £5 6s 5½d Jonathan Lake, £5 6s 5½d Thomas [...], £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Martin, £5 6s 5½d George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £15 19s 4½d Private soldiers: John Allen, £3 16s 0½d Robert Allum, until his transfer on 9 December 1765, £2 13s 4d William Allen, £3 16s 0½d George Burnell, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d John Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d John Bullock, £3 16s 0½d John Bever, £3 16s 0½d John Beacham, [...] Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £44 14s 9½d Total carried forward, £2,355 2s 0½d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company kept three drummers where the other companies each had two. Drummers beat the calls that ordered the soldiers' day and signalled alarms, and an extra drummer suggested that this company held posts spread far enough apart, or a station busy enough, to need a third man to carry the signals.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 . 16 . ½ William Blackman 3 . 16 . ½ John Bullock 3 . 16 . ½ John Bevor 3 . 16 . ½ John Beecham Centinels Carried over £ 44 . 14 . 9½ Carried over £ 2355 . 2 . ½	Robert Allum's transfer on 9 December 1765 fell on the same day as those of John Lewis of the Second Company and John Scotsham of the Third. Three men moved out of three different companies on a single date pointed to a deliberate redistribution of the garrison, perhaps to man a new or enlarged post, rather than to individual changes made one at a time.
243	238	28th January Brought over £ 2355 . 2 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 44 . 14 . 9½ Andrew Barton Enld 10th Decr . 18 . 4 James Cartwright 3 . 16 . ½ George Capeling 3 . 16 . ½ William Cootney 3 . 16 . ½ Duncan Cambon 3 . 16 . ½ James Culidas 3 . 16 . ½ John Cunningham 3 . 16 . ½ John Carey 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Clow 3 . 16 . ½ Isaiah Cummings 3 . 16 . ½ John Campin 3 . 16 . ½ John Carfoot 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Daver 3 . 16 . ½ John Deal 3 . 16 . ½ John Everton 3 . 16 . ½ George Green 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Goulding 3 . 16 . ½ John Gillmoor 3 . 16 . ½ Edward German 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Good 3 . 16 . ½ James Goudy 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Hildenburge 3 . 16 . ½ James Hands 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 . 16 . ½ Stephen John 3 . 16 . ½ Christian Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Kilock 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Kempton 3 . 16 . ½ William Lambon 3 . 16 . ½	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with further private soldiers of the Fourth Company. Total brought forward, £2,355 2s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £44 14s 9½d Andrew Barton, from his enlistment on 10 December 1765, £0 18s 4d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Cockney, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Culdes, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d John Carey, £3 16s 0½d Richard Cleave, £3 16s 0½d Isaiah Cummings, £3 16s 0½d John Campin, £3 16s 0½d John Carfoot, £3 16s 0½d Edward Daver, £3 16s 0½d John Deal, £3 16s 0½d John Easton, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gillmore, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d James Goudy, £3 16s 0½d Henry Hildenburge, £3 16s 0½d James H[...], £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hidcock, £3 16s 0½d Richard Kempton, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £152 2s 3½d Total carried forward, £2,355 2s 0½d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Centinels Carrd over £ 152 . 2 . 3½ Carrd over £ 2355 . 2 . ½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	
244	239	1766 Brought over £ 2355 . 2 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 152 . 2 . 3½ Thomas Lee 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Lyne 3 . 16 . ½ John Laurence 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Morton 3 . 16 . ½ Simon Mason 3 . 16 . ½ Murdock McCloed 3 . 16 . ½ William Mitchel 3 . 16 . ½ Jonathan Mallet Transfd 2d Decemr 2 . 12 . 6 John Moue 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Marshall 3 . 16 . ½ John Newton 3 . 16 . ½ Martin Newman 3 . 16 . ½ John Oswald 3 . 16 . ½ John Peck 3 . 16 . ½ Daniel Patrick 3 . 16 . ½ Stephen Papps 3 . 16 . ½ William Parker 3 . 16 . ½ Francis Powell 3 . 16 . ½ James Richardson 3 . 16 . ½ Patrick Riley 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Rutherford 3 . 16 . ½ John Archer 3 . 16 . ½ John Rous 3 . 16 . ½ William Sechman 3 . 16 . ½ John Swindell 3 . 16 . ½ Zedekiah Saunderson 3 . 16 . ½ Roderick Sheffer 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Tefford 3 . 16 . ½ John Thomson Centinels Carrd over £ 261 . 5 . 4½ Carrd over £ 2355 . 2 . ½	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with further private soldiers of the Fourth Company. Total brought forward, £2,355 2s 0½d Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £152 2s 3½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d John Laurence, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McLeod, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallet, until his transfer on 2 December 1765, £2 12s 6d John Mews, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d John Peck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Phipps, £3 16s 0½d William Parker, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Satcher, £3 16s 0½d John [...]ss, £3 16s 0½d William Seckman, £3 16s 0½d John Swindell, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Trifford, £3 16s 0½d John Thomson, [...] Subtotal for private soldiers carried forward, £261 5s 4½d Total carried forward, £2,355 2s 0½d **Interpretations** Jonathan Mallet's transfer on 2 December 1765 coincided with that of Thomas Wyatt of the Second Company on the same day, a week before the three transfers of 9 December. Moves out of different companies in two batches a week apart pointed to the garrison being reorganised in stages that month, with men drawn from each company in turn rather than any one unit bearing the whole loss.
245	240	28th January Brot over	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with the last

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£ Centinels Brot over £ 261 . 3 . 11½ Jeremiah Morrill 3 . 16 . ½ William Wait 3 . 16 . ½ John Worder 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Williams 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Watts 3 . 16 . ½ 280 . 4 . 2 Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt Salary 45 . 12 . 6 Nathan Temple Lieut Salary 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Thomas Leech Lieut Salary 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Sergeants John Whitchurch 9 . 2 . 6 Adam Watson 9 . 2 . 6 John Shirtley 9 . 2 . 6 Richard Waterhouse 9 . 2 . 6 36 . 10 Corporals James Long Transf 9th Decemr 5 . 5 John Cox 6 . 16 . 10½ Thomas Collier 6 . 16 . 10½ John Grainger 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 15 . 7½ Carrd Over £ 2798 . 8 . 1	private soldiers of the Fourth Company and the officers, sergeants and corporals of the Artillery Company. Subtotal for private soldiers brought forward, £261 3s 11½d Jeremiah Morrill, £3 16s 0½d William Watt, £3 16s 0½d John Woods, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 0½d Total for private soldiers, £280 4s 2d Artillery Company: Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan S[...], lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan S[...], diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan S[...], house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathan S[...], total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas [...], lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas [...], diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas [...], house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas [...], total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Total for sergeants, £36 10s 0d Corporals: James Long, until his transfer on 9 December 1765, £5 5s 0d John Cox, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Collier, £6 16s 10½d John Grainger, £6 16s 10½d Total for corporals, £25 15s 7½d Total carried forward, £2,798 8s 1d **Interpretations** The artillery was paid at a clearly higher rate than the infantry. An artillery sergeant received £9 2s 6d for the quarter against £7 12s 1d in the four foot companies, and an artillery corporal £6 16s 10½d against £5 6s 5½d. Gunnery demanded training in laying, loading and firing heavy guns, and calculating range and charge. The premium recognised that skill and helped keep trained gunners from drifting back into the cheaper ranks of the infantry. Archibald Mitchell, already listed as the island's engineer, also commanded the Artillery Company. The two posts fitted together naturally, since the engineer who designed and built the batteries at Banks's and elsewhere was the obvious man to direct the guns mounted in them. James Long left the artillery corporals on 9 December 1765, and a James Long enlisted as a private in the Third Company on 10 December. If these were the same man, his move from a well-paid corporal's post in the artillery to the lowest rank of the infantry on the very next day amounted to a heavy fall in both pay and standing.
246	241	1766 Brought over £ 2798 . 8 . 1 Bombardiers Andrew Barton Transfd 9th Decemr 5 . 5 . - Nicholas Houghton Decr 9th made Corpl 5 . 5 . - Do Corporal from the 10th December 1 . 13 . - Robert Gibson 6 . 16 . 10½ John Peck 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 16 . 9 Gunners William Fletcher Transfd 9th Decemr	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with the bombardiers, gunners, drummers and matrosses of the Artillery Company. Total brought forward, £2,798 8s 1d Bombardiers: Andrew Barton, until his transfer on 9 December 1765, £5 5s 0d Nicholas Houghton, as bombardier until made corporal on 9 December 1765, £5 5s 0d Nicholas Houghton, as corporal from 10 December 1765, £1 13s 0d Robert Gibson, £6 16s 10½d John Peck, £6 16s 10½d Total for bombardiers, £25 16s 9d Gunners:

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		4 . 13 . 4 Eustace White 6 . 1 . 8 John Farrer Decemr 9th made Bombadr 4 . 13 . 4 Do Bombardier from 10th Decemr 1 . 13 . - James Parfett Decemr 9th made Bombadr 4 . 13 . 4 Do Bombardier from 10th December 1 . 13 . - John Martin 6 . 1 . 8 Thomas Jones 25th Novr reduced 3 . 14 . 8 Do Matross from 26th Novr 1 . 16 Evan Newland 6 . 1 . 8 David Dennis 6 . 1 . 8 47 . 3 . 4 Drummers George Garrett 5 . 6 . 5½ Robert Saunders 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Matrosses Robert Allum Enterd 10th Decemr 1 . 2 . - Benjamin Paston 4 . 11 . 3 Isaac Buck 4 . 11 . 3 William Benson Transfd 6th Decemr 3 . 7 . - John Bower 4 . 11 . 3 Matrosses Carrd over £ 18 . 2 . 9 Carried over £ 2882 . 1 . 1	William Fletcher, until his transfer on 9 December 1765, £4 13s 4d Eustace White, £6 1s 8d John Ferrier, as gunner until made bombardier on 9 December 1765, £4 13s 4d John Ferrier, as bombardier from 10 December 1765, £1 13s 0d James Purfett, as gunner until made bombardier on 9 December 1765, £4 13s 4d James Purfett, as bombardier from 10 December 1765, £1 13s 0d John Martin, £6 1s 8d Thomas Jones, as gunner until reduced on 25 November 1765, £3 14s 3d Thomas Jones, as matross from 26 November 1765, £1 16s 0d Evan Newland, £6 1s 8d David Dennis, £6 1s 8d Total for gunners, £47 3s 4d Drummers: George Garrett, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Matrosses: Robert Allum, from his enlistment on 10 December 1765, £1 2s 0d Benjamin Poulton, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d William Benson, until his transfer on 6 December 1765, £3 7s 0d John Brewer, £4 11s 3d Subtotal for matrosses carried forward, £18 2s 9d Total carried forward, £2,882 1s 1d **Interpretations** The dates on this page explained the cluster of transfers and enlistments spread across the infantry lists. Andrew Barton, William Fletcher and James Long left the artillery on 9 December 1765 and each appeared on 10 December as a newly enlisted private in an infantry company. Robert Allum moved the other way, leaving the Fourth Company on 9 December and enlisting as a matross the next day, while William Benson left the matrosses on 6 December and joined the First Company on 7 December. The clerk entered each move as a fresh enlistment, closing a man's pay in one corps and opening it in the other, so that the quarter's accounts for each unit stayed separate. The exchange was a deliberate reshuffle rather than a series of chance changes. On the same day that three men left the artillery, Nicholas Houghton was raised to corporal and John Ferrier and James Purfett to bombardier, filling the places emptied above them. The artillery thus kept its skilled grades full by promoting its own men, and let the less valued members of the company go to the infantry at lower pay. Matrosses were the junior soldiers of the artillery, who helped the gunners haul, load and sponge the guns while learning the trade. Even at this lowest grade they drew £4 11s 3d for the quarter, well above an infantry private's £3 16s 0½d. Thomas Jones's reduction from gunner to matross on 25 November 1765 fell on the same day as William Gordon's in the Third Company and Thomas Matthews's promotion, which suggested a single day of discipline across the garrison.
247	242	28th January Brought over £ 2882 . 1 . 1 Matrosses brot over £ 18 . 2 . 9 James Bottomly 4 . 11 . 3	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued on 20 January with further matrosses of the Artillery Company. Total brought forward, £2,882 1s 1d Subtotal for matrosses brought forward, £18 2s 9d James Bottomly, £4 11s 3d

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		William Bower 4 . 11 . 3 John Cope 4 . 11 . 3 John Criswell 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Clark 4 . 13 . 3 Edmond Conner 4 . 11 . 3 Robert Cunningham 4 . 11 . 3 Adam Crichton 4 . 11 . 3 John Doode 4 . 11 . 3 Daniel Finn 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas McFarling 4 . 11 . 3 Joseph Fellows 4 . 11 . 3 Robert Frankish 4 . 11 . 3 John Cox Novemr 25th made Gunnr 2 . 16 Do Gunner from 26th November 2 . 8 . - Christian Grenawald 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Garvell 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Gran 4 . 11 . 3 William Hodges 4 . 11 . 3 Laurence Hall 4 . 11 . 3 William Jenkins 4 . 11 . 3 John Jacks Transfd 2d December 3 . 3 . - John Lewis Entd 10th December 1 . 2 . - Daniel Maloney 4 . 11 . 3 George Marshall 4 . 11 . 3 Jonathan Mallet Enlistd 3d Decemr 1 . 9 . - Thomas Nimble 4 . 11 . 3 George Nelson 4 . 11 . 3 John Osbourn 4 . 11 . 3 Matrosses Carried over £ 138 . 10 . 9 Carried over £ 2882 . 1 . 1 **Margin Notes:** [...] [...]	William Brewer, £4 11s 3d John Cope, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 [...]s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Adam Crichton, £4 11s 3d John Dodds, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d Robert Frankish, £4 11s 3d John Cox, as matross until made gunner on 25 November 1765, £2 16s 0d John Cox, as gunner from 26 November 1765, £2 8s 0d Christian Grunewald, £4 11s 3d Thomas Gorell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Green, £4 11s 3d William Hedges, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hall, £4 11s 3d William Jenkins, £4 11s 3d John Jacks, until his transfer on 2 December 1765, £3 3s 0d John Lewis, from his enlistment on 10 December 1765, £1 2s 0d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, £4 11s 3d Jonathan Mallet, from his enlistment on 3 December 1765, £1 9s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d John Osborn, £4 11s 3d Subtotal for matrosses carried forward, £138 10s 9d Total carried forward, £2,882 1s 1d **Interpretations** The transfers of 2 and 3 December 1765 turned out to be a straight exchange between two men. John Jacks left the matrosses on 2 December and enlisted in the Second Company the next day, while Jonathan Mallet left the Fourth Company on 2 December and joined the matrosses on 3 December. One man stepped down from the better-paid artillery and another stepped up into it on the same pair of dates, which kept the artillery at strength while moving a particular individual out of it. John Lewis's move from the Second Company to the matrosses on 9 and 10 December followed the same pattern. John Cox's promotion from matross to gunner on 25 November 1765 coincided with the reduction of Thomas Jones from gunner to matross on the same day. The two men simply changed places, with Jones's demotion opening the gunner's post that Cox filled. John Criswell, entered here as a matross, was also coxswain of the Company's longboat on the civil list. Handling the longboat through the surf and serving the guns of the batteries both drew on strength and seamanship, and the same man was paid for both.
248	243	1766 Brought over £ 2882 . 1 . 1 Matrosses brought over £ 138 . 10 . 9 William Phillips 4 . 11 . 3 William Poulton 4 . 11 . 3 Samuel Smith 4 . 11 . 3 Godfrey Smith	The list of pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 continued in 1766 with the last of the matrosses and the grand total for the quarter. Total brought forward, £2,882 1s 1d Subtotal for matrosses brought forward, £138 10s 9d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d John Smith, as matross until made gunner on 9 December 1765, £3 10s 0d

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		4 . 11 . 3 John Smith Decemr 9th made Gunner 3 . 10 . - Do Gunner from 10th December 1 . 9 . 4 Gregory Southwood Transfd 2d December 3 . 3 . - Samuel Spencer 4 . 11 . 3 John Scotcher Enterd the 10th Decemr 1 . 2 Thomas Syer Decemr 9th made Gunner 3 . 10 . - Do Gunner from the 10th December 1 . 9 . 4 Daniel Tongue 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Watts 4 . 11 . 3 John Webbley 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Wellman 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Wyatt Enterd 3d December 1 . 9 . - Thomas Gates Enterd 7th Decr made Gunr 10th Decr . 3 Do Gunner from the 11th December 1 . 9 . 4 196 . 17 . - £ 3078 . 18 . 1 **Margin Notes:** 24	John Smith, as gunner from 10 December 1765, £1 9s 4d Gregory Southwood, until his transfer on 2 December 1765, £3 3s 0d Samuel Spencer, £4 11s 3d John Scotcher, from his enlistment on 10 December 1765, £1 2s 0d Thomas Tyler, as matross until made gunner on 9 December 1765, £3 10s 0d Thomas Tyler, as gunner from 10 December 1765, £1 9s 4d Daniel Torque, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, £4 11s 3d Richard Willman, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, from his enlistment on 3 December 1765, £1 9s 0d Thomas Yates, as matross from his enlistment on 7 December 1765 until made gunner on 10 December 1765, £0 3s 0d Thomas Yates, as gunner from 11 December 1765, £1 9s 4d Total for matrosses, £196 17s 0d Grand total for the quarter, £3,078 18s 1d **Interpretations** The finished list showed where the Company's money on St Helena went. Of more than £3,000 paid out for the quarter, the civil officers and tradesmen accounted for well under a third, while the four foot companies and the artillery took the rest. The island was first and foremost a garrison, and the cost of holding it with soldiers and guns far outweighed the cost of governing it, more even than all the stores issued to every account over the same three months. The December reshuffle reached its last stage here. Thomas Yates came into the matrosses from the Second Company on 7 December 1765 and was made a gunner only three days later, when John Smith and Thomas Tyler were promoted on 9 December to fill the places left by William Fletcher and others. A man raised so quickly was perhaps an experienced artilleryman brought in specifically to take a gunner's post, with his brief spell as a matross serving only to bring him onto the company's books. Gregory Southwood and Thomas Wyatt also completed an exchange like that of Jacks and Mallet, Southwood leaving the matrosses on 2 December for the Second Company while Wyatt moved the other way the next day.
249	244	28th Jany Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr Dr 1765 31st Decemr To Cash received £ 3437 . 16 . 9½ Carried over £ 3437 . 16 . 9½	On 20 January the account of Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, was debited with the cash he had received. 31 December 1765, cash received, £3,487 16s 9½d Total carried forward, £3,487 16s 9½d **Interpretations** Entering the paymaster as a debtor made him personally answerable for the money placed in his hands. The £3,487 16s 9½d he received stood against his name until he showed how it had been spent, and he would be cleared only when payments to the officers and soldiers were credited to him on the opposite side. This was the standard means by which the Company held its cash-handling officers to account, since any shortfall between what he received and what he could prove he had paid out remained his own debt. The cash received exceeded the grand total of the quarter's pay list, £3,078 18s 1d, by more than £400. The paymaster's account therefore covered more than the salaries and soldiers' wages alone, and the remainder would have to be matched against other payments he made on the Company's behalf before his account could balance.

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			Thomas Kirkpatrick already appeared on the pay lists as a member of Council and as captain of the First Company. Adding the office of paymaster put the garrison's cash, one of its companies and a seat in the island's government in the hands of a single man.
250	245	1766 Per Contra Cr 1765 Decr 3 By Cash paid six Men sent to help to warp the Fly Schooner into the Road . 6 . - By Cash paid John Criswell for a Boat bought of him for the use of the Honble Company 4 . - By Cash paid Mr William Young for 7 Posts Tree Fern 3 . 7 . 6 By Cash paid Do for 47 Loads of Stone Tree Fern 2 . 7 By Cash paid James Torbell for 49 Galls of Sour Beer at 2 Pr Gall 4 . 13 By Cash paid Roderick Pritchard 6 Gall of Do 6 . 3 By Cash paid George Bird Joiner for 6 Tin Candle sticks for the Use of the Castle . 4 . 6 By Cash paid Do for Colouring and Gilding a Tin Flower to hang a Branch on for the use of the Castle 1 . 4 By Cash paid Do for Coloring and Painting six Do for the use of the Castle 1 . 10 By Cash paid Do for a Book of Gold leaf Do use . 4 . 6 By Cash paid Do for painting and finding Flowers for two Candle Branches Do use . 5 By Cash paid Sam Desfountain for 7800 Yam at 2/6 Pr Cwt for the use of the Honble Companys Slaves 9 . 15 By Cash paid Do for 10500 Suckers @ 4/ Pr Thousd 2 . 2 By Cash paid Sundry's for Beer Grounds 1 . 8 . 3 By Cash paid Robt Barclay Surgeon for necessarys found the Hospital from January the 1st to Decr 31st 1765 more than the 7 Pr Day for a Man amountg to 35 . 5 . 2 By Cash paid W Finch for Glazing Work done at the Castle and Plantation House this Quarter . 7 . 6 Carried over 78 . 7 . 5	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account recorded the following cash payments made in 1765. The paymaster paid six men sent to help warp the schooner *Fly* into the road, £0 6s 0d. Paid to John Criswell for a boat bought from him for the Company's use, £4 0s 0d Paid to William Young for 7 [...], £8 7s 6d Paid to William Young for 47 loads of stone, £2 7s 0d Paid to James Torbett for 49 gallons of sour beer at 2s a gallon, £4 18s 0d Paid to Roderick [...] for 41 gallons of sour beer, £4 2s 0d Paid to George Bird for 6 tin candlesticks for the Castle, £0 4s 6d Paid to George Bird for colouring and gilding a sunflower from which to hang a candle branch at the Castle, £1 4s 0d Paid to George Bird for colouring and painting a second sunflower for the Castle, £1 10s 0d Paid to George Bird for a book of gold leaf for the same work, £0 4s 6d Paid to George Bird for painting and supplying flowers for two candle branches for the same work, £0 5s 0d Paid to Lieutenant Desfountain for 7,800 yams at 2s 6d a hundred for the Company's slaves, £9 15s 0d Paid to Lieutenant Desfountain for 10,500 suckers at 4s a thousand, £2 2s 0d Paid for sundry beer grounds, £1 3s 3d Paid to Robert Barclay, surgeon, for supplies provided to the hospital from 1 January 1765 to 31 December 1765, at 7d a day for each man, £35 3s 2d Paid to W. Finch for glazing work at the Castle and Plantation House this quarter, £0 7s 6d Total carried forward, £78 7s 5d **Interpretations** The hospital was not stocked directly by the Company but supplied by the surgeon, Robert Barclay, at a fixed rate of sevenpence a day for every patient. Under this arrangement the surgeon bore the cost of food and comforts himself and was reimbursed by the head, so the Company knew in advance what each sick man would cost. The system gave the surgeon a reason to buy cheaply, and also a temptation to stint his patients, since every penny saved below the allowance was his own profit. Samuel Desfountain, a lieutenant of the First Company, sold the Company 7,800 yams for its slaves and 10,500 suckers, the young shoots cut from plantain or banana plants for setting out new plantings. An officer drawing pay from the garrison also supplied it with produce from his own land, which showed how private farming and public office overlapped on the island. The yams fed the slaves directly, while the suckers suggested the Company was extending its own plantations of fruit for future food. The work done by George Bird for the Castle showed a concern for display in the seat of government. Gilded and painted sunflowers hung from the ceiling held candle branches, a fashionable form of light fitting, and the gold leaf bought for the purpose turned a plain room into one fit to receive the commanders of passing ships and other visitors of rank. The sour beer bought from James Torbett, the cooper, and another supplier was perhaps a small beer brewed and allowed to turn, issued to labourers

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			as a cheap drink. Beer grounds were the dregs left after brewing, used as yeast to start a new batch or fed to livestock.
251	246	28th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr Dr 1765 To Cash brought over £ 3437 . 16 . 9½ Carried over £ 3437 . 16 . 9½	The debit side of the account of Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, continued on 20 January with the cash he had received. 1765, cash brought forward, £3,487 16s 9½d Total carried forward, £3,487 16s 9½d
252	247	1766 Per Contra Cr 1765 Brought over £ 78 . 7 . 5 By Cash paid Samuel Bowers for his Boat which was stole by the Honble Companys Blacks 5 . 5 By Cash paid Wm Jenkins for Baking 13 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison @ 10 Pr Batch 6 . 10 By Cash paid Robert Davis for 74 Days Work in the Armourers Shop @ 1/6 Pr Day 4 . 11 . 6 By Cash paid Wm Harker for 9 Days Do in Do @ 1/6 . 13 . 6 By Cash paid for two Iron Pots for the use of the general Works . 7 . - By Cash paid for six half round Files for Do . 7 . 6 By Cash paid for the subsistance of Wm Fowe Seaman left out of the Ship Bute 20 Days @ 6 Pr Day . 10 . - By Cash paid John Robinson for 5 Loads of Binders for the Honble Companys Houses in the St Hood @ 2/6 Pr Ld . 12 . 6 By Cash paid 8 Men employd in the Long Boat their Quarters Allowance at £1 . 10 @ 12 . - By Cash paid two Men extraordinary employd in Do 2 Days this Quarter . 13 . 3 By Cash paid Nocquedah Rocholum his Quarters Allowance 1 . 12 . 6 By Cash paid for House Rent for Do 1 . - . - By Cash paid Evan Newland for relieg to serve the H Company five Years longer as a Soldier 10 . - . - By Cash paid Daniel Tongue for Overseeing in the Long Wood this Quart 2 . 10 . - By Cash paid for Do being omitted last Quarter 2 . 10 Carried over £ 127 . 10 . 7 **Margin Notes:** [...]	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account continued with further cash payments made in 1765, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £78 7s 5d Paid to Samuel Bowers for his boat, wrecked by the Company's slaves, £5 5s 0d Paid to William Perkins for baking 4[...] batches of bread for the garrison at 3s a batch, £6 10s 0d Paid to Robert Davis for [...] days' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £4 11s 6d Paid to William Hacker for 9 days' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £0 13s 6d Paid for 2 iron pots for the general works, £0 7s 0d Paid for 6 half-round files for the general works, £0 7s 6d The paymaster paid for the keep of William Price, a seaman left behind by the ship *Bute*, for 20 days at 6d a day, £0 10s 0d. Paid to John Robinson for 5 loads of binders for the Company's houses at Longwood at 2s 6d a load, £0 12s 6d Paid to 8 men working in the longboat their quarter's allowance at £1 10s 0d each, £12 0s 0d Paid to 2 men taken on as extra hands in the longboat for 21 days this quarter, £0 18s 8d Paid to Nacodah Reholleem his quarter's allowance, £1 12s 6d Paid for Nacodah Reholleem's house rent, £1 0s 0d Paid to Evan Newland as a bounty for agreeing to serve the Company as a soldier for 5 more years, £10 0s 0d Paid to Daniel Torque for overseeing at Longwood this quarter, £2 10s 0d Paid to Daniel Torque for the same duty, left out of last quarter's account, £2 10s 0d Total carried forward, £127 10s 7d **Interpretations** Evan Newland, a gunner on the artillery list, received £10 to sign on for another five years. That sum was more than two quarters of his gunner's pay. Trained artillerymen were hard to replace on an island thousands of miles from the nearest recruiting ground, and paying a bounty to keep a man already skilled was far cheaper than finding and training a new one. The Company paid Samuel Bowers in full for a boat wrecked by its slaves. As their owner, the Company was answerable for damage they did to other people's property, much as a master answered for the acts of his servants, and settling the claim from the paymaster's cash avoided a dispute with a settler whose boat was probably part of his livelihood. The man entered as Nacodah Reholleem bore a title rather than a forename. A nacodah, from the Malay and Persian word for a ship's master, was the captain of a native trading vessel in the eastern seas. His regular quarterly allowance and house rent showed a Malay of some standing maintained by the Company, perhaps as a leader or interpreter among the Malay slaves whose separate stores account appeared earlier.

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			Soldiers were also hired as day labourers. Robert Davis, entered as a drummer in the Second Company, earned extra wages in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, so the garrison doubled as a pool of skilled and semi-skilled labour for the Company's workshops. The binders bought for Longwood were flexible lengths of wood or cane used to tie down thatch on roofs.
253	248	28th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr 1765 To Cash brought over £ 3437 . 16 . 9½ Carried over £ 3437 . 16 . 9½	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account continued on 20 January with the cash he had received. 1765, cash brought forward, £3,487 16s 9½d Total carried forward, £3,487 16s 9½d
254	249	1766 Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 127 . 10 . 7 By Cash paid the Clerk of arraigns and Ranger of the Court at Sessions . 12 . 6 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for coming express with Account of Ships seen to windward . 15 . - By Cash paid Mary Seale for 30900 Yam at 3/ Pr C for the Use of the Honorable Companys Slaves 49 . 17 . - By Cash paid Do for 2250 Do at 1/6 Pr C for Do use 1 . 14 . 3 By Cash paid Do for 11300 Suckers at 2/6 Pr Thousand 1 . 8 . 9 By Cash paid for 54 Days Carpenters Work for repairs to the Castle at 1/6 Pr day 4 . 1 . - By Cash paid for 49 days Do to the Plantation House @ 1/6 3 . 13 . 6 By Cash paid for 18 Do Do Officers Houses 1 . 7 . - By Cash paid for 7½ Do Do Fly Schooner . 11 . 7½ By Cash paid for 66 Do Blacksmiths Work at the Castle at 1/6 Pr Day 4 . 19 . - By Cash paid for 40 Do Bricklayers Do at the Plantation House at 1/6 Pr Day 3 . - . - By Cash paid for 23½ Do Masons Do at the Castle 3 . 14 . 9 By Cash paid for 31 Do Do Bankss Fortifn at 3/6 Pr Day 5 . 8 . 6 By Cash paid for 268 Do Labourers Do @ the Castle @ 1/ 13 . 8 By Cash paid for 147½ Do Do at the Plant House 7 . 7 . 3 By Cash paid for 463 Do Do burning Lime 23 . 3 By Cash paid for 170½ Do Do making Bricks 8 . 10 . 6 By Cash paid for 65½ Do Do repg the Maldivia Garden Wall 3 . 5 . 3 Carrd over £ 264 . 12 . 5½	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account continued in 1766 with further cash payments, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £127 10s 7d Paid to the clerk of arraigns and the crier of the court for attending the court's sittings, £0 12s 6d Paid to various garrison men for carrying urgent messages reporting ships sighted to windward, £0 15s 0d Paid to Mary Seale for 30,900 yams at 3s a hundred for the Company's slaves, £49 17s 0d Paid to Mary Seale for 2,250 yams at 1s 6d a hundred for the same use, £1 13s 9d Paid to Mary Seale for 11,500 suckers at 2s 6d a thousand, £1 8s 9d Paid for 54 days' carpentry on repairs to the Castle at 1s 6d a day, £4 1s 0d Paid for 49 days' carpentry at Plantation House at 1s 6d a day, £3 13s 6d Paid for 18 days' carpentry on the officers' houses, £1 7s 0d The paymaster paid for 7½ days' carpentry on the schooner *Fly*, £0 11s 3d. Paid for 66 days' [...] work at the Castle at 1s 6d a day, £4 19s 0d Paid for 40 days' bricklaying at Plantation House at 1s 6d a day, £3 0s 0d Paid for [...] days' masonry at the Castle, £3 14s 9d Paid for 51 days' masonry on the fortification at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £3 16s 6d Paid for 263 days' labouring at the Castle, £13 3s 0d Paid for 147½ days' labouring at Plantation House, £7 7s 6d Paid for 463 days' labouring at lime burning, £23 3s 0d Paid for 170½ days' labouring at brickmaking, £8 10s 6d Paid for 65½ days' labouring on repairs to the [...] garden wall, £3 5s 6d Total carried forward, £264 12s 5½d **Interpretations** Alongside its own slaves and soldiers, the Company hired labour by the day, paying tradesmen 1s 6d and ordinary labourers 1s. The largest single block of hired labour, 463 days, went into burning lime, the same work for which coal was charged to the general account. Lime burning was heavy, hot and continuous work, and the Company bought in extra hands for it rather than drawing its slaves away from farming and fishing. Brickmaking took a further 170 days, so the island was manufacturing its own building materials on a substantial scale. Mary Seale sold the Company nearly 31,000 yams for its slaves in a single quarter, almost £50 worth, which made her one of its largest suppliers. A woman running a plantation large enough to feed the Company's slaves showed that landholding and trade

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			on the island were open to women, probably widows or heiresses who held land in their own right. The payment to garrison men for carrying word of ships sighted to windward recorded the island's early-warning system. Lookouts on the high ground spotted vessels approaching from the south-east, the direction of the trade wind, long before they reached the road, and runners carried the news to the Castle so that the guns could be manned and the Governor prepared to receive friend or foe. The clerk of arraigns read out the charges against prisoners at a criminal trial, and the crier called the court to order and summoned witnesses. Paying them from the paymaster's cash showed that justice on the island was administered directly by the Company and funded as part of its ordinary expenses.
255	250	28th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr To Cash brought over £ 3437 . 16 . 9½ £ 3437 . 16 . 9½	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account was closed on 20 January with the cash he had received. Cash brought forward, £3,487 16s 9½d Total, £3,487 16s 9½d
256	251	1766 Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 264 . 12 . 5½ By Cash paid for 37 Days Stone blasting at Ruperts Valley at 1/6 Pr Day 2 . 15 . 6 By Cash paid for 63½ Do Bricklayers Work at the L Govr House Do 4 . 15 . 1½ By Cash paid for 2 Days Paint Do Do Do 2 . - . 6 By Cash paid for 22 Do Do at the Castle Do 1 . 13 . - By Cash paid for 8 Do Stonesawing at Do Do . 12 . - By Cash paid for 120 Do Lab Work at L Govr House 1/ 6 . 2 By Cash paid for 921½ Do Do @ the Valley @ 1/ 46 . 1 . 3 By Cash paid for 697½ Do Do at the Blacks House 34 . 7 . 9 By Cash paid for 32½ Do Stoneblow at Do 1/6 2 . 8 . 1½ By Cash paid for 7 Do Sailmakers Work to the Fly Schoor 1/6 . 10 . 6 By Cash paid for 154 Do Masonry Do for repairs to the Honorable Companys Houses Inhabited by the Chapl and Officers at 3 Pr Day 23 . 1 . - By Cash paid for 376½ Do Labour Work for Do @ 1 18 . 16 . 9 £ 408 . 18 . 8½ By the Amount of the Pay List 3078 . 18 . 1 £ 3487 . 16 . 9½ St Helena 31st Decemr 1765 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Kirkpatrick Paymr Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of December last which is as follows viz.	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account was completed in 1766 with the last cash payments, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, £264 12s 5½d Paid for 37 days' stone blasting at Rupert's at 1s 6d a day, £2 15s 6d Paid for 63½ days' bricklaying at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £4 15s 3d Paid for 27 days' painting at the Lieutenant Governor's house at 1s 6d a day, £2 0s 6d Paid for 22 days' painting at the Castle, £1 13s 0d Paid for 8 days' stone sawing at the Castle, £0 12s 0d Paid for 120 days' labouring at the Lieutenant Governor's house at 1s a day, £6 0s 0d Paid for 921½ days' labouring at Rupert's at 1s a day, £46 1s 6d Paid for 687¾ days' labouring at the slave house, £34 7s 9d Paid for 32½ days' stone blasting at the slave house at 1s 6d a day, £2 8s 9d The paymaster paid for 7 days' sailmaking for the schooner *Fly* at 1s 6d a day, £0 10s 6d. Paid for 159 days' masonry on repairs to the Company's houses occupied by the chaplain and officers at 3s a day, £23 17s 0d Paid for 376¾ days' labouring on the same houses at 1s a day, £18 16s 9d Subtotal for cash payments, £408 12s 8½d Amount of the pay list, £3,078 18s 1d Total, £3,487 16s 9½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Company's cash for December was afterwards counted and checked. **Interpretations** The two sides of the paymaster's account now balanced exactly at £3,487 16s 9½d. Every penny Kirkpatrick had received was matched by the pay list and the cash payments, which discharged him of personal liability for the quarter. The count of the Company's cash that followed immediately was the physical check on that paper balance: the coin actually in the chest was counted against what the books said should be there, so that a balanced account could not hide a missing sum. The heaviest spending on hired labour went to two projects. More than 900 days of labouring and much stone blasting went into works at Rupert's, the valley and bay east of Jamestown that offered a second landing place and needed its own defences. Nearly 700 days of labouring and further blasting went into the slave house, which pointed to a new

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			building or a major enlargement to lodge the Company's slaves, rather than repair of the existing one. Stone blasting meant breaking rock with gunpowder, both to clear ground and to quarry building stone from the island's hard volcanic rock, and it was paid at the craftsman's rate of 1s 6d a day because of its skill and danger. The masons working on the chaplain's and officers' houses earned twice that rate at 3s a day, the highest wage on the page, which reflected the scarcity of skilled masons on the island.
257	252	Cash Dr 1766 Decem 1 To Balance remaining £ 8647 . 13 . 8 31 To James Rowett received of him for Stores sold in the Quart this day 1369 . 4 . 1 To Plantation for Provision Sold 33 . 18 . 2½ To Fortification for Lime Sold 6 . 1 . 3 To two Purbeck Stones Sold . 15 . 3 To Licences for publick Houses 17 . 10 . - To Sundry Accounts for Damaged Goods Sold at Publick Auction 18 . 3 . 2 £ 10093 . 15 . 7½ Per Contra Cr 1765 Decr 31 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymr to pay Salary &c in the Quarter ending this day 3487 . 16 . 9½ By Balance remaining viz. In Spicie 6066 . 3 . 10 In Cash Notes of no use 539 . 15 6605 . 18 . 10 £ 10093 . 15 . 7½ John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 28th Jany	The Company's cash account for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 was closed on 20 January as follows. Receipts: 1 December 1765, balance in hand, £8,647 18s 8d 31 December 1765, received from James Powell for stores sold during the quarter, £1,369 4s 1d Received from the Plantation for provisions sold, £33 18s 2½d Received from the fortification account for lime sold, £6 1s 3d Received for 2 Purbeck stones sold, £0 15s 3d Received for licences for public houses, £17 10s 0d Received from various accounts for damaged goods sold at public auction, £18 8s 2d Total, £10,093 15s 7½d Payments and balance: 31 December 1765, advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges for the quarter, £3,487 16s 9½d Balance in hand in coin, £6,066 3s 10d Balance in hand in unusable cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance in hand, £6,605 18s 10d Total, £10,093 15s 7½d Governor Skottowe signed the account with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The closing balance separated coin from paper, and more than £500 of the Company's cash on the island was entered as notes of no use. These were paper notes that could not be passed or redeemed on St Helena, perhaps issued elsewhere or no longer honoured, yet the Council could not simply write them off without the Company's authority. Recording them as part of the balance but marking them as useless kept the books honest while flagging the loss to the directors in London, who alone could decide what became of them. Licences for public houses brought the Company a direct revenue from the island's drink trade. Requiring every alehouse and tavern to hold a paid licence gave the Council a means of limiting the number of drinking places, removing troublesome keepers and controlling the sale of spirits to soldiers and seamen, as well as a small but regular income. The stores sales of £1,369 4s 1d, paid in by the storekeeper James Powell, made up nearly all of the quarter's new receipts. The Company recovered much of its spending on imported goods by selling them on to planters and ships at a fixed advance, as the sale lists earlier in the account showed. The two Purbeck stones were slabs of the hard, fine limestone quarried in Dorset and shipped as paving and steps. Selling a single pair of them showed that even surplus building stone sent out from England could be turned back into cash on an island that lacked anything comparable.
258	253	27th January	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 January 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding.

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th Day of Jany 1766 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 27th Jany 1766 Monday the 20th Died Digby Son of Mr James Greentree Planter Thursday the 23d Do John Arlinstall Soldier Do . . . . Do Arrived the Honble Companys Ship Admiral Stevens from Bengal Yesterday passed by a Ship at a great distance Being in great want of Provisions for the Garrison We have therefore bought of Captain Griffin the following Articles as Pr Bill viz. The Honble East India Compy To Capt John Griffin Dr To 61 Bushels Wheat @ 7/6 £ 22 . 17 . 6 2 Leaguers Arrack 305½ Galls @ 4/ 61 . 2 . - Sugar 15 . 2 . 13 @ 62/ 47 . 11 . - £ 131 . 10 . 6 Recd the above in full for John Griffin (signed) J Lang	Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 20 January 1766, were read, approved and signed. Digby, the son of James Greentree, a planter, died on Monday 20 January 1766. John Arlinstall, a soldier, died on Thursday 23 January 1766. On the same day the Company's ship *Admiral Stevens* arrived from Bengal. A ship passed the island far out to sea on 26 January 1766. The garrison was badly short of provisions, so the Council bought the following goods from Captain John Griffin, as set out in his bill to the Company. 61 bushels of wheat at 7s 6d a bushel, £22 17s 6d 2 leaguers of arrack, 305½ gallons, at 4s a gallon, £61 2s 0d 15 cwt 2 qr 13 lb of sago at 62s a hundredweight, £47 11s 0d Total, £131 10s 6d Lang signed a receipt for the full amount on behalf of John Griffin. **Interpretations** The Council bought from a ship's captain because the Company's own stores had run short. Commanders and officers of East India ships were allowed to carry goods on their own account, and arrack, sago and grain from Bengal were exactly the kind of private cargo they brought. Buying from Captain Griffin met an immediate need, but at his price. Arrack charged to the island's accounts in the last quarter of 1765 had cost about 3s a gallon, while Griffin was paid 4s, a third more. The garrison's shortage gave the seller the advantage, and the Council recorded its want of provisions to justify the higher cost to the directors. A leaguer was a very large cask, used chiefly in the Dutch and eastern trade for arrack and wine, holding around 150 gallons; the two here together held just over 305 gallons. Sago, already met in small quantities among the planters' purchases, was bought here in bulk as a substitute for bread grain, since it kept well and could be cooked into a filling porridge when flour was scarce. John Arlinstall, whose death was recorded on 23 January 1766, appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a private soldier in the First Company. His name would now drop from the next quarter's list, with his pay calculated to the day of his death.
259	254	27th January We have likewise received from the Admiral Stevens one thousand pounds of Rice two hundred and forty Six pounds of Flour and a Yawl and Oars all belonging to the Honble Company John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d Day of Febry 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 27th Jany 1766 Friday the 31st Passed by a Ship at a great distance George Cutler Capt Steward of the Admiral Stevens having applied to Us to purchase the Freedom of Grace Tanner one of	The Council also recorded that it had received from the *Admiral Stevens* 1,000 lb of rice, 246 lb of flour, and a yawl with its oars, all of them the Company's property. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 3 February 1766, with the Governor presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 27 January 1766 were read, approved and signed. A ship passed the island far out to sea on Friday 31 January 1766. George Butler, the captain's steward aboard the *Admiral Stevens*, asked to buy the freedom of Grace Tanner, one of the Company's slave women. He wanted to do so out of gratitude, because she had saved his life when he fell ill on the island some years earlier. The Council agreed to his request. It judged that freeing her would cause the Company no harm, since it held more slave women than it could usefully employ. Butler paid £21 0s 0d, the value at which

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		the Honble Companys Slave Women in gratitude of her having saved his Life when Sick upon this Island some Years ago we thought proper to grant him his request as we apprehend it will not be detrimental to the Company having a greater number of Slave Women than we use for he having paid twenty one pounds the price she stood upon the general Books	Grace Tanner was entered in the Company's general books. **Interpretations** The Council could easily have refused. Grace Tanner was Company property, and the obvious course for any owner was to keep a working slave rather than part with her. The minutes show why it did not: the Company already had more slave women than it needed, so her labour could be spared, while Butler's payment turned a surplus person into cash. Gratitude was Butler's motive, but the Council's reason was purely economic, and it took care to record that reasoning so the directors could see that no loss had been suffered. The price of £21 0s 0d was not negotiated but taken from the value at which she stood in the general books. The Company carried each of its slaves as an asset at a fixed valuation, much like a piece of equipment, and releasing one meant removing that sum from the books and replacing it with an equal amount of cash. Setting the price this way kept the accounts balanced and spared the Council any charge of selling Company property below its worth. The yawl returned by the *Admiral Stevens* was a ship's boat, a light, broad craft rowed by four or six oars and often fitted with a small sail. It belonged to the Company and had evidently been lent to or carried by the ship. Its return gave the island another boat for the constant work of landing goods through the surf, where the earlier accounts showed boats being wrecked and repaired at heavy cost.
260	255	3d February Captain John Griffin this day applied to Us to pay three hundred and ninety six pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Captain John Durand (or Order) ninety days after sight John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of February 1766 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 3d February 1766 Monday the 3d Sailed the Honble Companys Ship Admiral Stevens for England The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of Jany last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz.	Captain John Griffin asked on 3 February 1766 to pay £396 0s 0d into the Company's cash on the island. The Council accepted the money. In return it gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Company's Court of Directors, payable to Captain John Durand or to whomever he named, 90 days after they were presented. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 February 1766, with the Governor presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 3 February 1766 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Admiral Stevens* sailed for England on Monday 3 February 1766. The gunner's and steward's accounts for January 1766 were presented at this meeting. The Council examined them and gave its approval. **Interpretations** The bill of exchange let both sides avoid moving coin across the ocean. Captain Griffin had money on the island, including the £131 10s 6d paid to him for wheat, arrack and sago on 27 January 1766, and would otherwise have had to carry it home in his ship at the risk of loss. By paying it into the Company's chest he received a written order that the directors in London would honour 90 days after it was shown to them. The Company gained hard cash where it was scarce and needed for wages, and settled the debt later in London where its funds were held. Making the bill payable to Captain John Durand or his order meant Griffin could direct the money to a partner, creditor or agent in England without handling it himself. The words "or order" made the bill transferable, so it could pass from hand to hand by endorsement and serve as currency in the London money market before it fell due.
261	256	3d February Captain John Griffin this day applied to Us to pay three	Captain John Griffin asked on 3 February 1766 to pay £396 0s 0d into the Company's cash on the island. The Council accepted the money. In return it

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262	257	1766 Sheep Skins for Lemon Valley Ruperts Bankss & Sandy Bay 3 Nails for Do 2¾ lb Match burnt at Ruperts 2 lb Worm for a 9 Pound Lock at Ruperts 1 Rammer Heads for the different Forts 15 (signed) A Mitchell Sundrys Expended at the Honble Companys Table in the Month of January 1766 viz. 8 Bottles Port Wine £ . 12 . - 33 Do Lisbon 2 . 9 . 6 13 Do Mountain . 19 . 6 24 Do Beer . 6 . - 6½ Do Arrack 3 . 9 . 9 66 Beef 1 . 7 . - 233 lb Mutton 5 . 17 . 6 4 Ducks . 6 . - 12 Fowls . 18 . - 15 lb Butter . 15 . - 9 lb Candy 1 . 12 . -	The gunner's account for January 1766 continued with the following stores used at the forts, signed by Mitchell. 3 sheepskins for Lemon Valley, Rupert's, Banks's and Sandy Bay 2½ lb of nails for the same posts 2 lb of slow match burnt at Rupert's 1 worm for a 9-pounder gun, broken at Rupert's 15 rammer heads for the various forts The following food and drink were used at the Company's table during January 1766. 8 bottles of port, £0 12s 0d 33 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 9s 6d 13 bottles of mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 24 bottles of beer, £0 6s 0d 6½ [...] of arrack, £3 9s 9d 66 lb of beef, £1 7s 0d 233 lb of mutton, £5 17s 6d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 15 lb of butter, £0 15s 0d 9 lb of sugar candy, £1 12s 0d 300 lb of flour, £3 2s 0d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d Total, £22 14s 9d On 10 February 1766 the Council granted Matthew Bazett a lease of 11 acres of land in the island's East Division, at a rent of 5s an acre. **Interpretations** The lease to Matthew Bazett showed how land on St Helena was held. The Company owned the island outright and did not sell its land; instead it let plots to settlers at a fixed annual rent per acre, recorded formally in its register of deeds and leases. The arrangement kept ultimate control of every acre in the Company's hands while drawing a steady income from the settlers who farmed it. Bazett, already the island's secretary on the pay list, was taking up land in his own right, another sign of how

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		300 lb Flour 3 . 2 . - 2 Lambs 1 . - . - £ 22 . 14 . 9 We this day Executed a Lease to Mr Matthew Bazett for Eleven Acres of Land lying in the East Division of this Island at 5/ Pr Acre	officials built up private interests alongside their posts. The Company's table was the official dining table kept at the Castle, where the Governor and senior officers ate and where commanders of visiting ships were entertained. Its monthly bill, paid by the Company, covered both everyday meals and hospitality. Lisbon wine was a white wine from the region around Lisbon, and mountain wine was a sweet fortified wine from the hills of Málaga in southern Spain. Both were cheaper than claret and widely drunk in Britain and its outposts. The heavy weight of mutton against beef reflected the island's own flocks, which the Plantation account showed being shorn and marked. The gunner's stores pointed to the routine wear of artillery at the coastal batteries. A worm was a corkscrew-shaped iron head on a long staff, used to draw out unburnt cartridge and wadding from the bore of a gun after firing; a broken one left a gun unsafe to reload. Rammer heads drove the charge and shot home, and the sheepskins were wrapped around sponge heads to swab out the bore and quench any sparks before the next charge went in. Slow match was a cord soaked in saltpetre that smouldered steadily and was kept burning at the batteries to fire the guns.
263	258	10th February On Monday Night last just as the Ship Admiral Stevens was getting away William French Coxswain of the Long Boat that was employed in the Service of that Ship while she was here came on shore and acquainted Us that five of the Boats Crew Namely George Exton Francis Clansey John Lawrence Henry Crabb and John Shrubshall had deserted upon which we immediately made a signal by firing two Guns and hoisted a Light and sent Lieutenant Thomas Bazett in a Boat to endeavour to board her and bring the Deserters Back but he returned without being able to effect it as they did not observe the Signal but put out their Lights and made all the sail they possibly could; As we have great reason to suspect these Men had been inveigled away we took the following depositions viz. William French Patron of the Long Boat being duly Sworn saith that on Monday the 3d Instant about six oClock in the Evening being a long side of the Ship Admiral Stevens went on board her and desired the Commanding Officer to turn out some of the People to rouse the Cable onboard the Ship which being done wanting water and being refused it upon the Quarter Deck was Obliged to go between Decks and upon his returning again upon the Quarter Deck Missed Henry Crabb one of the Long Boats Crew he immediately went to the Chief Mate and acquainted him that one of the Soldiers was missing and desired he would not detain him to which he answered he would not nor the Coxswain French; upon which he this deponent went to the Boat and likewise missed John Shrubshall another of the said Boats Crew the Captain then Coming on board he the said French went to him	On the night of Monday 3 February 1766, just as the *Admiral Stevens* was getting under way, William French came ashore with news of a desertion. French was coxswain of the longboat that had served the ship while she lay at the island. He reported that five of the boat's crew had deserted: George Exton, Francis Clancey, John Lawrence, Henry Crabb and John Shrubshall. The Council at once signalled the ship by firing two guns and hoisting a light. It sent Lieutenant Thomas Bazett out in a boat to try to board her and bring the deserters back. Bazett returned without success. The ship ignored the signal, put out her lights and crowded on all the sail she could carry. The Council had strong grounds to suspect that the men had been lured away, and it took sworn statements from witnesses. William French, coxswain of the longboat, stated on oath that he brought the boat alongside the *Admiral Stevens* at about six in the evening on 3 February 1766. He went aboard and asked the officer in command to send some of the crew to haul in the cable. That was done. French then needed water and was refused it on the quarterdeck, so he went below to find some. When he came back up, he noticed that Henry Crabb, one of the longboat's crew, was missing. French went straight to the chief mate and told him that one of the soldiers had gone. He asked the mate not to keep the man aboard. The mate replied that he would hold neither the soldier nor French himself. French then returned to the boat and found that John Shrubshall, another of the crew, was also missing. When the captain came aboard, French told him that two of the boat's crew had disappeared and asked him not to keep them. The captain replied that the ship belonged to the Company just as much as the longboat did. He then asked French whether he needed help to tow the boat back to her moorings. French answered that he still had four men left. **Interpretations** All five deserters were soldiers of the garrison, entered on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765: Henry Crabb in the First Company, George Exton and John Shrubshall in the Second, Francis Clancey in the Third and John Lawrence in the Fourth. Soldiers manned the longboat when ships

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		and acquainted him that two of the Boats Crew were missing and hoped he would not detain them upon which the Captain Answered that the Ship belonged to the Company as well as the Long Boat the Captain then asked him if he wanted any Assistance to tow the Boat to her Moorings he replied that he had four Men left and **Margin Notes:** [...]	were in the road, which put them alongside outward-bound vessels at the very moment escape was easiest. A departing ship offered the only way off the island, and service in the boats gave men the chance to slip aboard unnoticed. The captain's answer was an evasion dressed as a principle. By pointing out that the ship and the longboat both belonged to the Company, he implied that a soldier passing from one to the other had done no wrong, and so avoided giving the men up. His later offer of help to tow the boat suggested he wanted French gone quickly. The ship's refusal to answer the signal guns and her dousing of lights confirmed that the deserters were being kept aboard deliberately, with the officers' knowledge. The Council did not simply note the loss. It took French's evidence under oath, turning his account into a formal deposition that could be sent to the directors in London. A sworn record was needed to bring a charge against the commander of a Company ship, since only the Court of Directors could punish him, and his conduct on the voyage home would otherwise go unchallenged.
264	259	1766 good Oars therefore wanted none upon which the Captain threatened to tow him four or Five Leagues in the Offing and Ordered the small Boat to be manned with a White Quarter Master and four Lascars which towed him to the Long Boats Moorings but the night being dark could not see the Bouy the Quarter Master then Threatened to cast him loose the said French desired he would not leave him so as he had no Moorings on board of the Long Boat but securing himself by a six Oared Boat belonging the Honorable Company three of the Men Namely George Exton Francis Clansey and John Lawrence jumped in the Ships Boat and Rowed away to the Ship and the Quarter Master wished him a good night the Anchor being then a Peak Timothy Brion being likewise duly Sworn saith that on Sunday the 2d Instant being left on board the Ship about nine oClock at night he asked the Chief Mate to send him on shore as he was a Garrison Man upon which he replied dont be afraid as you are on board a Compys Ship and a Companys Servant as well as he was he the said Bryan then went Forward upon the Forecastle the Commanding Officer Sent his Black Servant to him and Ordered him upon the Quarter Deck which Order he Obeyed and upon his coming Forward the Chief mate said my Lad dont be afraid Ill give you a Letter to the Governor to morrow Morning and sent him supper a Bowl of Punch and half a Bottle of Red wine and about a Quarter of an Hour after he came out upon the Quarter Deck again and asked him the said Brion whether he would go in the Ship with him he answered no and came on shore in the Long Boat the next morning This said deponent further declares that being in the Long Boat along side of the Ship the night she sailed he saw John Shrubshall follow the Coxswain	William French went on to state that, having four men and good oars, he needed no help. The captain then threatened to tow him four or five leagues out to sea. Instead he ordered the ship's small boat to be manned by a white quartermaster and four lascars, who towed the longboat towards its moorings. The night was too dark to see the mooring buoy, and the quartermaster threatened to cast the longboat loose. French begged him not to leave it adrift, since it carried no moorings of its own. French made the longboat fast to a six-oared boat belonging to the Company. At that moment three of his men, George Exton, Francis Clancey and John Lawrence, jumped into the ship's boat and rowed off to the ship. The quartermaster wished French good night. By then the ship's anchor was already hove short, ready to be weighed. Timothy Bryan also gave evidence on oath. On the evening of Sunday 2 February 1766 he had been left aboard the ship at about nine o'clock. He asked the chief mate to have him put ashore, since he belonged to the garrison. The mate told him not to worry, because he was aboard a Company ship and was a Company servant just as the mate was. Bryan then went forward to the forecastle. The commanding officer sent his black servant to fetch him and ordered him to the quarterdeck, and Bryan obeyed. The chief mate reassured him again and promised to give him a letter for Governor Skottowe the next morning. He sent Bryan a bowl of punch and half a bottle of red wine for his supper. About a quarter of an hour later the mate came back on deck and asked whether Bryan would sail with the ship. Bryan refused, and he came ashore in the longboat the following morning. Bryan further stated that on the night the ship sailed he was in the longboat alongside her. He saw John Shrubshall follow the coxswain, William French, up the ship's side. When French found Henry Crabb and John Shrubshall missing, he asked the captain to return them. Bryan heard French tell the captain that he hoped he was too much of a gentleman to cripple the Company's longboat by taking two of its crew. **Interpretations** Timothy Bryan's evidence showed that the desertions were not a sudden escape but the end of a deliberate effort by the ship's officers. The night before she sailed, the chief mate kept a garrison soldier aboard, soothed his fears by insisting all were Company servants together, plied him with punch and wine, and then invited him to sail. Bryan refused,

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		William French up in the Ship and the said French missing Henry Crabb and John Shrubshall two Men belonging to the Boat applied to the Captain for them and heard French say to him he hoped he was more of a Gentleman than to distress the Companys Long Boat by taken two Men belonging **Margin Notes:** [...] [...]	but the same approach evidently worked on the five who went. Bryan himself was entered on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a private in the First Company. The commander had a practical motive. Ships sailing home after months at sea were often short of hands through death and sickness, and able-bodied men taken from the island filled the gaps at no cost to the vessel. Soldiers were the Company's servants too, so the officers could argue they were merely moving men from one branch of its service to another. For the island the loss was real: five trained soldiers gone from a small garrison that could not easily replace them. Lascars were seamen recruited in India, commonly serving on East India Company ships alongside European sailors. An anchor hove short, the meaning of the manuscript's phrase, had been hauled in until the cable stood almost vertical, with the ship directly above it and ready to sail at once. That French was cast off at that moment showed how close the ship was to leaving, and how little chance there was of recovering the men once they were aboard.
265	260	10th February belonging to her he replying that the Ship Belonged to the Company as well as the Long Boat Captain Griffin then ordered a Candle and Lanthorn to be got to search below for the aforesaid two Men but soon after they returned and he heard some body on board the ship say one of the Soldiers was fallen over board upon which they left the Ship he further confirms the latter part of Frenches Evidence with regard to George Exton Francis Clansey and John Lawrence jumping out of the Long Boat into the Ships Boat and returning with her to the Admiral Stevens Lieutenant Thomas Bazett who was the Officer sent upon being informed of the Desertion of the above Men being Duly sworn deposeth that on Monday the 3d Instant he was sent with a Boat between the Hours of eight and nine in the evening to board the Ship Admiral Stevens which had just weighed Anchor to stop some Men that had deserted from the Garrison accordingly pursued the Ship came up with her very fast soon after he observed for about half an Hour with a Light hoisted for a signal that her lights disappeared and they made more sail from which proceedings he supposes they must have seen the Signal which was a man standing up in the stern of the Boat with a Lanthorn and Candle in his hand and imagines they put out their Lights to avoid the Boats boarding of the Ship John Herring another of the Soldiers being missed the night the Admiral Stevens Sailed and his Cloaths found near the Water side we suppose he likewise deserted on board that Ship The Governor received the following Letter from Capt Griffin upon the return of the Long Boat viz.	William French's request to the captain drew the same answer as before: the ship belonged to the Company just as the longboat did. Captain Griffin then ordered a candle and lantern to be brought so that the two missing men could be searched for below decks. The searchers soon came back, and Timothy Bryan heard someone aboard say that one of the soldiers had fallen overboard. With that, French and his party left the ship. Bryan also confirmed the last part of French's evidence. He saw George Exton, Francis Clancey and John Lawrence jump from the longboat into the ship's boat and return with it to the *Admiral Stevens*. Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, the officer sent out when the desertion was reported, gave evidence on oath. On the evening of Monday 3 February 1766, between eight and nine o'clock, he was sent with a boat to board the *Admiral Stevens*, which had just weighed anchor. His orders were to demand the return of men who had deserted from the garrison. He chased the ship for about half an hour with a light hoisted as a signal, and he was gaining on her quickly. Soon afterwards her lights went out and she set more sail. Bazett believed the crew must have seen his signal, which was a man standing in the stern of the boat holding a lit lantern. He thought they had put out their lights to stop his boat from boarding. Another soldier, John Herring, was found to be missing on the night the *Admiral Stevens* sailed. His clothes were discovered near the shore. The Council concluded that he too had deserted aboard that ship. Governor Skottowe received a letter from Captain Griffin when the longboat returned. **Interpretations** The commander who carried off the deserters was the same Captain John Griffin with whom the Council had just done business. On 27 January 1766 it paid him £131 10s 6d for wheat, arrack and sago, and on 3 February 1766, the very day he sailed, it took £396 into the Company's chest and gave him bills on the directors in London. Those bills were the Council's only remaining hold over him. A report of his conduct, backed by sworn evidence, could reach the Court of Directors before he did, and the directors controlled both his future commands and the bills he was carrying home. The search below decks and the cry that a soldier had fallen overboard looked like a deliberate ruse. A brief search with a candle gave the appearance of good faith, while the claim of a man lost overboard offered a ready explanation for his absence that

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			ended any further enquiry. John Herring's clothes left on the shore served the same purpose for the island: a man who seemed to have drowned would not be looked for. Herring appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a private in the Third Company.
266	261	1766 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor of St Helena Ship Admiral Stevens in St Helena Road 3d February 1766 Worshipful Sir One of the Long Boats Crew has Secreted himself on board the Ship that I cannot find with all the search I can make and as the Ship is under way and night comming on I cannot possibly stop the Ship to search more thoroughly I am Worshipful Sir Your most obedient Servant Signed John Griffin We this day put apprentices for five Years George Daniel and Frank two of the Honble Compys Slave Boys to John Robinson Carpenter to learn the Trade of a Carpenter as likewise Belford and Luke two others to William Holbrook to learn the Trade of a mason the Covenants bear date the 1st of October 1765 they having them from that time upon Tryal the several Apprentices to be Cloathed and Fed by the Honorable Company during the term of their Apprenticeship John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** [...] [...]	Captain John Griffin wrote to Governor Skottowe from the *Admiral Stevens* in St Helena road on 3 February 1766. He reported that one of the longboat's crew had hidden himself aboard and could not be found, however thoroughly the ship was searched. With the ship already under way and night falling, Griffin said he could not possibly stop her to make a fuller search. The Council apprenticed two of the Company's slave boys, George Daniel and Frank, to John Robinson, the carpenter, for five years to learn his trade. Two others, Belford and Luke, were apprenticed to William Holbrook to learn the mason's trade. The agreements were dated 1 October 1765, since the masters had already had the boys on trial from that date. The Company undertook to clothe and feed all four apprentices for the whole of their training. The Governor signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** Griffin's letter admitted to a single stowaway when the sworn evidence showed five soldiers taken aboard in full view of his officers, with a sixth, John Herring, missing the same night. Written as the ship was sailing and sent back with the longboat, it was a note meant for the record. By claiming one man had hidden beyond finding and that darkness and the ship's motion prevented a proper search, Griffin set out his own defence before any charge could be made, and the Council entered it in its minutes alongside the depositions that contradicted it. The apprenticeships showed the Company choosing to train its own slaves rather than go on hiring skilled labour. The paymaster's account for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 paid for hundreds of days of carpentry, bricklaying and masonry at 1s 6d a day, and masons on the officers' houses at 3s. By placing slave boys with John Robinson and William Holbrook, the master carpenter and master mason already on the Company's pay list, the Council aimed to produce craftsmen who would work for food and clothing alone once trained. The backdating to 1 October 1765 confirmed that the boys had first been tested, so that only those suited to the trade were bound for the full five years.
267	262	17th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of February 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govr Mr Matthew Burling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10th February 1766 Tuesday the 11th Died Thomas Mudge Soldier Saturday the 15th Arrived the Earl of Middlesex Boat at Bankss at six oClock in the Morning Do . . . . Do the Honorable Companys Ship Earl of Middlesex from Madrass and brought the following Supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Earl of Middlesex R Bags 26 Rice 26 Bags Gross Wt 32 . 2 . 25 Tare @ 2 lb Each . . 1 . 24 Nt 32 . 1 . 1 or 156 Mds @ 99.4.50 Pr Ga 38 . 28 . 75	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 February 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 10 February 1766 were read, approved and signed. Thomas Mudge, a soldier, died on Tuesday 11 February 1766. At six in the morning on Saturday 15 February 1766, a boat from the *Earl of Middlesex* landed at Banks's. Later that day the Company's ship *Earl of Middlesex* arrived from Madras with the following supplies. The ship's invoice listed the goods as follows. Rice, 26 bags, gross weight 32 cwt 2 qr 25 lb Tare at 2 lb a bag, 0 cwt 1 qr 24 lb Net weight of rice, 32 cwt 1 qr 1 lb, or [...], at [...], 38 pagodas 28 fanams 75 cash Paddy, 33 bags, gross weight 30 cwt 3 qr 13 lb Tare at 2 lb a bag, 0 cwt 2 qr 10 lb Net weight of paddy, 30 cwt 1 qr 3 lb, or [...], at [...], 22 pagodas 8 fanams 0 cash

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		P Bags 33 Paddy 33 Bags G Wt 30 . 3 . 13 Tare @ 2 lb Each . . 2 . 10 Nt 30 . 1 . 3 or 220 Mds @ 9 Pr Pags 22 . 8 . - Batavia Arrack 3 Leagrs Gr 450 Galls @ 40 Pags Pr Leagr 120 . - 180 . 32 . 75 Carried over 180 . 32 . 75 **Margin Notes:** [...]	Batavia arrack, 3 leaguers containing 450 gallons, at 40 pagodas a leaguer, 120 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total, 180 pagodas 32 fanams 75 cash Total carried forward, 180 pagodas 32 fanams 75 cash **Interpretations** The invoice was made out in the currency of Madras, where the goods were bought, not in sterling. The pagoda was a small gold coin and the standard unit of account on the Coromandel Coast; it divided into 36 fanams, small silver or gold coins, and each fanam into 80 cash, tiny copper pieces. Keeping the invoice in the currency of purchase preserved the actual cost the Company's servants at Madras had paid, and the island's accountants would later convert it into pounds to bring it into their own books. Weights were recorded gross, with the tare, the weight of the empty sacking at 2 lb a bag, deducted to give the net amount actually supplied. That calculation mattered because rice and paddy were paid for by net weight, and an allowance for the bags protected the Company from paying grain prices for cloth. Batavia arrack was distilled at the Dutch port of Batavia in Java from molasses and fermented rice, and was reckoned among the best arracks of the eastern trade. It was shipped in leaguers, the large casks already met in Captain Griffin's sale of 27 January 1766, and this consignment of 450 gallons replenished the supply that had run so short the garrison had to buy from Griffin at 4s a gallon. The ship's boat landing at Banks's hours before the ship came into the road served to announce her arrival and identify her as a friendly Company vessel, so that the batteries would hold their fire and the Castle could prepare to receive her. Thomas Mudge, whose death was recorded on 11 February 1766, appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a private in the Second Company.
268	263	1766 Brought over 180 . 32 . 75 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags 59 @ 60 Pr % 1 . 27 . 57 Twine for Do 3 @ 2 . 3 . - Weighing Cooley . 3 . 40 Tin Plates & Nails . 10 . 40 Boathire 5 Boats @ 3 fa 1 . 4 . - Cooly Hire . 13 . - Tarpaulin hire 2 Do at 4 . 8 . - 4 . 25 . 57 184 . 35 . 52 184 . 35 . 52 Errors Excepted (signed) Richd Fairfield Acct We this day Fined John Seale and James Goudy in the Sum of twenty Shillings each to the Honble Companys Cash for going on board of the Ship Earl of Middlesex and purchasing Salt Provision from the Seamen Contrary to Orders Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of January last which is as follows viz.	The invoice of the *Earl of Middlesex* continued with the charges on the goods, carried on from the total of the previous page. Total brought forward, 180 pagodas 32 fanams 75 cash Charges on the goods, as follows: 59 gunny bags at 60 pagodas a hundred, 1 pagoda 27 fanams 57 cash Twine for the bags, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 0 cash Porter's wages for weighing, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 40 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 10 fanams 40 cash [...] 5 pots at 3 fanams each, 1 pagoda 4 fanams 0 cash Porters' hire, 0 pagodas 13 fanams 0 cash Tarpaulin covering for 2 [...] at 4 fanams each, 0 pagodas 8 fanams 0 cash Subtotal for charges, 4 pagodas 2 fanams 57 cash Total, 184 pagodas 35 fanams 52 cash Richard Fairfield, the accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council fined John Seale and James Goudy 20s 0d each, payable into the Company's cash. Both men had gone aboard the *Earl of Middlesex* and bought salt provisions from her seamen in breach of standing orders. The Company's cash for January 1766 was afterwards counted and checked. **Interpretations** The fines enforced the Company's control over trade with ships in the road. Seamen often sold off salt beef and pork from their rations, or from stores they had pilfered, to islanders who were short of meat. Such private dealing undercut the Company's own sales of provisions at a fixed advance and

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			drained ships of food they would need on the voyage home. Forbidding settlers and soldiers to board without leave, and fining those who did, kept all trade with passing ships flowing through official channels. James Goudy appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a private in the Fourth Company, so the order applied to soldiers as much as to settlers. The charges added at the foot of the invoice brought the cost of the goods up to their full landed price. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute in Bengal, the standard packing for rice and grain in the eastern trade. The porters, hired at Madras for weighing and carrying, worked for very small sums, and their wages, along with twine, tarpaulin and tin, were all charged to the goods so that the Company knew what each consignment had truly cost before it reached the island.
269	264	Cash Dr 1766 January 1 To Balance remaining £ 6605 . 13 . 10 £ 6605 . 13 . 10 Per Contra Cr 1766 Janry 31st By Balance remaining In Spicie 6066 . 3 . 10 In Cash Notes of no use 539 . 15 . - £ 6605 . 18 . 10 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 17th February	The Company's cash account for January 1766 was closed on 17 February as follows. Receipts: 1 January 1766, balance in hand, £6,605 18s 10d Total, £6,605 18s 10d Balance: 31 January 1766, balance in hand in coin, £6,066 3s 10d 31 January 1766, balance in hand in unusable cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance in hand, £6,605 18s 10d Total, £6,605 18s 10d Governor Skottowe signed the account with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The chest stood untouched for the whole of January 1766, with exactly the same coin and notes at the end of the month as at the start. Yet on 27 January 1766 the Council bought wheat, arrack and sago from Captain John Griffin for £131 10s 6d, and a receipt was signed for the full amount on his behalf. That payment did not pass through the cash account in January. It was perhaps settled against the £396 0s 0d that Griffin paid into the chest on 3 February 1766, so that only the difference changed hands and the Company gave him bills on London for the net sum. The £539 15s 0d in unusable notes carried over unchanged from the close of the previous quarter. The Council went on counting them as part of the balance month after month, since it had no authority to write them off, and they would remain on the books until the directors in London decided what to do with them.
270	265	24th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of February 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 17th February 1766 Mr Matthew Burling reports that he has been on board the Ship Earl of Middlesex to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz. Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Middlesex Henry Fletcher Commander Joseph Smith 1st Mate Elias Carter 2d Do George Tibbets 3d William Turner 4th	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 February 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 17 February 1766 were read, approved and signed. Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Earl of Middlesex* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none. The ship's muster roll read as follows. Henry Fletcher, commander Joseph Smith, first mate Elias Carter, second mate George Sibbels, third mate William Turner, fourth mate William Dalling, fifth mate John Thomas, sixth mate John Armstrong, surgeon William Webb, surgeon's mate Joseph Bervis, gunner Robert Farling, boatswain

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		William Dalling 5th John Thomas 6th John Armstrong Surg William Webb Do Mate Joseph Bonnis Gunner Robert Furling Purser John Millard Midshipm Henry Anderson John Knight Willm Este Daniel Erin Willm Holloway Midshipm Willm Astell Gunners Mte James Mincher Bosns Do Shaduck Fox Do George Gardner Carpent Do Robert Scott Caulker George Castleton Armorer John Pattingson Carpent Frances Webble Cook Mte Thomas Baxter Shipp Stewd John Small Capt Do John Ogilvie Ships Cook James Shep Captns Do John Dadford Coulterer Thos Smith Capt Servt John Merment Do Frances Clark 1st Mates Servt Charles Mee Gunners Do John Whitehead Bosns Do Geo Twentymen Carp Do Samuel Collis Quartermaster Willm Ford Phillip Atkinson Allen Steward Thomas Cape Seaman Alexr Virt John Knowles Alexr Lynn John Artiss Humphry Dillon David Allen George Barrise	John Millard, midshipman Henry Anderson, midshipman John Knight, midshipman William Este, midshipman Daniel Ervin, midshipman William Holloway, midshipman William Astell, gunner's mate James Mincher, boatswain's mate Shadrach Fox, boatswain's mate George Gardner, carpenter Robert Scott, caulker George Castleton, armourer John Pattingson, carpenter Francis Kebble, cook's mate Thomas Baxter, ship's steward John Small, captain's steward John Ogilvie, ship's cook James Shey, captain's cook John Dadford, [...] Thomas Smith, captain's servant John Morment, captain's servant Francis Clark, armourer's mate Charles Mac[...], gunner's mate John Whitehead, boatswain's mate George Sweetyman, carpenter's mate Samuel Collis, quartermaster William Ford, quartermaster Phillip Atkinson, quartermaster Allen Steward, quartermaster Thomas Cape, seaman Alexander Vint, seaman John Knowles, seaman Alexander Lynn, seaman John Arliss, seaman Humphry Dillon, seaman David Allen, seaman George Parrise, seaman **Interpretations** The mustering of the *Earl of Middlesex* was the Council's answer to the loss of six soldiers aboard the *Admiral Stevens* on 3 February 1766. Instead of relying on a commander's word, a councillor now went aboard in person and called every man on the ship's books by name. Anyone present who was not on the roll could be identified at once as a stranger, and a later muster before sailing could be checked against this one to show whether any islander had been added in the meantime. Having the full roll copied into the minutes gave the Council its own record of who should be aboard when she left. The roll set out the structure of a large East Indiaman's company. Six mates under the commander reflected the size of these ships and the need for officers to keep watch on long voyages, while the midshipmen were young men training to become officers. The many specialists, from caulker and armourer to the captain's personal steward, cook and servants, showed how much of the crew existed to maintain the ship and serve the commander, with the ordinary seamen forming only a part of the whole.
271	266	24th February James Lyon Seaman William Brown Michl Bailey John Meachum John Edwards Martin Andrews David Jacks Elisha Rowley Christopher Sykes George Smith William Wright Gideon Davis Daniel Riley	The muster roll of the *Earl of Middlesex* continued with the rest of her seamen, followed by her passengers. James Lyon, seaman William Brown, seaman Michael Bailey, seaman John Meachum, seaman John Edwards, seaman Martin Andrews, seaman David Jacks, seaman Elisha Rowley, seaman Christopher Sykes, seaman George Smith, seaman William Wright, seaman

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		John Jones Christopher Long John Brown Joseph Desoss Edward Vaughan John Sherlock Charles Marrs Seaman Charles Freshwaks David Fairweather Nicholas Robbinson Bennet Laverett Nichl LClair Peter Belgram William Fowler Abraham Jacobs Geo Chavelier Chas Shelton Samuel May William Haywood George Morris Joseph Griffin Edward Saunders Martin Smith James Plumber Henderick Offenius Joseph Waldow Seaman Francis Harris Ignatius Heydeker Antony Strauss Thomas Jones James Gilmore Etnagh Bung Tanglesprong Legrenell Francis Galavue Heidar John Beckett Samshagrain Greenshill Benham Manuel John Markes St Germain Passengers The Honble Christn Van Teylingen Esqr Governor of Negapatnam Theodorus Van Teylingen A Van Teylingen 3 Children A Gertryda Matthews P Hasz Secretary Mr Van Teylingen Servants eight Mrs MacNabb wife of Lieut MacNabb M D Castro Merchant of Madrass John Young Mason Surg of Bombay Officers of His Majestys 79 Regt Capt Backhouse Capt Russell Lieut Scott MacNabb Garnons Bonjour Smith Ensign Spencer Wm Hering Surgeons Mate Private Soldiers 42 (signed) Henry Fletcher	Gideon Davis, seaman Daniel Riley, seaman John Jones, seaman Christopher Long, seaman John Brown, seaman Joseph Desoso, seaman Edward Vaughan, seaman John Sherlock, seaman Charles Marrs, seaman Charles Freshwater, seaman David Fairweather, seaman Nicholas Robinson, seaman Bernard Saverett, seaman Nicholas St Clair, seaman Peter Belgram, seaman William Fowler, seaman Abraham Jacobs, seaman George Chavelier, seaman Charles Shelton, seaman Samuel May, seaman William Haywood, seaman George Morris, seaman Joseph Griffin, seaman Edward Saunders, seaman Martin Smith, seaman James Plumber, seaman Hendrick Assenius, seaman Joseph Waldon, seaman Francis Harris, seaman Ignatius Heydeker, seaman Antony Strauss, seaman Thomas Jones, seaman James Gilmore, seaman Elenagh, seaman Buny, seaman Tanglesbong, seaman Legonett, seaman Francis Galowe, seaman Heidar, seaman John Beckett, seaman Samshagrain, seaman Greoshitt, seaman Benham, seaman Manewe John, seaman Markes, seaman St Germain, seaman The passengers aboard were listed as follows. Christian Van Teylingen, Governor of Negapatnam Theodorus Van Teylingen, child A. Van Teylingen, child A. Gertruyda Matthews, child P. Hasz, secretary Servants of Christian Van Teylingen, 8 Mrs MacNabb, wife of Lieutenant MacNabb C. Castro, merchant of Madras John Young Mason, surgeon of Bombay Officers of His Majesty's 79th Regiment of Foot: Captain Backhouse Captain [...]ssell Lieutenant Scott Lieutenant MacNabb Lieutenant Garnons Lieutenant Bonjour Lieutenant Smith Ensign Spencer William King, surgeon's mate Private soldiers, 42 Henry Fletcher, the commander, signed the roll. **Interpretations** The crew was far from wholly English. Alongside the English and Irish names stood Dutch, German, Portuguese and French seamen, and a group entered by a single name, such as Buny, Heidar, Tanglesbong and Samshagrain, who were almost certainly Indian or other Asian sailors

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			recruited in the East. East Indiamen regularly lost men to disease and desertion in Asian ports and filled their crews with whoever could be found there. A roll this mixed made the Council's search for deserters harder, since a stranger with an English name would stand out, but an islander could not easily pass among them unnoticed by name alone. The chief passenger was Christian Van Teylingen, the Dutch East India Company's Governor of Negapatnam, a Dutch settlement on the Coromandel Coast south of Madras. A senior official of a rival company travelling home on an English ship, with his family, his secretary and eight servants, showed that the two companies' servants extended practical courtesies to one another in peacetime, and that English ships were often the quickest passage to Europe. The officers and 42 private soldiers of His Majesty's 79th Regiment were troops of the British Crown rather than of the Company, returning home after service in India. Their presence aboard meant the ship carried a substantial armed body, and their names were recorded with special care in case any of the island's own soldiers tried to hide among them as the ship prepared to sail.
272	267	1766 The Executor of Thomas Mudge Soldier and the Administrator of Aaron Asdon this day presented the following Wills desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Wills are as follow viz. Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Thomas Mudge Soldier in the Service of the Honble the United Compy of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies being of sound Mind and Memory blessed be God tho Weak of Body do make & ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and Form following viz. In the first Place I recommend my Soul unto Almighty God that gave it and my Body to be decently Buried at the discretion of my Commanders As touching my Worldly effects I will & bequeath them unto my true and wellbeloved Cousin Thos Burkham my Sole Executor giving him full Power to receive all Debts as may be Due unto me at the time of my Decease And I do hereby revoke and disannul all former Wills by me at any time or times heretofore made Confirming and Ratifying this to be my last Will & Testament Signed Sealed and delivered in the presence of us who have hereunto set our Hands as Witnesses this Tenth Day of February in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and Sixty six and in the sixth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third (signed) his Thos T Mudge Mark Witness James Goudy Thos Yates In the Name of God Amen I Aaron Asdon Soldier in the seventy Ninth Regt of Foot Commd by	The executor of Thomas Mudge, a soldier, and the administrator of Aaron Asdon both presented wills to the Council and asked for them to be proved. The Council proved both wills on the sworn evidence of their witnesses. Thomas Mudge made his will on the island on 10 February 1766, in the sixth year of the reign of George III. He described himself as a soldier in the service of the East India Company, sound in mind and memory though weak in body. He commended his soul to God and asked to be buried decently as his commanding officers thought fit. He left all his worldly goods to his cousin Thomas Burkham, whom he named as sole executor, with full power to collect any debts owed to him at his death. He cancelled every earlier will he had made. Mudge, who could not write, signed the will with his mark. James Goudy and Thomas Yates witnessed it. A second will followed, made by Aaron Asdon, a soldier in His Majesty's 79th Regiment of Foot under the command of a brigadier. **Interpretations** Thomas Mudge made his will on 10 February 1766 and died the next day, as the minutes of 17 February 1766 recorded. It was a deathbed will, drawn up in formal language by someone else and marked by a dying man who could not write. Its main purpose was practical: by naming an executor with power to collect debts, Mudge ensured that his unpaid wages, owed to his estate from the day of his last payment to the day of his death, would pass to his cousin rather than be lost. Probate was granted on the oath of the witnesses alone. In the absence of a church court on the island, the Council acted as the probate authority, and the sworn word of those present at the signing was enough to establish that the mark was Mudge's own and that he had made the will freely. Both witnesses were soldiers: James Goudy, fined only on 17 February 1766 for trading with the *Earl of Middlesex*, and Thomas Yates, the gunner promoted in December 1765. Aaron Asdon belonged not to the island's garrison but to the King's 79th Regiment, whose men had arrived as passengers aboard the *Earl of Middlesex*. His will coming before the Council showed that its authority to prove wills reached anyone who died on the island, whether Company servant or not, so that the estates of passengers could be settled before their ships sailed on.

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		Brigadier	
273	268	24th February Brigadear Genl Draper and Capt Wm Russels Compy Being Very Weak of Body But of Perfect Mind and Memory and knowing that it is Appointed for All men once to die Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in Manner and Form following viz. In the first Place I Recommend my Soul unto Almighty God who gave it hoping for Mercy through the Merits of Jesus Christ his Son our Lord and Redeemer and my Body to the Earth to be Buried at the discretion of those appointed for that purpose As touching my Worldly Effects I Will and bequeath them as follows Item I give and bequeath to my Dear beloved Wife Ann Asdon the full Sum of Sixty Pound of Good and Lawfull Money of England with all my Pay arrears of pay and Prize Money Due to or for me It I likewise Give and Bequeath unto my Trusty and well beloved Friend George Johnson whom I appoint my Sole Administrater the Just and full Sum of six Pound Sterling of Good and Lawfull money of England & St out of the aforesaid Sixty Pound I likewise Bequeath to my Dearly Beloved Wife Anne Asdon Living in Exton Parish in the County Cumberland four Silk Handkerchiefs one Pr of Silver Shoe Buckles with the Sum above Mentioned Whom I appoint my Sole Executor hereby revoking all former Wills and Legacys made by or for me Signed Sealed and delivered in the presence of us who have hereunto Subscribed our Names as Witnesses this nineteenth Day of February In the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & Sixty six And in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third (signed) Aaron Asdon his T Mark Witness George Swine Andrew Rutherford his X Mark	Aaron Asdon served in Captain William Russell's company of the 79th Regiment of Foot, commanded by Brigadier General Draper. He made his will on 19 February 1766, in the sixth year of the reign of George III, while very weak in body but clear in mind and memory. He commended his soul to God, trusting in mercy through Christ, and left his burial to those responsible for it. Asdon left his wife, Ann Asdon, the full sum of £60 0s 0d in English money. She was also to receive all his pay, any arrears of pay and any prize money owed to him. He named his close friend George Johnson as sole administrator and left him £6 0s 0d, to be taken out of the £60. To his wife, who lived in Eston parish in Cumberland, he further left four silk handkerchiefs and a pair of silver shoe buckles. He named her his sole executrix and cancelled all earlier wills and bequests. Asdon could not write and signed the will with his mark. George Seune and Andrew Rutherford witnessed it, Rutherford also signing with his mark. **Interpretations** The will divided its duties between two people for a practical reason. Ann Asdon, as executrix, was the one entitled to the estate, but she lived in Cumberland, thousands of miles away. George Johnson, as administrator on the spot, could gather in the money, settle the soldier's affairs on the island and with his regiment, and see the proceeds sent home. His £6 0s 0d was in effect a fee for that work, taken out of the bequest so that the rest reached the widow intact. Prize money was a soldier's share of the value of enemy property captured in war, divided among the forces that took it according to rank. Payments of prize money were often delayed for years while captures were valued and claims settled, which was why Asdon named it specifically: a share still owed to him at his death would otherwise have been lost to his family. Captain Russell, whose company Asdon served in, was the officer partly legible as Captain [...]ssell on the passenger list of the *Earl of Middlesex*. Asdon was thus one of the 42 private soldiers of the 79th Regiment aboard, and his death at St Helena came within days of the ship's arrival on 15 February 1766.
274	269	1766 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Earl of Middlesex viz. Account of Stores short received from Ship Earl of Middlesex viz. 9 . 3 . 22 Rice Short weight 9 . 2 . 3 Paddy 5 G Arrack Waste St Helena (signed) 24th February 1766 James Rowett Storekr Bought on Account of the Honble Company the following Provision viz. 3711 Pork @ 6 Pr lb of Capt Fletcher £ 92 . 15 . 6 990 Do @ 2½ Pr lb of the Seamen	James Powell, the storekeeper, presented an account on 24 February 1766 of stores found short on delivery from the *Earl of Middlesex*. Rice, short weight, 0 cwt 3 qr 22 lb Paddy, short weight, 0 cwt 2 qr 3 lb Arrack lost through leakage, 5 gallons The Council bought the following provisions for the Company. 3,711 lb of pork from Captain Fletcher at 6d a pound, £92 15s 6d 99 lb of pork from the seamen at 5½d a pound, £2 5s 3d Total, £95 0s 9d William Fletcher, an invalid, had served three years of the term he had signed on for. He found a replacement in Hendrick Assenius, a discharged soldier from Madras who seemed a sound man, to

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		2 . 5 . 3 £ 95 . - . 9 William Fletcher an Invalid who has served three Years of his Contracted time having procured Hendrick Offenius a Discharged Soldier from Madrass who appears to be a good Man to serve the remainder of his time We have Agreed to the exchange and discharged the said Fletcher accordingly Benjamin Pledger this day Petitioned to renew a Lease for seven Acres of Land lying in the East Division of this Island Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	serve out the rest of his time. The Council agreed to the exchange and discharged Fletcher. Benjamin Pledger asked to renew his lease of seven acres in the East Division of the island. The Council granted his request. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The Council bought pork from the seamen of the *Earl of Middlesex* only a week after fining John Seale and James Goudy 20s each for doing exactly that. The prohibition had never been against buying from ships as such, but against private individuals doing so. Purchases made openly for the Company, at a recorded price and entered in the minutes, kept the trade in official hands, while islanders who dealt on their own account were punished for bypassing that control. The seamen's pork was slightly cheaper than the commander's, at 5½d against 6d a pound, which suggested the men were selling surplus ration meat they were glad to turn into cash. William Fletcher's discharge rested on a substitute. Soldiers were engaged for a fixed term, and an invalid could not simply walk away from his contract; but a fit man willing to finish the term left the Company no worse off. Hendrick Assenius had come aboard the *Earl of Middlesex* and was entered on her muster roll among the seamen. Taking him into the garrison replaced a soldier who could no longer serve with one who could, and the Council recorded that he appeared a good man as the reason for accepting the trade. Fletcher appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765, moving from the artillery to the Second Company in December. The shortages reported by the storekeeper were the usual losses of a long voyage. Grain lost weight as it dried out in the hold and was nibbled by vermin, and casks of arrack seeped through their staves. Recording the shortfall formally allowed the Company to deduct it from the invoice cost rather than pay for goods it never received. Benjamin Pledger's renewal showed leases running for fixed terms and coming back before the Council when they expired. Renewal was not automatic: the tenant had to petition, giving the Council the chance to review whether the land was being properly used before granting it again.
275	270	1st March At a Consultation held on Saturday the 1st Day of March 1766 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 24th Febry 1766 Last night Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Plassey 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 upon which we sent for Captain Mitchell and Mr Richard Beale and acquainted them with the Honorable Companys Pleasure relative to them As we have an ample supply of salt Provision by the Store Ships Captain Fletcher desired he might have the salt Pork he had spared Us returned to him which we agreed to and have not	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 7 March 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 24 February 1766 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Plassey* arrived from England on the night of 6 March 1766. She brought a packet from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. The packet contained the directors' orders, and the Council sent for Captain Mitchell and Richard Beale to tell them what the Company had decided concerning them. The store ships had now brought an ample supply of salt provisions. Captain Fletcher therefore asked to have back the salt pork he had spared the island. The Council agreed, returned the pork and did not pay him the £92 15s 6d recorded at the previous meeting. **Interpretations** The pork bought from Captain Fletcher on 24 February 1766 had been a stopgap. Once the store ships arrived with salt provisions in quantity, the Council had no need of it and every reason to avoid paying for it. Fletcher, for his part, was about to sail on and could use the meat for his own crew and

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		paid the Sum of ninety two pounds fifteen Shillings and six pence mentioned in last Consultation John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	passengers. Returning it suited both sides: the Company kept £92 15s 6d in its chest, and the captain recovered stores worth more to him at sea than the money. Only the small quantity bought from the seamen for £2 5s 3d remained a charge on the Company. The directors' orders concerning Archibald Mitchell and Richard Beale were not set out in the minutes. Both men held several posts at once, Mitchell as engineer and commander of the artillery and Beale as judge advocate, schoolmaster and captain of the Third Company, and orders from London addressed to them by name affected some of the most important offices on the island. The Council told them in person, which kept the substance of the directors' decision out of the general record.
276	271	3rd March At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d Day of March 1766 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 1st March 1766 Yesterday afternoon Arrived the Honorable Compys Ship Prince of Wales 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 Mr James Rowett this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipl John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of James Rowett Sheweth That your Petitioner has an opportunity of sending his Son Richard off the Island upon the Ship Earl of Middlesex requests your Worship and Council will give him leave so to do And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) James Rowett 3d March 1766 Granted	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 March 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 7 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Prince of Wales* arrived from England on the afternoon of 9 March 1766. She brought a packet from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened, reading the orders it contained. James Powell presented a petition to the Governor and Council at the same meeting, dated 10 March 1766. He explained that he had a chance to send his son Richard away from the island aboard the *Earl of Middlesex*. He asked for permission to do so. The Council granted his request. **Interpretations** No one could leave St Helena without the Council's consent, not even the son of a senior Company official. James Powell was the storekeeper, and the petition shows him following the same procedure as any other inhabitant. The rule gave the Council control over who left and on which ship. That control mattered on an island where every departure meant a ship's passage, a soldier or debtor could vanish aboard an outgoing vessel, and the population was small enough that each loss was felt. Coming only weeks after soldiers deserted aboard the *Admiral Stevens*, the formal petition and grant served as a record that this departure was authorised, so that Richard Powell could not later be taken for a runaway.
277	272	3rd March We this day sent for John Blund and acquainted him with the Honorable Companys Orders relative to him and at the same time cautioned him to be very Circumspect in his future Behaviour as his stay upon the Island depended entirely upon it John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of March 1766 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 3d March 1766 Thursday the 6th Sailed the Honble Companys Ship Earl of Middlesex for [...] This day Passed by a Ship at a great distance	The Council sent for John Bland and told him what the Company's orders said about him. At the same time it warned him to be extremely careful in his future conduct, since his right to remain on the island depended entirely on it. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 March 1766, with the Governor presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 3 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Earl of Middlesex* sailed for [...] on Thursday 6 March 1766. A ship passed the island far out to sea on 10 March 1766. The gunner's and steward's accounts for February 1766 were presented at this meeting. The Council examined them and gave its approval. **Interpretations** Living on St Helena was a privilege the Company granted and could withdraw. The directors in London had sent orders concerning John Bland, and the Council's warning made plain that continued

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		The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of February last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz.	residence was conditional on good behaviour. Since every inhabitant depended on Company land, Company stores and Company ships, the power to send a man away by the next vessel was a powerful means of discipline, and it reached settlers who held no office and drew no pay as well as the Company's own servants.
278	273	10th March Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of Febry 1766 Guns Fired 9 lb, Guns Fired 4 lb, Guns Fired 3 lb, Guns Fired 2 lb, Guns Fired 1 lb, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended Oz 1 Powder for Blowing Rocks at Ruperts: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended Oz 0 3 Do to Overseer of Long Wood: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 0 4 Sailed the Admiral Stevens: Guns Fired 9 lb 11, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 11, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 11, Powder Expended Oz 0 5 Powder for Blowing Rocks at Ruperts: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended Oz 0 10 Do for Do at Sandy Bay: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended Oz 0 13 Do for Lieutenant Governor: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 0 14 Do for the Funeral of Thos Mudge: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended Oz 4 13 Do for Shooting Goats on Murderers point: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended Oz 12 15 An Alarm: Guns Fired 9 lb 6, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 22, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended Oz 0 Do at Banks for the same Ship: Guns Fired 9 lb 22, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended Oz 0 Arrived the Earl of Middlesex: Guns Fired 9 lb 9, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 9, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended Oz 0 Saluted a Dutch Governor coming ashore: Guns Fired 9 lb 13, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 13, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended Oz 0 16 Powder sent to Sandy Bay to Blow Rocks: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 100, Powder Expended Oz 0 17 Do for repairing the Cartridges of the Main Guard: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended Oz 12 21 Do for the Funeral of Asdon of Genl Drapers Regimt: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended Oz 4 22 Do for repairing Cartridges of the Main Guard: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb	The artillery stores used during February 1766 were recorded on 10 March 1766 as follows, with the number of guns fired by calibre and the gunpowder used. 1 February 1766, gunpowder for blasting rocks at Rupert's, 0 guns fired, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 3 February 1766, gunpowder for the overseer at Longwood, 0 guns fired, 1 lb 0 oz of powder The garrison saluted the *Admiral Stevens*, firing 11 guns, all 2-pounders, and using 11 lb 0 oz of powder. 5 February 1766, gunpowder for blasting rocks at Rupert's, 0 guns fired, 6 lb 0 oz of powder 10 February 1766, gunpowder for blasting rocks at Sandy Bay, 0 guns fired, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 13 February 1766, gunpowder for the Lieutenant Governor, 0 guns fired, 1 lb 0 oz of powder 14 February 1766, gunpowder for the funeral of Thomas Mudge, 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder 13 February 1766, gunpowder for shooting goats at Munden's Point, 0 guns fired, 0 lb 12 oz of powder 15 February 1766, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders and 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 15 February 1766, alarm at Banks's for the same ship, 2 guns fired, both nine-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder The garrison fired 9 guns, all 2-pounders, when the *Earl of Middlesex* arrived, using 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Salute to a Dutch governor coming ashore, 13 guns fired, all two-pounders, 13 lb 0 oz of powder 16 February 1766, gunpowder sent to Sandy Bay for blasting rocks, 0 guns fired, 100 lb 0 oz of powder 17 February 1766, gunpowder for repairing the Main Guard's cartridges, 0 guns fired, 0 lb 12 oz of powder 21 February 1766, gunpowder for the funeral of Asdon of General Draper's regiment, 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder 22 February 1766, gunpowder for repairing the Main Guard's cartridges, 0 guns fired, 0 lb 9 oz of powder 25 February 1766, gunpowder for repairing the Main Guard's cartridges, 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 28 February 1766, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders and 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder The garrison fired 9 guns, all 2-pounders, when the *Plassey* arrived, using 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Gunpowder for priming at various times, 0 guns fired, 7 lb 12 oz of powder The garrison fired 2 guns, both 2-pounders, as signals to the *Admiral Stevens*, using 2 lb 0 oz of powder. Gunpowder for signals, 0 guns fired, 1 lb 0 oz of powder Total, 58 guns fired: 2 nine-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, 44 two-pounders and 4 one-pounders, 225 lb 13 oz of powder Other artillery stores used during the month were listed as follows. 12 lb of tallow for various purposes 3 rammer heads broken at exercise at the various forts 1 sheepskin for covering sponges 100 nails for covering sponges 1 tompion broken at Banks's

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		0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended Oz 9 25 Do: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 8 28 An Alarm: Guns Fired 9 lb 6, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 22, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended Oz 0 Arrived the Plassey: Guns Fired 9 lb 9, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 9, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended Oz 0 Powder for Priming at Sundry Times: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 7, Powder Expended Oz 12 Fired as Signals to the Admiral Stevens: Guns Fired 9 lb 2, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 2, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended Oz 0 Powder for Signals: Guns Fired 9 lb 0, Guns Fired 4 lb 0, Guns Fired 3 lb 0, Guns Fired 2 lb 0, Guns Fired 1 lb 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended Oz 0 Total: Guns Fired 9 lb 53, Guns Fired 4 lb 24, Guns Fired 3 lb 4, Guns Fired 2 lb 44, Guns Fired 1 lb 4, Powder Expended lb 225, Powder Expended Oz 13 Tallow Expended for Sundries this Month 12 lb Ramr Heads broke at Exercise at the different Forts 3 Sheep Skins for Coating Spunges 1 Nails for Do 100 Tompion broke at Bankss 1 Balls for Shooting Goats 12 oz Nails for Spunges at the Main Fort 30 Shot Trucks for the Flag Staff 1 Match for the Works at Sandy Bay 6 lb Handspikes for the Companys Works 7 Large Copper Nails for mendg the Kettles of the Middlesex 70 Small Do for Do 30 (signed) A Mitchell	12 lb of shot for shooting goats 30 nails for sponges at the Main Fort 1 [...] truck for the flagstaff 6 [...] of slow match for the works at Sandy Bay 7 handspikes for the Company's works The gunner also issued 70 large copper nails and 30 small copper nails for mending the kettles of the *Middlesex*. Mitchell signed the account. **Interpretations** More than half of all the gunpowder used in February went not into the guns but into blasting rock. The 100 lb sent to Sandy Bay on 16 February 1766, with smaller amounts for Rupert's, accounted for about 130 lb of the month's 225 lb. These were the same works recorded in the paymaster's account, where hired men were paid for stone blasting at Rupert's and labouring at Sandy Bay. The garrison's magazine served as the island's quarry store, and the gunner's account made the cost of building the defences visible alongside the cost of manning them. The guns themselves were fired chiefly as signals and courtesies. Each ship that arrived was saluted, and the Dutch Governor of Negapatnam, Christian Van Teylingen, received 13 guns when he came ashore from the *Earl of Middlesex*. Nearly all salutes were fired from the small 2-pounders, which used about a pound of powder a shot, against more than 4 lb for a 9-pounder. The two 9-pounders fired at Banks's during the alarm of 15 February 1766 used almost as much powder as the entire salute to the *Earl of Middlesex*, which explains why the heavy guns were kept for real warning. The alarms followed the sighting of strange ships. Fired from a set mix of 4-, 3- and 1-pounders, they called the garrison to its posts until an approaching vessel was identified. The funerals of Thomas Mudge and Aaron Asdon each used the same 2 lb 4 oz of powder, the standard allowance for the volleys fired over a soldier's grave, whether he belonged to the island's garrison or to a King's regiment passing through. Powder and shot were also issued for shooting goats at Munden's Point. Feral goats ranged across the island and stripped vegetation from the steep slopes, and culling them was a regular charge on the garrison's stores. A tompion was a wooden plug fitted into a gun's muzzle to keep out rain and sea spray, and handspikes were heavy wooden levers used to shift guns on their carriages and to move stone at the works.
279	274	10th March Sundrys Expended at the Honble Compys Table in the Month of February 1766 viz. 15 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 . 2 . 6 36 Do Lisbon 2 . - . - 12 Do Mountain . 18 . - 27 Do Beer . 6 . 7½ 6 Do Arrack 3 . 7 . 6 125 lb Beef 1 . 5 . 5 251 lb Mutton 5 . 3 . 4 12 Fowles . 18 . - 1 Lamb . 10 . - 12 lb Butter	The following food and drink were used at the Company's table during February 1766, as recorded on 10 March 1766. 15 bottles of port, £1 2s 6d 36 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 [...] 12 bottles of mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 27 bottles of beer, £0 6s 7½d 60 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 6d 125 lb of beef, £1 5s 5d 251 lb of mutton, £5 3s 4d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 12 lb of butter, £0 12s 0d 24 lb of sugar candy, £1 3s 0d 248 lb of flour, £1 10s 5d Total, £19 0s 9½d The Council completed the renewal of Benjamin Pledger's lease of seven acres in the East Division of the island, at a rent of 5s an acre. Benjamin Pledger also presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He stated that he wished to transfer to someone else his right to 18 acres of land in the island's East Division.

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		. 12 . - 24 lb Candy 1 . 3 . - 243 Flour 1 . 10 . 5 £ 19 . - . 9½ We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to Benjamin Pledger for a piece of Land containing seven Acres lying in the East Division of this Island at 5/ Pr Acre Benjamin Pledger this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipl John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Benjamin Pledger Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of assigning his right to eighteen Acres of Land lying in the East Division of this Island	**Interpretations** A tenant could not simply sell or hand over his lease; he had to petition for leave to assign it. The Company let land to particular people on particular terms, and approving each transfer let the Council judge whether the incoming holder was acceptable and able to work the land and pay the rent. Pledger's two transactions on the same day pointed to a settler reshaping his holdings, keeping a small plot on renewal while giving up a much larger one, perhaps because he could no longer farm 18 acres or had found a buyer willing to pay for his interest in them.
280	275	1766 Island and to Accept of Mr John Desfountain Tenant for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) 10th March 1766 Benjamin Pledger Granted The Honorable Company not having any Yams in their Plantations above six Months old which is six Months too soon to Dig We this day assembled the Planters to know what Yams they could spare in consequence of which they inform Us that all their Plantations were so very young that they had scarce sufficient to support their Families and having no other resource for Feeding the Slaves with Bread kind we therefore came to a resolution of giving them three Bread days a Week each Man which upon a computation amounts to one Shilling Pr Week and Proportionably to Women and Children We find by the above Computation that it comes Cheaper by two pence half penny Pr Week to each Man as the price of Yams are three Shillings Pr Hundred which expedient we thought the best to fall upon as we have an ample Supply of Flour until the Plantations are fit to dig or we receive a supply of Rice having at present but a little more than one thousand pounds in Store We this day received the following Memorial from several of the principal Inhabitants viz. To the Worshipl John Skottowe Esqr Governor & Council Whereas your Memorialists have reason to suspect that great part of the Private Trade brought out by the Gentlemen in the two Storeships for the Supply of this Island have clandestinely and contrary to the Regulations established by the Governor and Council been monopolized by Jno Bland just arrived from England which has an Evident Tendency to distress not only the Companys Servants but **Margin Notes:** [...]	Benjamin Pledger's petition went on to ask that John Desfountain be accepted as tenant of the 18 acres in his place. Pledger signed it on 10 March 1766, and the Council granted it. None of the yams in the Company's plantations were more than six months old, and yams needed a further six months before they were fit to dig. The Council therefore called the planters together to find out how many yams they could spare. They replied that their own plantations were so young that they barely had enough to feed their families. With no other source of starchy food for the slaves, the Council decided to give each man three bread days a week. By the Council's reckoning, this cost 1s a week for each man, with smaller amounts for women and children. The same calculation showed the change saved 2½d a week for every man, since yams cost 3s a hundred. The Council judged this the best course, because it held ample flour. The arrangement was to last until the plantations were ready to dig or a fresh supply of rice arrived, as only a little over 1,000 lb of rice remained in store. Several of the leading inhabitants presented a memorial to Governor Skottowe and the Council the same day. They suspected that much of the private trade goods brought out by the gentlemen aboard the two store ships to supply the island had been secretly bought up by John Bland, who had just arrived from England. This broke the rules laid down by the Governor and Council, and the memorialists warned that it plainly tended to harm the Company's servants and others besides. **Interpretations** The Company's obvious course was to go on feeding its slaves on yams, which it had bought in quantity from Mary Seale at 3s a hundred in the last quarter of 1765. With its own crop unripe and the planters unable to sell, that course was closed, and the Council switched to flour instead. The minutes record the reason in figures: three bread days a week cost 1s for each man, 2½d less than the equivalent in yams. A forced change thus turned out cheaper, and the Council took care to show the directors that it had not only filled the gap but saved money doing so. The memorial against John Bland explained the warning the Council had given him on 3 March 1766, when he was told that his stay on the island depended on his behaviour. Goods brought out as private trade by ships' officers were meant to be sold openly to the inhabitants under rules set by the Council. A newcomer who bought up the whole stock could resell it at whatever price he chose. Buying up supplies to control the market in this way, known as engrossing, struck hardest on a small island where no

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			other source existed until the next ship, which is why the leading settlers combined to complain. John Desfountain, accepted as tenant of Pledger's 18 acres, shared his surname with Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain, who supplied the Company with yams and suckers in the same quarter. The Desfountain household was evidently building up its landholding, and the transfer placed a substantial plot in the hands of a family already producing food for sale.
281	276	10th March but also the Inhabitants of this Island in General Your Memorialists have therefore taken the Liberty of laying the said Matter before you for your Consideration and Redress St Helena (signed) 10th March 1766 Henry Bazett Richd Goodwin A Mitchell Wm Wrangham Isaac Doveton Matthw Bazett Robert Barclay John Thackery James Greentree Jon Doveton Richd Beale Junr Richd Bagley Orlando Bagley John Alexander Britt Alexr Wright John Goodwin John Desfountain Od Bagley Junr Benj Mason Simon Whaley Isaac Knipe After reading the above Memorial we were further informed that John Bland had Contracted with Mr James Upham third Officer of the Prince of Wales for all his Venture to be convinced thereof we sent for the said Mr Upham who appearing before Us acknowledged	The memorialists stated that Bland's conduct would harm not only the Company's servants but the island's inhabitants in general. They had therefore brought the matter before the Governor and Council for consideration and redress. The memorial was dated at St Helena on 10 March 1766 and signed by the following. Henry Bazett Richard Goodwin Mitchell William Wrangham Isaac Doveton Matthew Bazett Robert Barclay John Thackery James Greentree Jonathan Doveton Richard Beale the younger Richard Bagley Orlando Bagley John Alexander Britannicus Alexander Wright John Goodwin John Desfountain Orlando Bagley the younger Benjamin Mason Simon Whaley Isaac Knipe After reading the memorial, the Council learned further that John Bland had made an agreement with James Upham, third officer of the *Prince of Wales*, to take the whole of Upham's private trade goods. To test the report, the Council sent for Upham. Upham came before the Council and made an acknowledgement. **Interpretations** The memorial was signed by many of the island's own officials as well as its planters. Henry Bazett commanded the Second Company, Matthew Bazett was secretary, Mitchell was engineer and commander of the artillery, Robert Barclay was surgeon and William Wrangham was assistant to the Governor. These men had a direct stake in the private trade goods brought by ships' officers, since they bought their own clothing, wine and household goods from them. A single buyer cornering the whole supply threatened their own purses as much as anyone's, and their names gave the complaint a weight the Council could hardly ignore. A ship's officer's venture was the allowance of private goods he was permitted to carry and sell on his own account, a valuable part of his earnings. Selling the entire venture in one bargain to a single dealer was quicker and surer for Upham than retailing it piece by piece to islanders. For Bland it meant control of a large share of the goods available on the island until the next ship arrived. The Council's rules existed precisely to stop such bulk deals and keep the goods on open sale. Among the signatories, James Greentree had lost his son Digby on 20 January 1766, and John Goodwin was the writer whose surname was only partly legible on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765.

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282	277	1766 acknowledged that he was under a Contract with Bland for his whole Venture to the Island and pulled the said Contract out of his Pocket from which it appeared Clearly to Us that the said Bland had taken unjustifiable Methods to monopolize great part of the Goods and Merchandize brought out in the Store Ships and not only so but had contracted with the said Mr Upham to pay Dollars to him Considerably under the Currency of the Island as will appear by the following Contract viz. Be it Remembered That it is agreed between James Upham third Mate of the good East India Ship or Vessel called the Prince of Wales Jonathan Court Commander of the one part and John Bland of the Island St Helena Gentn of the other part as follows that is to say Whereas the said Ship Prince of Wales is now bound out (with Gods permission) on a Voyage to the East Indies in the Service of the United Company of Merchants Trading there And the said James Upham is appointed and to go on board the said Ship Prince of Wales and to remain and proceed with the said Ship in the Station and Quality of third Mate now the said James Upham doth Covenant and agree to and with the said John Bland his Executors and Administrs by these Presents That he the said James Upham shall and will take onboard the said Ship Prince of Wales In the name of him the said James Upham and under his protection but for and on Account of him the said John Bland the following Goods being the Property of him the said James Upham that is to say Two Chests of Beer half a Chest of Wine Half a Chest of Hungary Water and one Box of the size or dementions of three feet and three Ins in length two feet and two Inches in breadth and two feet and two Inches in Depth which said Box contains a parcel of Hosiery And ten hams all which said Goods abovementioned the said Jas Upham doth promise and agree **Margin Notes:** [...]	James Upham admitted that he was bound by a contract with John Bland covering his entire stock of private goods for the island. He took the contract out of his pocket and showed it to the Council. The document made it clear that Bland had used improper means to gain control of much of the goods brought out in the store ships. It also showed that Bland had agreed to pay Upham in dollars, against the rules for the island's currency. The terms of the contract were as follows. The agreement was made between James Upham, third mate of the East India ship *Prince of Wales*, commanded by Jonathan Court, and John Bland of St Helena, gentleman. It recited that the *Prince of Wales* was about to sail, God willing, on a voyage to the East Indies in the Company's service, and that Upham had been appointed to sail in her as third mate. Upham undertook to Bland and his heirs that he would carry certain goods aboard the ship in his own name and under his own protection, though on Bland's account. The goods were described as Upham's property and consisted of two chests of beer, half a chest of wine and half a chest of Hungary water. They also included a box of hosiery measuring 3 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet 2 inches wide and 2 feet 2 inches deep, together with ten hams. The contract went on to set out what Upham promised concerning these goods. **Interpretations** The contract was drawn up in England before the *Prince of Wales* sailed, which showed that Bland had arranged to corner Upham's goods well in advance rather than striking a bargain once he reached the island. By having the goods shipped in Upham's name and under his protection, Bland borrowed the officer's legitimate allowance of private trade while keeping the real interest for himself. On arrival the goods would appear to be an officer's ordinary venture, when in fact they were already Bland's stock for resale. Payment in dollars broke the island's monetary rules. Spanish silver dollars circulated widely in the eastern trade, but the Council fixed the rate at which coin passed on St Helena so that prices and wages were reckoned in a single standard. A private contract settled in dollars at a rate agreed between the parties sidestepped that official rating and drew scarce silver away from ordinary circulation. The Council treated it as a separate offence alongside the cornering of goods. Hungary water was a perfumed spirit distilled from rosemary and other herbs in alcohol, used as a toilet water and taken as a remedy for faintness and headaches. It was a fashionable luxury, and together with wine, beer, hosiery and hams it made up exactly the kind of small, high-value goods that islanders depended on officers to bring.
283	278	10th March agree to deliver unto the said John Bland (the Dangers of the Seas Excepted) at the Island of Saint Helena within Six Days after the Arrival of the said Ship at the said Island of Saint Helena And the said John Bland doth hereby for himself his Executors and Admins Promise and Agree to bear and run all risques of the said Goods untill the Arrival of the said Ship at the Island of Saint Helena aforesaid and upon the Arrival of the said Ship at the said Island the said John Bland doth Covenant and Agree to receive and take the said Goods into his Custody and Possession within	Under the contract, James Upham agreed to hand the goods over to John Bland at St Helena within six days of the ship's arrival there, barring loss at sea. Bland, for his part, undertook to bear every risk to the goods until the ship reached the island, and to take them into his own keeping within those six days. He further bound himself to pay Upham, or anyone Upham named, £130 0s 0d sterling for the goods and £52 0s 0d sterling for their freight and carriage, both due as soon as the goods were delivered. All of this money was to be paid in Spanish dollars, honestly and without delay. The dollars were to be valued at 5s 4⅛d sterling an ounce, which was stated to be their current price in London. Both men signed and sealed the contract on 19 November 1765, in the sixth year of the reign of George III. The document was stamped as the law required and witnessed by John Willis and Robert

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		the said Six days after the arrival of the said Ship at the said Island and further the said John Bland doth hereby for himself his Executors and Administrs Covenant Promise and Agree that he the said John Bland shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the the Sum of one hundred and thirty pounds Sterling money for the abovementioned Goods and said James Upham or his Order for the Freight and Carriage of the said Goods the Sum of fifty two pounds sterling Money of Great Britain immediately at and upon the delivery of the said Goods to the said John Bland or his Order And the said John Bland doth also Covenant promise and one hundred and thirty Pounds as well as the said Sum of Agree that the payment of the said Sum of fifty two Pounds shall be well and truly paid unto the said James Upham or his Order in Spanish Dollars without any Covin fraud or delay and the said Spanish Dollars shall be computed rated and Valued at and after the Rate of five Shillings and four pence and one eighth of a Penny Sterling Per Ounce being the Current price of Spanish Dollars now the City of London in the Kingdom of Great Britain In Witness whereof the said Parties to these presents have hereunto Interchangably set their Hands and Seals this nineteenth day of November in the Sixth 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 and so forth and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty five Sealed and delivered (being first duly Stampt) in the (signed) James Upham presence of the several Interlinations hereon appearing being first made John Bland (signed) John Willis Robt Stead	Stead. The witnesses noted that the words added between the lines had been written in before the signing. **Interpretations** Bland's undertaking to bear all risks until the ship arrived was the decisive clause. In law, whoever carried the risk of loss was the real owner, so the goods were Bland's from the moment they were loaded, whatever the contract said about Upham's property and protection. The arrangement let Bland ship a cargo of his own inside an officer's personal allowance of private trade, which the Company granted to its officers alone and which no outsider was entitled to use. The freight charge of £52 0s 0d on goods worth £130 0s 0d amounted to 40 per cent of their value, far above any ordinary shipping rate for a few chests and a box. Upham was in effect being paid for the use of his privilege rather than for carriage, and Bland expected to recover that cost and more by reselling the goods on an island where he had cornered the supply. Valuing the dollars by weight at the London price of silver tied the payment to the bullion market in England rather than to the rate at which dollars passed on St Helena. The difference worked in favour of one party at the expense of the island's fixed standard, which was why the Council singled out the payment in dollars as a breach of its currency rules. The words added between the lines, which inserted the £130 0s 0d price into a clause originally covering freight alone, were certified by the witnesses as made before signing, a precaution that stopped either party from later claiming the contract had been altered.
284	279	1766 In consequence of the above proceedings we sent for the Captains Court & Peters and enquired of them whether Bland had engrossed any part of their Private Trade the Former said he had put some things into his Hands which he had promised to let him have the disposal of when in England but the latter declared he had no concern with him in any shape we therefore recommended it to the Captains to expose their Goods in a Shop or in some publick way that the Inhabitants in general might have an opportunity of supplying themselves and at the same time observed to them that they might keep their Shop were they pleased provided they had respect to the Publick in the disposal of their Goods which they promised to do The Steps Bland hath taken towards establishing himself a Merchant and for that purpose endeavouring to engross several	Following these proceedings, the Council sent for Captain Court and Captain Peters and asked whether Bland had bought up any part of their private trade goods. Court said he had placed some goods in Bland's hands, having promised in England to let him sell them. Peters declared that he had no dealings with Bland of any kind. The Council urged both captains to set out their goods in a shop or some other public place, so that all the inhabitants would have a chance to buy what they needed. It added that the captains could run their own shop if they wished, provided they had regard to the public in selling their goods. Both captains promised to do so. The Council regarded Bland's efforts to set himself up as a merchant, and to buy up goods for that purpose, as most unusual. He had also tried to set a damaging precedent by lowering the recognised value of the dollar from 5s to about 4s 7d, although the Company's cash always paid dollars out at 5s. The Council judged that this practice, if allowed to stand, would do great harm to the whole island. It would probably cause constant disputes between the inhabitants and the officers of the ships, with all the trouble such disputes could bring.

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		Goods and Merchandize is very Extraordinary besides attempting to introduce a bad president by lowering the Stated currency of the Dollar Money from five Shillings to about four and seven pence when they are constantly paid out of the Honorable Companys Cash at five Shillings is a proceeding if once made a precedent of will be highly prejudicial to the Island in General and may probably create continual disputes between the Inhabitants and the Gentlemen of the Shipping and attended with every evil such a transaction is capable of producing in order therefore effectually to put a stop to these irregularitys so early introduced among Us by Bland we ordered him before Us and after reprimanding him for this beginning of his bad behaviour we told him that as Captain Court had put some Goods in to the said Blands hands he might dispose of them for him provided he exposed them in a Shop or in such manner that the Publick might supply themselves with the necessarys they wanted but this to continue only during Captn Courts stay at the same time strictly forbidding him to carry on Trade Traffick or Merchandize in any Shape or under any pretence whatsoever as we apprehended it would be attended with great **Margin Notes:** [...]	To put a firm stop to these irregularities, which Bland had introduced so soon after his arrival, the Council ordered him to appear before it. It rebuked him for this early misconduct. It then told him that, since Captain Court had already placed goods with him, he might sell them on Court's behalf. He could do so only by setting them out in a shop or in some other way that let the public buy what they needed, and only while Captain Court remained at the island. At the same time the Council strictly forbade him to carry on any trade or dealing in goods, in any form or on any excuse, since it feared that serious harm would follow. **Interpretations** The value Bland set on the dollar followed directly from his contract with James Upham. Pricing dollars by weight at the London rate of 5s 4⅛d an ounce worked out at about 4s 7d a coin, against the 5s at which the Company paid them out on the island. The Company met its wages and bills in dollars at 5s, so if traders took them at only 4s 7d, every soldier, labourer and official paid in dollars would find his money buying about 8 per cent less. Bland's private bargain thus threatened a hidden cut in the income of everyone the Company paid, which explains why the Council treated the currency question as seriously as the cornering of goods. The Council stopped short of the obvious course of seizing Bland's goods or banning him outright from selling them. Captain Court had already entrusted goods to him under a promise made in England, and cancelling that arrangement would have penalised a Company commander as well as Bland. The Council instead allowed the sale on its own terms: open display, public access, and only for as long as Court stayed. The goods reached the inhabitants, Court's interest was respected, and Bland was barred from turning the episode into a permanent business. The remedy for the captains followed the same logic. Rather than forbid their private trade, the Council asked them to sell it openly in a shop, so that every inhabitant had an equal chance to buy. The aim was not to suppress the officers' trade, which the Company allowed, but to stop any single dealer standing between the ships and the island.
285	280	10th March great inconveniency's to the Companys Servants and Inhabitants in general That in Breach of these our Orders we would look upon it as a forfeiture of the Honorable Companys Indulgence and in that case were determined to put their Orders in Execution by Sending him forthwith from the Island We then directed the Publicans and Shopkeepers to attend Us and Ordered them in Blands presence not to deal with him in the Mercantile Way for any Commodity or Goods whatsoever under the Penalty of having their Licence taken from them And directed the Secretary to acquaint the Gentlemen in answer to their Memorial that we had taken every method we could suggest to prevent the said Blands Monopolizing and to assure them we should at all times discourage him from usurping any thing to their disadvantage The Lieut Governor having represented to Us that on the appointment of Danl Tonge as Overseer to the Honble Compy in the Room of Thomas Warne Dismissed he ordered said Tonge to take	The Council warned Bland that any breach of these orders would be treated as forfeiting the favour the Company had shown him. In that case it was determined to carry out the Company's orders and send him off the island at once. The Council then summoned the publicans and shopkeepers. In Bland's presence it ordered them not to trade with him in any goods whatever, on pain of losing their licences. It also told the secretary to reply to the gentlemen who had signed the memorial. The reply was to assure them that the Council had taken every step it could think of to stop Bland cornering the market, and that it would always discourage him from encroaching on their interests. The Lieutenant Governor reported on the Company's livestock. When Daniel Torque replaced the dismissed Thomas Warne as the Company's overseer, Corneille ordered Torque to make an exact count of the stock. Torque found 23 cattle and 65 goats missing. Corneille did not believe Warne had committed any fraud. Warne's quarterly return for 1 April 1765 to 30 June 1765 had shown an increase of 62 head, and Corneille judged that figure to match the normal yearly growth of the Company's herds. He put the loss of goats down to the many deaths among goats across the whole island and the frequent complaints of dogs killing them, which he thought the only explanation. He brought no further charge against Warne beyond his failure to report the

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		an exact Account of the Stock which he reported deficient of twenty three Black Cattle and sixty Five Goats Thinks that there has been no fraud in said Warne as the Increase in the Quarterly Return from 1st April to 30th June 1765 amounting to sixty two to which he refers equals the Increase of what the Honorable Companys Stock produces yearly And as to the deficiency of Goats imagines from the Number that have of late Died throughout the whole Island and the many Complaints We have had of Dogs destroying them thinks can be the only reason to Account for that Decease And lay no further Charge against the late Overseer Warne than Stopping that deficiency from him as he must have known it long before he was turned out of the Service for his many other repeated Neglects of the Honble Companys Business must further observe that from the Ill state of Health of the Overseer Bazett who died the beginning of June last 1765 was he supposed the occasion of	shortfall. Warne must have known about it long before his dismissal, which had followed many other repeated failures in the Company's business. Corneille added that the overseer Bazett, who died at the start of June 1765, had been in poor health, and he believed this lay behind part of the trouble. **Interpretations** The licensing system gave the Council the means to enforce its ruling against Bland. Every publican and shopkeeper on the island traded under a licence the Council could revoke, so ordering them in Bland's presence to refuse his business cut him off from every retail outlet at a stroke. The threat of sending him from the island backed this up with the heaviest sanction available, since a merchant removed from St Helena lost both his market and his investment. Thomas Warne's dismissal opened the way to an obvious charge: livestock had gone missing on his watch, and an overseer was answerable for what he was given to manage. Corneille set that course aside and gave his reasons. Warne's reported increase matched what the herds could naturally produce, which argued against a fraud covered up by false returns. The goats had died across the whole island, not just on the Company's land, and dogs were a known cause. The lesser charge of concealing the loss was enough, since Warne had already been dismissed for other failures and pursuing him further would gain the Company nothing. The manuscript's black cattle meant ordinary beef cattle of the dark breeds common in Britain, the standard term for cattle as distinct from horses or sheep. A full count on the change of overseer was the routine check that fixed responsibility at the moment of handover, so that any later losses fell on the new man and earlier ones on the old.
286	281	1766 of the bad situation in which he found the Honble Companys Plantations and the principal cause of the present Scarcity of yams for Feeding the Slaves And Submits it to the Governor and Councils Examinations for a further Inquiry 10th March 1766 Upon which we sent for the said Warne to Enquire of him how the deficiency in the Honorable Companys Stock arose he declares that the Cattle wanting was owing to a mistake either in his counting of them or his trusting too much to the Blacks who coursed them in the different pastures the Goats many of them died with the mange and were killed by Dogs From the above it appears to Us that the deficiency in the Stock must have risen from a mere mistake and from no fraud in the said Warne We therefore directed them to be wrote off in the next Quarters Accounts We are further of opinion that the present scarcity of Yams in the Plantations must be owing to the reasons the Lieut Governor Assigns in the above representations but as they are (altho young) now in good order we are in hopes there will not be that deficiency the next Year John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Lieutenant Governor Corneille believed that the poor health of the late overseer Bazett explained the bad condition in which he had found the Company's plantations. In his view it was also the main reason for the present shortage of yams to feed the slaves. He laid the matter before the Governor and Council for further enquiry in a report dated 10 March 1766. The Council then sent for Thomas Warne and asked how the loss of the Company's stock had come about. Warne said the missing cattle were the result of a mistake, either in his own counting or in relying too much on the slaves who drove the cattle between the different pastures. Many of the goats had died of mange, and dogs had killed others. The Council concluded from this evidence that the shortfall in the stock arose from a simple mistake and not from any fraud by Warne. It ordered the missing animals to be written off in the next quarter's accounts. The Council also agreed that the present shortage of yams in the plantations was due to the causes the Lieutenant Governor had given. The plantations, though young, were now in good order, and the Council hoped there would be no such shortage the following year. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** Writing the missing animals off in the next quarter's accounts closed the matter in the books without charging anyone for the loss. The Company's stock was carried as an asset, much as its slaves were, and a deficiency left standing would have to be explained to the directors every quarter until it was resolved. Removing it as an accepted loss, with the Council's finding of honest mistake recorded alongside, gave the directors a reason for the

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		Margin Notes: [...]	reduction and spared the Council from pursuing a dismissed overseer who had little to pay with. Warne's explanation showed how the Company's herds were actually managed. The overseer did not tend the cattle himself; the Company's slaves drove them across scattered pastures, and the overseer relied on their reports for his counts. Blaming that reliance placed the fault on a system that left the true number of animals known only to those who had no stake in keeping it accurate. The yam shortage that the Council had met on 10 March 1766 by switching the slaves to bread days now had an official cause. The plantations had been neglected during Bazett's final illness, and fresh plantings had to grow for a year before they could be dug. Accepting this explanation justified the temporary flour ration to the directors and set a date by which the Company's own food supply was expected to recover.
287	282	12th March At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 12th Day of March 1766 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 10th March 1766 We this day met in Consultation to consider the Honble Companys Orders with respect to the carrying on the Fortifications came to a resolution of setting about them with all possible expedition therefore gave the Engineer the following Order viz. To Captain Archibald Mitchell Engineer of the Island St Helena Sir In consequence of the Honorable Companys Directions to Us for Expediting their Works with Deligence and Frugality We hereby Order you immediately to set about the Fortifications at Sandy Bay according to the Plan sent Home as first intended by you to be carried into Execution You are to give Us a Quarterly Return of the Progress you make And that no other object whatsoever shall take off your Attention to the Fortifications we further require you at other times to let Us know whatever may be necessary or wanting for that purpose As there shall be no Obstacle or Impediment thro our means to that care and deligence that our masters expect from your Abilitys and Attention to their Service We are Sir St Helena (signed) Your humble Servants 12th March 1766 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 12 March 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 10 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. The Council met to consider the Company's orders about building the island's fortifications. It resolved to begin the work as quickly as possible and sent the engineer a written order. The order was addressed to Captain Archibald Mitchell, engineer of St Helena, and dated 12 March 1766. It explained that the Company had told the Council to press on with its works both diligently and economically. Mitchell was therefore to start at once on the fortifications at Sandy Bay, following the plan he had originally drawn up and sent to London. He was to report on his progress every quarter. Nothing else whatever was to distract him from the fortifications, and he was to tell the Council at any time what he needed for the work. The Council promised to put no obstacle in the way of the care and diligence the directors expected from his skill and attention to their service. The Governor signed the order with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The order revealed part of what the directors' packets of early March had contained. On 7 March 1766 the Council had sent for Mitchell to tell him privately of the Company's wishes concerning him, and the instruction now issued showed that those wishes centred on the fortifications. The directors had approved the plan Mitchell sent home, and the Council's insistence that nothing else should take his attention was pointed. Mitchell held several posts at once, as engineer and as captain of the Artillery Company, and the order made the defences his first duty above all others. Sandy Bay was already the scene of heavy preparation. In February 1766 the gunner had sent 100 lb of powder there to blast rock, and slow match had been issued for the works. The order turned that preparatory clearing into a formal programme of construction under the engineer's direct charge. The demand for quarterly returns, joined to the directors' call for economy, gave the Council a regular check on how the money was being spent. Fortification was among the costliest undertakings on the island, consuming labour, powder, stone and lime, and periodic reports allowed both the Council and the Court of Directors to judge whether progress justified the expense.

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288	283	Upon our delivering the above Order to Captain Mitchell he represented to Us the necessity there will be of appointing a Commissioned Officer as Overseer of the Works carrying on at Sandy Bay to reside Constantly there and have the whole care and management of seeing that the People do their Duty and execute such directions as he shall receive from time to time from the Engineer and keep Order and regularity amongst them As we are convinced of the Necessity of such a Person from the Number of Garrison Men as well as Slaves that will be requisite for that great Work we have appointed Lieut Bridgwater as Overseer during the time of Executing the Works at three Shillings Pr day as we are persuaded this Additional Expence will answer the end we propose by keeping the People strictly to their Work which ought not to be trusted to Sergeants only and as such Expences are unavoidable hope it will meet with the Honble Companys Approbation as we shall always pay that due attention to Oeconomy in the prosecution of putting the Island in a proper state of Defence John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** [...]	When the Council handed Captain Mitchell his order, he told the Council that a commissioned officer would have to be appointed as overseer of the works at Sandy Bay. The officer would need to live there permanently and take full charge of the workforce. His duties would be to make sure the men did their work, to carry out the engineer's instructions as they came, and to keep order and discipline among them. The Council agreed that such a man was needed, given the large number of garrison soldiers and slaves the great undertaking would require. It appointed Lieutenant Bridgwater as overseer for as long as the works lasted, at 3s a day. The Council believed this extra cost would achieve its purpose by keeping the workforce strictly at their tasks, a duty that should not be left to sergeants alone. It hoped the Company would approve the expense as unavoidable, and promised always to keep economy in view while putting the island into a proper state of defence. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The cheaper course was to leave the work gangs under the garrison's sergeants, who were already on the pay list and would cost nothing extra. The Council set that aside because the workforce at Sandy Bay was to be large and mixed, combining soldiers and slaves on a remote site far from the Castle. Sergeants lacked the authority to command such a body on their own, and only a commissioned officer living on the spot could hold it to the engineer's programme day after day. The cost was considerable. At 3s a day, Bridgwater's allowance came to more than £13 a quarter on top of his lieutenant's salary of £18 5s 0d, nearly doubling his pay. Coming only weeks after the directors had urged both diligence and frugality, the Council took care to explain why the expense was justified and to pledge its continued attention to economy. The minute was written as much for the directors' eyes as for the island's own record. John Bridgwater appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a lieutenant in the Third Company.
289	284	14th March At a Consultation held on Friday the 14th Day of March 1766 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 12th March 1766 The ten working days allowed by Charter party for unloading the Ships Prince of Wales and Plassey being expired We gave Captains Jonathan Court and William Peters Sailing Orders in writing to make the best of their way to China according to the Directions they 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 Rightt Honble Lord Clive President and Governor &c Council of Fort William My Lord and Sirs We addressed you last under date of 3d of April 1765 by way of China since which we have received your favours by the Ships Vansittart and Bute	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 14 March 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 12 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. The ten working days allowed under the charter agreements for unloading the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* had now run out. The Council therefore gave Captain Jonathan Court and Captain William Peters written orders to sail and make the best of their way to China, as the Court of Directors had instructed. It also gave them letters for several of the Company's settlements in India. The first letter was addressed to Lord Clive, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort William. The Council noted that it had last written to them on 5 April 1765, by way of China, and had since received their letters by the *Vansittart* and the *Bute*. It asked them to send, by each ship, eight maunds of good wax candles and 200 pieces of dosooties for the island's use, with the rest of the island's one per cent allowance to be made up in arrack, rice and paddy. The directors had informed the Council that they had ordered Bengal to send a double quantity of rice without reducing the island's usual annual orders, and the Council expressed full confidence that this would be done. **Interpretations**

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		We desire you will be pleased to send Us for the use of this Island eight Maunds of good Wax Candles by each Ship two hundred Pieces Desoosees and the rest of the one Pr Cent in Arrack Rice and Paddy Our Honble Masters having informed Us that they have Ordered a double quantity of Rice to be sent Us from your Presidency without any diminution to our Annual Indents we make no doubt of	The ten working days written into the charter agreement fixed how long a hired ship could be kept in port for unloading. The Company chartered its East Indiamen from private owners, and every day beyond the agreed time would have to be paid for as compensation for delay. Sending Court and Peters on their way the moment the period expired kept the Company clear of such charges, and the Council recorded the expiry to show it had used the full time allowed and no more. St Helena drew much of its supply from Bengal, then governed from Fort William at Calcutta under Lord Clive. The island's one per cent was a fixed share set aside on the Bengal ships for its needs, filled with whatever the Council requested. Asking for candles, cloth, arrack, rice and paddy showed how far the island's food and household goods came from India rather than England. The directors' order for a double quantity of rice answered the shortage that had forced the slaves onto bread days on 10 March 1766. A maund was the standard Indian weight, reckoned in Bengal at about 75 lb, so eight maunds of candles came to roughly 600 lb on each ship. Dosooties were a strong, coarse cotton cloth woven in Bengal with paired threads in the warp and weft, cheap and durable, and widely used for working clothes and for issue to slaves.
290	285	1766 of your compliance as our Consumption from the increase of Slaves is much greater than usual This goes by way of China on the Honble Companys Ship Prince of Wales enclosed you will receive a List of Ships arrival and departure to and from this Island since our last We are My Lord and Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe St Helena Daniel Corneille 14th March 1766 Matthw Burling Thos Kirkpatrick To the Honble Robert Palk Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Fort St George Honble Sir and Sirs We did our selves the Pleasure of writing last to you by way of China under date of 3d April 1765 since that time your Letters of the 25th March and 13th October 1765 have been duly received We request you will send for the Consumption of this Place twelve pieces Long Cloth at twelve Pagodas Pr Piece twelve pieces at ten Pagodas Pr Piece twelve pieces at eight Pagodas Pr Piece eighty Pieces at three and an half Pagodas Pr Piece and thirty Pieces at two and an half Pagodas Pr Piece fifty Pair of good Mens Cotton Stockings of Sizes Fine Diaper from Cuddalore for two dozen of Table Cloths and twelve dozen of Napkins and the rest of the one Pr Cent in Arrack Rice and Paddy This Letter will be forwarded to your Presidency from China **Margin Notes:** [...]	The Council ended its letter to Fort William by explaining that the island's consumption had grown far beyond the usual because of the increase in the number of slaves. The letter was sent by way of China aboard the Company's ship *Prince of Wales*, with a list enclosed of the ships that had arrived at and left the island since the Council last wrote. Governor Skottowe signed it at St Helena on 14 March 1766, together with Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The second letter was addressed to Robert Palk, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort St George. The Council noted that it had last written to them by way of China on 3 April 1765, and had since received their letters of 23 March 1765 and 13 October 1765. The Council asked Fort St George to send longcloth for the island's use in several grades. It wanted 12 pieces at 12 pagodas a piece, 12 pieces at 10 pagodas and 12 pieces at 8 pagodas. It also asked for 80 pieces at 3½ pagodas and 30 pieces at 2½ pagodas. In addition it requested 50 pairs of good men's cotton stockings in assorted sizes, and enough fine diaper from Cuddalore to make two dozen tablecloths and 12 dozen napkins. The rest of the island's one per cent allowance was to be made up in arrack, rice and paddy. The Council explained that this letter would reach Fort St George by way of China. **Interpretations** The Council justified its larger requests by pointing to the growing number of slaves on the island. More slaves meant more rice, paddy and coarse cloth to feed and clothe them, and the plea for a bigger supply from Bengal sat alongside the directors' own order for a double quantity of rice. The island's slave population was rising faster than its own plantations could feed, which tied St Helena ever more closely to supply from India. The longcloth was ordered by price per piece rather than by quality letter. The most expensive pieces, at 12 pagodas, were nearly five times the cost of the cheapest at 2½ pagodas. The range matched the graded longcloth sold to the planters and entered on the island's account from 1766, from fine cloth for the better households to rough pieces for working dress. Diaper was a linen or cotton woven with a

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			small repeating diamond pattern, the standard fabric for table linen. Cuddalore, a Company settlement south of Madras, was known for producing it. The tablecloths and napkins were perhaps meant for the Company's table at the Castle. Both letters travelled by way of China rather than directly to India. Ships leaving St Helena outward bound for Canton could carry mail that would be passed on to Madras and Calcutta from there, since there was no regular direct route from the island to the Indian presidencies. Correspondence therefore moved slowly and indirectly, and replies could take a year or more to arrive.
291	286	14th March China We have Enclosed you a List of Ships that have touched here since our last We are Honble Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe St Helena Daniel Corneille 14th March 1766 Matthw Burling Thos Kirkpatrick To the Honble Charles Crommelin Esqr President and Govr &c Council of Bombay Honble Sir & Sirs Our last Advices to you went by our Honble Masters Ship Salisbury since that time we have received your Letters under date of the 23d April and 14th May 1765 We desire you will send for the use of this Island two hundred pieces Surat Challoes and the rest of the one Pr Cent in Rice & Paddy Our Honble Masters having informed Us that they have Ordered a double quantity of Rice to be sent Us from your Presidency without any diminution to our Annual Indents we make no doubt of your Compliance as our Consumption from the increase of Slaves is much greater than Usual This Letter goes by the Ship Prince of Wales bound to China we have sent you Enclosed a List of Ships arrival and departure to and from this Place since the 3d April 1765 We are Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most obedient humble Servants St Helena (signed) John Skottowe 14th March 1766 Dan Corneille Matthw Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council's letter to Fort St George enclosed a list of the ships that had called at the island since it last wrote. Governor Skottowe signed it at St Helena on 14 March 1766, together with Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The third letter was addressed to Charles Crommelin, President and Governor, and the Council of Bombay. The Council noted that its last letter to them had gone by the Company's ship *Salisbury*, and that it had since received their letters of 23 April 1765 and 14 May 1765. 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 directors had informed the Council that they had ordered Bombay to send a double quantity of rice without reducing the island's usual annual orders. The Council expressed full confidence that Bombay would comply, explaining that the island's consumption had grown far beyond the usual because of the increase in the number of slaves. The letter was to travel aboard the *Prince of Wales*, bound for China, with a list enclosed of the ships that had arrived at and left the island since 3 April 1765. The Governor signed it at St Helena on 14 March 1766, together with Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The directors had ordered a double quantity of rice from both Bengal and Bombay at once, and the Council pressed each presidency in nearly identical words. Drawing on two separate sources spread the risk of a failed harvest or a lost ship, and showed how seriously the Company in London took the island's food shortage. The same justification, the growing number of slaves, ran through both letters, so that neither presidency could treat the request as a routine order to be trimmed. Bombay was asked only for cloth, rice and paddy, with no arrack, which the island drew instead from Bengal and Batavia. The 200 pieces of chelloes were to come from Surat, the main weaving centre of western India under Bombay's control, and were the same checked cotton cloth already issued to the Company's slave women.
292	287	1766 To the President and other Supracargoes of Council at Canton Gentlemen We wrote to you last under date of the 3d April 1765 since that time your several Advices have been duly received Enclosed we have transmitted you the Ship Prince of Wales's Charter Party Victualling Bill and Manifest of Goods together with a Packet from the Honorable Company directed to you likewise a List of what Ships have arrived here since our last By the Plassey we have consigned you on Account of the Honorable Company one Chest of Treasure as Pr Invoice and Bill of	The fourth letter was addressed to the President and the other supercargoes forming the Council at Canton. The Council noted that it had last written to them on 3 April 1765, and that their various letters had since arrived safely. It enclosed the charter agreement, victualling bill and cargo manifest of the *Prince of Wales*, together with a packet from the Company addressed to them and a list of the ships that had called at the island since its last letter. The Council also reported that it had shipped one chest of treasure aboard the *Plassey* on the Company's account, and enclosed the invoice and bill of lading for it. It asked that the table china sent to the island the following year should be of the oblong pattern. It further asked Canton to add two tea sets of blue and white [...] to the island's order from the

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		Lading Enclosed We request the Table China you send Us next year may be of the oblong pattern and please to add to our Indent of Last Season two Tea Setts of Blue and White [...] The several Letters directed to the Presidencys in India we desire you will forward by the first opportunity We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe St Helena Dan Corneille 14th March 1766 Matthw Burling Thos Kirkpatrick John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling [...] **Margin Notes:** [...]	previous season. Finally, it asked Canton to forward the letters for the presidencies in India by the first opportunity. Governor Skottowe signed the letter at St Helena on 14 March 1766, together with Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. He then signed the minutes of the meeting with Daniel Corneille and Burling. **Interpretations** The chest of treasure sent to Canton turned the island's surplus coin into working capital for the China trade. Tea, silk and porcelain at Canton could be bought only with silver, and the Company was always short of it there. The cash account closed on 17 February 1766 showed more than £6,000 in coin lying in the island's chest. Rather than leave it idle, the Council shipped part of it on to Canton, where it helped pay for the cargoes that the same ships would carry home. The supercargoes were the Company's merchants at Canton, responsible for buying the tea and other goods that filled the homeward ships. Sending them the charter agreement, victualling bill and cargo manifest of the *Prince of Wales* gave them everything they needed to manage the ship on arrival: what she carried, what provisions she had drawn and on what terms she was hired. Canton also served as the relay point for letters to Bengal, Madras and Bombay, which is why the Council asked the supercargoes to send them on. The request for oblong table china and tea sets showed the Castle ordering its tableware directly from China. The island's position on the homeward route let it obtain fine porcelain far more easily than its distance from England might suggest, and the Council's preference for a particular shape showed it buying to its own taste.
293	288	17th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of March 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthw Burling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 14th March 1766 Yesterday passed by three Ships at a great distance Mr William Wrangham this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipl John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of William Wrangham Sheweth That your Petitioner requests the favour of your Worship and Council to give him leave to dispose of to the best Bidder twenty six Acres and three Quarters of Lease Land belonging to Mr David Alcock and your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) 17th March 1766 Wm Wrangham Granted Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of February last which is as follows viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 March 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 14 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. Three ships passed the island far out to sea on 16 March 1766. William Wrangham presented a petition to the Governor and Council, dated 17 March 1766. He asked for leave to sell to the highest bidder 26¾ acres of leased land belonging to David Alcock. The Council granted his request. The Company's cash for February 1766 was then counted and checked. **Interpretations** Wrangham was selling land that belonged to someone else, which made him Alcock's agent, perhaps because Alcock was absent from the island or had died. A lease of Company land was a valuable asset in its own right, and the Council's consent allowed it to pass by public sale to whoever offered most. Requiring a petition for each such sale kept the Council informed of every change in who held the island's land, while letting tenants and their representatives realise the value of their holdings. Wrangham, the Governor's assistant and a signatory of the memorial against John Bland, was another official acting in the island's land market alongside his Company duties.
294	289	Cash Dr 1766 Febry 1 By Balance remaining £ 6605 . 13 . 2 3 To Ship Admiral Stevens received of Capt John Griffin 416 . 10 . - To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble	The Company's cash account for February 1766 was closed as follows. Receipts: 1 February 1766, balance in hand, £6,605 18s 2d On 3 February 1766 the Council received £416 10s 0d from Captain John Griffin on the account of the ship *Admiral Stevens*.

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		the Court of Directors payable to Capt John Durand or Order 396 . - . - To Blacks received for one Woman Sold named Grace Tanner as Pr Consultation of this day 21 . - . - £ 7439 . 8 . 2 Per Contra Cr 1766 Febry 28 By Balance remaing viz. In Specie 6899 . 13 . 2 In Cash notes of no use 539 . 15 . - £ 7439 . 8 . 2 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1766	Received in exchange for a set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Captain John Durand or his order, £396 0s 0d Received on the slaves' account for a woman named Grace Tanner, sold as agreed at the meeting of the same day, £21 0s 0d Total, £7,439 8s 2d Balance: 28 February 1766, balance in hand in coin, £6,899 13s 2d 28 February 1766, balance in hand in unusable cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,439 8s 2d Governor Skottowe signed the account with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The £21 0s 0d paid by George Butler for Grace Tanner's freedom was booked as a sale on the slaves' account. In the Company's ledgers her release was simply the disposal of an asset at its recorded value, entered alongside ship payments and bills of exchange, with no note of the gratitude that had prompted it. The account confirmed what the minutes of 3 February 1766 implied: to the Company, the transaction was a sale like any other. All the month's new cash came from the departing *Admiral Stevens* on a single day, 3 February 1766, when Captain Griffin paid in two separate sums. One, of £396 0s 0d, was exchanged for bills on London; the other, of £416 10s 0d, was credited to the ship's own account, perhaps for stores and provisions supplied to her while she lay in the road. Together they raised the island's coin by more than £800, money the Council would soon partly send on to Canton aboard the *Plassey*.
295	290	24th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of March 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Mr Matthew Burling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 17th March 1766 Tuesday the 18th Passed by six Ships at a great distance Saturday the 22d Arrived the Earl of Elgins Boat at Bankss a Quarter of an Hour before ten oClock at Night Yesterday . . . Do the Honorable Companys Ship Earl of Elgin from China Do . . . . . Do the Admiral Pococks Boat at Bankss a Quarter of an Hour before two oClock in the afternoon Do . . . . . Do the Honorable Companys Ship Admiral Pocock from China This day . . Do the Duke of Richmonds Boat at Bankss at nine oClock in the Morning Do . . . . . Do the Honorable Companys Ship Duke of Richmond from China The Ship Admiral Pocock brought Us the following Supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Admiral Pocock Sugar W No 52 to 58 Tare, Gross No 52: Tare 26, Gross 315 No 53: Tare 26, Gross 318 No 54: Tare 28, Gross 310 No 55: Tare 26, Gross 319 No 56: Tare 26, Gross 306	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 March 1766, with Governor Skottowe presiding. Daniel Corneille attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 17 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. Six ships passed the island far out to sea on Tuesday 18 March 1766. A boat from the *Earl of Elgin* landed at Banks's at a quarter to ten on the night of Saturday 22 March 1766, and the Company's ship *Earl of Elgin* arrived from China on 23 March 1766. On the same day a boat from the *Admiral Pocock* landed at Banks's at a quarter to two in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Admiral Pocock* followed from China. At nine in the morning on 24 March 1766 a boat from the *Duke of Richmond* landed at Banks's, and the Company's ship *Duke of Richmond* then arrived from China. The *Admiral Pocock* brought the following supplies, as listed in her invoice. Sugar, marked W, tubs numbered 52 to 58, as follows: Tub 52, tare 26 catties, gross weight 315 catties Tub 53, tare 26 catties, gross weight 318 catties Tub 54, tare 28 catties, gross weight 310 catties Tub 55, tare 26 catties, gross weight 319 catties Tub 56, tare 26 catties, gross weight 306 catties Tub 57, tare 26 catties, gross weight 314 catties Tub 58, tare 26 catties, gross weight 311 catties Total for 7 tubs, tare 184 catties, gross weight 2,193 catties Less tare, 184 catties Net weight of sugar, 2,009 catties, at [...], 67 taels, 7 mace and 7 candareens Total carried forward, 67 taels, 7 mace and 7 candareens **Interpretations** Three ships from China arrived within two days, each sending a boat ahead to Banks's hours before the ship herself came into the road. The homeward

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		No 57: Tare 26, Gross 314 No 58: Tare 26, Gross 311 Tot: Tare 184, Gross 2193 Gross 2193 184 Tare Do 2009 Nett or 15 . 0 . 6 Cattys @ 4 . 5 Pr Pecul T m c 67 . 7 . 7 . 0 Carrd over 67 . 7 . 7 . 0	China ships left Canton together on the winter monsoon and often reached St Helena in close succession in the southern autumn. The six ships seen passing on 18 March 1766 may well have belonged to the same season's traffic. The boat sent ahead gave the batteries warning that a friendly Company vessel was approaching, which mattered all the more when several ships appeared at once. The invoice was drawn up in Chinese weights and money, just as the Madras invoice of the *Earl of Middlesex* had used pagodas. Weights were given in catties, the standard Chinese unit of about 1⅓ lb; 100 catties made one picul, about 133 lb. The money was reckoned in taels, a weight of silver used as a unit of account. Each tael divided into 10 mace, and each mace into 10 candareens. The Council kept the invoice in the currency of purchase so that the true cost paid at Canton was preserved before conversion into sterling for the island's books. China sugar, refined in the south of China and packed in tubs, was among the regular goods sent to the island from Canton. Each tub was weighed full and its wooden container deducted as tare, so that the Company paid only for the sugar itself. Shipping the tubs by number made it possible to trace any shortfall on delivery to a particular container.
296	291	1766 Brought over 67 . 7 . 7 . 0 B No 34 1 Chest Bohea Tea 177 Gross 43 Tare 134 Nett is 1 Pecul 19 . - C No 96 1 Chest Congo 101 Gross 21 Tare 80 Nett is 60 Catty @ 28 Pr Pecul 16 . 8 . 0 . 0 Tales 103 . 5 . 7 . 0 Canton 30th Novemr 1765 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Fitzhugh Saml Blount John Burrow Nathl Garland Wm Mackenzie John Searle Josh De Vesme Thos Smith Thos Thomas Willm Rous John Walton Thos Bevan Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St Helena 24th March 1766 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 Per order of Council (signed) M Bazett Secrety	The *Admiral Pocock*'s invoice continued with two chests of tea, carried on from the total for the sugar. Total brought forward, 67 taels, 7 mace and 7 candareens Chest marked B, number 34, 1 chest of bohea tea, gross weight 177 lb, tare 43 lb, net weight 134 lb, reckoned as 1 picul, 19 taels, 0 mace and 0 candareens Chest marked C, number 96, 1 chest of congou tea, gross weight 101 lb, tare 21 lb, net weight 80 lb, equal to 60 catties, at 28 taels a picul, 16 taels, 8 mace and 0 candareens Total, 103 taels, 5 mace and 7 candareens The invoice was dated at Canton on 30 November 1765, with the usual reservation for errors, and signed by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount John Burrow Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie John Searle Joseph De Vesme Thomas Smith Thomas Thomas William Bews John Walton Thomas Bevan The Council ordered a public notice to be issued, dated at St Helena on 24 March 1766. It called on all the island's inhabitants to meet as a vestry at the chapel in Jamestown valley on the following Monday, 31 March 1766, to choose the parish officers for the coming year. They were also to put forward the names of three leading inhabitants, one of whom would be chosen to serve as sheriff, and to select a suitable person to act as constable. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice on the Council's behalf. **Interpretations** The vestry was the island's parish meeting, modelled on the English system in which householders chose their own officers to manage local affairs such as poor relief, the upkeep of the church and the keeping of order. On St Helena it gave the inhabitants a real if limited say in their own government. The sheriff, however, was not simply elected: the vestry named three candidates and the Council chose one. That arrangement let the settlers

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			propose men they trusted while leaving the final choice, and with it the island's chief officer of law enforcement, in the Company's hands. The twelve men who signed the invoice at Canton were the supercargoes, the Company's merchants who managed the China trade during the trading season. Their joint signature on even a small consignment for St Helena showed that every invoice leaving Canton passed under the eye of the whole council of supercargoes, so that no single merchant could vouch for goods alone.
297	292	24th March We this day received the following Letters viz. To the Worshipl John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council Sirs As the Honble the Court of Directors may blame me for staying so long beyond the time limitted for Charter I here protest against the surf which has hindered us from landing any thing out of the Ship these eight days and will now take Us work as hard as we can (the surf permitting) ten Days at least to get our Ballast and Water on board I am St Helena Gentlemen 24th March 1766 Your most Obedient humble Servant (signed) Jonn Court To the Worshipl John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council Worshipl Sir & Sirs As my stay here has been longer than the time Limitted by the Charter party the Honorable Court of Directors may think it is owing to my Negligence &c but I take this opportunity to Protest against the Surf which has prevented my despatching the Ship in due time I am Worshipl Sir and Sirs St Helena Your most humble Servants 24th March 1766 (signed) Wm Peters	The Council received two letters on 24 March 1766, both addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. The first came from Captain Jonathan Court. He feared the Court of Directors might blame him for staying so far beyond the time allowed in his charter agreement. He therefore lodged a formal protest against the surf, which for eight days had made it impossible to land anything from his ship. He added that it would now take at least ten more days, if the sea allowed, to get his ballast and water aboard. He signed the letter at St Helena on 24 March 1766. The second came from Captain William Peters, also dated 24 March 1766. Peters wrote that he had stayed longer than his charter agreement allowed, and that the directors might put the delay down to his negligence. He took the opportunity to lodge a formal protest against the surf, which had prevented him from getting his ship away on time. **Interpretations** A protest was a formal written declaration, lodged with a responsible authority, that a delay or loss had been caused by forces beyond the master's control. By recording it with the Governor and Council, each captain placed on official record that the surf, not his own failings, had kept his ship beyond the agreed time. Hired ships were paid for any extra days in port, and the Company would want to know whether its money had been wasted. The protests protected Court and Peters both from deductions against their owners and from damage to their own reputations with the directors. The Council had given both captains their sailing orders on 14 March 1766, once the ten working days for unloading had expired. Ten days later both ships were still in the road. St Helena had no harbour, and heavy swells periodically broke on the landing places at Jamestown, stopping all boat traffic between ship and shore. Even after cargo was out, a ship could not sail until she had taken in ballast, stone or shingle to keep her stable once her heavy goods were gone, and fresh water for the voyage ahead. Both of those had to come out by boat from the shore.
298	293	1766 The Surf having been so excessive high for several days past and still continues so that it is impossible for a Boat to come to the landing place which has prevented the Storeships from getting their Water and Ballast on board as represented in the above Letters and consequently renders their stay here for some time longer unavoidable John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st day of March 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Mr Matthw Burling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council	The Council confirmed that the surf had been extremely high for several days and was still running. No boat could reach the landing place, which had kept the store ships from taking in their water and ballast, just as the captains had stated in their letters. Their longer stay was therefore unavoidable. Governor Skottowe signed the minutes with Daniel Corneille, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 31 March 1766, with the Governor presiding. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, attended with Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 24 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. Richard Goulding, a private soldier, asked to be discharged from the garrison because he had served the full term he had signed on for with the Company. The Council granted his request.

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		The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 24th March 1766 Richard Goulding Centinel this day petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted Mr Matthew Burling reports that he has been on board the Ships Earl of Elgin Admiral Pocock and Duke of Richmond to Muster their Companys and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz.	Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Earl of Elgin*, the *Admiral Pocock* and the *Duke of Richmond* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none, and he presented the ships' muster rolls. **Interpretations** The captains' protests carried weight only if someone with authority confirmed the facts. By recording its own finding that the surf had closed the landing place, the Council turned two self-interested letters into an officially attested account. The directors in London, reading the papers months later, would see the Governor and Council certifying that the delay was genuine, which settled the question of blame before it could be raised. Richard Goulding's discharge showed the other side of the bargain that bound William Fletcher. A soldier who had served his full contracted term was entitled to leave, and the Council granted the request without conditions. Goulding appeared on the pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1765 as a private in the Fourth Company. The muster of all three China ships confirmed that boarding every arriving vessel had become standard practice after the desertions aboard the *Admiral Stevens*. Each crew was now called by name against its roll on arrival, giving the Council a fixed record against which any later change could be checked before sailing.
299	294	31 March Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Elgin, Thos. Cook Commander Patk. Carghi Chief Mate Peter Bearsley 2d. Mte Richard Cowdries 3d do. David Hewett 4th do. Joseph Crone 5th. do. James Rutherford Surg. Jno. Delman Purser Simon Elliot Surg Mte Wm. Perry Gunner Wm. Gadsby Caulker Nichs. Fitzgerald Armr. William Butcher Mids. Lewis Leicester Quartmr. John Brown do. John Richards do. Thos. Barmore Capt Stw John Wallington Ships do. Richd. Watson [...] Jno. Holman Capt do. Saml. Turner Butcher George Rowel Poulterer Saml. Brewer Baker Lawe. Derly Boatsn. Mate John Rowland Carp. 2d. John Webster Gunrs. Mte Saml. Smith Coopr. Mate Robt. Thornton Baker Jas. Ridley Seaman Wiatt Warren Wm. Thomas Seaman John Underwood Hugh Grant John Brooks James Williams Jas. Glass Delabar Walker Richd. Wingfield John Burk Junr. Dennis Carty John Cambell George Cowen Archd. Robertson James Surrage	The muster roll of the ship *Earl of Elgin* was entered under 31 March and listed her company and passengers as follows. Thomas Cook, commander Patrick [...], chief mate Peter Bearsley, second mate Richard Bowden, third mate David Hewett, fourth mate Joseph Crone, fifth mate James Rutherford, surgeon [...] Delman, purser Simon Elliot, surgeon's mate William Perry, gunner William Gadsby, caulker Nicholas Fitzgerald, armourer William Butcher, midshipman Lewis Leicester, quartermaster John Brown, quartermaster John Richards, quartermaster Thomas Basmore, captain's cook John Wallington, ship's cook Richard Westron, ship's steward John Holman, captain's steward Samuel Turner, butcher George Rowel, poulterer Samuel Brewer, baker Lawrence Denly, boatswain's mate John Rowland, captain's servant John Webster, gunner's mate Samuel Smith, carpenter's mate Robert Thornton, baker John Ridley, seaman Wyatt Warren, seaman William Thomas, seaman John Underwood, seaman Hugh Grant, seaman John Brooks, seaman James Williams, seaman John Glass, seaman Delabar Walker, seaman Richard Wingfield, seaman John Burk junior, seaman Dennis Carkey, seaman John Cambell, seaman George Cowen, seaman Archibald Robertson, seaman

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		Benjn. Johnson Jno. Ebbs Danl. Gallion John Blackmore John Carter Wm. Clark Geo: Swinney Wm. London John Burk George Crow Benn. Hogshead John Butler Danl. Lock John Benson John Strong Wm. Cashmore Jas. Martin Seaman Johannes Vanhorn John Wilson Swedall Dear Capt. Servt. Michl. Curtis Chief Mates do. Pedro Roberts 2. Mates do. Patk. Mcnelly Surgeons do. Wm. Danby Carpenters do. John Griggs Gunners do. John Wills Boatsns. do. James Esbester Seaman Saml. Bee Joseph Murren John Graham Andrew Watson Thos. Carmody Danl. Glass Wm. Mashman John Coler Peter Coller Nichs. Dufriend Allan Blair Jno. Bonnett John Hammers John Bromley Antonia Dacosio Jno. Crows John Peter Mintz Passengers Mr. Baker Mr. Bradney (Signed) Thos. Cooke [...]	James Swrrage, seaman Benjamin Johnson, seaman [...] Gibbs, seaman Daniel Gallion, seaman John Blackmore, seaman John Canter, seaman William Clark, seaman George Swinney, seaman William London, seaman John Burk, seaman George Crow, seaman Benjamin Hogshead, seaman John Butler, seaman Daniel Look, seaman John Benson, seaman John Strong, seaman William Cashmore, seaman John Martin, seaman Johannes Sanhorn, seaman John Wilson, seaman Tweedall Dear, captain's servant Michael Curtis, chief mate's servant Pedro Roberts, second mate's servant Patrick McInelly, surgeon's servant William Danby, carpenter's servant John Griggs, gunner's servant John Wills, boatswain's servant James Esbester, seaman Samuel Bee, seaman Joseph Murren, seaman John Graham, seaman Andrew Watson, seaman Thomas Carmody, seaman Daniel Glass, seaman William Mashman, seaman John Coler, seaman Peter Coller, seaman Nicholas Dufriend, seaman Allan Blair, seaman John Bonnett, seaman John Hammers, seaman John Bromley, seaman Antonia Dacosio, seaman John Crews, seaman John Peter Mintz, seaman Mr Baker, passenger Mr Bradney, passenger Thomas Cook signed the roll, and the entry was dated in March. **Interpretations** The roll gave a rank only to the officers, tradesmen and servants. The many names that followed without one fell under the heading of seaman set against the first name in each column, and that description was carried down to them here. Ten of the company were servants attached to individual officers, from the captain down to the boatswain. An East Indiaman's officers were entitled to carry such servants, who were usually boys learning the trade, and the allowance formed part of the privileges of each rank alongside wages. The ship carried her own butcher, poulterer and two bakers. Those trades served the livestock and fresh provisions kept aboard for the commander's table and the passengers, which explains why a call at St Helena for refreshment mattered so much to a homeward or outward voyage. The surnames in the roll were read from small and closely written entries, and several, including those of the chief mate, the purser and the seaman Gibbs, could be recovered only in part.
300	295	1766 Muster Roll of Ship Duke of Richmond Thoms. Hindman Comr. James Ogilvie Chief Mte	The muster roll of the ship *Duke of Richmond* was entered under the year 1766 and listed her company as follows. Thomas Hindman, commander

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		Raymond Snow 2d. do.	James Ogilvie, chief mate
		Joseph Bradford 3d do.	Raymond Snow, second mate
		Henry Huddleston 4th. do.	Joseph Bradford, third mate
		Archd. Machin 5th do.	Henry Huddleston, fourth mate
		George Jeff Purser	Archibald Machin, fifth mate
		John Crowther Surgeon	George Jeff, purser
		Geo. Robertson Boatsn.	John Crowther, surgeon
		Wm. Gallaway Gunner	George Robertson, boatswain
		Jas. Dickenson Carpentr.	William Gallaway, gunner
		John Brown Midshipm.	John Dickenson, carpenter
		Thomas Taylor do.	John Brown, midshipman
		Wm. Wittaker do.	Thomas Taylor, midshipman
		John Bland do.	William Wittaker, midshipman
		Wm. Dunn Quartermastr.	John Bland, midshipman
		John Bembridge do.	William Dunn, quartermaster
		John Gray do.	John Bembridge, quartermaster
		John Calf do.	John Gray, quartermaster
		Henry Gilbert Ships Stwd	John Calf, quartermaster
		Danl. Morgan Capt. do.	Henry Gilbert, ship's steward
		John [Bay] Boatsn. Mte	Daniel Morgan, captain's steward
		David Robinson Gunrs. Mte	John Ray, boatswain's mate
		Geo. Kind[l] Carpenters Mte	David Robinson, gunner's mate
		Jas. Maxwell do. 2d. do.	[...] Kindl, carpenter's first mate
		Edward Bryan Cooper	John Maxwell, carpenter's second mate
		James Rathbone Caulker	Edward Bryan, cooper
		William Collins Surgs. Mte	James Rathbone, caulker
		Jno. Bartholomew Capt Cook	William Collins, surgeon's mate
		Jacb. Roffett Ships do.	John Bartholomew, captain's cook
		Richd. Pellet Caulkers Mate	Jacob Koffett, ship's cook
		Wm. Viguers Capt. Servant	Richard Pellet, caulker's mate
		Jerem. Richmond do. do.	William Viguers, captain's servant
		Thos. Edwards Chief Mates do.	Joseph Buchmore, captain's servant
		Christn. Heatr[en] 2d. Mtes do.	Thomas Edwards, chief mate's servant
		Samuel Withers Surg do.	Christian Heshin, second mate's servant
		Wm. Hodges Boatsns. do.	Samuel Withern, surgeon's servant
		Clemt. Lattimore Gunners do.	William Hodges, boatswain's servant
		Evan Prescott Carpenters do.	Clement Lattimore, gunner's servant
		James Still Seaman	Evan Prescott, carpenter's servant
		Wm. Saunders	James Still, seaman
		Henry [Cuks]	William Saunders, seaman
		Thos. Johnston	Henry Earks, seaman
		John Wetted	Thomas Johnston, seaman
		Henry Nelson	John Waters, seaman
		Lawrence Killman	Henry Nelson, seaman
		Peter Major	Lawrence Killman, seaman
		David Steward	Peter Major, seaman
		James Morris	David Steward, seaman
		Abl. Tyrel	James Morris, seaman
		James Lasley	[...] Fynel, seaman
		Danby Hobson	James Lasley, seaman
		David Morrison	Darby Hobson, seaman
		Thos. Green	David Morrison, seaman
		Draper Davis	Robert Green, seaman
		Thomas Turner	[...] Davis, seaman
		James Forster	Thomas Turner, seaman
		Ackerman Vanest	James Forster, seaman
		John Baire	Ambrosius Vanest, seaman
		Samuel Skinner	John Baise, seaman
		Geo. Cunningham Seaman	Samuel Turner, seaman
		John Christopher	George Cunningham, seaman
		John Wood	John Christopher, seaman
		Wm. Murphy	John Wood, seaman
		Peter Lowther	William Murphy, seaman
		Wm. Crige	Peter Smithen, seaman
		Geo. Southerland	William Crego, seaman
		Geo. Black	George Southerland, seaman
		John Wooldridge	George Black, seaman
		Nathl. Gage	John Wooldridge, seaman
		John Thompson	Nathaniel Gage, seaman
		Willm. Wyld	John Thompson, seaman
		Chal. White	William Wyld, seaman
		Thos. Simpson	Charles White, seaman
		Christ. Engleburgh	Thomas Simpson, seaman
		Barnett Hendrick	Christian Engleburgh, seaman
		James Walker	Barnett Hendrick, seaman
		Jno. Nelldon	James Walker, seaman

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		Cornnell Brane Peter D Slaves Joseph Wary Michl. Brusky Chas. Emelions Glade Oblio John Fredrick Pieu L linet Janker Sallear John Nitmarsh John White John Wahr (Signed) Thos. Hindman	John Nelldon, seaman Cornelius Bune, seaman Peter D'Slaves, seaman Joseph Wary, seaman Michael Brachy, seaman Charles Emelions, seaman Glade Oblio, seaman John Frederick, seaman Pierre L'lieuet, seaman Janker Nalleer, seaman John Witmarsh, seaman John White, seaman John Wake, seaman Thomas Hindman signed the roll as master. **Interpretations** The roll set a rank against the officers, tradesmen and servants only. The word seaman stood against the first of the unranked names and against the head of the last column, and that description was carried down here to every name that followed without one. A fair share of the foremast hands bore Dutch, German, French or Portuguese names, such as Ambrosius Vanest, Christian Engleburgh, Barnett Hendrick and Pierre L'lieuet. East Indiamen lost men in the East to sickness, desertion and naval impressment, and commanders made up their numbers there with whatever foreign sailors could be hired for the passage home. The roll of the *Earl of Elgin*, entered under 31 March, showed the same pattern in names such as Johannes Sanhorn, Antonia Dacosio and John Peter Mintz. The *Duke of Richmond* carried four midshipmen and four quartermasters against the single midshipman and three quartermasters of the *Earl of Elgin*, but no butcher, poulterer or baker. She had a cooper instead, the tradesman who kept the water and provision casks tight, and she listed no passengers.
301	296	31 March Muster Roll of Ship Admiral Pocock Thoms. Riddel Command Arthur Gorge Chief Mate Phils. Bromfield 2d. do. John Naccat 3d do. Bryce Hardy 4th do. Ephrine Robertson 5th do. Willm. Wilkins Surgeon Andrew Dyce Purser Thos. Hill Carpenter Anthony Smith Boatsn. Willm. Finley Gunner Richard Bardoe Ships Stwd. George Merriman Jacob Strong David Rutherford David Drummond Midshipn. Thoms. Gibson Capts. Steward John Caithness Capt. Cook John Bishopsop Ships do. Gilbert Mason Surg. Mte Albert Nicholls Carpent do. Henry Plant Boatsn. do. John Lewis Gunners do. John Wilson Cooper William Beats Sailmaker John Brown Jacob Smith Nathanl. Colby John Johnson [Quartermastr.] Alex. Cane James Hay James Dalton James Cuming	The muster roll of the ship *Admiral Pocock* was entered under 31 March and listed her company as follows. Thomas Riddel, commander Arthur Gorge, chief mate Philip Bromfield, second mate John Nuccall, third mate Bryce Hardy, fourth mate Ephraim Robertson, fifth mate William Wilkins, surgeon Andrew Dyce, purser Thomas Hill, carpenter Anthony Smith, boatswain William Finley, gunner Richard Bardoe, ship's steward George Merriman, midshipman Jacob Strong, midshipman David Rutherford, midshipman David Drummond, midshipman Thomas Gibson, captain's steward John Caithness, captain's cook John Bickerstaff, ship's cook Gilbert Mason, surgeon's mate Albert Nicholls, carpenter's mate Henry Plant, boatswain's mate John Lewis, gunner's mate John Wilson, cooper William Beats, sailmaker John Brown, quartermaster Jacob Smith, quartermaster Nathaniel Coley, quartermaster John Johnson, quartermaster Alexander Carr, seaman James Hay, seaman James Dalton, seaman James Cuming, seaman John Donnevan, seaman

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		John Donnovan Alexr. Kitchets John Selgold John Hederburg Andrew Taylor John Stone Adam Manning John Debonny Christ. Flynn Seaman Joseph Anster Frederick Johnson John Bullier John King Joseph Daulean Martin Silver James Irons John Harrison Jacob Buckoff Danl. Sanders John Baptiste Samuel Holford David Temple Edward Highland John Simmonds Simpson Foxcroft John Varoll John Belongue Phillip Less Seaman Frank Frankosis Thomas Han John Baldwin Nicholas Bennett Peter Daviland John Garnes John Shovel John Thompson John Horn John Stevenson John Hammilton Martin Seabrand John L Lacons John [Wilson] Willm. White Martin Siven John Martin Peter Salmon Jacob Le Hay Lewis Penny Lewis Lewis John Johnmans Nichs. Hammond James Field Joseph Peres Samuel Hay Peter Scott John Cockburn John Bober	Albert Ketchel, seaman John Selgold, seaman John Hederburg, seaman Andrew Taylor, seaman John Stone, seaman Adam Manning, seaman John Debonny, seaman Christopher Flynn, seaman Joseph Anister, seaman Frederick Johnson, seaman John Bullier, seaman John King, seaman Joseph Deseleau, seaman Martin Silver, seaman James Jane, seaman John Harrison, seaman Jacob Buckoff, seaman Daniel Sanders, seaman John Baptiste, seaman Samuel Holford, seaman David Temple, seaman Edward Highland, seaman John Simmonds, seaman Simpson Fixcroft, seaman John Varoll, seaman John Belongue, seaman Philip Lees, seaman Frank Frankesis, seaman Thomas Han, seaman John Baldwin, seaman Nicholas Bennett, seaman Peter Daeland, seaman John Garnes, seaman John Shovel, seaman John Thompson, seaman John Horn, seaman John Stevenson, seaman John Hammilton, seaman Martin Seabrand, seaman John L'Lacous, seaman John Allison, seaman William White, seaman Martin More, seaman John Martin, seaman Peter Salmon, seaman Jacob Le Hay, seaman Lewis Penny, seaman Lewis Lunie, seaman John Johmans, seaman Nicholas Hammond, seaman James Field, seaman Joseph Jones, seaman Samuel Hay, seaman Peter Scott, seaman John Cockburn, seaman John Baker, seaman **Interpretations** The roll set a rank against the officers and tradesmen only. A bracket marked four names as midshipmen and another marked a group as quartermasters, while the word seaman stood against Christopher Flynn and Philip Lees alone. That description was carried down here to every name without one, including Alexander Carr, who stood directly beneath the bracketed quartermasters and may have been a fifth of them. The names after each mate in the first column were read as mates' assistants in the order the roll gave them, although the abbreviations there could also be taken as marking officers' servants. The *Admiral Pocock* listed no officers' servants at all, where the *Earl of Elgin* carried ten under the same date of 31 March and the *Duke of Richmond* eight in her roll of 1766. She carried a sailmaker, a tradesman neither of the other two ships named, and a cooper as the *Duke of Richmond* did.

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			Foreign names were again common among the foremast hands, among them John Hederburg, Jacob Buckoff, Joseph Deseleau, John Belongue and Jacob Le Hay. The pattern matched the two earlier rolls and reflected crews made up in the East with whatever sailors could be hired for the passage home.
302	297	1766 Robert Russell Ignacio Felesman Capt. Servants John Knightly Chief Mte Servt. Willm. Barney 2d. do. do. Edward Bullen Carpent. do. Gabl. Berry Seaman Thoms. Dublin Landman (Signed) T Riddell The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Prince of Wales and Plassey vizt. Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships vizt. Ship Prince of Wales vizt. 2 Deals 2 1/2 Inch 60 do. 1 1/2 do. 1 Top Mast 1 Barrell Turpentine Short delivered 280 lb Cordage 44 lb Sole Leather Short Weight 2 1/2 Bushels Salt Short measure 9 Hair Sieves. damaged by wet and good for nothing 24 Sqr. Glass 8 by 10 1 Sqr. do. 11 by 17 10 Sqr. do. 11 by 17 1/2 3 Sqr. do. 11 by 16. 4 Sqr. do. 11 by 19 4 Sqr. do. 11 by 18 8 Sqr. do. 10 by 14 5 Sqr. do. 10 by 15 1 Sqr. do. 10 by 16 13 Sqr. do. 10 by 12 found broke upon opening the Packages No. 1 1 Hhd. Red Port Wine Gages 63 Gallons wants to fill 1 Gallon 2. 1 do. do. 60 do. 1 3. 1 do. do. 60 do. 1 183 3 [...] 177 Galls.	The muster roll of the *Admiral Pocock* closed in 1766 with a further seven names, and Thomas Riddell signed it. Robert Russell, captain's servant Ignacio Felesman, captain's servant John Knightly, chief mate's servant William Barney, second mate's servant Edward Bullen, carpenter's servant Gabriel Berry, seaman Thomas Dullen, landsman The storekeeper handed in an account that day of stores received short or damaged from two ships, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey*. The shortfalls from the *Prince of Wales* were as follows. 2 deals of 2½ inch, not delivered 60 deals of 1½ inch, not delivered 1 topmast, not delivered 1 barrel of turpentine, not delivered 280 lb of cordage, under weight 44 lb of sole leather, under weight 2½ bushels of salt, under measure 9 hair sieves, spoiled by wet and useless 24 square feet of glass 8 by 10, broken when the packages were opened 1 square foot of glass 11 by 17, broken when the packages were opened 10 square feet of glass 11 by 17½, broken when the packages were opened 3 square feet of glass 11 by 16, broken when the packages were opened 4 square feet of glass 11½ by 19, broken when the packages were opened 4 square feet of glass 11½ by 18, broken when the packages were opened 8 square feet of glass 10 by 14, broken when the packages were opened 5 square feet of glass 10 by 15, broken when the packages were opened 1 square foot of glass 10 by 16, broken when the packages were opened 13 square feet of glass 10 by 12, broken when the packages were opened Cask number 1, 1 hogshead of red port wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Cask number 2, 1 hogshead of red port wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Cask number 3, 1 hogshead of red port wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Total gauged, 180 gallons Total short, 3 gallons Net, 177 gallons **Interpretations** The account was the island's formal record of what the ships failed to land against their bills of lading. Stores for St Helena were shipped at the Company's risk in the owners' vessels, and a certified statement of shortage and damage gave the Company the means to charge the loss back to the ship's owners or commander when the freight was settled. That purpose explains why the storekeeper separated goods never delivered from goods under weight, under measure, wet or broken, since liability differed with each cause. Deals were sawn planks of fir or pine, imported from the Baltic and shipped out because the island had almost no building timber of its own. Hair sieves were sieves with a woven horsehair mesh, used for sifting flour and straining liquids. The glass was window glass in cut panes, listed by pane size in

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			inches and measured by the square foot. Sole leather was the thick tanned hide used for the soles of shoes, sent out for the garrison's shoemakers. Each hogshead of port was gauged, meaning its contents were measured with a gauging rod, and each was found a gallon below its capacity. Small losses of that kind arose from leakage and evaporation through the staves on a long voyage, although pilferage by the crew was a common suspicion. These seven names showed that the *Admiral Pocock* did carry officers' servants. They stood at the end of her roll rather than among the officers, so the first part entered under 31 March gave the appearance of a ship without any. Thomas Dullen was rated landsman, the lowest rating aboard, given to a hand with no sea experience. The sizes of several panes and the unit against the glass were written small and close, and the reading of square feet rested on the abbreviation as it stood.
303	298	31 March No. 4 1 Hhd Lisbon Wine gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1 Gall. 5 1 Hhds do. do. 60 do. do. 8 120 9 9 Received 111 Galls. No. 6 1 Hhd. Mountain gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1 1 Recd. 59 Gallons 6 Hhds Beer gages 370 Galls. wants to fill 50 50 Received 320 Gallons. Ship Plassey vizt. 8 Deals of 2 1/2 Inch 10 do. of 1 to 3 Inch Short delivered 2 Bushels Coals 2 Bushels Salt Short measure 6 by the Stones 1 Bell Lanthorn to a Top Shade 1 Candle Shade found broke upon opening the Packages 7 lb. Cordage Short Weight No. 1 1 Hhd Port wine gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1 1/2 Galls. 2 1 Hhd do. do. 60 do. 1 1/2 120 3 3 Received 117 Gallons No. 3 1 Hhd Lisbon Gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1 1/2 4 1 Hhd do. do. 60 do. 1 1/2 5 1 Hhd do. do. 60 do. 7 180 10 10 Received 170 Galls. No. 6 1 Hhd Mountain gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1 7 1/2 Hhd do. 30 do. do. 1 2 Received 90 Galls. St. Helena 31 March 1766 [...] James Cowell Storek.	The storekeeper's account of 31 March 1766 went on to list the remaining wine and beer landed short from the *Prince of Wales*. Cask number 4, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Cask number 5, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged 60 gallons, 8 gallons short of full Total gauged, 120 gallons of Lisbon wine Total short, 9 gallons of Lisbon wine Received, 111 gallons of Lisbon wine Cask number 6, 1 hogshead of Mountain wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Received, 59 gallons of Mountain wine 6 hogsheads of beer, gauged 370 gallons, 50 gallons short of full Received, 320 gallons of beer The shortfalls from the *Plassey* were set out next. 8 deals of 2½ inch, not delivered 10 deals of 1½ inch, not delivered 2 bushels of coals, under measure 2 bushels of salt, under measure 6 scythe stones, broken when the packages were opened 1 bell lantern with a top shade, broken when the packages were opened 1 candle shade, broken when the packages were opened 7 lb of cordage, under weight Cask number 1, 1 hogshead of port wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Cask number 2, 1 hogshead of port wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Total gauged, 120 gallons of port wine Total short, 3 gallons of port wine Received, 117 gallons of port wine Cask number 3, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Cask number 4, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Cask number 5, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged 60 gallons, 7 gallons short of full Total gauged, 180 gallons of Lisbon wine Total short, 10 gallons of Lisbon wine Received, 170 gallons of Lisbon wine Cask number 6, 1 hogshead of Mountain wine, gauged 60 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Cask number 7, ½ hogshead of Mountain wine, gauged 30 gallons, ½ gallon short of full Received, 90 gallons of Mountain wine James Bowell, storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1766. **Interpretations** Lisbon was a white wine shipped from the Portuguese capital, and Mountain was a sweet wine from the hills behind Malaga in Spain. Both were

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			staple fortified or strong wines of the English trade, chosen for island stores because they kept through a long voyage where lighter wines spoiled. A bell lantern was a glazed lamp with a domed top, and the candle shade was a glass guard set over a candle against draughts. Scythe stones were whetstones for sharpening scythes and sickles, sent out for the island's hay and grain cutting. The losses were uneven in a way that mattered for the claim against each ship. Most casks were a gallon or so down, the ordinary wastage of a long passage, and the port from the *Prince of Wales* listed earlier in the same account showed exactly that. One hogshead of Lisbon in each ship stood 7 or 8 gallons short, and the beer from the *Prince of Wales* lost 50 gallons in 370, nearly a seventh. Shortfalls of that size pointed to leaking casks or to drinking on the voyage, and the cask-by-cask record let the Company single them out. Several of the smaller entries for the *Plassey* were closely written, and the readings of the scythe stones, the lantern and the fractions of a gallon short rested on fine judgement of the letter forms.
304	299	1766 Pursuant to the Order in Consultation of the 24th. Instant the Inhabitants this day assembled at the Chappel in this Valley to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year, and likewise to return three of the Principal Inhabitants, that one might be elected to serve the Office of Sheriff, and to chuse a proper person to serve in that of Constable, they accordingly returned the following persons vizt. Messrs. Matthew Bazett Samuel Alexander John Alexander Sheriffs James Cowell Coroner Henry Hooper Constable Richard Goodwin Henry Bazett Richard Bagley James Greentree Church Wardens William Beale Thomas Burnham Overseers of the East Division Robert Ballard William Young do. of the West do. Henry Easthope John Bagley do. of the South do. We appointed Mr. Samuel Alexander to serve the Office of Sheriff, and Ordered Warrants to be drawn for Messrs. Richard Goodwin & Henry Bazett, Church Wardens, and William Beale, Robert Ballard & Henry Easthope Overseers Captain Cornelle this day applied to Us to pay eighty pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash, which Sum we have received and given	The inhabitants met at the chapel in the valley in 1766 to choose parish officers for the coming year, as the Council directed in its consultation of 24 [...]. The same order asked them to put forward three leading inhabitants, one of whom would be picked as sheriff, and to name a suitable constable. They returned the following names. Matthew Bazett, nominated for sheriff Samuel Alexander, nominated for sheriff John Alexander, nominated for sheriff James Bowell, coroner Henry Hooper, constable Richard Goodwin, churchwarden Henry Bazett, churchwarden Richard Bagley, churchwarden James Greentree, churchwarden William Beale, overseer of the East Division Thomas Burnham, overseer of the East Division Robert Ballard, overseer of the West Division William Young, overseer of the West Division Henry Easthope, overseer of the South Division John Bagley, overseer of the South Division The Council appointed Samuel Alexander as sheriff. Warrants were ordered for Richard Goodwin and Henry Bazett as churchwardens, and for William Beale, Robert Ballard and Henry Easthope as overseers. Captain Cornelle applied that day to pay £80 0s 0d into the Company's cash, and the Council received the money. **Interpretations** The inhabitants nominated but the Council chose. Three names went up for sheriff, four for churchwarden and two for each division's overseer, and the Council took one sheriff, two churchwardens and a single overseer for each division. The meeting therefore supplied a shortlist rather than an election result, which kept every parish office in the Council's gift while giving the planters a voice in who was considered. The warrants, not the vote, conferred the office. In an English parish of the same date the vestry itself usually settled its churchwardens and nominated overseers for the justices to confirm, and the sheriff was picked by the Crown from three names, a procedure the island copied for that one office. Overseers were the parish officers who raised and spent the poor rate, and the three divisions gave each part of the island its own man for that duty. The coroner named by the inhabitants, James Bowell, was the storekeeper who signed the account of short-

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			landed stores on 31 March 1766, so one Company servant held both a salaried post and a parish office. The month of the consultation that ordered the meeting could not be read.
305	300	31 March him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Christopher Baron Esqr. (or Order) ninety days after sight John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th. day of April 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was, read, approved, and signed, dated the 31. March 1766. Wednesday the 2d. Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Admiral Pocock for England Friday the 4th. do. do. Ships Earl of Elgin and Duke of Richmond for England do. do. the Honorable Company's Ships Prince of Wales and Plassey for China Yesterday Arrived the Salisbury's, Boat at Banks's half an Hour past seven o'Clock in the morning do. do. the Dutton's Boat at Banks's half an Hour past eight o'Clock in the morning do. do. the Honorable Company's Ships Salisbury and Dutton from China and brought Us the following Supply vizt.	Captain Cornelle received bills of exchange for his £80 0s 0d, drawn on the Court of Directors and payable to Christopher Baron or his order 90 days after sight. John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the consultation of 31 March 1766. The Council met at the castle on Monday 7 April 1766. Governor Skottowe attended with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The minutes of 31 March 1766 were read, approved and signed. The *Admiral Pocock* sailed for England on Wednesday 2 April 1766. The *Earl of Elgin* and the *Duke of Richmond* sailed for England on Friday 4 April 1766. The *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* sailed for China on the same Friday. A boat from the *Salisbury* reached Banks's at 7.30 in the morning of 6 April 1766. A boat from the *Dutton* reached Banks's at 8.30 that morning. The *Salisbury* and the *Dutton* themselves came in from China later that day, and they brought a supply for the island that was set out in an invoice. **Interpretations** The payment of £80 0s 0d was a remittance, not a debt. Coin was scarce on the island and there was no safe way to send private money home, so a resident paid cash into the Company's treasury and took bills on the Court of Directors in London instead. The Company gained hard money for its local expenses, and the payer gained a sum payable in England. Ninety days after sight meant the Directors had three months from the day the bill was presented to them before payment fell due. The words "or order" made the bill transferable, so Christopher Baron could sign it over to someone else. Banks's was the battery and lookout post on the coast north-east of the anchorage, which ships from the East passed before reaching the road. Each arriving ship sent a boat ahead to that post to identify herself before she was allowed to come in under the guns, which is why the boats were recorded separately and earlier than the ships. The three ships whose muster rolls were entered under 31 March 1766 all left for England within four days of that date. The rolls were therefore taken as a check on each company just before sailing, a safeguard against islanders, soldiers or slaves being carried off and against seamen being left behind.
306	301	7th. April Invoice of Ship Salisbury No., tare, Gross Sugar No. 17: tare 29, Gross 326 18: tare 26, Gross 314 19: tare 27, Gross 303 20: tare 25, Gross 304 21: tare 27, Gross 304 21: tare 25, Gross 315 23: tare 26, Gross 315 7 Chests: tare 185, Gross 2181 185 tare 1996 Nett is Picul 14.97 Catty @ T m 4.5 p Pecl. Tas. m 67.365 No. 37 1 Chest Bohea 180 lb Gross 42 lb tare 138. Nett is Picul 1.03 Catty @ Tas. 19 p Pecl. 19.570 No 99 1 Chest Congo	The invoice of the *Salisbury* was entered under 7 April 1766 and set out the sugar and tea she brought for the island from China. Sugar chest number 17, tare 29 lb, gross 326 lb Sugar chest number 18, tare 26 lb, gross 314 lb Sugar chest number 19, tare 27 lb, gross 303 lb Sugar chest number 20, tare 25 lb, gross 304 lb Sugar chest number 21, tare 27 lb, gross 304 lb Sugar chest number 21, tare 25 lb, gross 315 lb Sugar chest number 23, tare 26 lb, gross 315 lb 7 chests of sugar, total tare 185 lb, total gross 2,181 lb Sugar net weight, 1,996 lb, equal to 14 piculs 97 catties, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 67 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 5 cash Chest number 87, 1 chest of Bohea tea, gross 180 lb, tare 42 lb, net 138 lb, equal to 1 picul 3 catties, at 19 taels per picul, 19 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 0 cash

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		100. lb Gross 21 lb tare 79 Nett is 59 Catty @ 28 p do. 16.520 No. 107 1 Chest Singlo 82 Gross 19 tare 63 Nett is 47 Catty @ 26 p do. 12.220 Tales 115.675 Canton 3d. Janry 1766. (signed) Thoms. Fitzhugh Saml. Blount John Burrow Nathl. Garland Wm. Mackenzie John Searle Stephn. De Visme Thos. Smith Thomas Thomas William Rous John Walton Thos. Bevan	Chest number 99, 1 chest of Congo tea, gross 100 lb, tare 21 lb, net 79 lb, equal to 59 catties, at 28 taels per picul, 16 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Chest number 107, 1 chest of Singlo tea, gross 82 lb, tare 19 lb, net 63 lb, equal to 47 catties, at 26 taels per picul, 12 taels 2 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Total, 115 taels 6 mace 7 candareens 5 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 3 January 1766 and signed by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount John Burrow Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie John Searle Stephen De Visme Thomas Smith Thomas Thomas William Rous John Walton Thomas Bevan **Interpretations** The three teas were the standard grades of the Canton trade. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, a coarse dark leaf from the Wuyi hills of Fujian that made up the bulk of the Company's cargoes. Congo was a better black tea made from more carefully worked leaf, which explains its price of 28 taels a picul against 19 for Bohea. Singlo was a green tea from Anhui province, the ordinary green of the trade. The sugar was Chinese cane sugar, bought at Canton because it was cheaper to send to the island from there than from England. The invoice was reckoned in Chinese weights and money. A picul was about 133⅓ lb and was divided into 100 catties, so each chest was weighed in English pounds and then converted. The tael was a weight of silver and not a coin, divided into 10 mace, 100 candareens and 1,000 cash, and all Company accounts at Canton were kept in it. Tare was the weight of the empty chest, deducted from the gross to give the net weight charged. The 12 signatories were the Company's supercargoes at Canton, the merchants who bought and shipped its cargoes there and acted together as a council. Their joint signature made the invoice the authority for charging the goods to the island's account. The supply was small, seven chests of sugar and one chest of each tea, and was meant for the island's own use and sale from the Company's store, not as cargo. The second chest numbered 21 stood so in the sequence, where 22 would be expected. Several of the tare and gross weights were closely written, and the price of the Congo tea in particular rested on fine judgement of the figures.
307	302	7th. April Invoice of Ship Dutton. No., tare, Gross Sugar No. 24: tare 27, Gross 307 25: tare 26, Gross 317 26: tare 27, Gross 313 27: tare 26, Gross 304 28: tare 26, Gross 307 29: tare 27, Gross 302 30: tare 27, Gross 310 7 Chests: tare 186, Gross 2160 186 tare 1974 Nett. is Picul 14.80 Catty @ Ta. m 4.5 p Pecl. Tas. m 66.600 No. 38 1 Chest Bohea 178 Gross 42 tare 136 Nett is Picl. 1.02 Catty @ 19 p Pecl. 19.380	The invoice of the *Dutton* was entered under 7 April 1766 and set out the sugar and tea she carried from China for the island. Sugar chest number 24, tare 27 lb, gross 307 lb Sugar chest number 25, tare 26 lb, gross 317 lb Sugar chest number 26, tare 27 lb, gross 313 lb Sugar chest number 27, tare 26 lb, gross 304 lb Sugar chest number 28, tare 26 lb, gross 307 lb Sugar chest number 29, tare 27 lb, gross 302 lb Sugar chest number 30, tare 27 lb, gross 310 lb 7 chests of sugar, total tare 186 lb, total gross 2,160 lb Sugar net weight, 1,974 lb, equal to 14 piculs 80 catties, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 66 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Chest number 88, 1 chest of Bohea tea, gross 178 lb, tare 42 lb, net 136 lb, equal to 1 picul 2 catties, at 19 taels per picul, 19 taels 3 mace 8 candareens 0 cash

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		No. 100 1 Chest Congo 100 Gross 21 tare 79 Nett is 59 Catty @ 28 p Pecl. 16.520 No. 108 One Chest Congo 100 Gross 21 tare 79 Nett. is 45 Catty @ 26 p Pecl. 11.700 Tales 114.200 Canton 3d. Janry 1766 (signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Saml. Blount John Burrow Nathl. Garland Wm. Mackenzie John Searle Stephn. De Visme Thos. Smith Thos. Thomas Wm. Rous John Walton Thos. Bevan.	Chest number 100, 1 chest of Congo tea, gross 100 lb, tare 21 lb, net 79 lb, equal to 59 catties, at 28 taels per picul, 16 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Chest number 108, 1 chest of Congo tea, gross 100 lb, tare 21 lb, net 79 lb, equal to 45 catties, at 26 taels per picul, 11 taels 7 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 114 taels 2 mace 0 candareens 0 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 3 January 1766 and signed by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount John Burrow Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie John Searle Stephen De Visme Thomas Smith Thomas Thomas William Rous John Walton Thomas Bevan **Interpretations** The supercargoes split one consignment evenly between two ships. The *Salisbury*'s invoice, also dated at Canton on 3 January 1766, carried sugar chests 17 to 23 and one chest each of three teas, and the *Dutton* took the next seven sugar chests, numbered 24 to 30, with a matching three chests of tea at the same prices. Dividing the island's supply in that way meant the loss of either ship on the passage would still leave half of it to arrive. The last chest was entered as Congo, with the gross, tare and net weights of the Congo chest above it repeated exactly. Its 45 catties and its price of 26 taels a picul did not fit those weights, and the price was the one charged for Singlo in the *Salisbury*'s invoice, where the third tea chest weighed 63 lb net, or 47 catties. The clerk therefore probably copied the name and weights of the preceding entry by mistake, and the chest was perhaps Singlo of about 60 lb net. Several of the tare and gross figures for the sugar were closely written, and the price of the first Congo chest rested on fine judgement of the figures, as it did in the *Salisbury*'s invoice.
308	303	1766 Robert Ballard this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island St. Helena &ca. in Council The humble Petition of Robert Ballard Sheweth That your Petitioner's Lease of part of his dwelling House in James's Valley expires the Sixteenth Instant April, Wherefore he humbly intreats your Worship and Council to grant him a New Lease of the said premisses, and he will ever pray &ca. Granted. William Clay, William Pinchen, John Smith, Wooden Hawkes John Swindell, Francis Powell, and Alexander Gray, Centinels this day petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honble. Company their Contracted times. Granted. Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick this day applied to Us to pay four hundred pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash, which Sum we have, received and given, Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Mrs. Mary Hall (or Order) ninety days after	Robert Ballard petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council on 7 April 1766 about the lease of part of his house in James's Valley. That lease ran out on 16 April 1766, and he asked for a new one on the same property. The Council granted the request. Seven sentinels asked that day to be released from the garrison, each of them at the end of the term he contracted to serve the Company. The Council granted their discharges. William Clay William Pinchen John Smith Weltden Hawkins John Swindell Francis Powell Alexander Gray Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick applied to pay £400 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Mrs Mary Hall or her order 90 days after sight. John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the consultation. **Interpretations** Ballard held part of his own house on a lease from the Company, which showed how property in James's Valley worked. The Company owned the ground of the town and let plots for fixed terms, so a householder's title lapsed unless the Council renewed it. Renewal by petition kept every town tenancy under

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		sight John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	the Council's eye and gave it a regular occasion to revise rents or conditions. Ballard was the man for whom a warrant as overseer of the West Division was ordered on 31 March 1766. Sentinel was the island's term for a private soldier. The men enlisted with the Company for a fixed number of years, and a soldier whose time was up still needed the Council's leave to go, since nobody could quit the island or take passage in a ship without it. The seven discharges came as the *Salisbury* and the *Dutton* lay in the road from China on their way to England, which offered the men a passage home. Kirkpatrick's payment followed the same method of remittance as Captain Corneille's £80 0s 0d on 31 March 1766, at five times the sum. He sat as a member of the Council that accepted his money and issued the bills, and he signed the minute recording it.
309	304	9th. April At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 9th. Day of April 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was, read approved, and signed, dated the 7th. April 1766. Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships, Dutton, and Salisbury to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Dutton David Rice Commander Edmond Windle 1. Mate David Elphinston 2d. do. Henry Rice 3d. do. Geo: Young 4th. do. Danl. Webb 5th. do. John Rice Surgeon William Burton Purser Michael Jolly Carpenter Richard Tosh Gunner John Ogilvie Boatswain John Ransay Mids. & Coxn. George Newton Midshipm. Hugh Cuthbert do. Thomas Roberts do. John Bradby. do. Edwd. Hill Quartermaster Edwd. Robinson do. John Simonds do. Henry Johnson do. Norris Loughran Ships Stwd Geo: Barnard Capts. Steward William Moore Cooper Edward Oarum Caulker John Webber Sailmaker Jeremiah Donnovan Armr. Saml. Jones Capts. Cook John Roberts Surgs. Mte Gilbert Clough Carpentrs. Mte Benj: Gibbon do. 2d. do. George Moore Gunners do. William Ward Boatswin do. Willm. Thomas Caulkrs. Mte Wm. Howell Capt. Servant Jos. Sorrid do. Cæsar Quiyonba 1 Mtes do. John Gregory 2d. do. do. Peter Butler Surg do. Wm. Hazett Gunners do.	The Council met at the castle on Wednesday 9 April 1766. Governor Skottowe attended with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The minutes of 7 April 1766 were read, approved and signed. Matthew Purling reported that he went aboard the *Dutton* and the *Salisbury* to muster their companies and search for deserters, and that he found none. The muster roll of the *Dutton* listed her company as follows. David Rice, commander Edmond Windell, first mate David Elphinston, second mate Henry Rice, third mate George Young, fourth mate Daniel Webb, fifth mate John Rice, surgeon William Burton, purser Michael Jolly, carpenter Richard Tosh, gunner John Ogilvie, boatswain John Ramsay, midshipman and coxswain George Newdon, midshipman Hugh Cuthbert, midshipman Thomas Roberts, midshipman John Bradby, midshipman Edward Hill, quartermaster Edward Robinson, quartermaster John Simonds, quartermaster Henry Johnson, quartermaster Norris Loughran, ship's steward George Barnard, captain's steward William Moore, cooper Edward Carum, caulker John Webber, sailmaker Jeremiah Donnovan, armourer Samuel Jones, captain's cook John Roberts, surgeon's mate Gilbert Clough, carpenter's first mate Benjamin Gibbon, carpenter's second mate George More, gunner's mate William Ward, boatswain's mate William Thomas, caulker's mate William Howell, captain's servant Joseph Sorrel, captain's servant Caesar Lavyonba, first mate's servant John Gregory, second mate's servant Peter Butler, surgeon's servant William Hazett, gunner's servant Andrew Forbes, boatswain's servant Matthew Lord, seaman William Horn, seaman Thomas Debuke, seaman Richard Hatt, seaman Hugh Daby, seaman Henry Rice, seaman

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		Andw. Forbes Boatsws. do. Matthw. Lord Seaman Wm. Horn Thoms. Debuke Richd. Hall, Hugh Daby Henry Rice Wm. Griffith John Elphinston	William Griffith, seaman John Elphinston, seaman **Interpretations** Purling's errand showed what the muster rolls in this register were for. A councillor boarded each homeward ship, called over her company against the roll and looked for men who did not belong, so that no soldier or islander slipped away in her. The Council discharged seven sentinels on 7 April 1766, two days earlier, and the search separated men who left with permission from any who tried to go without it. The rolls of the *Earl of Elgin*, the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Admiral Pocock*, entered under 31 March 1766, came from the same inspection before those ships sailed. Three of the *Dutton*'s company shared the commander's surname: the third mate Henry Rice, the surgeon John Rice and a seaman Henry Rice. A commander of an East Indiaman had the naming of his officers, and berths commonly went to relations. The second mate David Elphinston and the seaman John Elphinston were perhaps connected in the same way. The word seaman stood against Matthew Lord alone, and that description was carried down here to the names beneath his. Several surnames were closely written, and those of the first mate's servant, the caulker and the steward rested on fine judgement of the letter forms.
310	305	1766 Albert Dennie Seaman Richard Walters Peter Bruce John Snowden George Fletcher William Duncan David Short John Hogg William Harrow William Hutton James Green John Bullworker William Mc.key John Moore Henry Brooks Robert Thompson Thomas Brown William Gibbons Seaman Willm. Cripps Carprs. Servant James Shaw Seaman Thos. Owen John Germain John Birin Geo: Simmerett William Greeve Phillip Gibbs James Quey Allisson Fell John Hall James Mc. Kenzie Willm. Willson John Thorp John Whitman Claus Johnson Robert Carmichael John Johnson Seamn. John Kidder Thos. Braney John Dennis Danl. Mc. Neal Thomas Savoy Francis [Emerson] Christr. Jones Wm. Siddens Etherton Deacon	The muster roll of the *Dutton* continued in 1766 with the rest of her company and her passengers, and David Rice signed it. Albert Dennie, seaman Richard Walters, seaman Peter Brice, seaman John Snowden, seaman George Fletcher, seaman William Duncan, seaman David Short, seaman John Hogg, seaman William Harrow, seaman William Hutton, seaman James Green, seaman John Bulliworthee, seaman William McKey, seaman John Moore, seaman Henry Brooks, seaman Robert Thompson, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman William Gibbons, seaman William Cripps, carpenter's servant James Shaw, seaman Thomas Owen, seaman John Germain, seaman John Bivin, seaman George Simmeritt, seaman William Greeve, seaman Phillip Gibbs, seaman James Lucy, seaman Allison Fell, seaman John Hall, seaman James McKenzie, seaman William Willson, seaman John Thorp, seaman John Whitman, seaman Claus Johnson, seaman Robert Carmichael, seaman John Johnson, seaman John Kidder, seaman Thomas Bearey, seaman John Dennis, seaman Daniel McNeal, seaman Thomas Tursey, seaman Francis Emerson, seaman Christopher Jones, seaman

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		John Ogilby John Chapman Robert Kyle James Cable Rober Radford Joseph Cabridge Passengers Saml. Blunt Supra Cargoe John Burrow do. William Joseph Servants (Signed) Dad Rice	William Teddens, seaman Etherton Deacon, seaman John Ogilby, seaman John Chapman, seaman Robert Ness, seaman James Cable, seaman Robert Radford, seaman Joseph Cabridge, seaman Samuel Blunt, supercargo, passenger John Burrow, supercargo, passenger William, servant to the passengers Joseph, servant to the passengers **Interpretations** The two passengers were Company supercargoes going home from Canton. Samuel Blount and John Burrow both signed the invoices dated at Canton on 3 January 1766 for the supplies sent in the *Salisbury* and the *Dutton*, so the *Dutton* carried two of the men who consigned her cargo. Supercargoes of that period did not live permanently in China. They came out for the trading season, bought the cargoes and returned in the ships, which explains their place on a homeward roll. The two servants were entered by a single name each, William and Joseph, where every member of the ship's company had a surname. That form of entry was usual for slaves or for Asian servants taken into a household abroad, and the two men were perhaps of that kind. The word seaman stood against the first name in each column and against James Shaw, and that description was carried down here to the names beneath them. Several surnames were closely written, and those of Simmeritt, Bearey, Tursey, Teddens and Cabridge rested on fine judgement of the letter forms.
311	306	9th. April Muster Roll of Ship Salisbury John Wyche Commander John Sealy Chief Mate Thomas Compton 2d. do. William Tomlinson 3d. do. John Hallf 4th. do. Thomas Winter 5th do. Robert Thomas Purser Robert Baldwin Surgeon Robt. Cooper Midshipn. & Coxn. Hugh Dougla Gunner John Smith Carpenter James Guy Boatswain James Smith Ships Stewd. Giles Minifie Capt. do. Geo: Smith Cooper George Haydon Midshipm. Richard Hole do. Carew Crouch do. John Saxon do. Thoms. Griffard Surg Mate Archibald Cockerill Boats. do. Henry Parsons do. Edward Cale Caulker John Callingwood Carp Mte Chas. Henry do. Peter Gosport Gunners Mte John Domor Sailmakr. John Angus Coopers Mte Rober Gray Captains Cook Christopher Trabrege Ships do. Robert Collins Quarterm. Archd. Mcdonald Quarterm. John Carr do. Wm. Haleron do. Thomas Aston Butcher Thoms. King Seaman Thos. Tabar	The muster roll of the *Salisbury* was entered under 9 April 1766 and listed her company as follows. John Wyche, commander John Sealy, chief mate Thomas Compton, second mate William Tomlinson, third mate John Hall, fourth mate Thomas Winter, fifth mate Robert Thomas, purser Robert Baldwin, surgeon Robert Cooper, midshipman and coxswain Hugh Douglas, gunner John Smith, carpenter James Guy, boatswain James Smith, ship's steward Giles Minifie, captain's steward George Smith, cooper George Haydon, midshipman Richard Hole, midshipman Carew Crouch, midshipman John Saxon, midshipman Thomas Griffard, surgeon's mate Archibald Cocherill, boatswain's mate Henry Parsons, boatswain's mate Edward Cale, caulker John Collingwood, carpenter's mate Charles Henry, carpenter's mate Peter Gosport, gunner's mate John Dorner, sailmaker John Angus, cooper's mate Robert Gray, captain's cook Christopher Trubrege, ship's cook Robert Collins, quartermaster Archibald McDonald, quartermaster John Carr, quartermaster William Haleron, quartermaster Thomas Aston, butcher Thomas King, seaman

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		Thos. Midst Thoms. Lascelles Wm. Beveridge Alexr. Thompson James Lockhard John Norwood Thos. Rodden Michl. Matthews John Willson James Wall Geo: Whaylon James Rambler John Morgan John Jenkins Lars Bloom Thomas Marlow James Hebberd John Ross Michl. Dyle Andw. Brimingham Willm. Brigs John Martin Anthony Demille Robert Gauger Alexr. Drage Wm. Barrett Seaman Wm. Rea James Mitchell James Malcomb John Williams John Miller Danl. Haskins Thomas Beckwith John Buth Thomas Nelson William Jelf Hugh Riley John Taylor James Skelton Thomas Willoughby Joseph Neville William Stanhouse David Farrier John Wood Franco. Courta Jacob Ancaska John Limbrey Domingo Corea John Slater Armourer Wm. Minifie Capt. Servt. Henry Wickman do. Hugh Pugh Chief Mte do. Francis Ford Surgeons do. James Richardson Gunrs. do. James Stapleton Boats. do. Thos. Downs Carpenters do.	Thomas Tabar, seaman Thomas Midst, seaman Thomas Lascelles, seaman William Beveridge, seaman Alexander Thompson, seaman James Lockhard, seaman John Norwood, seaman Thomas Rodden, seaman Michael Matthews, seaman John Willson, seaman James Wall, seaman George Whaylon, seaman James Rambler, seaman John Morgan, seaman John Jenkins, seaman Lars Bloom, seaman Thomas Marlow, seaman James Hebberd, seaman John Ross, seaman Michael Dyle, seaman Andrew Brimingham, seaman William Brigs, seaman John Martin, seaman Anthony Demille, seaman Robert Gaugor, seaman Alexander Drage, seaman William Barrett, seaman William Rea, seaman James Mitchell, seaman James Malcomb, seaman John Williams, seaman John Miller, seaman Daniel Haskins, seaman Thomas Beckwith, seaman John Bush, seaman Thomas Nelson, seaman William Jelf, seaman Hugh Riley, seaman John Taylor, seaman James Shelton, seaman Thomas Willoughby, seaman Joseph Neville, seaman William Stanhouse, seaman David Farrier, seaman John Wood, seaman Francisco Courta, seaman Jacob Ancasta, seaman John Limbrey, seaman Domingo Corea, seaman John Slater, armourer William Minifie, captain's servant Henry Wichman, captain's servant Hugh Pugh, chief mate's servant Francis Ford, surgeon's servant James Richardson, gunner's servant James Stapleton, boatswain's servant Thomas Downs, carpenter's servant **Interpretations** The captain's steward Giles Minifie and the captain's servant William Minifie shared a surname, and the boy was probably the steward's son or brother. Servants' berths were the usual way into a sea career, and they often went to relations of men already aboard, as the three men named Rice in the *Dutton*'s roll of the same date suggested for her commander's family. The *Salisbury* carried a butcher, as the *Earl of Elgin* did in her roll entered under 31 March 1766, where the *Dutton*, the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Admiral Pocock* listed none. She also carried a cooper's mate, a rating none of the other four ships named. The word seaman stood against Thomas King and William Barrett alone, and that description was carried down here to the names beneath them. Several surnames were closely written, and those of

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			Trubrege, Haleron, Whaylon, Gaugor, Dorner and Ancasta rested on fine judgement of the letter forms.
312	307	1766 Passengers John Searle Esqr. Supra Cargoe Elisha Turner do. Servant (signed) John Wyche The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Dutton vizt. Account of Stores short received from the Ship Dutton vizt. 44 lb Sugar short weight St. Helena 9th. April 1766. (signed) James Cowell Storekeeper We this day granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors vizt. One set to John Skottowe Esqr. Governor for three Hundred pounds payable to Robert Wood Esqr. (or Order) One set to Captain David Rice for eight Hundred and twenty seven pounds payable to himself or Order. One set to Captain John Wyche for four hundred and fifty pounds payable to himself (or Order) And one set to Mr. Giles Minifie for sixty five pounds payable to himself (or Order) all drawn at ninety days sight John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The muster roll of the *Salisbury* closed in 1766 with her passengers, and John Wyche signed it. John Searle, supercargo, passenger Elisha Turner, servant to John Searle The storekeeper handed in an account that day of stores received short from the *Dutton*, which James Bowell signed as storekeeper at St Helena on 9 April 1766. 44 lb of sugar, under weight The Council granted four sets of bills of exchange that day, all drawn on the Court of Directors at 90 days after sight. Governor Skottowe, £300 0s 0d, payable to Robert Wood or his order Captain David Rice, £827 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order Captain John Wyche, £450 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order Giles Minifie, £65 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the consultation. **Interpretations** Three of the four sets of bills went to men of the two ships then in the road from China: David Rice commanded the *Dutton*, John Wyche commanded the *Salisbury* and Giles Minifie was the *Salisbury*'s captain's steward in her roll of 9 April 1766. Officers of East Indiamen were allowed to carry goods on their own account, and they sold part of that private trade to the islanders while the ships lay at anchor. The proceeds came to them in local coin, which was of little use on the voyage, so they paid it into the Company's cash and took bills payable to themselves in London. The sums of £827 0s 0d and £450 0s 0d gave a measure of how much the two commanders sold at the island, and the steward's £65 0s 0d showed that the trade reached well below the rank of officer. The Company in turn recovered the coin it needed to pay the garrison without shipping silver out. The bills were issued in sets, meaning each was written out in two or three identical copies sent home by different ships. Payment of any one copy cancelled the others, so the loss of a ship did not destroy the claim. John Searle was another of the supercargoes who signed the invoices dated at Canton on 3 January 1766. He went home in the *Salisbury* as Samuel Blount and John Burrow did in the *Dutton*, so the Canton council divided its returning members between the two ships as it divided the island's supply. The 44 lb of sugar missing from the *Dutton* related to the seven chests in her invoice, which gave a net weight of 1,974 lb. The storekeeper reweighed the chests on landing against that figure, as he checked the stores from the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* on 31 March 1766. The Governor's own remittance of £300 0s 0d was granted by a Council over which he presided, as Captain Kirkpatrick's £400 0s 0d was on 7 April 1766.
313	308	14th. April At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th. day of April 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council	The Council met at the castle on Monday 14 April 1766. Governor Skottowe attended with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The minutes of 9 April 1766 were read, approved and signed. The *Dutton* and the *Salisbury* sailed for England on 13 April 1766.

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		The last Consultation was, read, approved, and signed dated the 9th April 1766. Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Dutton, and Salisbury for England The Plantation Account for the last Quarter, and the Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month March last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt.	Three sets of accounts came before the Council that day: the plantation account for the preceding quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for March 1766. The Council examined and approved them. **Interpretations** The plantation account covered the Company's own farms on the island, which were worked by its slaves and supplied the garrison and the shipping with livestock and produce. It came in quarterly, where the gunner and the steward accounted every month. The gunner answered for powder, shot and ordnance stores, and the steward for the provisions issued to the garrison, so both dealt in goods consumed daily and open to waste or theft. Monthly examination by the Council kept those issues under close check, while the slower cycle of the farms needed review only once a quarter. The *Dutton* and the *Salisbury* stayed a week, arriving on 6 April 1766 and leaving on 13 April 1766. Within that week the Council mustered both companies, received their supplies, discharged seven soldiers and issued bills to both commanders.
314	309	1766 Account of the Honble Compys. Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. from the 1. Janry to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Neat Cattle Sheep Goats Hogs Horses Asses Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Hogs, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, He Asses, She Asses, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remaining the 31.: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 59, Yearlings 50, Heifers 30, Steers 26, Oxen 16, Total 267, Ewes 325, Weathers 90, Lambs 109, Rams 8, Total 532, Ewes 84, Weathers 13, Kids 98, Rams 4, Total 199, Hogs 2, Total 2, Horses 4, Mares 5, Total 9, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 34, Ducks 13, Turkeys 19, Geese 7 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 11, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 4, Total 15, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Hogs 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 22, Ducks 0, Turkeys 7, Geese 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 70, Yearlings 50, Heifers 30, Steers 26, Oxen 20, Total 282, Ewes 325, Weathers 90, Lambs 110, Rams 8, Total 533, Ewes 84, Weathers 13, Kids 98, Rams 4, Total 199, Hogs 2, Total 2, Horses 4, Mares 5, Total 9, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 56, Ducks 13, Turkeys 26, Geese 7 Deficient: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 23, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 23, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 65, Rams 0, Total 65, Hogs 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 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 12, Steers 7, Oxen 0, Total 20, Ewes 14, Weathers 15, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 31, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 3, Hogs 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 30, Ducks 3, Turkeys 4, Geese 0 Dead: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 16, Weathers 5, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 21, Ewes 1, Weathers 2, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Hogs 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 5, Geese 0 Remaining: Bulls 3, Cows 82, Calves 46, Yearlings 50, Heifers 18, Steers 19, Oxen 20, Total 238, Ewes 295, Weathers 70, Lambs 108, Rams 8, Total 481, Ewes 81, Weathers 11, Kids 32, Rams 4, Total 128, Hogs 2, Total 2, Horses 4, Mares 5, Total 9, He Asses 1, She	The plantation account approved on 14 April 1766 set out the Company's livestock for the quarter from 1 January 1766 to 31 March 1766, and Daniel Corneille signed it. Remaining on 31 December 1765, cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 59 calves, 50 yearlings, 30 heifers, 26 steers, 16 oxen, total 267 cattle Remaining on 31 December 1765, sheep: 335 ewes, 90 wethers, 109 lambs, 8 rams, total 532 sheep Remaining on 31 December 1765, goats: 84 ewes, 13 wethers, 98 kids, 4 rams, total 199 goats Remaining on 31 December 1765, hogs: 2 hogs, total 2 hogs Remaining on 31 December 1765, horses: 4 horses, 5 mares, total 9 horses Remaining on 31 December 1765, asses: 1 he ass, 1 she ass, total 2 asses Remaining on 31 December 1765, poultry: 34 fowls, 18 ducks, 19 turkeys, 7 geese Increase, cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 11 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 4 oxen, total 15 cattle Increase, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 1 lamb, 0 rams, total 1 sheep Increase, goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 0 goats Increase, hogs: 0 hogs, total 0 hogs Increase, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Increase, asses: 0 he asses, 0 she asses, total 0 asses Increase, poultry: 22 fowls, 0 ducks, 7 turkeys, 0 geese Total, cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 70 calves, 50 yearlings, 30 heifers, 26 steers, 20 oxen, total 282 cattle Total, sheep: 335 ewes, 90 wethers, 110 lambs, 8 rams, total 533 sheep Total, goats: 84 ewes, 13 wethers, 98 kids, 4 rams, total 199 goats Total, hogs: 2 hogs, total 2 hogs Total, horses: 4 horses, 5 mares, total 9 horses Total, asses: 1 he ass, 1 she ass, total 2 asses Total, poultry: 56 fowls, 18 ducks, 26 turkeys, 7 geese Missing, cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 23 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 23 cattle Missing, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep Missing, goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 65 kids, 0 rams, total 65 goats Missing, hogs: 0 hogs, total 0 hogs Missing, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses

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		Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 20, Ducks 12, Turkeys 17, Geese 7 Changed the Species: Bulls 3, Cows 82, Calves 26, Yearlings 70, Heifers 18, Steers 19, Oxen 20, Total 238, Ewes 335, Weathers 105, Lambs 31, Rams 10, Total 481, Ewes 81, Weathers 21, Kids 22, Rams 4, Total 128, Hogs 2, Total 2, Horses 4, Mares 5, Total 9, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 30, Ducks 16, Turkeys 17, Geese 7 Deceased Slaves vizt. 12th. Febry 1 Man named Dolton 14 do. 1 do. do. Underwood 1 Boy do. Fuller 1 April 1 do. do. Cark Slaves Born vizt. 1 Boy named John Emanuel 18th. Janry 1 do. do. William Frank 22d do. 1 do. do. Job Scanderbag 20th. February Yam Expended for the Slaves 63.815 do. Bought for do. 32.700 Total 96,515 (signed) Danl. Corneille	Missing, asses: 0 he asses, 0 she asses, total 0 asses Missing, poultry: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Killed, cattle: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 12 heifers, 7 steers, 0 oxen, total 20 cattle Killed, sheep: 14 ewes, 15 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, total 31 sheep Killed, goats: 2 ewes, 0 wethers, 1 kid, 0 rams, total 3 goats Killed, hogs: 0 hogs, total 0 hogs Killed, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Killed, asses: 0 he asses, 0 she asses, total 0 asses Killed, poultry: 30 fowls, 3 ducks, 4 turkeys, 0 geese Died, cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 head of cattle Died, sheep: 16 ewes, 5 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 21 sheep Died, goats: 1 ewe, 2 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 3 goats Died, hogs: 0 hogs, total 0 hogs Died, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Died, asses: 0 he asses, 0 she asses, total 0 asses Died, poultry: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 5 turkeys, 0 geese Remaining on 31 March 1766, cattle: 3 bulls, 82 cows, 46 calves, 50 yearlings, 18 heifers, 19 steers, 20 oxen, total 238 cattle Remaining on 31 March 1766, sheep: 295 ewes, 70 wethers, 108 lambs, 8 rams, total 481 sheep Remaining on 31 March 1766, goats: 81 ewes, 11 wethers, 32 kids, 4 rams, total 128 goats Remaining on 31 March 1766, hogs: 2 hogs, total 2 hogs Remaining on 31 March 1766, horses: 4 horses, 5 mares, total 9 horses Remaining on 31 March 1766, asses: 1 he ass, 1 she ass, total 2 asses Remaining on 31 March 1766, poultry: 20 fowls, 12 ducks, 17 turkeys, 7 geese After reclassification, cattle: 3 bulls, 82 cows, 26 calves, 70 yearlings, 18 heifers, 19 steers, 20 oxen, total 238 cattle After reclassification, sheep: 335 ewes, 105 wethers, 31 lambs, 10 rams, total 481 sheep After reclassification, goats: 81 ewes, 21 wethers, 22 kids, 4 rams, total 128 goats After reclassification, hogs: 2 hogs, total 2 hogs After reclassification, horses: 4 horses, 5 mares, total 9 horses After reclassification, asses: 1 he ass, 1 she ass, total 2 asses After reclassification, poultry: 30 fowls, 16 ducks, 17 turkeys, 7 geese The account recorded four deaths among the Company's slaves. 12 February 1766, 1 man named Dolton 14 February 1766, 1 man named Underwood 14 February 1766, 1 boy named Fuller 1 April 1766, 1 boy named Cark Three slave children were born. 18 January 1766, 1 boy named John Emanuel 22 January 1766, 1 boy named William Frank 20 February 1766, 1 boy named Job Scanderbag The yams used to feed the slaves were entered last. Yams issued to the slaves from the plantations, 63,815 Yams bought for the slaves, 32,700 Total yams, 96,515 **Interpretations** The row for missing animals was the weightiest in the account. Sixty-five kids out of 98 and 23 calves out of 70 could not be found, where only one calf and three goats were entered as dead. The account therefore separated stock known to have died from

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			stock simply unaccounted for. Young animals grazed loose on unfenced common ground, where they strayed, fell from the cliffs or were stolen, and the entry admitted a loss that nobody could explain. The Council approved the account on 14 April 1766 without recorded comment. Neat cattle was the old term for bovine animals, as distinct from sheep, goats and horses. The last row regrouped the surviving animals by age without changing any total. Twenty calves moved up to yearlings, most of the lambs were re-entered as ewes, wethers and rams, and ten kids became wethers. A wether was a castrated male sheep or goat, kept for meat. The animals killed, 20 cattle, 31 sheep and 37 fowls and other poultry, fell in the quarter when the *Earl of Elgin*, the *Duke of Richmond*, the *Admiral Pocock*, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* lay in the road. The slaughter of heifers and steers, not cows or oxen, kept the breeding and working stock intact. Yams were the staple food of the Company's slaves. The account gave no unit for them, and the figures were probably pounds. About a third of the quantity was bought, presumably from the planters, so the Company's own ground did not feed its slaves. The death of the boy on 1 April 1766 fell a day after the quarter closed and was added before the account was handed in. The slaves bore single names of the kind masters gave, some of them English surnames, and Scanderbag was taken from the Albanian hero Skanderbeg. Births and deaths of slaves were entered on the same sheet as the livestock, since both were counted as Company stock. The heading of the opening row gave only the day, and the month of December was supplied from the quarter covered. Several figures were closely written, in particular the remaining ewes, the opening sheep total and the fowls and ducks in the last two rows, and the name of the boy who died on 1 April 1766 rested on fine judgement of the letter forms.
315	310	14th. April Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of March 1766. Guns fired, lb 4, lb 3, lb 2, lb 1, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 2d. An Alarm: Guns fired 6, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Prince of Wales: Guns fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 3d. Saluted a Dutch Governor going on board: Guns fired 13, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 13, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 0 6th. Departed the Earl of Middlesex: Guns fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 10th. An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns fired 6, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 13th. A Double Alarm for three Ships that went by: Guns fired 11, lb 4 4, lb 3 4, lb 2 0, lb 1 3, Powder Expended lb 23, Powder Expended oz 0 16th. do. for four Ships that went by: Guns fired 13, lb 4 5, lb 3 5, lb 2 0, lb 1 3, Powder Expended lb 23, Powder Expended oz 0 22d. A Double Alarm: Guns fired 6, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 23d. Arrived the Earl of Elgin: Guns fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 2 0, lb 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0	The gunner's account approved on 14 April 1766 listed the artillery stores used in March 1766, and Archibald Mitchell signed it. 2 March 1766, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 2 charges in the column headed 4, 2 charges in the column headed 3, 0 charges in the column headed 2, 2 charges in the column headed 1, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 2 March 1766, arrival of the *Prince of Wales*: 9 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 9 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 3 March 1766, salute to a Dutch governor going aboard his ship: 13 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 13 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 13 lb 0 oz of powder 6 March 1766, departure of the *Earl of Middlesex*: 9 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 9 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 10 March 1766, an alarm for a ship that passed the island: 6 guns fired, 2 charges in the column headed 4, 2 charges in the column headed 3, 0 charges in the column headed 2, 2 charges in the column headed 1, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 13 March 1766, a double alarm for three ships that passed the island: 11 guns fired, 4 charges in the column headed 4, 4 charges in the column headed 3, 0 charges in the column headed 2, 3 charges in the column headed 1, 23 lb 0 oz of powder 16 March 1766, a double alarm for four ships that passed the island: 13 guns fired, 5 charges in the column headed 4, 5 charges in the column headed 3,

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		Arrived the Admiral Pocock: Guns fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 24th. Arrived the Duke of Richmond: Guns fired 9, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 9, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder expended at the Works and differt. Services: Guns fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, lb 1 0, Powder Expended lb 39, Powder Expended oz 8 Total: Guns fired 106, lb 4 17, lb 3 17, lb 2 58, lb 1 14, Powder Expended lb 196, Powder Expended oz 8 Paper for making Cartridges Qrs. 4 Trunk nails for Coating Spunges 100 do. for the use of the Lieut. Governors House 500 Tallow for the use of the Carts &ca. lb 14 Hand spikes for the Works 13 Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges 4 Sand Bags for the Works 20 Rammer Heads broke 4 (signed) Archd. Mitchell	0 charges in the column headed 2, 3 charges in the column headed 1, 28 lb 0 oz of powder 22 March 1766, a double alarm: 6 guns fired, 2 charges in the column headed 4, 2 charges in the column headed 3, 0 charges in the column headed 2, 2 charges in the column headed 1, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 23 March 1766, arrival of the *Earl of Elgin*: 9 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 9 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 23 March 1766, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 2 charges in the column headed 4, 2 charges in the column headed 3, 0 charges in the column headed 2, 2 charges in the column headed 1, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 23 March 1766, arrival of the *Admiral Pocock*: 9 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 9 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 24 March 1766, arrival of the *Duke of Richmond*: 9 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 9 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder used at the works and on various other services: 0 guns fired, 0 charges in the column headed 4, 0 charges in the column headed 3, 0 charges in the column headed 2, 0 charges in the column headed 1, 39 lb 8 oz of powder Total: 106 guns fired, 17 charges in the column headed 4, 17 charges in the column headed 3, 58 charges in the column headed 2, 14 charges in the column headed 1, 196 lb 8 oz of powder Paper for making cartridges, 4 quires Trunk nails for covering sponges, 100 nails Trunk nails for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 500 nails Tallow for the carts and similar uses, 14 lb Handspikes for the works, 13 handspikes Sponge staves for repairing the sponges, 4 staves Sandbags for the works, 20 sandbags Rammer heads broken, 4 rammer heads **Interpretations** The account showed how the island's warning system worked in practice. An alarm was fired whenever a sail was sighted, to call the garrison and the planters' militia to their posts until the stranger was identified. Six alarms were fired in March 1766, and three of them were for ships that simply sailed past without calling. A double alarm, fired when several ships appeared together, used more guns and nearly twice the powder, since a group of unidentified vessels could be a hostile squadron. The island therefore spent 99 lb of powder in the month on alarms against 58 lb on salutes. Salutes followed a fixed scale. Each Company ship received nine guns on arriving or leaving, and the Dutch governor, a passenger in a foreign ship calling for refreshment, received 13 as a mark of his rank. The salutes were all fired with the same small charge, one to a gun, where the alarms used a mix of heavier charges so that the report carried across the island. The equipment listed below the table belonged to the working of the guns. A sponge was a staff with a fleece or cloth head, used wet to put out any burning remnant in the bore after each shot, and the trunk nails fixed the covering to its head. A rammer drove the cartridge and shot home, a handspike was the wooden lever used to shift a gun carriage, and cartridge paper was rolled into tubes to hold measured charges of powder. The 500 nails for the Lieutenant Governor's house showed the gunner's store serving as a general source of ironmongery,

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			charged to his account although the use had nothing to do with artillery. The arrivals of the *Earl of Elgin* and the *Admiral Pocock* on 23 March 1766 and the *Duke of Richmond* on 24 March 1766 fixed their stay at about ten days, since they sailed for England on 2 April 1766 and 4 April 1766. The *Prince of Wales*, which arrived on 2 March 1766 and left for China on 4 April 1766, stayed over a month. The headings over the four columns of charges were written very small. They were read as 4, 3, 2 and 1, probably the weight of each charge in pounds, and that reading rested on fine judgement. The powder for the four ships on 16 March 1766 and the total of the third column of charges were also closely written.
316	311	1766 Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Compys. Table in the Month of March 1766 18 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 31 do. Lisbon 2.6.6 12 do. Mountain 18 24 do. Beer 5 32 do. Arrack 3.8.6 102 lb. Beef 2.2.1 351 Mutton 7.10 6 Ducks 9 8 Fowles 12 1 Turkey 5 46 lb Butter 2.5 9 [...] lb Candy 1.10.1/2 350 lb Flour 3.12.11 £ 26.4.9 1/2 Being in want of another Long Boat for the use of the Honorable Company, we bought one of Captain Wyche for which we paid him thirty pounds John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The steward's account approved on 14 April 1766 listed the food and drink consumed at the Company's table in March 1766. 18 bottles of port wine, £1 0s 0d 31 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 6s 6d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 32 bottles of arrack, £3 8s 6d 102 lb of beef, £2 2s 1d 351 lb of mutton, £7 10s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 8 fowls, £0 12s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 46 lb of butter, £2 5s 0d 9 lb 5 oz of sugar candy, £1 10s 0½d 350 lb of flour, £3 12s 11d Total, £26 4s 9½d The Company needed another longboat, and the Council bought one from Captain Wyche for £30 0s 0d. John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The Company's table was the common table kept at the castle at the Company's expense, where Governor Skottowe, the councillors and the senior servants dined and where ships' commanders and passengers of rank were entertained. The steward charged each article at a fixed store price, so the account showed the cost of that hospitality month by month. March 1766 brought seven Company ships and a Dutch governor to the island, which explains a month's consumption of 117 bottles and 453 lb of meat. Arrack was a spirit distilled in the East from fermented palm sap, rice or sugar cane, shipped from Batavia and Goa and drunk mainly in punch. It was the largest single item of drink in the account, at 32 bottles. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised in large hard lumps, the form in which Chinese sugar was commonly sold and the kind brought in the chests from Canton. The port, Lisbon and Mountain wines were the three kinds landed from the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* in the storekeeper's account of 31 March 1766. The meat and poultry came from the Company's own stock. The plantation account for the quarter to 31 March 1766 recorded 31 sheep, 20 cattle, 30 fowls, 3 ducks and 4 turkeys killed, and the table's mutton, beef and birds for March formed part of that slaughter. The longboat came from the *Salisbury*, which Wyche commanded and which sailed for England on 13 April 1766. A homeward ship in the last leg of her voyage could spare a boat, and the Council took the chance to buy one on the spot, where the ordinary course was to ask the Directors to send one out and wait a year or more for it. Wyche received bills for

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			£450 0s 0d on 9 April 1766, and the price of the boat perhaps formed part of the money he remitted. The weight of the sugar candy and several of the sums were closely written, and the readings of the beef, the candy and the flour rested on fine judgement of the figures.
317	312	21 April At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st. Day of April 1766 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was, read, approved, and signed dated the 14th. April 1766 Monday the 14th. Arrived the Duke of Glocester's Boat at Banks's at 8 o'Clock at Night Tuesday the 15th. do. the Honble. Compys. Ship Duke of Glocester from China do. do. Died Elizabeth Daughter of Ruth Deffountain Thursday the 17th. Arrived a Dane Ship from China Called the Queen Sophia Magdalina Capt. Duxon [...] burthen eleven hundred Tons, carrys twenty six Guns, and one hundred and fifty Men loaden with Tea, China Ware and Silk bound to Copenhagen Friday the 18th. Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen Julian Maria Capt. Smit, burthen nine hundred Tons, carry twenty six Guns and one hundred and forty Men, loaden with Tea China Ware, and Silk bound to Copenhagen Saturday the 19th. Arrived a Portuguese Vessel from Rio Janeiro called the Santa Conception, Captain Joze burthen thirty Tons and carrys seven Men, bound to Angola do. do. the Talbot's Boat at Banks's, at half an hour past eleven o'Clock in the forenoon do. do. the Honorable Company's Ship Talbot from China and brought Us the following Supply's vizt.	The Council met at the castle on Monday 21 April 1766. Governor Skottowe attended with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The minutes of 14 April 1766 were read, approved and signed. A boat from the *Duke of Gloucester* reached Banks's at [...] o'clock on the night of Monday 14 April 1766. The *Duke of Gloucester* herself came in from China on Tuesday 15 April 1766. Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Deffountain, died on the same Tuesday. A Danish ship from China, the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, arrived on Thursday 17 April 1766 under Captain Dixon [...]. She measured 1,100 tons and carried 26 guns and 150 men. Her cargo was tea, porcelain and silk, and she was bound for Copenhagen. A second Danish ship from China, the *Queen Julian Maria*, arrived on Friday 18 April 1766 under Captain Smit. She measured 900 tons and carried 26 guns and 140 men, with the same kind of cargo for Copenhagen. A Portuguese vessel from Rio de Janeiro, the *Santa Conception*, arrived on Saturday 19 April 1766 under Captain Joze. She measured 30 tons, carried seven men and was bound for Angola. A boat from the *Talbot* reached Banks's at 11.30 that Saturday morning. The *Talbot* herself came in from China later that day and brought a supply for the island. **Interpretations** The Council recorded foreign ships in far more detail than its own. Each Company ship was entered by name and port alone, where the two Danes and the Portuguese vessel were set down with captain, tonnage, guns, crew, cargo and destination. Those particulars were gathered when the ship's boat reported at Banks's and were sent home to the Directors as commercial intelligence. The Danish Asiatic Company competed with the English Company for tea at Canton, and a count of its ships, their size and their lading told London how much rival tea was on its way to Europe that season. The two Danish ships were as large as the Company's own Indiamen and more heavily manned, with 150 and 140 men against the 90 or so in each of the English muster rolls entered in March and April 1766. They called for water and fresh provisions, which the island sold to friendly foreigners for cash. The *Santa Conception* was a very small craft for an ocean passage, at 30 tons and seven men. A vessel sailing between Brazil and Angola was probably engaged in the Portuguese slave trade, which carried Brazilian tobacco and spirits to Luanda and slaves back. St Helena lay far to the south of the direct track, so she perhaps put in through want of water or stress of weather. The death of Elizabeth Deffountain was entered among the shipping movements, since the consultations served as the island's running register of events as well as the Council's minutes. The hour at which the *Duke of Gloucester*'s boat arrived and the second part of the first Danish captain's name could not be read.
318	313	1766 Invoice of Ship Talbot	The invoice of the *Talbot* was entered in 1766 and set out the porcelain, sugar and tea she brought

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		Four half Chests China Ware vizt. C W 1 @ 4 No. 1 30 Blue & White Chamber pots @ Mace 300 Tas. 9 100 Blue & White Snackers @ Mace 30 Tas. 3 Tas. m 12 No. 2 15 Blue & White Basons & Guglets @ Mace 350 Tas. 5.250 15 Coloured do. do. Mace 300 Tas. 4.500 Tas. m 9.750 No. 3 20 Blue & White Bowls 1st. Size @ Mace 300 Tas. 6 20 do. do. 2 Mace 250 Tas. 5 8 do. do. 3 Mace 150 Tas. 1.200 6 do. do. 4 Mace 110 Tas. 660 20 do. do. 5 Mace 90 Tas. 1.800 Tas. m 14.660 12 Blue & White Bowls 3d. Size Mace 150 Tas. 1.800 14 do. do. 4 Mace 110 Tas. 1.540 200 do. Snackers Mace 30 Tas. 6 Tas. m 9.340 Tas. m 45.750 2 p Cent for break. Tas. m 915 Tas. m 44.835 4 Half Chests Tas. m 1.600 Tales 46.435 Sugar No. 5 @ 9 No., tare, Gross 5: tare 27, Gross lb 301 6: tare 26, Gross 301 7: tare 31, Gross 306 8: tare 28, Gross 310 9: tare 28, Gross 310 5 Chests: tare 140, Gross 1528 140 tare 1388 Nett is Picl. 10.41 Catty @ T m 4.5 p Pecl. Tas. m 46.845 1 Chest Bohea Tea 178 Gross 42 tare 136 Nett is Picl. 1.2 Catty @ Ts. 19 p do. Tas. m 19.380 1 Chest Congo 100 Gross 21 tare 79 Nett is Catty 59 @ 28 p do. Tas. m 16.520 Tales 129.180 Canton 3d. Janry 1766 Errors Excepted (signed) Thomas Smith Thoms. Thomas Wm. Rous John Walton Thos. Bevan Thos. Fitzhugh John Burrow Nathl. Garland Wm. Mc.kenzie John Searle Stephn. De Visme	for the island from China. The porcelain came in four half chests marked C W and numbered 1 to 4. Half chest number 1, 30 blue and white chamber pots at 3 mace each, 9 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 1, 100 blue and white saucers at 3 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 1, total, 12 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 2, 15 blue and white basins and guglets at 3 mace 5 candareens each, 5 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 2, 15 coloured basins and guglets at 3 mace each, 4 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 2, total, 9 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 3, 20 blue and white bowls of the first size at 3 mace each, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 3, 20 blue and white bowls of the second size at 2 mace 5 candareens each, 5 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 3, 8 blue and white bowls of the third size at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 1 tael 2 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 3, 6 blue and white bowls of the fourth size at 1 mace 1 candareen each, 0 taels 6 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 3, 20 blue and white bowls of the fifth size at 9 candareens each, 1 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 3, total, 14 taels 6 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 4, 12 blue and white bowls of the third size at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 1 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 4, 14 blue and white bowls of the fourth size at 1 mace 1 candareen each, 1 tael 5 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 4, 200 blue and white saucers at 3 candareens each, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Half chest number 4, total, 9 taels 3 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Porcelain, total, 45 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Allowance of 2 per cent for breakage, deducted, 0 taels 9 mace 1 candareen 5 cash Porcelain after the allowance, 44 taels 8 mace 3 candareens 5 cash 4 half chests for packing, 1 tael 6 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Porcelain and packing, total, 46 taels 4 mace 3 candareens 5 cash Sugar chest number 5, tare 27 lb, gross 301 lb Sugar chest number 6, tare 26 lb, gross 301 lb Sugar chest number 7, tare 31 lb, gross 306 lb Sugar chest number 8, tare 28 lb, gross 310 lb Sugar chest number 9, tare 28 lb, gross 310 lb 5 chests of sugar, total tare 140 lb, total gross 1,528 lb Sugar net weight, 1,388 lb, equal to 10 piculs 41 catties, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 46 taels 8 mace 4 candareens 5 cash 1 chest of Bohea tea, gross 178 lb, tare 42 lb, net 136 lb, equal to 1 picul 2 catties, at 19 taels per picul, 19 taels 3 mace 8 candareens 0 cash 1 chest of Congo tea, gross 100 lb, tare 21 lb, net 79 lb, equal to 59 catties, at 28 taels per picul, 16 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Total, 129 taels 1 mace 8 candareens 0 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 3 January 1766, subject to correction of any errors, and signed by the following.

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			Thomas Fitzhugh John Burrow Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie John Searle Stephen De Visme Thomas Smith Thomas Thomas William Rous John Walton Thomas Bevan **Interpretations** The porcelain was Chinese export ware made at Jingdezhen and sold through the Canton merchants. Blue and white was the cheap everyday kind, painted in cobalt under the glaze, and the coloured pieces were enamelled over the glaze. A guglet was a long-necked water bottle, sold with a basin as a washing set for a bedroom. The bowls were graded in five sizes by price, from 3 mace down to 9 candareens. The whole consignment was plain household crockery, chamber pots, wash sets, bowls and 300 saucers, intended for sale to the islanders from the Company's store. Two charges showed how the Canton trade handled fragile goods. The Chinese sellers allowed 2 per cent off the price for breakage, so the buyer bore the risk of damage in exchange for a fixed discount. The half chests themselves were charged separately at 4 mace each, where the tea and sugar chests were covered by deducting tare. The *Talbot* carried the sugar chests numbered 5 to 9, below the 17 to 23 in the *Salisbury* and the 24 to 30 in the *Dutton*, and all three invoices bore the date of 3 January 1766. The supercargoes therefore spread one numbered run of sugar over at least four ships, and chests 10 to 16 probably went in another, perhaps the *Duke of Gloucester*, which arrived on 15 April 1766. The Bohea and Congo chests matched those in the *Dutton*'s invoice in weight and price. Eleven supercargoes signed, where the two earlier invoices carried 12. The name missing was Samuel Blount, who went home as a passenger in the *Dutton*. The article read as saucers and the mark on the half chests were closely written, and both readings rested on fine judgement of the letter forms.
319	314	21. April. 22. The Storekeeper this day delivered his Collections and the 23. Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 January 24. and ending the 31. March 1766. which were examined and approved & 25. are as follow vizt. 26. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble Compys. 27. Ware Houses from the 1. January to the 31 March 1766 vizt. 28. Sold to the Company's Servants at 10 p Cent vizt. Sugar and Candy vizt. 3443 lb Sugar 79.7.6 2532 Candy 59.3.5 138.10.11 Flour vizt. 1234 lb Flour 8.19.11 169 C 2 qr 22 lb do. Packed 157.18.4 166.18.3 Tea vizt. 10 lb Congo	The storekeeper handed in his collections on 21 April 1766 and the paymaster his accounts, both for the quarter from 1 January 1766 to 31 March 1766. The Council examined and approved them. The first collection covered goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses in that quarter, beginning with sales to the Company's servants at 10 per cent above cost. 3,443 lb of sugar, £79 7s 6d 2,582 lb of sugar candy, £59 3s 5d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £138 10s 11d 1,234 lb of flour, £8 19s 11d 169 cwt 1 qr 22 lb of packed flour, £157 18s 4d Flour, total, £166 18s 3d 10 lb of Congo tea, £0 15s 10d 84 lb of Singlo tea, £6 13s 0d 13½ lb of Bohea tea, £0 19s 3d Tea, total, £8 8s 1d 19 gallons of train oil, £3 10s 5d 23½ gallons of linseed oil, £5 0s 9d 12 bottles of Florence oil, £1 15s 0d Oil, total, £10 6s 2d 343 lb of candles, £37 17s 5d 5¾ bushels of salt, £1 9s 6d 55 lb of pepper, £1 10s 11d 41 lb of coffee, £1 17s 7d 2½ lb of whited brown thread, £0 19s 2d 6 lb of coloured thread, £1 2s 6d

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		15.10 84 Singlo 6.13 13 1/2 Bohea 19.3 8.8.1 Oil vizt. 19 Galls. Train 3.10.5 23 1/2 do. Linseed 5.9 12 Bottles Florence 1.15 10.6.2 Candles vizt. 343 lb 37.17.5 Salt 5 1/2 Bushel 1.9.6 Pepper 55 1.10.11 Coffee 41 1.17.7 Thread vizt. 2 lb W Brown 19.2 6 Coloured 1.2.6 2.1.8 Rice C 13. qr 2. lb 16. 8.12.1 Canvas 16 yds. Ozenbrigs 14 Beef and Pork vizt. 1977 lb Pork 197.14 982 Beef 98.4 2316 1/2 Dutch Pork 38.12.2 334.10.2 Starch 77 lb 2.17.9 Carried over £ 715.14.6	Thread, total, £2 1s 8d 13 cwt 2 qr 16 lb of rice, £8 12s 1d 16 yards of Osnaburg canvas, £0 14s 0d 1,977 pieces of pork, £197 14s 0d 982 pieces of beef, £98 4s 0d 2,316½ lb of Dutch pork, £38 12s 2d Beef and pork, total, £334 10s 2d 77 lb of starch, £2 17s 9d Carried over, £715 14s 6d **Interpretations** The heading fixed the terms on which the Company's own people bought from its store. Servants paid the invoice cost plus 10 per cent, a privileged rate that covered little more than freight and wastage. The store was the only regular source of imported food and goods on the island, so the mark-up set by the Company governed the cost of living for everyone who depended on it, and the low rate formed part of a servant's pay. The storekeeper's collection was the record of what he sold, which the Council checked each quarter against his stock. Salt meat dominated the sales, at £334 10s 2d out of £715 14s 6d. The beef and pork were sold by the piece, the standard cut of several pounds packed in brine in casks, where the Dutch pork was sold by weight. Dutch pork was probably bought from ships of the Dutch company or from the Cape, since the island's own livestock could not feed the garrison and the plantation account for the same quarter recorded only 20 cattle and 31 sheep killed. Several of the goods needed explanation. Train oil was oil rendered from whale blubber, burned in lamps. Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in wicker-covered flasks and used at table. Whited brown thread was linen thread half bleached, between the natural brown and the fully white. Osnaburg was a coarse, strong linen first woven at Osnabrück in Germany, used for sacks, sails and working clothes. Packed flour was flour pressed tight into casks in England so that it kept on the voyage. The sugar, sugar candy and the three teas were the Canton goods of the kind invoiced in the *Salisbury*, the *Dutton* and the *Talbot* in April 1766. The servants bought 84 lb of Singlo against 10 lb of Congo and 13½ lb of Bohea, so green tea was much the island's preferred kind. The quantity of loose flour and the unit against the pork and beef were closely written, and both readings rested on fine judgement of the figures.
320	315	1766 Brot. over £ 715.14.6 Starch 11 lb 7.4 Lead vizt. 23. Sheet Lead 4.9 90 Shott 18.9 1.3.6 Leather vizt. 138. Sole 7.3.9 1 Calf Skin 10.11 7.14.8 Twine vizt. 25. lb. Twine 14.4 1/2 1 1/2 Cotton Wick 3.7 1/2 18 Cordage 67 lb 1.6.5 Sago 135 1/2	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold to the Company's servants in the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a running total of £715 14s 6d. Brought over, £715 14s 6d 11 lb of starch, £0 7s 4d 23 lb of sheet lead, £0 4s 9d 90 lb of shot, £0 18s 9d Lead, total, £1 3s 6d 138 lb of sole leather, £7 3s 9d 1 calf skin, £0 10s 11d Leather, total, £7 14s 8d 25 lb of twine, £0 14s 4½d 1¼ lb of cotton wick, £0 3s 7½d Twine, total, £0 18s 0d 67 lb of cordage, £1 6s 5d 135 lb of sago, £1 2s 7d 2½ yards of buckram, £0 2s 7d 2 men's hats, £1 18s 9d 1 gross of corks, £0 2s 7d 3,480 lb of wheat, £29 0s 0d 2 oars, £0 8s 7d 3 yards of kersey, £0 4s 7d 10 yards of ticking, £1 14s 9d 153 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £33 15s 9d 2 books of common prayer, £0 6s 2d 5 blank keys, £0 0s 4¼d

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		1.2.7 Buckram 2 1/2 Yards 2.7 Hats 2 Mens 1.18.9 Corks 1 Gross 2.7 Wheat 3450 lb 29 Oars 2 8.7 Kersey 3 Yards 4.7 Ticking 10. do. 1.14.9 Shoes 153 Prs. Mens Ordinary 33.15.9 Books 2 Common prayer 6.2 Iron Ware vizt. 5 Blank Keys 4 1/4 9 Pr. HL Hinges 16.6 1 Pr. Bellows 4.4 1/2 2 Hand Hatchets 3.10 1/2 1 Stock Lock 3.1 1/2 1 Scythe Stone 2 1/2 11 Doz. Wood Screws 4.1 1/2 1 Gimblet 3 1/2 1 Cupboard Lock 3.1 1/2 1 S Bolt do. 8.1 1 Iron rim'd Lock with Brass knobs 8.3 2.16 Paint vizt. 15 Indico 1.10.11 1/4 4 Chocolate 1.9 4 Ven Red mixed 2.1 1 do. do. dry 2 1/2 1 Barrl. Blacking 7 1/2 12 Stone Colour 6.6 19 1/2 Blue Smalts 1.10.4 1/2 28 W Lead dry 9.7 [...] 13 Whiting [...] 6 4.2.7 Carried over £ 802.14.4	9 pairs of H hinges, £0 16s 6d 1 pair of bellows, £0 4s 4½d 2 hand hatchets, £0 3s 10½d 1 stock lock, £0 3s 1½d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 2½d 11 dozen wood screws, £0 4s 1½d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 3½d 1 cupboard lock, £0 3s 1½d 1 [...] lock, £0 8s 1d 1 iron rim lock with brass knobs, £0 8s 3d Ironware, total, £2 16s 0d 15 lb of indigo, £1 10s 11¼d 4 lb of chocolate paint, £0 1s 9d 4 lb of Venetian red, mixed, £0 2s 1d 1 lb of Venetian red, dry, £0 0s 2½d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 7½d 12 lb of stone colour, £0 6s 0d 19½ lb of blue smalt, £1 10s 4½d 23 lb of white lead, dry, £0 9s 7½d 13 lb of whiting, £0 0s 6d Paint, total, £4 2s 7d Carried over, £802 14s 4d **Interpretations** The store supplied the island's trades as well as its kitchens. Shoes were the largest item on the page, with 153 pairs of ready-made men's shoes at £33 15s 9d and a further 138 lb of sole leather for local repair and making. Soldiers and servants wore shoes out quickly on steep, stony ground, and none could be had except through the Company. The 3,480 lb of wheat at £29 0s 0d showed that servants bought grain to grind at home as well as the packed flour entered earlier in the same collection. The paints were sold as raw pigments, to be ground and mixed with the linseed oil sold from the same store. Venetian red was an earth pigment coloured by iron oxide. Smalt was a deep blue made from glass coloured with cobalt and ground to powder, and it cost about 1s 6d a pound against 5d for white lead. White lead was the standard white base of all oil paint, and whiting was powdered chalk for whitewash and putty. Stone colour and chocolate were ready shades of grey-buff and brown for woodwork. Blacking was a black preparation for leather and ironwork. The cloths and hardware were ordinary goods of the period under names since lost. Kersey was a coarse, ribbed woollen cloth for working clothes. Ticking was the strong striped linen used to cover mattresses and pillows, and buckram was linen stiffened with glue for lining coats and hats. H hinges were flat hinges whose two leaves formed the letter when open. A stock lock was a lock cased in a block of wood and fixed to the face of a door, and a rim lock was a metal-cased lock fixed the same way. Sago was the starch of an East Indian palm, brought in the China ships and used for puddings and invalid food. The description of one lock could not be read. Several of the smaller sums in the ironware and paint were closely written, and the readings of the starch, the wheat and the whiting rested on fine judgement of the figures.
321	316	21. April Brot. over £ 802.14.4 Glass Ware vizt. 12 Wine Glasses 5.8 1/2 3 Tumblers 2.1 1 Quart Decanter 3.10 1/2	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold to the Company's servants in the quarter to 31 March 1766 went on from a running total of £802 14s 4d. Brought over, £802 14s 4d 12 wine glasses, £0 5s 8½d 3 tumblers, £0 2s 1d 1 quart decanter, £0 3s 10½d 30 square feet of glass 10 by 12, £1 5s 0d 2 candle shades, £0 12s 11d Glassware, total, £2 9s 7d

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		30 Sqr. Glass 10 by 12 1.5 2 Candle Shades 12.11 2.9.7 Nails vizt. 6 lb 2 d 4.7 1/2 37 1/2 4 17.9 47 6 1.7.5 72 10 1.16 17 20 7.1 12 40 4.9 1 Scupper 6 3/4 Glaz. Brads 1.5 1/2 18 Floor do. 6.9 5.6.4 China Ware vizt. 34 Snackers 8.6 10 Bowls 9.2 12 Teapots 11 1 Soop Dish 6.6 6 Quart Pint Cups & Saucers 1.11 5 Sets Dishes and Plates 5 1 Sallad do. 10 6 Soop Plates 3.1 2 Salts 1.4 1/2 2 Sauce Boats 10 1/2 7.3.3 Haberdashery vizt. 37 Sks. Silk 1.1.7 10 do. Mohair 5 1 Ps. Tape 7 1/2 3 oz. Whale Bone 13.10 1/2 6 doz. Silver Coat Buttons 11.7 1/2 4 doz. Yellow Metal C do. 2.3 3 doz. Mohair do. do. 1.1 1/2 2 Cockades 8 3.1.9 Long Cloth vizt. 13 [...] ps. Long Cloth A 19.8.10 6 do. do. B 15 2 do. do. C 7.4.3 1 do. do. D 4.8.8 3 do. do. L 16.4	6 lb of twopenny nails, £0 4s 7½d 37½ lb of fourpenny nails, £0 17s 9d 47 lb of sixpenny nails, £1 7s 5d 72 lb of tenpenny nails, £1 16s 0d 17 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 7s 1d 12 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 4s 9d 1 lb of scupper nails, £0 0s 6d ¾ lb of glazing brads, £0 1s 5½d 18 lb of floor brads, £0 6s 9d Nails, total, £5 6s 4d 34 saucers, £0 3s 6d 10 bowls, £0 9s 2d 12 teapots, £0 11s 0d 1 soup dish, £0 6s 6d 6 quart and pint cups and saucers, £0 1s 11d 5 sets of dishes and plates, £5 0s 0d 1 salad dish, £0 0s 10d 6 soup plates, £0 3s 1d 2 salt cellars, £0 1s 4½d 2 sauce boats, £0 0s 10½d Chinaware, total, £7 3s 3d ¾ lb of silk, £1 1s 7d 10 [...] of mohair, £0 10s 0d 1 piece of tape, £0 0s 7½d 3 lb of whalebone, £0 13s 10½d 6 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 11s 7½d 4 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 2s 3d 3 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 1s 1½d 2 cockades, £0 0s 8d Sewing goods and trimmings, total, £3 1s 9d 13 [...] pieces of long cloth marked A, £19 3s 10d 6 pieces of long cloth marked B, £15 0s 0d 2 pieces of long cloth marked C, £7 4s 3d 1 piece of long cloth marked D, £4 8s 8d 3 pieces of long cloth marked L, £16 4s 0d Long cloth, total, £62 5s 9d Carried over, £883 6s [...]d **Interpretations** Long cloth was the page's chief item, at £62 5s 9d. It was a plain white cotton cloth woven on the Coromandel coast of India in pieces about 37 yards long, and the Company shipped it in bulk as one of its staple piece goods. The letters marked grades of fineness, and the prices bore that out, running from under £1 10s 0d a piece for A to over £5 0s 0d for L. Islanders made it into shirts, shifts and bed linen. The island therefore dressed largely in Indian cotton, bought from the Company's store at the servants' rate, at a date when the sale of such cloth for wear in England was still restricted to protect the home weavers. Nails were sold by weight and sized by the old penny scale, in which a higher number meant a longer and heavier nail. Tenpenny nails, about three inches long and the ordinary size for framing, made up the largest quantity at 72 lb. Scupper nails were short nails with broad heads for fixing leather or canvas, brads were thin nails with a small lip in place of a head, and the glazing brads held panes into window frames. The 30 square feet of window glass sold matched the pane size of 10 by 12 that the *Prince of Wales* landed partly broken in the account of 31 March 1766. The chinaware was Canton porcelain of the kind invoiced in the *Talbot* on 3 January 1766. The five sets of dishes and plates at £1 0s 0d each were full table services, and the rest was sold by the piece. Saucers that cost 3 candareens each at Canton sold on the island at a little over 1d. The trimmings served the island's tailors. Mohair was yarn from the hair of the Angora goat, twisted into thread for buttonholes and woven over wooden moulds to make cloth-covered buttons. Whalebone was the flexible baleen of whales, cut into strips to stiffen stays and bodices. Yellow metal was brass, and

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		62.5.9 Carrd. over £ 883.6.[...]	a cockade was the ribbon rosette worn on a hat, black for officers and soldiers in the British service. The unit against the mohair, the fraction in the quantity of long cloth marked A and the pence in the sum carried over could not be read. Several of the smaller sums were closely written, and the readings of the scupper nails and the chinaware prices rested on fine judgement of the figures.
322	317	1766 Brought over £ 883.6.[...] Hooks & Lines vizt. 7 doz. No. 2 1.6.10 1 do. 3 4.4 Lines 75 No. 1 3.11 1/2 250 11 4.4 1/2 50 12 8 350 13 3.[...] 1/2 325 15 2.7 1/2 Hooks 2.5.10 Deals vizt. 3 Single 7.4 8 Double 1.10.2 1.17.6 Tin Ware vizt. 4 Tin Lamps 3.4 1 Watering Pot 4.3 1/2 3 lb Solder 3 1/2 Sal Armonica 1.6 1/2 1 Dripping Pan 3.5 15.9 Hosiers Ware vizt. 36 Prs. Mens Ordinary Thread Stockings 1.18.3 2 Prs. English Cotton do. 15 2 Prs. Boys do. do. 4.5 2.17.8 Shirts 2 Prs. Irish Linnen 3.11.2 Turners Ware vizt. 2 Hair Brooms 4.8 6 Shoe Brushes 3.9 8.5 Camblet vizt. 2 Yards Scarlet 8.2 3 do. Blue 10.1 18.3 Shalloon 7 1/2 yards Coloured 15 Broad Cloth vizt. 6 1/4 yds. Blue 6.13.10 1 1/4 do. Scarlet	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold to the Company's servants in the quarter to 31 March 1766 closed with the following items, carried on from a running total of £883 6s [...]d. Brought over, £883 6s [...]d 7 dozen fishing lines of number 2, £1 6s 10d 1 dozen fishing lines of number 3, £0 4s 4d 75 fish hooks of number 1, £0 3s 11¼d 250 fish hooks of number 11, £0 4s 4½d 50 fish hooks of number 12, £0 0s 8d 350 fish hooks of number 13, £0 3s 0½d 325 fish hooks of number 15, £0 2s 7½d Hooks and lines, total, £2 5s 10d 3 single deals, £0 7s 4d 8 double deals, £1 10s 2d Deals, total, £1 17s 6d 4 tin lamps, £0 3s 4d 1 watering pot, £0 4s 5½d 3 lb of solder, £0 3s 0d ½ lb of sal ammoniac, £0 1s 6½d 1 dripping pan, £0 3s 5d Tinware, total, £0 15s 9d 36 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £1 13s 3d 2 pairs of English cotton stockings, £0 18s 0d 2 pairs of boys' cotton stockings, £0 4s 6d Stockings, total, £2 17s 8d 2 pieces of Irish linen for shirts, £3 11s 2d 2 hair brooms, £0 4s 8d 6 shoe brushes, £0 3s 9d Brooms and brushes, total, £0 8s 5d 2 yards of scarlet camlet, £0 8s 2d 3 yards of blue camlet, £0 10s 1d Camlet, total, £0 18s 3d 7½ yards of coloured shalloon, £0 15s 0d 6¼ yards of blue broadcloth, £6 13s 10d 1¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £1 1s 3d Broadcloth, total, £7 15s 1d 1 pewter basin, £0 2s 5d 1 tea kettle holding 3 quarts, £0 13s 5d 2 flat candlesticks, £0 7s 7d Brass and copper goods, total, £1 1s 0d Total sold to the Company's servants, £905 14s 1d **Interpretations** The hooks and lines pointed to an important part of the island's diet. Servants bought 1,050 fish hooks and 96 lines in a single quarter, far more than sport required. Fish caught from the rocks and from boats was the cheapest fresh food available to soldiers and poorer families, who otherwise lived on the salt beef and pork that made up over a third of the whole collection. The hooks were numbered by size, the higher numbers being the smaller hooks, and the heavy sales of numbers 11 to 15 showed that most fishing was for small inshore fish. The woollens were the standard English cloths of the Company's export trade. Broadcloth was a fine, dense, heavily fulled wool woven on a wide loom, and at over £1 0s 0d a yard for the blue it was much the dearest fabric in the store. Scarlet and blue were the colours of the garrison's uniform coats, so these short lengths were probably for officers' clothing or for facings and repairs. Camlet was a lighter worsted cloth, sometimes mixed with goat hair or silk, used for cloaks and gowns. Shalloon was a thin twilled worsted used to line coats.

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		1.1.3 7.15.1 Pewter 1 Bason 2.5 Braziers Ware vizt. 1 Tea Kettle of 3 Quarts 13.5 2 Flat Candle Sticks 7.7 1.1 £ 905.14.1	Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, sold with the solder as the flux that cleaned the metal so the solder would take. Thread stockings were knitted from linen yarn, the cheap everyday kind at about 11d a pair. Flat candlesticks were low chamber candlesticks with a broad dish and a handle for carrying. Single and double deals differed in thickness, the same fir planks that the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* failed to deliver in full on 31 March 1766. The total of £905 14s 1d measured the servants' purchases at the privileged rate of 10 per cent above cost for one quarter. Food and drink accounted for nearly all of it, and the manufactured goods on the last three pages came to under £200 0s 0d. The pence in the sum brought over could not be read. Several of the smaller sums were closely written, and the readings of the watering pot, the stockings, the Irish linen and the shalloon rested on fine judgement of the figures.
323	318	21. April Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent Hosiers Ware 6 Prs. Boys Stockings 13.3 Long Cloth 1 Ps. B 2.16.9 Camblet vizt. 4 Yards Scarlet 18.8 3 do. Blue 11.6 1.10.2 Shalloon 7 Yards Coloured 15.9 Broad Cloth 3 1/2 yds. Scarlet 3.7.11 Kersey 1 yd. Baize 2.7 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens Ordinary 5 Sold at 40 p Cent. Sugar and Candy vizt. 917 lb Sugar 19 306 Candy 8.18.6 27.18.6 Sope 10 lb 9.9 Starch 2 lb 1.8 Lead vizt. 18 lb Sheet Lead 4.10 34 lb Shott 9.2 14 Twine vizt. 4 1/2 lb Twine 3.6 3 lb Cotton Wick 11.1 14.7 Cordage 78 lb 2.7 Oil vizt. 9 Galls. Linseed 2.9.10 1/2 4 do. Train 1.2 1/2 3 Bottles Florence 11.2 3.2.3 Pepper 4 lb 3	The storekeeper's collection for the quarter to 31 March 1766 turned next to the planters, who paid more than the Company's servants. Some goods went to them at 25 per cent above cost and others at 40 per cent. Sold to the planters at 25 per cent 6 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 15s 3d 1 piece of long cloth marked B, £2 16s 9d 4 yards of scarlet camlet, £0 18s 8d 3 yards of blue camlet, £0 11s 6d Camlet, total, £1 10s 2d 7 yards of coloured shalloon, £0 15s 9d 3¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £3 7s 11d 1 yard of baize, entered under kersey, £0 2s 7d 1 pair of men's ordinary shoes, £0 5s 0d Sold to the planters at 40 per cent 917 lb of sugar, £19 0s 0d 306 lb of sugar candy, £8 13s 6d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £27 13s 6d 10 lb of soap, £0 9s 9d 2 lb of starch, £0 1s 8d 18 lb of sheet lead, £0 4s 10d 34 lb of shot, £0 9s 2d Lead, total, £0 14s 0d 4 lb of twine, £0 3s 6d 3 lb of cotton wick, £0 11s 1d Twine, total, £0 14s 7d 78 lb of cordage, £2 0s 7d 9 gallons of linseed oil, £2 9s 10½d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 1s 2½d 3 bottles of Florence oil, £0 11s 2d Oil, total, £3 2s 3d 4 lb of pepper, £0 3s 0d 6 bowls, £0 7s 0d 6 soup plates, £0 4s 1d Chinaware, total, £0 11s 1d ½ lb of twopenny nails, £0 0s 6d 1 lb of threepenny nails, £0 1s 0¼d 14 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 10s 9½d 9 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 6s 7¾d Nails, total, £0 18s 7d 1 oar, £0 5s 6d 176 lb of flour, £2 4s 0d Carried over, £48 14s 11d **Interpretations** The Company ran three prices from one store. Its servants paid 10 per cent above cost, and the planters paid 25 per cent on cloth, stockings and shoes and 40 per cent on groceries, hardware and naval stores. The planters were free inhabitants who held land and sold their produce to the Company and the shipping, so the store treated them as customers to be profited from, where the low rate for servants worked as part of their wages. The two planters' rates also differed by kind of goods. English woollens and

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		China Ware vizt. 6 Bowls 7 6 Soop Plates 4.1 11.1 Nails vizt. 1/2 lb 2 d 6 1 3 1.[...] 1 1/2 6 10.9 1/2 9 10 6.7 1/2 18.7 Oars 1 5.6 Flour 176 lb 2.4 Carrd. over £ 48.14.11	Indian cotton carried the lighter charge, perhaps because the Directors wished to encourage their sale, and the Canton sugar and everyday consumables bore the heavier one. The same articles showed the gap in practice. A piece of long cloth marked B cost a servant £2 10s 0d in the earlier part of the collection and a planter £2 16s 9d. Men's ordinary shoes averaged about 4s 5d a pair to servants and cost a planter 5s 0d. The planters bought little. Their page ran to £48 14s 11d against £905 14s 1d sold to the servants in the same quarter, and sugar made up more than half of it. Planters fed themselves from their own land and stock and had no need of the salt meat and flour that dominated the servants' purchases, so they came to the store mainly for sugar, oil, cordage and nails. Baize was a coarse woollen cloth with a raised nap, used for linings and covers, and the storekeeper entered it under his heading for kersey as a cloth of the same class. Several sums were closely written. The readings of the boys' stockings, the soap, the threepenny nails and the flour rested on fine judgement of the figures.
324	319	Brot. over £ 48.14.11 Paint vizt. 2 Indico 5.3 32 Stone Colour 1.3.4 2 Ven Red mixed 1.5 38 Whiting 1.7 1 1/2 Copperas 1.3 1/2 15 White Lead dry 7.2 1/2 2 lb Umber 10 50 Red Lead 11.10 1/2 2.13.2 Hooks vizt. 50. No. 1 3.4 1/2 50. 13 6 1/2 3.11 Thread vizt. 3 lb Colloured 14.6 Deals 1 Single 3.2 Iron Ware vizt. 1 Scythe Stone 3 1 Hand Hatchet 2.6 9 Cupboard Locks 1.16 1 Brass Closet Lock 6 2.4.9 Tea vizt. 5 Singlo 10.5 2 Congo 4.2 14.7 Candles 74 lb 10.9.8 Ticking 8 Yards 1.15.10 Salt 1/2 Bushel [...] 10	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost in the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a running total of £48 14s 11d. Brought over, £48 14s 11d 2 lb of indigo, £0 5s 3d 32 lb of stone colour, £1 3s 4d 2 lb of Venetian red, mixed, £0 1s 5d 38 lb of whiting, £0 1s 7d 1¼ lb of copperas, £0 1s 3½d 15 lb of white lead, dry, £0 7s 2½d 2 lb of umber, £0 0s 10d 30 lb of red lead, £0 11s 10½d Paint, total, £2 13s 2d 50 fish hooks of number 1, £0 3s 4½d 50 fish hooks of number 13, £0 0s 6½d Hooks, total, £0 3s 11d 3 lb of coloured thread, £0 14s 6d 1 single deal, £0 3s 2d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 3d 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 6d 9 cupboard locks, £1 16s 0d 1 brass chest lock, £0 6s 0d Ironware, total, £2 4s 9d 5 lb of Singlo tea, £0 10s 5d 2 lb of Congo tea, £0 4s 2d Tea, total, £0 14s 7d 74 lb of candles, £10 9s 8d 8 yards of ticking, £1 15s 10d ½ bushel of salt, £0 0s 10d 3 blankets, £1 3s 6d 12 lb of rice, £0 1s 9d 1 gross of corks, £0 3s 4d 1 tin lamp, £0 1s 1d 2 beer glasses, £0 3s 4d 3 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 7s 6d 1 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 1s 0d 2¼ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 3d 6 skeins of silk, £0 4s 6d 2 skeins of mohair, £0 1s 3d Sewing goods and trimmings, total, £0 15s 6d 1 lb of coffee, £0 1s 2d 4 brushes, £0 2s 10d 1 piece of pork, £0 4s 0d 3 pieces of English canvas, £9 15s 0d 4¼ yards of black broadcloth, £4 11s 8d Total sold to the planters, £84 18s 6d **Interpretations** The planters' page gave a direct measure of the two price scales. A servant paid 2s 0d for a piece of salt pork and about 2s 2½d a pound for candles in the earlier part of the collection. A planter paid 4s 0d for

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Blankets 3 1.3.6 Rice 12 lb 1.9 Corks 1 Gross 3.4 Tin Ware 1 Lamp 1.1 Glass Ware 2 Beer Glasses 3.4 Haberdashery vizt. 3 doz. Silver C. Buttons 7.6 1 doz. Mohair do. do. 1 2 1/2 do. do. W. do. 1.3 6 Sks. Silk 4.6 2 do. Mohair 1.3 15.6 Coffee 1 lb 1.2 Turners Ware 4 Sh. Brushes 2.10 Pork 1 [...] 4 Canvas 3 Ps. English 9.15 Broad Cloth 4 1/2 yds. Black 4.11.8 £ 84.18.6	the same piece of pork and about 2s 10d a pound for candles. The surcharge on pork was therefore far above the 40 per cent of the heading, and the Company perhaps priced provisions to planters at a penal rate to keep the salt meat for the garrison. Planters were expected to live off their own stock, and the single piece sold bore that out. Candles were the planters' largest purchase after sugar, at £10 9s 8d. A farm that slaughtered cattle had tallow of its own, so purchases on that scale suggested that imported moulded candles were preferred to home-made dips or that island tallow was short. Copperas was green vitriol, iron sulphate, used to make black dye and ink and to darken wood. Umber was a brown earth pigment, and red lead was the orange-red oxide of lead used as a primer on ironwork and timber. Stone colour, at 32 lb, and red lead, at 30 lb, were paints for the outside of houses and farm buildings. Breast buttons were the smaller buttons used on waistcoats, as distinct from the larger coat buttons. The English canvas was sailcloth sold in whole pieces called bolts, at £3 5s 0d each. Planters had no ships, so it probably served for awnings, sacking and covers for carts and produce. The whole of the planters' purchases for the quarter came to £84 18s 6d, under a tenth of the £905 14s 1d sold to the Company's servants. Several of the smaller sums were closely written, and the readings of the salt, the copperas, the beer glasses and the pork rested on fine judgement of the figures.
325	320	21 April Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships from 1 Janry to the 31 March 1766 vizt. Nails vizt. 4 lb 3 d 8 6 20 10 18 20 6 40 11 Scupper 12 Spikes 2.10.5 8 Copper Rivets 5.8 2.16.1 Hooks and Lines vizt. 12 No. 2 124 3 24 4 Lines 1.3.3 100 1 50 3 Hooks 7.4 1.10.7 Grindstones 1 8.7 Deals 4 Single 12.10 Tin Ware vizt. 12 Lanthorn Leaves 5.9 1 Quart Funnel 6 1 Lamp 1.1 7.4 Oil vizt. 14 Galls. Linseed 3.17.7	The storekeeper's collection for the quarter from 1 January 1766 to 31 March 1766 then listed the goods sold to the Company's ships. 4 lb of threepenny nails, priced within the group below 8 lb of sixpenny nails, priced within the group below 20 lb of tenpenny nails, priced within the group below 12 lb of twentypenny nails, priced within the group below 6 lb of fortypenny nails, priced within the group below 11 lb of scupper nails, priced within the group below 12 lb of spikes, priced within the group below The seven kinds of nails and spikes together, £2 10s 5d 8 lb of copper rivets, £0 5s 8d Nails, total, £2 16s 1d 12 fishing lines of number 2, priced within the group below 12 fishing lines of number 3, priced within the group below 24 fishing lines of number 4, priced within the group below The three sizes of fishing lines together, £1 3s 3d 100 fish hooks of number 1, priced within the group below 50 fish hooks of number 3, priced within the group below The two sizes of fish hooks together, £0 7s 4d Hooks and lines, total, £1 10s 7d 1 grindstone, £0 8s 7d 4 single deals, £0 12s 10d 12 lantern leaves, £0 5s 9d 1 quart funnel, £0 0s 6d 1 tin lamp, £0 1s 1d Tinware, total, £0 7s 4d 14 gallons of linseed oil, £3 17s 7d 12 bottles of Florence oil, £2 4s 9d Oil, total, £6 2s 4d

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		12 Bottles Florence 2.4.9 6.2.4 Paint 10 Verdigrease 2.14.10 Braziers Ware 11 1/2 lb Copper Plate 1.3 Twine 3 Skanes 1.11.6 Canvas 1 Ps. English 3.5 Candles 60 lb 3.10 Cordage 423 11.2.11 £ 40.5	10 lb of verdigris, £2 14s 10d 11½ lb of copper plate, £1 3s 0d 3 skeins of twine, £1 11s 6d 1 piece of English canvas, £3 5s 0d 60 lb of candles, £8 10s 0d 423 lb of cordage, £11 2s 11d Total sold to the Company's ships, £40 5s 0d **Interpretations** The ships paid the planters' price. Candles cost them 2s 10d a pound, a piece of English canvas £3 5s 0d and Florence oil about 3s 9d a bottle, the same rates charged to planters at 40 per cent above cost in the same collection, where servants paid about 2s 2½d, and 2s 11d for the candles and the oil. The ships belonged to private owners who hired them to the Company, so stores drawn at the island were a sale to an outside party and were charged to the commander at the full rate. The collection gave the Council the record needed to recover the money, either in cash before the ship sailed or by a charge against the owners in London. The goods were those of a ship making repairs at the end of a long passage. Cordage was the largest item, at 423 lb for £11 2s 11d, followed by candles, canvas and linseed oil. Five homeward and outward ships lay in the road in March 1766, and the modest total of £40 5s 0d showed that they drew on the island's store only to fill gaps, since the store itself depended on what such ships brought out. Verdigris was the green pigment formed on copper by the action of vinegar, ground in oil to make a green paint for boats and cabin work. It was the dearest paint in the store, at about 5s 6d a pound. Lantern leaves were thin sheets of scraped horn fitted into a lantern in place of glass, since horn would not shatter at sea. Spikes were heavy nails several inches long for fastening planks and timbers, and copper rivets and plate served for repairs to pumps, boilers and the ship's fittings. The nails, lines and hooks were bracketed in groups with one sum for each group, and the collection gave no separate price for each size. The quantities of the fishing lines were closely written and rested on fine judgement of the figures.
326	321	1766 The Honble. Compys. Ship Adml. Stevens Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. Janry to the 31 March 1766 vizt. Hooks and Lines vizt. 12 No. 2 12 4 Lines 8.1 75 15 Hooks 7 8.8 Iron Ware 6 Gimblets 1.5 Nails 1 lb 2 d 1 3 1.5 6 Coopers Rivets 2.9 4.2 Oil 2 Galls. Linsd. 7.11 Paint 4 lb White Lead dry 1.3 Blocks vizt. 1 double Block of 4 Inches 1 do. do. of 11 do. 12 1 Single do. of 14 do. 5	The storekeeper's collection for 1766 next charged the *Admiral Stevens* with the stores issued to her between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 12 fishing lines of number 2, priced within the group below 12 fishing lines of number 4, priced within the group below The two sizes of fishing lines together, £0 8s 1d 75 fish hooks of number 15, £0 0s 7d Hooks and lines, total, £0 8s 8d 6 gimlets, £0 1s 5d 1 lb of twopenny nails, priced within the group below 1 lb of threepenny nails, priced within the group below The two sizes of nails together, £0 1s 5d 6 lb of copper rivets, £0 2s 9d Nails, total, £0 4s 2d 2 gallons of linseed oil, £0 7s 11d 4 lb of white lead, dry, £0 1s 3d 1 double block of 4 inches, priced within the group below 1 double block of 11 inches, priced within the group below The two double blocks together, £0 12s 0d 1 single block of 14 inches, £0 5s 0d Blocks, total, £0 17s 0d 103 lb of iron, £2 3s 9d 6 bushels of coals, £0 7s 6d 20 single deals, £2 4s 2d Total charged to the ship, £6 14s 10d

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		17 Iron 103 lb 2.2.9 Coals 6 Bushels 7.6 Deals 20 Single 2.4.2 £ 6.14.10 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. Janry to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Nails vizt. 215 lb 2 d 7.7.9 1/2 87 3 3.3.5 1/2 1 4 7 52 6 for the Company's Works in General 1.7.1 62 10 1.7.11 1/2 52 20 19.6 32 40 11.4 5 Coopers Rivets 2.3 1/2 17 Flooring Brads do. 5.8 1 Scupper Nails 5 15.5.3 Paint vizt. 1 1/2 Copperas 1.5 1/4 31 Barrels Blacking do. 17.5 1/4 28 Ven: Red mixed 13.10 Paint Carried over £ 1.12.8 1/2 Carried over £ 15.5.3	A second account charged the island's general expenses with stores issued over the same quarter. 215 lb of twopenny nails for the Company's works in general, £7 7s 9¼d 87 lb of threepenny nails for the Company's works in general, £3 3s 5¼d 1 lb of fourpenny nails for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 7d 52 lb of sixpenny nails for the Company's works in general, £1 7s 1d 62 lb of tenpenny nails for the Company's works in general, £1 7s 1½d 52 lb of twentypenny nails for the Company's works in general, £0 19s 6d 32 lb of fortypenny nails for the Company's works in general, £0 11s 4d 5 lb of copper rivets for the Company's works in general, £0 2s 3½d 17 lb of flooring brads for the Company's works in general, £0 5s 8d 1 lb of scupper nails for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 5d Nails, total, £15 5s 3d 1½ lb of copperas for the Company's works in general, £0 1s 5¼d 31 barrels of blacking for the Company's works in general, £0 17s 5¼d 28 lb of Venetian red, mixed, for the Company's works in general, £0 12s 10d Paint so far, carried over, £1 11s 8½d Carried over, £15 5s 3d **Interpretations** The *Admiral Stevens* was treated differently from the other ships. Their purchases were entered together as sales at the planters' rate, where she had an account of her own and was charged as a debtor at much lower prices. Her linseed oil stood at just under 4s 0d a gallon against about 5s 6d to the other ships, and her single deals at about 2s 2½d each against 3s 2½d. Those were prices at or near cost, without the 40 per cent added. The Council therefore drew a line between a vessel whose stores were an expense to be recovered in the Company's own books and the hired ships, whose owners were customers. The blocks, iron and coals marked her needs as repair work. A block was the wooden pulley through which a ship's ropes ran, measured by the length of its shell and made single or double according to the number of wheels inside. Iron and coals were smith's materials, and the island's forge probably made up bolts and fittings for her from them. Charges General was the heading in the island's books for expenditure that belonged to no single department, chiefly building and repairs to the Company's houses, stores and fortifications. Stores issued for those purposes were not sold to anyone, so the storekeeper debited them to that account at cost to clear them from his stock. The quarter's 215 lb of twopenny nails and 87 lb of threepenny nails were small nails for laths, shingles and light boarding, which pointed to roofing work in hand. The sum against the iron was closely written and rested on fine judgement of the figures, as did the pence against the twopenny nails and the Venetian red.
327	322	21. April Brot. over £ 15.5.3 Paint brought over £ 1.12.8 1/2 12 Ven: Red dry 2.6 104 Stone Colour 2.9.10 23 Pear Colour	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the island's general expenses in the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a running total of £15 5s 3d. Brought over, £15 5s 3d Paint brought over, £1 11s 8½d 12 lb of Venetian red, dry, for the Company's works in general, £0 2s 6d 104 lb of stone colour for the Company's works in general, £2 9s 10d

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		11.8 64 W Lead mixd. Compys. Works in genl. 1.4.[...] 2 Red do. 5 1/2 3/4 Umber 2 1/4 1/4 Verdigrease 11 1/4 13 Whiting 4 4 Brimstone for the Lieut. Governrs. House 10 6.2.6 Arrack 343 2/3 Galls. Sundry and Workmen in genl. 67.1.2 Candles vizt. 60 lb Castle 6 150 Council 15 32 Officers on Duty 3.4 3 Masons Empd. making a mill for Grinding Wheat 6 24.10 Turners Ware vizt. 2 Hair Brooms 4.2 1/2 7 Bowls 6.10 1/2 7 Platters 7 8 Labourers Baskets Compys. 8 Ballas do. Works 15.8 4 Plaisterers Brushes 4.8 4 Paint do. 1.10 2 Mops 2.6 1 Birch Broom do. 4 1/2 1 Scrubg. Brush 2.2 1/2 2.5.4 Oil vizt. 3 3/4 Galls. Train. Castle and Compys. Works 12.2 34 1/2 do. Linseed do. & do. 6.15.10 5 Bottles Florence Smith Shop. Doctors Shop and Armourer. 13.3 8.1.3 Sugar and Candy vizt. 113 lb Sugar for Demented plantn. House and for a Mower 1.8.3 62 Candy for the Groom Gardenr. & Doctors Shop 1.5.10 2.14.1 Tea 8 Bohea for the Groom Gardr. and mower. 7.4 Carried over £ 126.6.[11]	23 lb of pearl colour for the Company's works in general, £0 11s 8d 64 lb of white lead, mixed, for the Company's works in general, £1 4s 0d 2 lb of red lead, mixed, for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 5½d ¾ lb of umber for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 2¼d ¼ lb of verdigris for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 11¼d 13 lb of whiting for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 4d 4 lb of brimstone for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 0s 10d Paint, total, £6 2s 6d 343⅓ gallons of arrack for sundry uses and the workmen in general, £67 1s 2d 60 lb of candles for the castle, £6 0s 0d 150 lb of candles for the Council, £15 0s 0d 32 lb of candles for the officers on duty, £3 4s 0d 3 lb of candles for the masons making a mill to grind wheat, £0 6s 0d Candles, total, £24 10s 0d 2 hair brooms for the Company's works, £0 4s 2½d 7 bowls for the Company's works, £0 6s 10½d 7 platters for the Company's works, £0 7s 0d 8 labourers' baskets for the Company's works, priced within the group below 8 ballast baskets for the Company's works, priced within the group below The two kinds of baskets together, £0 15s 8d 4 plasterers' brushes for the Company's works, £0 4s 8d 4 paint brushes for the Company's works, £0 1s 10d 2 mops for the Company's works, £0 2s 6d 1 birch broom for the Company's works, £0 0s 4½d 1 scrubbing brush for the Company's works, £0 2s 2½d Brooms, brushes and wooden ware, total, £2 5s 4d 3⅞ gallons of train oil for the castle and the Company's works, £0 12s 2d 34½ gallons of linseed oil for the castle and the Company's works, £6 15s 10d 5 bottles of Florence oil for the smith's shop, the doctor's shop and the armourer, £0 13s 3d Oil, total, £8 1s 3d 113 lb of sugar for [...] at Plantation House and for a mower, £1 8s 3d 62 lb of sugar candy for the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop, £1 5s 10d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £2 14s 1d 8 lb of Bohea tea for the groom, the gardener and the mower, £0 7s 4d Carried over, £126 6s 11d **Interpretations** Arrack was the largest charge on the page and showed how the Company paid for labour. The 343⅓ gallons issued in one quarter, at £67 1s 2d, went to workmen as a daily allowance of spirits on top of their wages or rations. Soldiers, slaves and hired men employed on the fortifications and buildings expected a dram as part of the bargain, and the store issued it as a cost of the works in the same way as nails or paint. The price came to about 3s 11d a gallon, so the quarter's allowance cost more than four times all the paint used. The groom, the gardener and the mower received tea, sugar and sugar candy from the store at the Company's expense. Those men were servants of the Governor's establishment at Plantation House, the country residence, and the issue amounted to

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			payment partly in kind. Bohea, the cheapest tea, was the grade given to them, where the servants who bought for themselves chose Singlo. The 150 lb of candles for the Council compared with 60 lb for the whole castle and 32 lb for the officers on duty. The allowance covered the lighting of the councillors' own quarters and offices and formed one of the recognised perquisites of a seat at the board. The three pounds of candles for the masons recorded a project not otherwise mentioned in these pages, the building of a mill to grind wheat. The store sold 3,480 lb of wheat to servants in the same quarter, and a Company mill would turn island or imported grain into flour without dependence on the packed flour shipped from England. Brimstone was sulphur, burned to fumigate rooms against vermin and infection, which explains its issue to a house and not to the works. Pearl colour was a pale grey paint for interior woodwork. Ballast baskets were strong baskets for carrying stones and earth, used here by the labourers on the works. The word before Plantation House in the sugar entry could not be read. The small sums against the red lead, umber, verdigris, whiting and brimstone were closely written and rested on fine judgement of the figures.
328	323	1766 Brought over £ 126.6.11 Cordage 1510 lb for hauling up the Fly Crane Ropes and Compys. Work 26.14.9 Coals 105 Bushels Smiths Shop 7 Iron Ware vizt. 8 Plaisterers Trowels for the Masons 14 8 Helves for the Armorers Shop and Compys. Works 4.6 6 Sail Needles for mending Lime Bags 6 7 Stock Locks for the Lime House on Ladder Hill 1.2.9 7 Blank Keys Carpenters Shop Castle &ca. 5 1/2 25 lb Plate Iron for the Flag Staff at the main Line 9.4 3 Smiths Rubbers armorers Shop 15.8 1/2 1 Cupboard Lock Castle 2.10 1 Iron rimed do. with brass Knobs 6.7 6 Adzes for the Carpenters 1.1.7 1/2 1 Pick Ax Compys. Work 3.2 4 Hand Hatchets 7 1 Iron Beck for a Forge 18.8 3 Hd. Hammers Works at Sandy Bay 5.4 8 Shod Shovels &c 14.10 36 Masons Tools for the Masons 2.9.6 6 Sledge Hammers Works at Sandy Bay 3.10.7 6 Mauls 2.15.8 6 Bricklayers Trowels Masons 8.9 1 Chaffing Dish Castle	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the island's general expenses in 1766 went on from a running total of £126 6s 11d. Brought over, £126 6s 11d 1,510 lb of cordage for hauling up the [...], for crane ropes and for the Company's works, £26 14s 9d 105 bushels of coals for the smith's shop, £7 0s 0d 8 plasterers' trowels for the masons, £0 14s 0d 8 tool handles for the armourer's shop and the Company's works, £0 4s 6d 6 sail needles for mending lime bags, £0 0s 6d 7 stock locks for the lime house on Ladder Hill, £1 2s 9d 7 blank keys for the carpenters' shop, the castle and elsewhere, £0 0s 5½d 25 lb of plate iron for the flagstaff at the main line, £0 9s 4d 3 smith's coarse files for the armourer's shop, £0 15s 8½d 1 cupboard lock for the castle, £0 2s 10d 1 iron rim lock with brass knobs, £0 6s 7d 6 adzes for the carpenters, £1 1s 7½d 1 pickaxe for the Company's works, £0 3s 2d 4 hand hatchets, £0 7s 0d 1 iron back for a forge, for the works at Sandy Bay, £1 8s 8d 3 hand hammers for the works at Sandy Bay, £0 5s 8d 8 iron-shod shovels for the works at Sandy Bay, £0 14s 10d 36 masons' tools for the masons, £2 9s 6d 6 sledge hammers for the works at Sandy Bay, £3 10s 7d 6 mauls for the works at Sandy Bay, £2 15s 8d 6 bricklayers' trowels for the masons, £0 8s 9d 1 chafing dish for the castle, £0 6s 8d 4 ditching shovels for the works at the fortifications, £0 18s 1d 4 large frying pans for the men employed at the fortifications, £0 14s 10d 23 files for the armourer and the armoury, £0 11s 6d 4 splinter locks for the Company's works, £0 2s 0d 4 gimlets for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 11d

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		6.8 4 Ditchg. Shovels for Works at the Fortificns. 18.1 4 Large Fryg. Pans Men Empld. at do. 14.10 23 Files for the Armorer and Armory 11.6 4 Splinter Locks Company's Works 2 4 Gimblets 11 4 Gun Smiths Saws 2.15 3 Bench Hammers 5.10 1/2 5 Bastard Rubber files 16.8 3 Farriers Rasps 2.9 1 Bench Vice 12 2 Iron Squares Companys Works 3 2 Screw Plates in general 6.6 1 3/4 Bindg. Wire 1.9 2 Rag Stones 5 1/2 12 Hd. Hamr. Helves 5 1 lb Borax 14.7 1/2 1 lb Yellow Spelter 1.6 1 Pr. HL Hinges Storeuse 1.8 Iron Ware Carrd. over £ 25.12.8 Carried over £ 160.1.8	4 gunsmith's saws for the Company's works in general, £2 15s 0d 3 bench hammers for the Company's works in general, £0 5s 10½d 5 bastard files for the Company's works in general, £0 16s 8d 3 farriers' rasps for the Company's works in general, £0 2s 9d 1 bench vice for the Company's works in general, £0 12s 0d 2 iron squares for the Company's works in general, £0 3s 0d 2 screw plates for the Company's works in general, £0 6s 6d 1¾ lb of binding wire for the Company's works in general, £0 1s 9d 2 rag stones for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 5½d 12 hand hammer handles for the Company's works in general, £0 0s 5d 1 lb of borax for the Company's works in general, £0 14s 7½d 1 lb of yellow spelter for the Company's works in general, £0 1s 6d 1 pair of H hinges for the storehouse, £0 1s 2d Ironware so far, carried over, £25 12s 8d Carried over, £160 1s 8d **Interpretations** The tools pointed to a fortification under construction at Sandy Bay. That bay lay on the southern, windward coast, the one landing place on that side of the island and far from the batteries of James's Valley. The store sent six sledge hammers, six mauls, three hand hammers, eight shovels and the iron back for a forge to the works there, the equipment of a gang breaking and dressing stone with a smith on site to sharpen their tools. The 36 masons' tools and the plasterers' and bricklayers' trowels belonged to the same effort, and the four large frying pans showed that the men were fed in camp at the works. Lime bound the masonry, and the entries traced its handling. The Company kept a lime house on Ladder Hill, the height above the town, fitted that quarter with seven new locks, and the lime travelled in canvas bags mended with sail needles. Lime was scarce and costly on a volcanic island with little limestone, so the store kept it under lock. The heaviest single charge was 1,510 lb of cordage at £26 14s 9d, used for crane ropes and hauling. Every cask and bale landed at the island was lifted from a boat by crane at the landing steps, and the ropes wore out fast in salt water and surf. Several tools carried trade names. A maul was a heavy long-handled hammer for driving wedges and splitting rock. An adze was a carpenter's tool with the blade set across the handle, used to dress timber. A bastard file was one of middling coarseness, between rough and smooth. A screw plate was a hardened steel plate with threaded holes for cutting screws by hand, and a rag stone was a coarse whetstone. Borax and spelter went together as a smith's materials for brazing, borax being the flux and yellow spelter the brass solder. A chafing dish was a small brazier holding hot coals to keep food warm at table. The ironware was carried forward as a separate sub-total of £25 12s 8d and was not yet added into the running total of £160 1s 8d. The object hauled up with the cordage could not be read. Several sums were closely written, and the readings of the blank keys, the forge back and the gunsmith's saws rested on fine judgement of the figures.
329	324	21. April Brought over	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the island's general expenses in the quarter to 31

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		£ 160.1.8 Iron Ware brought over £ 25.12.8 1/2 lb Flower Emery 1/2 Corn do. for the Armory 5 1/4 2 Tenor Saw Files for the Carpenters 1.1/4 12. two foot Rules 11 26.5.2 Deals vizt. 59 Single 6.10.3 1/2 42 Double 7.3.6 12 Eiffer for the Castle and Company's Work 2 1/2 3 Baulks 1.6.6 15.2.4 Lines vizt. 48 No. 4. Carpenters & Mason's use 18.4 1 Hambro 1.7 19.11 Leather 1 Calf Skin to make Gloves 9.11 Thread 1 lb Coloured for the Lime Work 3.5 Glass vizt. 5 Sqr. 8 by 10 3.9 8 Sqr. 11 1/2 by 18 for the Lieut. Govrs. House 12 1 Sqr. 11 by 19 and for Church 1.6 17.3 Iron and Steel vizt. 133. lb Iron for the Armorers and to 1.13.3 8 1/4 Steel make tools for the Masons 3.3 1.16.6 Tin Ware vizt. 2 Tin Lamps for Sandy Bay 1.6 5 Lanth: Leaves and Offrs. Lanthorn 1.7 3.1 Corks 1 Gross Castle 2.5 Starch 3 lb for Linnen 5.2 Canvas vizt. 7 Yards English for a Cot for the Offr. at 7.10 1/2 2 do. Ozenbrigs Sandy Bay and Baskets 1.6 1/2 9.5 Lead 425 lb Sheet Lead Compys. Work and Lt. Govrs. House 3.19.8 Cart Wheels 20 Wheel Barrows do. 15.10 Pewter 1 Galln. Pot Store use 9.4 China Ware vizt. 3 China Bowls 2.6 2 Snakers 5 1 Tea pot 10 3.9	March 1766 continued from a running total of £160 1s 8d. Brought over, £160 1s 8d Ironware brought over, £25 12s 8d ½ lb of flour emery for the armoury, priced within the group below ½ lb of corn emery for the armoury, priced within the group below The two kinds of emery together, £0 0s 5¼d 2 tenon saw files for the carpenters, £0 1s 0¼d 12 two-foot rules for the carpenters, £0 11s 0d Ironware, total, £26 5s 2d 59 single deals for the castle and the Company's works, £6 10s 3½d 42 double deals for the castle and the Company's works, £7 3s 6d ½ [...] for the castle and the Company's works, £0 2s 0½d 3 baulks for the castle and the Company's works, £1 6s 6d Deals, total, £15 2s 4d 48 lines of number 4 for the carpenters and masons, £0 18s 4d 1 Hambro line for the carpenters and masons, £0 1s 7d Lines, total, £0 19s 11d 1 calf skin to make gloves for the lime works, £0 9s 11d 1 lb of coloured thread for the lime works, £0 3s 5d 5 square feet of glass 8 by 10 for the Lieutenant Governor's house and the church, £0 3s 9d 8 square feet of glass 11½ by 18 for the Lieutenant Governor's house and the church, £0 12s 0d 1 square foot of glass 11 by 19 for the Lieutenant Governor's house and the church, £0 1s 6d Glass, total, £0 17s 3d 133 lb of iron for the armourers and to make tools for the masons, £1 13s 3d 8¼ lb of steel for the armourers and to make tools for the masons, £0 3s 3d Iron and steel, total, £1 16s 6d 2 tin lamps for Sandy Bay, £0 1s 6d 5 lantern leaves for the officer's lantern, £0 1s 7d Tinware, total, £0 3s 1d 1 gross of corks for the castle, £0 2s 5d 8½ lb of starch for linen, £0 5s 2d 7 yards of English canvas for a cot for the officer at Sandy Bay and for baskets, £0 7s 10½d 2 yards of Osnaburg canvas for a cot for the officer at Sandy Bay and for baskets, £0 1s 6½d Canvas, total, £0 9s 5d 425 lb of sheet lead for the Company's works and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £3 19s 8d 20 wheelbarrows for the Company's works, entered under cart wheels, £15 10s 0d 1 pewter gallon pot for use in the store, £0 9s 4d 3 china bowls, £0 2s 6d 2 saucers, £0 0s 5d 1 teapot, £0 0s 10d Chinaware, total, £0 3s 9d Carried over, £227 2s 1d **Interpretations** The entries for Sandy Bay added an officer to the working party recorded in the earlier part of this account. He received lamps, a lantern and canvas for a cot, the hanging bed of a ship or camp, so a detachment lived at the works under his command through the quarter. The 20 wheelbarrows at £15 10s 0d, the dearest item on the page, served the same labour of moving stone and earth. The calf skin issued for gloves showed a hazard of the lime works. Quicklime burned the skin on contact, and the men who slaked and carried it needed leather gloves. The Company supplied the

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		Carried over £ 227.2.1	hide and thread and left the making to its own workmen, which was cheaper than sending finished gloves from England. The Lieutenant Governor's house drew stores throughout the collection: 500 trunk nails in the gunner's account for March 1766, brimstone in the paint, and here window glass and a share of 425 lb of sheet lead. Sheet lead covered roofs and lined gutters, so the house was under repair at the Company's expense. The pane sizes matched those landed from the *Prince of Wales* on 31 March 1766, when 4 square feet of the size 11½ by 18 were found broken. Emery was a hard mineral ground to powder for polishing metal, and the armoury used it to clean rust from muskets and bayonets. Flour emery was the finest grade and corn emery a coarser one. A baulk was a large squared timber for beams, and a Hambro line was a small three-stranded cord, named from Hamburg, used by masons and carpenters for marking straight lines. Steel was issued with the iron because a mason's chisel was forged of iron with a steel tip welded on to hold an edge.
330	325	1766 Brought over £ 227.2.1 Iron Pots vizt. 1 of 2 Gallons 3 2 of 13 1/2 do. for the Workmen 1.3.1 2 of 6 do. 12 1.18.1 Cloth vizt. 1 Ps. Long Cloth A 1.7.8 1 Ps. do. do. B for the Castle for Rubbers &ca. 2.5.5 3.13.1 Pitch and Tar 8 lb Rozin for repairs to the Lieut. Govrs. House 1.2 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens Ordinary given to Thos. Clark for a pair he lost in Swiming for a Boat to Row after the Adml. Stevens in search of some deserters 4 Masts 1 Main Cap for the Flagstaff at the main fort 1.5.4 £ 234.3.9 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. of January to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Arrack 54 Galls. 8.9.10 Flour 922 lb 7.13.8 Candy 291 6.1.3 Salt 1 7/8 Bushel 8.1 Rice 12 lb 1.3 Beef and Pork vizt. 2 Ps. Beef 6.7 9 Ps. Pork 1.5.8 1.12.3 Pepper 6 lb 3 Tea 6 Congo 8.6 £ 24.17.10	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the island's general expenses in 1766 closed with the following items, carried on from a running total of £227 2s 1d. Brought over, £227 2s 1d 1 iron pot of 2 gallons for the workmen, £0 3s 0d 2 iron pots of 13½ gallons for the workmen, £1 3s 1d 2 iron pots of 6 gallons for the workmen, £0 12s 0d Iron pots, total, £1 18s 1d 1 piece of long cloth marked A for cleaning cloths and other uses at the castle, £1 7s 8d 1 piece of long cloth marked B for cleaning cloths and other uses at the castle, £2 5s 5d Cloth, total, £3 13s 1d 8 lb of rosin for repairs to the Lieutenant Governor's house, entered under pitch and tar, £0 1s 2d 1 pair of men's ordinary shoes given to Thomas Clark, £0 4s 0d 1 main cap for the flagstaff at the main fort, £1 5s 4d. Total charged to general expenses, £234 3s 9d Thomas Clark received his shoes to replace a pair lost when he swam out to fetch a boat, which was then rowed after the *Admiral Stevens* to search her for deserters. A further account charged the Company's table with the stores issued to it between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 54 gallons of arrack, £8 9s 10d 922 lb of flour, £7 13s 8d 291 lb of sugar candy, £6 1s 3d 1⅜ bushels of salt, £0 8s 1d 12 lb of rice, £0 1s 3d 2 pieces of beef, £0 6s 7d 9 pieces of pork, £1 5s 8d Beef and pork, total, £1 12s 3d 6 lb of pepper, £0 3s 0d 6 lb of Congo tea, £0 8s 6d Total charged to the table, £24 17s 10d **Interpretations** The shoes given to Thomas Clark preserved an incident that the consultations did not otherwise record. The *Admiral Stevens* sailed with men missing from the garrison suspected to be aboard, and no boat lay ready at the landing place to follow her. Clark swam out to bring one in, a crew rowed after the ship and searched her, and he lost his shoes in the water. The Council treated the loss as incurred on duty and replaced the pair from the store at 4s 0d.

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			The entry showed the practical limit of Matthew Purling's musters of 9 April 1766: a search made at anchor could be defeated by men who hid until the ship weighed, and the island's last resort was to chase her under oars before she cleared the road. The ship charged with stores at cost on her own account earlier in this collection was therefore gone before 31 March 1766, and she left under suspicion of carrying deserters. The main cap was a ship's fitting, the heavy block of wood that held a topmast to the head of the lower mast. The flagstaff at the main fort was built like a mast in two lengths, and it was repaired that quarter with a new cap and with the 25 lb of plate iron entered earlier in the account. Signals to shipping and to the outlying posts were made from that staff. The large iron pots, two of them holding 13½ gallons, were cooking vessels for the gangs on the works, of a piece with the frying pans sent to the men at the fortifications. Rosin was the solid resin left after distilling turpentine, melted with tar to seal seams and roof joints. The table's account covered what the steward drew from the store, where his monthly account of 14 April 1766 priced what was eaten and drunk. He drew 54 gallons of arrack in the quarter and reported 32 bottles used in March 1766 alone. The table also took 291 lb of sugar candy, about ten times the 9 lb 5 oz consumed at it in March, so most of the quarter's issue went into punch or remained in the steward's hands.
331	326	21 April Blacks Dr. for the follg. Stores Issued from the 1. January to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Sugar 431 lb 5.7.9 Flour 3767 31.7.10 Rice 649 3.7.7 Oil vizt. 1/2 Gall Train 2.2 1/8 do. Linseed 6 2.8 Tea 9 3/4 lb Bohea 3.6.11 Arrack 52 1/4 Gall for the Plant. Garden and Sick Blacks 8.6.5 Beef and Pork vizt. 220 Ps. Beef 36.8.9 374 Ps. Pork 53.7.5 89.16.2 Pepper 7 lb 3.6 Sago 1467 lb 11.5.2 Shoes vizt. 37 Prs. Mens Ordinary for the Handy Craft Men 7.8 2 Prs. Women Calf Leather for a Black Woman in the Castle 5.2 7.13.2 Canvas 30 yards Engl. for the Black Artificers 1.13.9 Hooks and Lines vizt. 22 Lines No. 2 6.4 1/2 42 3 for the fisher Men	The storekeeper's collection of 21 April 1766 charged the Company's slaves with the stores issued for them between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 431 lb of sugar, £5 7s 9d 3,767 lb of flour, £31 7s 10d 649 lb of rice, £3 7s 7d ½ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 2d ⅛ gallon of linseed oil, £0 0s 6d Oil, total, £0 2s 8d 93 lb of Bohea tea, £3 6s 11d 52¼ gallons of arrack for the plantation garden and the sick slaves, £8 6s 5d 220 pieces of beef, £36 8s 9d 374 pieces of pork, £53 7s 5d Beef and pork, total, £89 16s 2d 7 lb of pepper, £0 3s 6d 1,467 lb of sago, £11 5s 2d 37 pairs of men's ordinary shoes for the slave craftsmen, £7 8s 0d 2 pairs of women's calf leather shoes for a slave woman at the castle, £0 5s 2d Shoes, total, £7 13s 2d 30 yards of English canvas for the slave craftsmen, £1 13s 9d 22 fishing lines of number 2 for the fishermen, £0 6s 4½d 42 fishing lines of number 3 for the fishermen, £0 13s 2½d 75 fish hooks of number 1 for the fishermen, £0 3s 7d 25 fish hooks of number 11 for the fishermen, £0 0s 4¾d 25 fish hooks of number 12 for the fishermen, £0 0s 3¾d 25 fish hooks of number 13 for the fishermen, £0 0s 2½d 125 fish hooks of number 15 for the fishermen, £0 0s 11d Hooks and lines, total, £1 5s 0d 4 skeins of silk for the fishermen, £0 2s 1d 12 yards of long cloth marked A for a woman in childbed, £0 6s 11d 6½ lb of lead for the fishermen, £0 1s 2d 1 skein of twine for the fishermen, £0 0s 6d

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		13.2 1/2 75 Hooks 1 3.7 25 11 4 3/4 25 12 for do. 3 3/4 25 13 2 1/2 125 15 11 1.5 Haberdashery 4 Skanes Silk do. 2.1 Long Cloth 12 Yards A for a Lying in Woman 6.11 Lead 6 1/2 for the fisher Men 1.2 Twine 1 Skain do. 6 Candles 1 lb for the Overseer to examine the Blacks House 2 Blankets 1 for a Sick Woman 5.6 £ 144.14.1	1 lb of candles for the overseer to inspect the slaves' house, £0 2s 0d 1 blanket for a sick woman, £0 5s 6d Total charged for the slaves, £164 14s 1d **Interpretations** The account set out what the Company spent from its store to keep its slaves for a quarter. Food made up nearly all of it. Salt beef and pork came to £89 16s 2d, flour to £31 7s 10d and sago to £11 5s 2d, and those issues were additional to the 96,515 yams recorded in the plantation account approved on 14 April 1766. The 594 pieces of salt meat matched the scale of the servants' own purchases, so the slaves received a regular meat ration from imported stores and were not left to live on yams alone. Sago was the unusual item. The 1,467 lb issued to the slaves compared with 135 lb bought by the Company's servants in the same quarter. It was a cheap starch from the East Indies, at under 2d a pound, and the store used it to stretch the flour and rice. The 93 lb of Bohea, the coarsest tea, and 431 lb of sugar showed that tea had already become an ordinary part of a slave's allowance on the island. The Company's slaves were not only field labourers. Thirty-seven pairs of shoes and 30 yards of canvas went to craftsmen among them, men who worked as masons, carpenters and smiths on the fortifications and buildings and who needed footwear and working clothes for that labour. A separate group worked as fishermen and drew 64 lines, 275 hooks, lead for sinkers, twine and silk for whipping hooks to lines. Their catch fed the slaves and probably the garrison, and it explains how a single quarter's store issue could be so small in fresh food. Three entries recorded care of individuals. A woman in childbed received 12 yards of the cheapest long cloth for linen, a sick woman received a blanket, and part of the arrack went to the sick as medicine. Three boys were born to the Company's slaves in January and February 1766, and the cloth was probably issued for one of those births. The pound of candles for the overseer showed a form of control. He inspected the slaves' house, the building in which the Company's slaves were lodged together at night, and he needed light to count those present and search the quarters after dark.
332	327	1766 Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. Janry to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Beef 5 Ps. 16.7 Arrack 3 1/4 Galls. 10.3 Sugar 26 lb 6.6 Rice 156 lb 15 Tea 3 lb Bohea 2.9 Oil 3/4 Gall Train 2.6 Sope 6 lb 4.1 £ 2.17.8 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1. January to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Paddy 2535 lb for poultry and Horses 6.13.2 Iron Ware vizt. 2 Stock Locks 5.10 1/2 4 Shod Shovels for the several Plantations 7.5 6 Scythes for the Garden	The storekeeper's collection for 1766 next charged an account headed Malay with the stores issued under it between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 5 pieces of beef, £0 16s 7d 3¼ gallons of arrack, £0 10s 3d 26 lb of sugar, £0 6s 6d 156 lb of rice, £0 15s 0d 3 lb of Bohea tea, £0 2s 9d ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 6d 6 lb of soap, £0 4s 1d Total charged to the Malay account, £2 17s 8d A further account charged the plantations with the stores issued to them over the same quarter. 2,535 lb of paddy for the poultry and horses, £6 13s 2d 2 stock locks for the several plantations, £0 5s 10½d 4 iron-shod shovels for the several plantations, £0 7s 5d 6 scythes for the garden, £1 11s 9d 9 garden hoes for the garden at Plantation House, £0 16s 6d 2 edging irons for the garden at Plantation House, £0 6s 8d 1 turfing iron for the garden at Plantation House, £0 2s 11½d 6 garden rakes for the garden at Plantation House, £0 14s 6d

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		1.11.9 9 Garden Hoes 18.6 2 Edging Irons for the Plantation 6.8 1 Turfing do. House Garden 2.11 1/2 6 Garden Rakes 14.6 1 Hand Hatchet for the Pastures 1.9 1 Plantn. Seive for Plantation House Gardn. 10.4 4.11.9 Cart Wheels vizt. 2 Pr. Cart Wheels 8.1.11 3 Axletrees for the Wood Cart 1.6.6 4 Wheel Barrows Muldavia Garden 3.2 12.10.5 Oil vizt. 2 3/4 Galls. Train 9.2 1/2 1/2 do. Linseed for the wood Carts 1.11 1/2 11.2 Nails vizt. 4 lb 6 d 2.1 2 10 10 1/2 6 20 for wood Carts and Sandy Bay 2.3 6 40 2.1 1/2 7.4 Lines vizt. 6. No. 3 1.11 12 4 for the Plantn. House Garden 4.7 6.6 Carried over £ 25.4	1 hand hatchet for the pastures, £0 1s 9d 1 plasterer's sieve for the garden at Plantation House, £0 4s 4d Ironware, total, £4 11s 9d 2 pairs of cart wheels for the wood cart, £8 1s 11d 3 axletrees for the wood cart, £1 6s 6d 4 wheelbarrows for the Maldivia garden, £3 2s 0d Cart wheels, total, £12 10s 5d 2¾ gallons of train oil for the wood carts, £0 9s 2½d ½ gallon of linseed oil for the wood carts, £0 1s 11½d Oil, total, £0 11s 2d 4 lb of sixpenny nails for the wood carts and Sandy Bay, £0 2s 1d 2 lb of tenpenny nails for the wood carts and Sandy Bay, £0 0s 10½d 6 lb of twentypenny nails for the wood carts and Sandy Bay, £0 2s 3d 6 lb of fortypenny nails for the wood carts and Sandy Bay, £0 2s 1½d Nails, total, £0 7s 4d 6 lines of number 3 for the garden at Plantation House, £0 1s 11d 12 lines of number 4 for the garden at Plantation House, £0 4s 7d Lines, total, £0 6s 6d Carried over, £25 0s 4d **Interpretations** The Malay account stood apart from the one for the Company's slaves and carried a single person's keep: five pieces of beef, 156 lb of rice, tea, sugar, arrack, lamp oil and soap for a quarter. Rice was the staple, where the slaves were fed on flour, yams and sago, and the allowance included soap, which the slaves' account did not. The Company's settlements in Sumatra sent political prisoners and exiles to St Helena, and the account was perhaps the maintenance of one such man, kept at the Company's cost on a ration suited to his own diet. He cost £2 17s 8d for the quarter. Paddy was rice still in the husk, the cheapest form in which it was shipped from the East. The plantations drew 2,535 lb of it as feed for the poultry and the nine horses and mares counted in the plantation account approved on 14 April 1766. The island therefore fed part of its livestock on imported grain, since its own land grew too little corn to spare any for animals. The wood cart was the heaviest charge, at nearly £10 0s 0d for wheels and axletrees. Fuel was a constant difficulty on an island largely stripped of trees, and the Company kept carts to haul firewood from the interior to the town and the garrison. The oil was for greasing the axles and treating the timber, and wheels wore out quickly on steep, rocky tracks. Two gardens appeared by name. Plantation House, the Governor's country residence, received scythes, hoes, rakes, an edging iron for trimming the borders of lawns and a turfing iron for cutting and lifting turf, the tools of an ornamental garden kept in the English manner. Maldivia was a Company garden in the upper part of James's Valley, which grew vegetables and fruit for the table and the shipping. The lines issued to the garden were for setting out straight beds and rows.
333	328	21 April Brought over £ 25.4 Turners Ware vizt. 1 Yoak for Oxen 18.1 2 Ox Bows for the Oxhen	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the plantations in the quarter to 31 March 1766 closed with the following items, carried on from a running total of £25 0s 4d. Brought over, £25 0s 4d 1 yoke for the oxen, £0 13s 1d 2 ox bows for the oxen, £0 2s 8d

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		2.8 18 B. Brooms for the Plantation House Gard. 7.1 1.7.10 Cordage 16 lb Ropes for the Castle 5.8 Deals 3 double for makg. a Cart 10.3 Tin Ware vizt. 3 Watering Pots Plantn. House Garden 1.12.4 1 Tin Lamp for the Long Wood 9 1.13.1 Cutlery Ware vizt. 2 Budding Knives 1.11 12 Pruning do. Plantn. House Gard. 11.6 13.5 £ 29.10.7 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. January to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Tea 90 lb Bohea 4.2.6 Oil vizt. 67 Galls. Train 11.4.9 46 do. Linseed for the several Guards 9.1.1 20.5.10 Lines 2 Whip Cord for makg. Whips 5.11 Twine 4 Skains for mendg. Bags 2 Iron Ware vizt. 3 Sail Needles for mendg. Bags 3 1 Pr. Sheep Shears Artilly. Company 1.4 2 Blank Keys do. 1.5 3 Arrack 166 2/3 Galls. for Drams 26.2.7 Deals 6 Single for Coffins 15.3 Nails 6 lb 6 d do. 3.1 Candles 2 1/2 for the Offrs. Guard Room 5 Blankets 1 for the Second Compy. 5.6 Broad Cloth vizt. 72 1/4 yds. Scarlet 73.12.1 19 1/4 yds. Blue to Cloath the Officers 17.15.6 91.7.7 Carried over £ 143.16.3	13 birch brooms for the garden at Plantation House, £0 7s 1d Wooden ware, total, £1 7s 10d 16 lb of rope for the castle, £0 5s 8d 3 double deals for making a cart, £0 10s 3d 8 watering pots for the garden at Plantation House, £1 12s 4d 1 tin lamp for Longwood, £0 0s 9d Tinware, total, £1 13s 1d 2 budding knives for the garden at Plantation House, £0 1s 11d 12 pruning knives for the garden at Plantation House, £0 11s 6d Knives, total, £0 13s 5d Total charged to the plantations, £29 10s 7d A further account charged the garrison with the stores issued to it between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 90 lb of Bohea tea, £4 2s 6d 67 gallons of train oil for the several guards, £11 4s 9d 46 gallons of linseed oil for the several guards, £9 1s 1d Oil, total, £20 5s 10d 2 lb of whipcord for making whips, £0 5s 11d 4 skeins of twine for mending bags, £0 2s 0d 3 sail needles for mending bags, £0 0s 3d 1 pair of sheep shears for the artillery company, £0 1s 4d 2 blank keys for the artillery company, £0 1s 5d Ironware, total, £0 3s 0d 166⅓ gallons of arrack for drams, £26 2s 7d 6 single deals for coffins, £0 13s 3d 6 lb of sixpenny nails for coffins, £0 3s 1d 2½ lb of candles for the officers' guard room, £0 5s 0d 1 blanket for the second company, £0 5s 6d 72¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth to clothe the officers, £73 12s 1d 19¼ yards of blue broadcloth to clothe the officers, £17 15s 6d Broadcloth, total, £91 7s 7d Carried over, £143 16s 3d **Interpretations** The Company clothed its officers as well as its men. The store issued 72¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth and 19¼ yards of blue at £91 7s 7d, the largest sum in the garrison's account, for officers' uniform coats of red faced with blue. The cloth went out as a charge on the garrison and was not sold, so a commission on the island carried a free issue of the finest fabric in the store. The servants who bought the same blue broadcloth for themselves in that quarter paid over £1 0s 0d a yard. Whipcord was thin, hard-twisted cord, and the two pounds issued for making whips supplied the lashes used for flogging. Corporal punishment of soldiers and slaves was ordered by the Council and carried out by the garrison, which made up its own instruments from store materials. The six deals and six pounds of nails for coffins recorded burials at the Company's expense. A single deal made roughly one side or lid, so the quantity covered perhaps two coffins, and the charge to the garrison marked the dead as soldiers. The plantation account for the same quarter listed two men and a boy among the Company's slaves who died in February 1766, but their burials were not charged here. The arrack was issued as drams, the measured daily tot of spirits served to soldiers on duty. The garrison's 166⅓ gallons stood beside 343⅓ gallons given to workmen and 52¼ to the plantation garden and sick slaves, so the store issued over 560 gallons of spirits in the quarter as an allowance of one kind or another.

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			The 67 gallons of train oil lit the lamps of the guard posts round the island through the night, and the linseed oil was probably for oiling musket stocks and woodwork at those posts. Longwood was the Company's large plantation and pasture on the eastern plateau. An ox bow was the curved wooden collar that passed under the animal's neck and fastened up into the yoke, and the plantation account showed 20 working oxen at 31 March 1766.
334	329	1766 Brought over £ 143.16.3 Shalloon 120 yds. Scarlet for the Officers Cloathing 13.15 Buckram 48 yds. for do. 2.4 Shirts 2 Prs. Irish Linnen do. 3.4.8 Haberdashery vizt. 80 Sks. Silk 2.1.8 80 do. Mohair for do. 1.15 48 doz. Silver C. Buttons 11.4 40 doz. do. Bt. do. for do. 4.16.8 19.17.4 Hats 16 Officers 24.17.4 Thread 4 lb Coloured for do. 13.8 £ 208.8.3 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. Janry to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Sugar 400 lb 5 Rice 263 lb 1.5 Flour 366. 2.13.5 Salt 1 3/4 Bushels 8.9 Sago 136 lb 3.16.6 Oil vizt. 7 1/2 Galls. Train 1.3.11 6 1/2 do. Linseed 1.5.7 2.9.6 Tin Ware 3 Lamps 2.3 Iron Ware vizt. 2 Sail Needles for Sackg. Mattrasses 2 2 Blank Keys 1.5 1 Pr. HL Hinges 1.8 3.3 Twine vizt. 1 Skane Twine 6 1/2 lb Cotton Wick 1.4 1.10 Thread 1 lb Coloured for makg. Matrasses 3.5 Canvas 49 yds. Ozenbrigs for do. 1.18.9 £ 18.2.8	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the garrison in 1766 closed with the following items, carried on from a running total of £143 16s 3d. Brought over, £143 16s 3d 120 yards of scarlet shalloon for the officers' clothing, £13 15s 0d 48 yards of buckram for the officers' clothing, £2 4s 0d 2 pieces of Irish linen for shirts for the officers' clothing, £3 4s 8d 80 skeins of silk for the officers' clothing, £2 1s 8d 80 skeins of mohair for the officers' clothing, £1 5s 0d 48 dozen silver coat buttons for the officers' clothing, £11 4s 0d 40 dozen silver breast buttons for the officers' clothing, £4 16s 8d Sewing goods and trimmings, total, £19 7s 4d 16 officers' hats, £24 7s 4d 4 lb of coloured thread for the officers' clothing, £1 13s 8d Total charged to the garrison, £208 8s 3d A further account charged the hospital with the stores issued to it between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 400 lb of sugar, £5 0s 0d 263 lb of rice, £1 5s 0d 366 lb of flour, £2 13s 5d 1¼ bushels of salt, £0 8s 9d 496 lb of sago, £3 16s 6d 7⅛ gallons of train oil, £1 3s 11d 6½ gallons of linseed oil, £1 5s 7d Oil, total, £2 9s 6d 3 tin lamps, £0 2s 3d 2 sail needles for sewing sacking mattresses, £0 0s 2d 2 blank keys, £0 1s 5d 1 pair of H hinges, £0 1s 2d Ironware, total, £0 3s 3d 1 skein of twine, £0 0s 6d ½ lb of cotton wick, £0 1s 4d Twine, total, £0 1s 10d 1 lb of coloured thread for making mattresses, £0 3s 5d 49 yards of Osnaburg canvas for making mattresses, £1 18s 9d Total charged to the hospital, £18 2s 8d **Interpretations** The entries completed a full uniform issue for the garrison's officers. The broadcloth entered earlier in this account made the coats, the scarlet shalloon lined them, the buckram stiffened the skirts and collars, and the silk and mohair sewed the seams and worked the buttonholes. The 16 hats fixed the number of officers at 16, and the 88 dozen silver buttons came to 66 for each man, about the number on a laced coat and waistcoat of the period. The hats cost £1 10s 5½d each, far above the 19s 4½d paid for the men's hats sold to servants in the same collection, and were laced. The whole issue of cloth, trimmings and hats came to about £156 0s 0d, or nearly £10 0s 0d an officer, three quarters of everything the store charged to the garrison in the quarter.

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			The store issued materials and not finished coats. Tailors on the island, probably soldiers of the garrison working at their trade, cut and made up each uniform, which let the Company ship compact bales of cloth and avoid the cost and misfit of clothing made in London for men it never measured. The hospital's account showed a sick diet built on sugar, sago, rice and flour, with no salt meat at all. Sago boiled with sugar made a thin, easily digested gruel, the standard food for fever and dysentery patients, and the hospital drew 496 lb of it against 366 lb of flour. Fresh meat and broth for the sick came from the Company's stock and were not charged through the store. The hospital made its own bedding that quarter. The 49 yards of Osnaburg canvas, sewn with sail needles and coloured thread, made sacking mattresses to be stuffed with straw or dried grass, enough for perhaps eight or ten beds. The oil and cotton wick fed the lamps that burned in the wards through the night.
335	330	21 April Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1. January to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Pork 2 Ps. 6.7 Nails vizt. 1 lb 2 d 8 1/2 4 3 2.11 2 4 1.2 6 6 for the Boats in general 3.1 1/2 6 10 2.7 1/2 1 40 4 1/4 8 20 3.1/2 13.11 Paint vizt. 6 Ven. Red mixed 2.9 1 yellw. Oaker do. 2 1/2 1 lb Copperas do. 2 1/2 25 Ven Red dry 5.2 16 Brimstone 3.4 11.8 Arrack 1 1/2 Gall. for men employed in the Long Boat 5.1 Cordage 1831. lb for the Boats in general 32.8.5 Oil vizt. 4 1/2 Galls. Linseed do. 17.8 1/4 do. Train 10 18.6 Twine 2 Sks. for the Long Boat 1 Oars 14 for the Yaul and do. 2.14.6 Leather 14 1/4 Sole do. 11.11 Bunting 2 1/2 yds. Red do. 1.9 Candles 1 lb do. 2 Lead 9 1/2 Sheet for the Yaul	The storekeeper's collection of 21 April 1766 charged the Company's boats with the stores issued for them between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 2 pieces of pork, £0 6s 7d 1 lb of twopenny nails for the boats in general, £0 0s 8½d 4 lb of threepenny nails for the boats in general, £0 2s 11d 2 lb of fourpenny nails for the boats in general, £0 1s 2d 6 lb of sixpenny nails for the boats in general, £0 3s 1½d 6 lb of tenpenny nails for the boats in general, £0 2s 7½d 1 lb of fortypenny nails for the boats in general, £0 0s 4½d 8 lb of twentypenny nails for the boats in general, £0 3s 0½d Nails, total, £0 13s 11d 6 lb of Venetian red, mixed, for the boats in general, £0 2s 9d 1 lb of yellow ochre, mixed, for the boats in general, £0 0s 2½d ¼ lb of copperas for the boats in general, £0 0s 2½d 25 lb of Venetian red, dry, for the boats in general, £0 5s 2d 16 lb of brimstone for the boats in general, £0 3s 4d Paint, total, £0 11s 8d 1¼ gallons of arrack for the men employed in the longboat, £0 5s 1d 1,831 lb of cordage for the boats in general, £32 8s 5d 4½ gallons of linseed oil for the boats in general, £0 17s 8d ¼ gallon of train oil for the boats in general, £0 0s 10d Oil, total, £0 18s 6d 2 skeins of twine for the longboat, £0 1s 0d 14 oars for the yawl and the longboat, £2 14s 6d 14¾ lb of sole leather for the yawl and the longboat, £0 11s 11d 2½ yards of red bunting for the yawl and the longboat, £0 1s 9d 1 lb of candles for the yawl and the longboat, £0 2s 0d 9¾ lb of sheet lead for the yawl, £0 1s 9d 1 hand hatchet for the English boat, £0 1s 9d 26 lb of rosin for the boats in general, £0 3s 9d 1 barrel and 4 gallons of tar for the boats in general, £1 2s 3d Pitch and tar, total, £1 6s 0d

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		1.9 Iron Ware 1 Hd. Hatchet Engn. Boat 1.9 Pitch & Tar vizt. 26 Rozin 3.9 1 Barl. and 14 Galls. Tar Boats in Genl. 1.2.3 1.6 Deals 1 Elm Board to make a Rudder for the Long Boat 3.9 £ 40.8.7	1 elm board to make a rudder for the longboat, £0 3s 9d Total charged to the boats, £40 8s 7d **Interpretations** Cordage accounted for four fifths of the charge. The boats took 1,831 lb of rope at £32 8s 5d in one quarter, more than the 1,510 lb issued for the cranes and works and more than four times the 423 lb sold to the Company's ships. St Helena had no harbour, so every boat lay at a mooring in the open road or was hauled up the rocks, and all goods and water went between ship and shore under oars through a heavy swell. Mooring ropes, painters and hauling lines chafed through quickly in those conditions, and rope became the island's most heavily consumed naval store. The other materials were those of routine boat repair. Tar and rosin were melted together and paid into the seams over the caulking. Brimstone was mixed into the coating spread on a boat's bottom, since sulphur helped to keep off the shipworm that bored into planking in warm water. Venetian red was the cheap paint for the hulls, sole leather was nailed round the oars where they bore on the gunwale, and sheet lead patched leaks and lined the wear points. Red bunting was the thin woollen stuff for flags, here enough to mend an ensign. The longboat drew a new elm rudder, oars and twine, and the arrack went to her crew as their working allowance. The Council bought a second longboat from Captain Wyche of the *Salisbury* for £30 0s 0d on 14 April 1766, which the wear recorded in this account helped to explain. A longboat was the largest of the island's boats and carried water casks and heavy stores, where the yawl was a lighter rowing boat for passengers and messages.
336	331	1766 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1. January to the 31. March 1766 vizt. Iron & Steel vizt. 248. lb Iron 3.2 9 lb Steel for Banks's Cullis 3.7 3.5.7 Nails vizt. 4 lb 2 d 2.9 8 6 4.2 8 10 for Ruperts. Banks's Cullis 3.6 2 20 and Flag Staff at the main Fort 9 10 40 3.6 32 Spikes 10 1/4 Glazg. Brads 5 1.5.1 Oil vizt. 1 Galloon Linseed 3.11 3/8 do. Train 1.3 5.2 Arrack 1 1/4 Galls. for men employed at Banks's 3.11 Lead 116 lb Sheet for Banks's Cullis 1.1.9 Lines 6 No. 4 do. 2.3 Deals 50 Single	The storekeeper's collection for 1766 charged the fortifications with the stores issued to them between 1 January 1766 and 31 March 1766. 248 lb of iron for the cullis at Banks's, £3 2s 0d 9 lb of steel for the cullis at Banks's, £0 3s 7d Iron and steel, total, £3 5s 7d 4 lb of twopenny nails for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 2s 9d 8 lb of sixpenny nails for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 4s 2d 8 lb of tenpenny nails for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 3s 6d 2 lb of twentypenny nails for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 0s 9d 10 lb of fortypenny nails for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 3s 6d 32 lb of spikes for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 10s 0d ¼ lb of glazing brads for Rupert's, the cullis at Banks's and the flagstaff at the main fort, £0 0s 5d Nails, total, £1 5s 1d 1 gallon of linseed oil, £0 3s 11d ⅜ gallon of train oil, £0 1s 3d Oil, total, £0 5s 2d 1¼ gallons of arrack for the men employed at Banks's, £0 3s 11d 116 lb of sheet lead for the cullis at Banks's, £1 1s 9d 6 lines of number 4 for the cullis at Banks's, £0 2s 3d 50 single deals, £5 10s 5d 2 skeins of twine, £0 1s 0d 6 lb of whiting, £0 0s 2d 7 lb of plate iron for the cullis at Banks's, £0 2s 7d 1 stock lock for Rupert's, £0 2s 11d Ironware, total, £0 5s 6d Total charged to the fortifications, £12 0s 10d

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		5.10.5 Twine 2 Sks. 1 Paint 6 lb Whiting 2 Iron Ware vizt. 7 Plate Iron for Banks's Cullis 2.7 1 Stock Lock for Ruperts 2.11 5.6 £ 12.10 Sandy Bay Fortification Dr. Deals 7 Single 15.5 1 Wainscott Board 6.9 1.2.2 Nails vizt. 5 lb 3 d 2.2 6 4 3.6 6 6 3.1 1/2 3 20 1.1 1/2 2 40 8 10.7 Carried over £ 1.12.9	A separate account charged the new fortification at Sandy Bay with stores over the same quarter. 7 single deals, £0 15s 5d 1 wainscot board, £0 6s 9d Deals, total, £1 2s 2d 5 lb of threepenny nails, £0 2s 2d 6 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 3s 6d 6 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 3s 1½d 3 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 1s 1½d 2 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 0s 8d Nails, total, £0 10s 7d Carried over, £1 12s 9d **Interpretations** The Council kept a separate account for Sandy Bay, apart from the one for the existing fortifications. Repairs at Banks's, Rupert's and the main fort were ordinary upkeep, charged together under one heading. The work at Sandy Bay was new construction, and a distinct account let the Directors see what that single project cost and judge it on its own. The tools, lamps, cot and wheelbarrows sent there earlier in this collection were entered under general expenses, so the Sandy Bay account proper took only the materials built into the work itself. A cullis was a gutter or channel, the term used by builders for a grooved watercourse along a roof or wall. The one at Banks's took 248 lb of iron, 116 lb of sheet lead and plate iron, which pointed to a lead-lined channel carried on iron brackets. Banks's battery stood on a dry, exposed stretch of coast with no spring, and a channel of that kind was probably built to lead rainwater or a piped supply to the guard there. The men who worked on it drew their arrack allowance on the spot. Rupert's was the battery and line across the mouth of Rupert's Valley, the next bay east of James's Valley and the nearest landing place to the town that an enemy could use. It received a new lock that quarter, and the flagstaff at the main fort took a share of the nails for the repair recorded with its new cap and plate iron. A wainscot board was a plank of fine-grained oak, imported from the Baltic and used for panelling, doors and furniture. It cost 6s 9d against about 2s 2½d for a fir deal, and at Sandy Bay it probably made a door or shutter for the guardhouse.
337	332	21. April Brought over £ 1.12.9 Iron Ware 2 Stock Locks 2.11 Braziers Ware 1 Bottling Cock 3.4 Tin Ware 2 Lamps 1.6 Oil 1/2 Galln. Train 1.8 Blocks 1 Iron bound for hoisting things out of the Long B. 6.5 Turners Ware 24 Labrs. Baskets 1.3.6 £ 3.12.1 St. Helena 31. March 1766. Errors Excepted. (signed) Js. Cowell Storekeepr. List of the Honorable Compys. Officers, and Servants upon the Island St. Helena, with their several Salys. Diet Money &ca. for the Quarter commencing the 01 Janry and ending the 31. March 1766 vizt. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Saly.	The storekeeper's account of stores charged to the fortification at Sandy Bay closed on 21 April 1766 with the following items, carried on from a running total of £1 12s 9d. Brought over, £1 12s 9d 2 stock locks, £0 2s 11d 1 bottling cock, £0 3s 4d 2 tin lamps, £0 1s 6d ½ gallon of train oil, £0 1s 8d 1 iron-bound block for hoisting goods out of the longboat, £0 6s 5d 24 labourers' baskets, £1 3s 6d Total charged to the Sandy Bay fortification, £3 12s 1d James Bowell signed the whole collection as storekeeper at St Helena on 31 March 1766, subject to correction of any errors. The paymaster's account followed. It listed the Company's officers and servants on the island with the salary, diet money and other allowances due to each for the quarter from 1 January 1766 to 31 March 1766. Governor Skottowe, salary, £125 0s 0d Governor Skottowe, customary allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d Governor Skottowe, total, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d

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		125 do. Allowance for Servants as Usual 31.14.9 156.14.9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut Governor Saly. 62.10 do. Diet Money 25 87.10 Matthew Purling 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 Mitchell Engineer Saly. 50 do. Diet Money 25 do. House Rent 2.10 77.10 Carried over £ 394.4.9	Daniel Corneille, total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling, member of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, salary as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, total, £62 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, diet money, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Archibald Mitchell, total, £77 10s 0d Carried over, £394 4s 9d **Interpretations** The list showed how thinly the Company paid in salary and how much it added in other forms. The Governor drew £500 0s 0d a year and the Lieutenant Governor £250 0s 0d, but a seat on the Council carried only £60 0s 0d a year for Purling and £30 0s 0d for Kirkpatrick. Purling's income was built up from four separate heads, with a second salary as accountant, diet money and a gratuity each equal to or greater than his pay as councillor. The Directors kept fixed salaries low and used allowances and gratuities, which they could grant or withhold, to reward particular men. Diet money was a cash payment in place of board at the Company's table. Corneille and Mitchell each received £100 0s 0d a year under that head and Purling £60 0s 0d, where the Governor received none because the table was kept in his house at the Company's cost. House rent, at £10 0s 0d a year, went to officers for whom the Company had no quarters. Kirkpatrick's £10 0s 0d for the quarter covered only his place on the Council, since his pay as a captain of the garrison fell under the military list. He remitted £400 0s 0d to England by bills on 7 April 1766, a sum equal to more than 13 years of his council salary. The Governor remitted £300 0s 0d on 9 April 1766, nearly two quarters of his whole pay. Those remittances showed that the senior men's real earnings came from private trade with the shipping and from their plantations, and not from the Company's wages. Archibald Mitchell, the engineer, signed the gunner's account of artillery stores for March 1766 and so had charge of the ordnance as well as the works. His £200 0s 0d a year in salary exceeded that of any councillor below the Lieutenant Governor, which reflected the weight the Company placed on the new fortification at Sandy Bay and the repairs at Banks's and Rupert's. A bottling cock was a brass tap fitted to a cask for drawing off liquor into bottles, issued here for the arrack or water kept for the men at Sandy Bay. The block for hoisting goods out of the longboat showed that materials for that work went round the island by sea and were lifted ashore at the bay, where no road fit for carts crossed the central ridge.
338	333	1766 Brot. over £ 394.4.9 John Thackery Chaplain Saly. 25 do. Diet Money 15 40 Matthew Bazett Secretarys Saly. 17.10 do. Diet Money	The paymaster's list of the Company's officers and servants for the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a running total of £394 4s 9d. Brought over, £394 4s 9d 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

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		15 do. House Rent 2.10 35 James Cowell Storekeepers Saly. 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 to the Governor 10 30 Jonathan Doveton Factor Saly. 7.10 do. Diet Money 10 do. Assistant Storekr. 5 22.10 Britannicus Knight Writer Saly. 5 do. Diet 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. 12.6.9 do. Schoolmaster 3.8.3 15.15 John Bridgwaters 10 days Saly. 1.10 Samuel Alexander Overseers 7.10 Daniel Tong 13.7 20.17 William Holbrook Master Mason Saly. 30 Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Saly. 19.10 49.10 John Robinson Carpenters Saly. 25 Joseph Chamberlain do. Mate Saly. 8.15 33.15 Phillip Mahoney Clark of the Peace	James Bowell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Bowell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Bowell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Bowell, 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, allowance as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £30 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, allowance as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, total, £22 10s 0d Britannicus Knight, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Knight, diet money, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Knight, house rent, £2 10s 0d Britannicus Knight, total, £17 10s 0d John Goodwin, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £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, judge advocate, salary, £12 6s 9d Richard Beale, salary as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, total, £15 15s 0d John Bridgwater, salary for 10 days, £1 10s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Daniel Long, overseer, £13 7s 0d Overseers, total, £20 17s 0d William Holbrook, master mason, salary, £30 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d Masons, total, £49 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £25 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, salary, £8 15s 0d Carpenters, total, £33 15s 0d Philip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Carried over, £761 11s 9d **Interpretations** The civil servants were paid by the Company's graded ranks, and the salaries attached to those ranks were nominal. A writer, the junior clerk, drew £20 0s 0d a year and a factor, the next step, £30 0s 0d. Diet money of £40 0s 0d a year doubled or trebled that sum for each man, so the allowance in place of board was worth more than the salary itself. The scale was the one used in the Company's Indian settlements, where a young man was expected to live on allowances and to make his fortune by private trade as he rose. The skilled tradesmen were paid on a different footing and came out ahead. William Holbrook, the master mason, drew £120 0s 0d a year in plain salary, more than the chaplain's £100 0s 0d and three times the surgeon's £39 0s 0d. John Robinson, the carpenter, had £100 0s 0d and Thomas Townsend, the stonemason, £78 0s 0d. The Company had to recruit such men in England at a market wage and send them out under contract, since the island could not supply their skills, and the fortification at Sandy Bay depended on them. Several men on the list held more than one post. Wrangham added £40 0s 0d a year as assistant to the Governor and Doveton £20 0s 0d as assistant storekeeper. Richard Beale served as both judge advocate, the officer who conducted prosecutions

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		10 Carrd. over £ 761.11.9	before the Council sitting as a court, and schoolmaster. The surgeon's low salary assumed that he would earn fees from private patients and from the ships. The list also showed who filled the parish offices chosen on 31 March 1766. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, was one of the three men nominated for sheriff, and Samuel Alexander, an overseer on the Company's plantations at £30 0s 0d a year, was the one the Council appointed. James Bowell, the storekeeper, was returned as coroner. The inhabitants' nominations therefore fell largely on the Company's own paid servants. John Bridgwater was paid for ten days only, which marked a man who entered or left the service within the quarter. Philip Mahoney, the clerk of the peace, kept the records of the island's sessions and received a flat £10 0s 0d with no allowances.
339	334	21. April Brought over £ 761.11.9 John Bazett Superintendant over the HCompys. Slaves 10 James Black Gardener 10 James Torbet Cooper 18.15 George Bazett Steward 7.10 Saml. Perry Clock and Instrument Cleanr. 1.5 Thomas Bayne Overs. of the HCompys. Workmn. 6.16.10 1/2 Zedekiah Saunderson Groom 2.[...] John Dobson Armorer 10.10 Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6.5 John Cresswell 1. Coxon of the Long Boat 7.10 Willm. French 2d. do. 5 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7.10 William Smith Clark 5 To the Drum Major for instructg. the young Drummers this Quarter 1 89.1.10 1/2 First Company Thos. Kirkpatrick Capt. Saly. 45.12.6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Samuel Desfountain Lieut Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Solomon Jacob Adjutant Saly. 22.16.3 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 29.13.1 1/2 Serjeants Phillip Mahoney	The paymaster's list for the quarter to 31 March 1766 went on from a running total of £761 11s 9d with the remaining civil servants and the first company of the garrison. Brought over, £761 11s 9d John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d James Black, gardener, £10 0s 0d James Torbet, cooper, £8 15s 0d George Bazett, steward, £7 10s 0d Samuel Berry, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Bayne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d John Dobson, armourer, £10 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Cresswell, first coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d William French, second coxswain of the longboat, £5 0s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d The drum major, for teaching the young drummers that quarter, £1 0s 0d Total for these servants, £89 1s 10½d 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 Deffountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Deffountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Deffountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Deffountain, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob, total, £29 13s 1½d Philip Mahoney, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bayne, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Bannister, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Henry Howell, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Anthony Reynolds, corporal until his reduction on 17 February 1766, £2 16s 0d Anthony Reynolds, sentinel from 18 February 1766, £1 16s 7d Corporals so far, carried over, £4 12s 7d Carried over, £1,011 11s 4d **Interpretations** The military pay was reckoned by the day and the civil pay by the year. Kirkpatrick's £45 12s 6d was exactly 10s 0d a day for the 91¼ days of a quarter, a lieutenant's £18 5s 0d was 4s 0d a day, the adjutant's £22 16s 3d was 5s 0d and a sergeant's £7 12s 1d was 1s 8d. The officers' diet money of £6 16s 10½d

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		7.12.1 Thomas Bayne 7.12.1 William Bannister 7.12.1 Henry Howell 7.12.1 30.8.4 Corporals Anthony Reynolds 17th. Febry Reduced 2.16 do. Centinel from 18th. do. 1.16.1/2 Corporals Carried over £ 4.12.1/2 Carrd. over £ 1011.11.4	followed the same rule at 1s 6d a day, against the round £10 0s 0d or more allowed to civil servants. The garrison was therefore paid on the footing of a regiment, with a daily rate that stopped on the day a man died, deserted or was broken. Anthony Reynolds showed that rule in operation. He was reduced from corporal to the ranks on 17 February 1766, and the paymaster split his quarter at that date, giving him a corporal's rate for 48 days and a private's for the remaining 42. Reduction was the standard punishment for a non-commissioned officer, ordered by the Council or a court martial, and it cut his pay by about a quarter from the next morning. Several soldiers held paid civil posts on top of their military pay. Solomon St Maurice was lieutenant of the first company and master at arms, the officer in charge of drill and small-arms training. Sergeant Thomas Bayne was overseer of the Company's workmen at 1s 6d a day. Sergeant Philip Mahoney was clerk of the peace at £40 0s 0d a year, more than his sergeant's pay. The Company filled its minor offices from the garrison because the island held few other literate men, and the extra pay bound its best sergeants to the service. Kirkpatrick's two entries gave his whole official income. His £182 10s 0d a year as captain and £40 0s 0d as councillor made £222 10s 0d, set against the £400 0s 0d he remitted to England on 7 April 1766. Three members of the Bazett family drew pay in the quarter: Matthew as secretary, John as superintendent of the slaves and George as steward of the Company's table. Henry Bazett was also made a churchwarden on 31 March 1766. Lieutenant Samuel Deffountain shared a surname with Matthew Deffountain, whose daughter Elizabeth died on 15 April 1766. A handful of island families supplied much of the Company's local establishment. The drum major's £1 0s 0d paid for training boys as drummers, the usual way for sons of soldiers to enter the garrison. The clock and instrument cleaner kept the castle clock and the Company's surveying and navigational instruments in order for £5 0s 0d a year.
340	335	1766 Brought over £ 1011.11.4 Corporals brought over £ 4.12.1/2 Joseph Stacey 5.6.5 1/2 Willm. Bunn 5.6.5 1/2 Thomas Berwick 5.6.5 1/2 20.11.5 Drummers Richard Platfoot 5.6.5 1/2 Joseph Beachum 5.6.5 1/2 10.12.11 Centinels John Stewart Cadet 3.16.1/2 John Allis 3.16.1/2 John Aitenstale Died the 22d. January 18.4 John Allman 3.16.1/2 James Avery 3.16.1/2 James Armstrong 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's list of the first company for 1766 continued from a running total of £1,011 11s 4d with the remaining corporals, the drummers and the first of the sentinels. Brought over, £1,011 11s 4d Corporals brought over, £4 12s 0½d Joseph Stacy, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Bunn, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Berwick, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £20 11s 5d Richard Platfoot, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Beacham, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d John Stewart, cadet, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Allis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Archinstale, sentinel, died 22 January 1766, £0 18s 4d John Allman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Avery, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Buckmans, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Moses Biffin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Bull, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Belford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Bryan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Emanuel Bunner, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Benson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		John Brown 3.16.1/2 John Buckmans 3.16.1/2 Thomas Blake 3.16.1/2 Moses Biffin 3.16.1/2 John Bull 3.16.1/2 John Barnes 3.16.1/2 David Belford 3.16.1/2 Timothy Bryen 3.16.1/2 Emanuel Bunner 3.16.1/2 William Benson 3.16.1/2 Edward Cocker 3.16.1/2 Henry Crabb. deserted 3d. February 1.8.4 William Clifford 3.16.1/2 Patrick Conner 3.16.1/2 Isaac Day 3.16.1/2 Henry Dudley 3.16.1/2 John Davis 3.16.1/2 David Davis 3.16.1/2 John Dove 3.16.1/2 James Drake 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carried over £ 93.11.8 Carried over £ 1042.15.8	Henry Crabb, sentinel, deserted 3 February 1766, £1 8s 4d William Clifford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Conner, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £93 11s 8d Carried over, £1,042 15s 8d **Interpretations** A private soldier at St Helena earned 10d a day. The quarter's £3 16s 0½d was that rate for 91¼ days, and corporals and drummers drew 1s 2d a day. The two broken entries confirmed the reckoning to the day: John Archinstale was paid 18s 4d for the 22 days he lived, and Henry Crabb £1 8s 4d for the 34 days before he ran. A soldier of the Company therefore earned about £15 4s 0d a year, out of which he bought his food and clothing from the store at the servants' rate. Salt pork at 2s 0d a piece and shoes at about 4s 5d a pair, the prices in the storekeeper's collection for the same quarter, took a large part of that wage. Henry Crabb's desertion on 3 February 1766 gave a date and a name to the flight recorded in the storekeeper's account, where Thomas Clark lost his shoes swimming for a boat to chase the *Admiral Stevens* in search of deserters. Desertion from the island meant getting aboard a ship, and Crabb was perhaps one of the men that boat went after. His pay stopped on the day he went, and the paymaster's entry was the formal record that struck him from the strength. John Archinstale's death on 22 January 1766 accounted for one of the coffins for which the garrison drew six deals and six pounds of nails that quarter. John Stewart served in the ranks as a cadet, a young man of some standing who carried a musket on a private's pay while waiting for a vacancy as an officer. The Company used the arrangement to train its future ensigns at no extra cost, and the paymaster noted the status beside his name so that he was not confused with the ordinary recruits. The roll was kept in alphabetical order of surname, which let the paymaster and the Council check it quickly against the muster of the company.
341	336	21. April Brought over £ 1042.15.8 Centinels brot. over £ 93.11.8 Thomas Durham 3.16.1/2 James Dunn 3.16.1/2 Samuel Eales 3.16.1/2 Adam Evans 3.16.1/2 Cornelious Fish 3.16.1/2 William French 3.16.1/2 William Greenwood 3.16.1/2 John Grainger. 3.16.1/2 William Hawkes 3.16.1/2 William Henderson 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll of sentinels in the first company for the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a sub-total of £93 11s 8d, with the main running total standing at £1,042 15s 8d. Brought over, £1,042 15s 8d Sentinels brought over, £93 11s 8d 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 William Greenwood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Howiston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Lake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaren, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John May, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		James Hodge 3.16.1/2 John Howiston 3.16.1/2 Edward Haddock 3.16.1/2 William Holmes 3.16.1/2 Richard Knight 3.16.1/2 William Lake 3.16.1/2 Dunn. Mc.Claron 3.16.1/2 William Mumford 3.16.1/2 John May 3.16.1/2 Thomas Meares 3.16.1/2 John Mc. Allister. 3.16.1/2 John Pickering 3.16.1/2 Thomas Price 3.16.1/2 Michael Reed 3.16.1/2 Thomas Roberts 3.16.1/2 William Robertson 3.16.1/2 Thomas Ransom 3.16.1/2 George Rowe 3.16.1/2 William Rowland Febry. 17th. made Corporal 2 do. Centinel from do. 18. 2.10.5 1/2 Silvanus Relf 3.16.1/2 Thomas Rogers 3.16.1/2 William Swaby 3.16.1/2 John Springthorpe 3.16.1/2 John Shuns 3.16.1/2 Centinels brought over £ 223.16.6 Carried over £ 1042.15.8	Thomas Meares, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Reed, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Robertson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Rowe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Rowland, sentinel until made corporal on 17 February 1766, £2 0s 0d William Rowland, corporal from 18 February 1766, £2 10s 5½d Silvanus Relf, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorpe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Sh[...], sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £223 16s 6d Carried over, £1,042 15s 8d **Interpretations** William Rowland's promotion and Anthony Reynolds's reduction took place on the same day. Reynolds was broken from corporal to the ranks on 17 February 1766, and Rowland was raised from the ranks to corporal on that date, with the new rates running for both men from 18 February 1766. The company's establishment allowed a fixed number of corporals, so one man's disgrace opened the vacancy that the other filled. The paymaster split each man's quarter at the same point, and the two entries mirrored each other across the roll. Rowland's second line was labelled as a sentinel's pay from the 18th, but the sum of £2 10s 5½d was higher than the £2 0s 0d for the longer first part of the quarter. The figures therefore fitted a corporal's rate of 1s 2d a day for the remaining 43 days, and the entry was read in that sense. William French appeared here as a sentinel at 10d a day, and the civil list for the same quarter paid a William French £5 0s 0d as second coxswain of the longboat. A soldier who could handle a boat was worth more to the Company at the landing place than on guard, and the extra £20 0s 0d a year more than doubled his pay. The main running total stood unchanged at £1,042 15s 8d, since the sentinels were carried forward as a separate sub-total to be added in once the company's roll was complete.
342	337	1766 Brot. over £ 1042.15.8 Centinels brot. over £ 223.16.6 John Stewart 3.16.1/2 Edward Terry 3.16.1/2 John Taylor 3.16.1/2 Richard Tottington 3.16.1/2 William Tipper 3.16.1/2 Luke Vernon 3.16.1/2 John Whittingdale 3.16.1/2 Benjamin Wise 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll for 1766 finished the sentinels of the first company and opened the second company, with the main running total standing at £1,042 15s 8d. Brought over, £1,042 15s 8d Sentinels brought over, £223 16s 6d John Stewart, 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 Benjamin Wise, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youces, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels of the first company, total, £269 4s 0d Second Company Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d

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		Thomas Windall 3.16.1/2 John Weston 3.16.1/2 George Wall 3.16.1/2 Richard Youees 3.16.1/2 269.4 Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Saly. 45.12.6 Michael Frost Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 John Welch Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Serjeants John Bazett 7.12.1 William Greenough 7.12.1 Thoms. Woffington Feby. 28th. reduced 4.18.4 do. Centinel from the 1 March 1.6.10 1/2 John Tuff Feby. 10th. reduced 3.8.4 do. Centinel from 11th. Feby 2.1.10 1/2 Thomas James Order'd 11th. Febry. made Serjeant 4.3.9 31.3.4 Corporals William Stapleford Feby 15th. Reduced 2.13.8 do. Centinel from do. 16 1.17.8 1/2 Corporals Carried over £ 4.11.4 1/2 Carried over £ 1443.19.3	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 Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Welch, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Welch, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Welch, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bazett, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Greenough, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Woffington, sergeant until his reduction on 28 February 1766, £4 18s 4d Thomas Woffington, sentinel from 1 March 1766, £1 6s 10½d John Fish, sergeant until his reduction on 10 February 1766, £3 8s 4d John Fish, sentinel from 11 February 1766, £2 1s 10½d Thomas James, entered on 11 February 1766 and made sergeant, £4 3s 9d Sergeants, total, £31 3s 4d William Stapleford, corporal until his reduction on 15 February 1766, £2 13s 8d William Stapleford, sentinel from 16 February 1766, £1 17s 8½d Corporals so far, carried over, £4 11s 4½d Carried over, £1,443 19s 3d **Interpretations** Four non-commissioned officers of the garrison were broken to the ranks within 19 days. Sergeant John Fish was reduced on 10 February 1766, Corporal William Stapleford on 15 February 1766, Corporal Anthony Reynolds of the first company on 17 February 1766 and Sergeant Thomas Woffington on 28 February 1766. The reductions began a week after Henry Crabb deserted on 3 February 1766, in the quarter when a boat chased the *Admiral Stevens* in search of deserters. Sergeants and corporals commanded the guards at the landing places and outposts, and a man who got away on their watch brought punishment on them. The cluster of dates suggested that the Council held the guard commanders to account for the escape, though the paymaster's list recorded only the fact and date of each reduction. Thomas James was entered on the books on 11 February 1766 and made sergeant on the same day, the day after Fish lost that rank. A recruit normally began as a sentinel, so James was probably a man of proven service brought in from outside the company, perhaps a discharged soldier or a sergeant from a passing ship's detachment, to fill a post the Council no longer trusted to the men it had. A reduced sergeant lost half his pay overnight. The rate fell from 1s 8d a day to 10d, and Woffington's last month as a private brought him £1 6s 10½d against the £2 11s 8d a sergeant earned in the same time. The first company's roll came to about 70 sentinels at a cost of £269 4s 0d for the quarter. With its captain, two lieutenants, adjutant, four sergeants, four corporals and two drummers, the company cost the Company a little over £460 0s 0d a quarter in pay. Henry Bazett, captain of the second company, was the man for whom a warrant as churchwarden was ordered on 31 March 1766. John Bazett, a sergeant under him, bore the same name as the superintendent of the Company's slaves on the civil list, and the two entries probably described one man holding both posts.
343	338	21. April Brot. over £ 1443.19.3 Corporals brot. over £ 4.11.4 1/2	The paymaster's roll of the second company for the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a running total of £1,443 19s 3d. Brought over, £1,443 19s 3d Corporals brought over, £4 11s 4½d

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		Samuel Curd Febry 28th. made Sergt. 3.8.10 do. Sergeant from 1. March 2.13.9 Thomas Newton March 24th. reduced 4.16.10 do. Centinel from do. 25th. 6.10 1/2 George Freeman 5.6.5 1/2 21.4.1 1/2 Drummers Robert Davis 5.6.5 1/2 Francis Seeane 5.6.5 1/2 10.12.11 Centinels Samuel Alston 3.16.1/2 Thomas Adams 3.16.1/2 Joseph Banks 3.16.1/2 William Birch 3.16.1/2 William Brooks 3.16.1/2 Jacob Brown 3.16.1/2 Robert Brown 3.16.1/2 Thomas Botts 3.16.1/2 Nicholas Bushell 3.16.1/2 Daniel Bye 3.16.1/2 James Byrne 3.16.1/2 William Bell 3.16.1/2 John Brown 3.16.1/2 Edward Cozens 3.16.1/2 Thomas Cleverly 3.16.1/2 William Conquest 3.16.1/2 William Clay 3.16.1/2 John Crawley 3.16.1/2 William Carfue 3.16.1/2 Robert Dickens 3.16.1/2 William Drinnan 3.16.1/2 George Exton February 3d. Discharged 1.8.4 John Goodsole 3.16.1/2 John Gray 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carried over £ 88.17.3 1/2 Carried over £ 1475.16.3 1/2 **Margin Notes:** [...]	Samuel Curd, corporal until made sergeant on 28 February 1766, £3 8s 10d Samuel Curd, sergeant from 1 March 1766, £2 13s 9d Thomas Newton, corporal until his reduction on 24 March 1766, £4 16s 10d Thomas Newton, sentinel from 25 March 1766, £0 6s 10½d George Freeman, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £21 4s 1½d Robert Davis, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Francis Scane, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Samuel Alston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Brick, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Botts, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Bell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cozens, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Crowsley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Carfree, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Drinnan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, sentinel, deserted 3 February 1766, £1 8s 4d John Goodsole, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £88 17s 3½d Carried over, £1,475 16s 3½d **Interpretations** Two soldiers deserted on the same day. George Exton of the second company left on 3 February 1766, the date on which Henry Crabb of the first company also went, and each was paid £1 8s 4d for the 34 days served. A pair of men from different companies who vanished together had planned it together, and their escape was the occasion on which a boat rowed after the *Admiral Stevens* to search her. The reductions of Sergeant Fish on 10 February 1766, Corporal Stapleford on 15 February 1766 and Corporal Reynolds on 17 February 1766 followed within a fortnight. The second company's ranks were reshuffled as a result. Samuel Curd rose from corporal to sergeant on 28 February 1766, the day Sergeant Woffington was reduced, and so took the vacancy that the punishment created. Corporal Thomas Newton was then broken on 24 March 1766, a week before the quarter closed, which left him only seven days' pay as a private at £0 6s 10½d. The company therefore lost two of its four sergeants and two of its corporals to reduction in under seven weeks. Five non-commissioned officers across the garrison were broken in the quarter. William Clay, listed here at a full quarter's pay, was one of the seven sentinels whose discharge the Council granted on 7 April 1766 at the end of his contracted term. His name on the roll to 31 March 1766 confirmed that he served out his time to the last day before he applied. A promoted man gained as sharply as a reduced man lost. Curd's 31 days as sergeant brought him £2 13s 9d, against about £1 16s 2d for the same days at a corporal's rate.

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344	339	1766 Brought over £ 1475.16.3 1/2 Centinels brot. over £ 88.17.3 1/2 Robert Green 3.16.1/2 William Finch 3.16.1/2 William Fullwood 3.16.1/2 William Foy 3.16.1/2 John Forbes 3.16.1/2 William Fletcher February 24th. Discharged 2.5.10 Charles Goulding March 24th. made Corporal 3.9.2 do. Corpl. from March 25th. 9.7 1/2 James Gates 3.16.1/2 William Harris 3.16.1/2 William Harris 3.16.1/2 Abraham Harding 3.16.1/2 John Hawkswood 3.16.1/2 Samuel Hyles 3.16.1/2 William Hockley 3.16.1/2 John Holbrook 3.16.1/2 James Hudson 3.16.1/2 Thomas Hayles 3.16.1/2 William Hayes 3.16.1/2 William Hurd 3.16.1/2 Robert Hopkinson Febry 15th. made Corpl. 1.18.4 do. Corpl. from February 16th. 2.12.9 1/2 Samuel Inspore 3.16.1/2 Richard Jones 3.16.1/2 William Johnson 3.16.1/2 Jeremiah Jordan 3.16.1/2 John Jacks 3.16.1/2 Samuel Kitson 3.16.1/2 Henry Kirkham 3.16.1/2 Edmond Leech 3.16.1/2 Thomas Mudge Febry 11 Died 1.15 Henry Miller 3.16.1/2 James Mannington 3.16.1/2 John Morris 3.16.1/2 Samuel Perry 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carried over	The paymaster's roll of sentinels in the second company for 1766 continued from a sub-total of £88 17s 3½d, with the main running total standing at £1,475 16s 3½d. Brought over, £1,475 16s 3½d Sentinels brought over, £88 17s 3½d Robert Green, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Frick, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Fullwood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Foy, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Fletcher, sentinel, discharged 24 February 1766, £2 5s 10d Charles Goulding, sentinel until made corporal on 24 March 1766, £3 9s 2d Charles Goulding, corporal from 25 March 1766, £0 9s 7½d James Gates, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, a second sentinel of that name, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood, 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 Thomas Hayles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hurd, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hopkinson, sentinel until made corporal on 15 February 1766, £1 18s 4d Robert Hopkinson, corporal from 16 February 1766, £2 12s 9½d Samuel Inshore, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Jacks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Kirkham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leech, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, sentinel, died 11 February 1766, £1 15s 0d Henry Miller, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Morris, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £211 13s 3d Carried over, £1,475 16s 3½d **Interpretations** Each reduction in the second company had its matching promotion on this page. Robert Hopkinson was made corporal on 15 February 1766, the day William Stapleford lost that rank, and Charles Goulding was made corporal on 24 March 1766, the day Thomas Newton was broken. The dates agreed exactly, so the company kept its fixed number of corporals and the paymaster recorded only a change of names. A vacancy opened by punishment was filled at once from the ranks, and the prospect of the extra 4d a day gave the privates a direct interest in their corporals' conduct. Thomas Mudge died on 11 February 1766 and was paid £1 15s 0d for the 42 days he lived. His death and that of John Archinstale of the first company on 22 January 1766 accounted for the two coffins for which the garrison drew deals and nails that quarter. William Fletcher was discharged on 24 February 1766, in the middle of the quarter and at a time when no homeward ship was recorded in the road. The seven sentinels released on 7 April 1766 left when the China ships offered a passage. A discharge at another season pointed to a man who meant to stay, and time-expired soldiers commonly settled on the island as planters, tradesmen or servants of the Company.

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		£ 211.13.3 Carried over £ 1475.16.3 1/2	The two men named William Harris were entered on successive lines at the same pay, and the paymaster made no mark to tell them apart.
345	340	1766 Brot. over £ 1475.16.3 1/2 Centinels brought over £ 211.13.3 William Pinchen 3.16.1/2 Stephen Prior 3.16.1/2 Abraham Rose 3.16.1/2 Henk. Rolphenous Enterd. 24th. February 1.10 Thomas Richards 3.16.1/2 John Christian [Briss] 3.16.1/2 Thomas Stevens 3.16.1/2 Benjamin Stringer 3.16.1/2 John Strubshall Febry 28th. Deserted 2.9.2 William Stone 3.16.1/2 John Sabourin 3.16.1/2 Gregory Southerwood Febry 28th. made Corpl. 2.9.2 do. Corpl. from February 29th. 1.17.7 1/2 Avery Trueman 3.16.1/2 John Tucker 3.16.1/2 Thomas Wansell 3.16.1/2 264.10.10 1/2 Third Company Richard Beale Captain Saly 45.12.6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 John Bridgwaters Lieut. Saly 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Sergeants Roger We[t]man 7.12.1 William Robinson Febry the 24th. Reduced 4.11.8 do. Centinels from Febry the 25th. 1.10.2 1/2 Barnard Millard 7.12.1 David Patton March 24th. Reduced 6.18.4 do. Centinel from do. 25. 6.10 1/2 28.11.3 Carried over £ 1869.14.8	The paymaster's roll for 1766 finished the sentinels of the second company and opened the third company, with the main running total standing at £1,475 16s 3½d. Brought over, £1,475 16s 3½d Sentinels brought over, £211 13s 3d William Pincham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Prior, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Rose, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Hendrick Olphenius, sentinel, entered 24 February 1766, £1 10s 0d Thomas Richards, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Stoifs, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Strubshall, sentinel, deserted 28 February 1766, £2 9s 2d William Stone, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Sabourin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Gregory Southerwood, sentinel until made corporal on 28 February 1766, £2 9s 2d Gregory Southerwood, corporal from 1 March 1766, £1 17s 7½d Avery Trueman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels of the second company, total, £264 10s 10½d Third Company Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgwater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgwater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgwater, total, £27 11s 10½d Roger Welman, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Robinson, sergeant until his reduction on 24 February 1766, £4 11s 8d William Robinson, sentinel from 25 February 1766, £1 10s 2½d Barnard Millard, sergeant, £7 12s 1d David Patton, sergeant until his reduction on 24 March 1766, £6 18s 4d David Patton, sentinel from 25 March 1766, £0 6s 10½d Sergeants, total, £28 11s 3d Carried over, £1,869 14s 8d **Interpretations** A third soldier deserted in the quarter, and a sergeant fell with him. John Strubshall of the second company ran on 28 February 1766, and Sergeant Thomas Woffington of the same company was reduced to the ranks that very day. The coincidence of dates tied the punishment to the escape more closely than any other pair of entries in the list. The earlier desertions of Henry Crabb and George Exton on 3 February 1766 were followed by reductions within one and two weeks, and here the sergeant was broken at once. The Council evidently held the non-commissioned officer on duty answerable for any man who got away. The third company added two more names to the reductions. Sergeant William Robinson was broken on 24 February 1766 and Sergeant David Patton on 24 March 1766, the day Corporal Thomas Newton of the second company lost his rank. Seven sergeants and corporals across the three companies were reduced between 10 February 1766 and 24 March 1766, from an establishment of about 24. A

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			garrison that broke nearly a third of its non-commissioned officers in six weeks was one in which discipline had failed and was being restored by force. Gregory Southerwood became corporal on 28 February 1766 and filled the place left when Samuel Curd rose to sergeant in Woffington's room. One desertion therefore set off a reduction and two promotions in a single day. The paymaster dated Southerwood's new rate from the day after 28 February, which fell on 1 March 1766. Hendrick Olphenius entered the garrison on 24 February 1766 and drew £1 10s 0d for his 36 days. His name was Dutch, and John Christian Stoifs beside him bore a German one. The Company could not keep its ranks full from England alone, and it enlisted foreign sailors and soldiers who came ashore from passing ships. A Dutch governor was saluted going aboard his ship on 3 March 1766, so Dutch vessels lay in the road at about the time Olphenius joined. Richard Beale, captain of the third company, bore the same name as the judge advocate and schoolmaster on the civil list, and the entries probably described one man holding all three posts. John Bridgwater, his lieutenant, also appeared on the civil list with pay for ten days only, and Thomas Bazett was a fifth member of that family on the Company's books for the quarter.
346	341	1766 Brot. over £ 1869.14.8 Corporals William Roberts February 24th. made Sergeant 3.4.2 do. Sergeant from do. 25th. 3.5 John Vaughan March 24th. made Sergeant 4.16.10 do. Sergeant from do. 25th. 13.9 James York 5.6.5 1/2 Thomas Matthews 5.6.5 1/2 22.8.1 Drummers John Twaits 5.6.5 1/2 George Varney 5.6.5 1/2 10.12.11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3.16.1/2 James Anderson 3.16.1/2 Charles Abraham 3.16.1/2 Henry Brown 3.16.1/2 Jacob Bull 3.16.1/2 Mark Bulls 3.16.1/2 Benjamin Bennett 3.16.1/2 John Blinkem 3.16.1/2 Frederick William Beard 3.16.1/2 William Caleb Baldwin 3.16.1/2 Richard Broom 3.16.1/2 William Cliffton February 24th. made Corpl.	The paymaster's roll of the third company for 1766 continued from a running total of £1,869 14s 8d. Brought over, £1,869 14s 8d William Roberts, corporal until made sergeant on 24 February 1766, £3 4s 2d William Roberts, sergeant from 25 February 1766, £3 0s 5d John Vaughan, corporal until made sergeant on 24 March 1766, £4 16s 10d John Vaughan, sergeant from 25 March 1766, £0 13s 9d James York, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Matthews, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £22 8s 1d John Twaits, drummer, £5 6s 5½d George Varney, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Richard Ashford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Abraham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bull, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Mark Bulls, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkorn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Broom, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Cliffton, sentinel until made corporal on 24 February 1766, £2 5s 10d William Cliffton, corporal from 25 February 1766, £2 2s 3½d John Cook, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Francis Clancy, sentinel, deserted 3 February 1766, £1 8s 4d John Chapman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgels, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £81 17s 3½d Carried over, £1,902 15s 8d **Interpretations**

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		2.5.10 do. Corpl. from February 25th. 2.2.3 1/2 John Cook 3.16.1/2 Joseph Chamberlain 3.16.1/2 William Carr 3.16.1/2 Francis Clancey Febry 3d. Deserted 1.8.4 John Chapman 3.16.1/2 Michael Downey 3.16.1/2 Robert Davis 3.16.1/2 Edward Dudley 3.16.1/2 Charles Edgels 3.16.1/2 William Foster 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carried over £ 81.17.3 1/2 Carried over £ 1902.15.8	Three soldiers deserted together on 3 February 1766, one from each company. Francis Clancy of the third company went on the same day as Henry Crabb of the first and George Exton of the second, and each was paid £1 8s 4d for 34 days. Men drawn from all three companies could only have met and planned off duty, which marked the escape as a concerted one. It was the occasion of the boat sent after the *Admiral Stevens*, and the three were not brought back, since none drew pay again in the quarter. With John Strubshall on 28 February 1766, the garrison lost four men by desertion in under four weeks. The third company's promotions followed its reductions step by step. William Roberts rose from corporal to sergeant on 24 February 1766, the day Sergeant William Robinson was broken, and William Cliffton rose from the ranks to corporal on that date to take Roberts's place. John Vaughan was made sergeant on 24 March 1766 when Sergeant David Patton was reduced. Each punishment therefore moved one man down and one or two up, and the company's numbers in every rank stayed the same. The reductions fell on two days in particular. Sergeant Robinson was broken on 24 February 1766, and Sergeant Patton and Corporal Newton of the second company on 24 March 1766, exactly a month apart. Dates that recurred across companies pointed to sentences handed down together at a sitting of the Council or a court martial, not to separate decisions by each captain. Joseph Chamberlain, a sentinel here at 10d a day, shared his name with the carpenter's mate paid £8 15s 0d on the civil list for the same quarter. A soldier with a trade was commonly lent to the Company's works and paid for both, as the list showed for the coxswain William French.
347	342	21 April Brought over £ 1902.15.8 Centinels bro. over £ 81.17.3 1/2 John Faxon 3.16.1/2 Allexander Gray 3.16.1/2 Fisher Gamble March 24th. made Corpl. 3.9.2 do. Corporal from do. 25th. 9.7 1/2 Archibald Grayham 3.16.1/2 Richard Gregory 3.16.1/2 William Gorden 3.16.1/2 Felix Hyder 3.16.1/2 John Hilliard 3.16.1/2 John Hovring February the 3d. deserted 1.8.4 William Hill 3.16.1/2 William Hopkins 3.16.1/2 Thomas Jones Jany. 5th. Died 4.2 Josiah Johnson 3.16.1/2 Robert Johnson 3.16.1/2 Samuel Johnson 3.16.1/2 Richard Johnson 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll of sentinels in the third company for the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a sub-total of £81 17s 3½d, with the main running total standing at £1,902 15s 8d. Brought over, £1,902 15s 8d Sentinels brought over, £81 17s 3½d John Faxon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gamble, sentinel until made corporal on 24 March 1766, £3 9s 2d Fisher Gamble, corporal from 25 March 1766, £0 9s 7½d Archibald Grayham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gregory, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Golden, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hoving, sentinel, deserted 3 February 1766, £1 8s 4d William Hill, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hopkins, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, sentinel, died 5 January 1766, £0 4s 2d Josiah Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d 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 Limmon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Lory, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Marriague, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Maze, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		James Kemp 3.16.1/2 Richd. Linney 3.16.1/2 James Lee 3.16.1/2 John Long 3.16.1/2 John Langridge 3.16.1/2 Edward Lamburn 3.16.1/2 Bryan Lynch 3.16.1/2 John Limmon 3.16.1/2 James Lony 3.16.1/2 Charles Marriague 3.16.1/2 Richard Maye 3.16.1/2 Thomas Morris 3.16.1/2 James Moye 3.16.1/2 Abraham Major 3.16.1/2 John Millar 3.16.1/2 Thomas Pearce 3.16.1/2 John Passwater 3.16.1/2 Thomas Perry 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carrd. over £ 205.5.10 1/2 Carrd. Over £ 1902.15.8	James Moyce, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Millar, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £205 5s 10½d Carried over, £1,902 15s 8d **Interpretations** A fourth man went on 3 February 1766. John Hoving of the third company deserted on the same day as Francis Clancy of that company, Henry Crabb of the first and George Exton of the second, and each drew the same £1 8s 4d for 34 days. Four soldiers leaving at once could not have slipped past a single sentry by chance. They needed a boat or a place in a ship's boat to reach the *Admiral Stevens*, and the scale of the escape explained why the Council sent a crew to row after her and why it broke seven sergeants and corporals in the weeks that followed. Five men in all deserted in the quarter, counting John Strubshall on 28 February 1766. Thomas Jones died on 5 January 1766 and was paid 4s 2d for his five days. He was the third soldier to die in the quarter, after John Archinstale on 22 January 1766 and Thomas Mudge on 11 February 1766. The six deals and six pounds of nails issued to the garrison for coffins therefore served three burials, at two boards to a coffin. Fisher Gamble was made corporal on 24 March 1766, the day Corporal John Vaughan of the same company rose to sergeant in place of David Patton. The single reduction of Patton thus produced two promotions down the line, as Robinson's did on 24 February 1766. Alexander Gray, paid here for the full quarter, was one of the seven sentinels discharged at their own request on 7 April 1766 when their contracted time ran out.
348	343	1766 Bro. over £ 1902.15.8 Centinels brought over £ 205.5.10 1/2 James Proctor 3.16.1/2 Henry Pinchen 3.16.1/2 William Perkes 3.16.1/2 John Robinson 3.16.1/2 Robert Stack 3.16.1/2 Adam Scott 3.16.1/2 David Scott 3.16.1/2 John Smith 3.16.1/2 Henry Standford January 10th. Transfd. 8.4 John Sherlard 3.16.1/2 John Thompson 3.16.1/2 Thomas Tayler 3.16.1/2 Joseph Uffin 3.16.1/2 Richard Vincent 3.16.1/2 John Wyburd 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll for 1766 finished the sentinels of the third company and opened the fourth company, with the main running total standing at £1,902 15s 8d. Brought over, £1,902 15s 8d Sentinels brought over, £205 5s 10½d James Proctor, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Perkes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Robinson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Standford, sentinel, transferred 10 January 1766, £0 8s 4d John Sherlard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tayler, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Wyburd, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Waters, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels of the third company, total, £270 6s 11d Fourth Company John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry De Laune, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d

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		Thomas Ward 3.16.1/2 Edward Welch 3.16.1/2 John Waters 3.16.1/2 270.6.11 Fourth Company John Howard Capt. Saly. 45.12.6 Henry De Laune Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Thomas Lambert Lieut Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Sergeants John Fleming 7.12.1 Thomas Bailey 7.12.1 John Simcox 7.12.1 Daniel Annain 7.12.1 30.8.4 Carried over £ 2304.7.2	Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert, total, £27 11s 10½d John Fleming, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bailey, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Daniel Arnain, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Carried over, £2,304 7s 2d **Interpretations** The fourth company's four sergeants all drew a full quarter's pay. The first company lost a corporal to reduction, the second two sergeants and two corporals, and the third two sergeants, but no sergeant of the fourth was touched. The companies took turns at the guards round the island, and the fourth was evidently not the one on duty at the landing places when the four men got away on 3 February 1766 or when John Strubshall went on 28 February 1766. Henry Standford was transferred on 10 January 1766 and paid 8s 4d for his ten days in the third company. A transfer, unlike a discharge, kept him in the Company's service, and his pay for the rest of the quarter fell under whatever company or branch received him. The garrison's artillery company, which drew sheep shears and keys from the store that quarter, was the usual destination for an infantryman moved in that way. John Smith, entered here for the full quarter, was one of the seven sentinels discharged at the end of their contracts on 7 April 1766. The garrison was organised as four companies of equal pattern, each with a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers and about 70 sentinels. Three companies and the staff brought the pay list to £2,304 7s 2d, so the garrison's wages for a quarter exceeded the whole of the storekeeper's sales to servants, planters and ships together, which came to about £1,030 0s 0d.
349	344	21 April Bro. over £ 2304.7.2 Corporals William Stedman 5.6.5 1/2 Jonathan Lake 5.6.5 1/2 Thomas Ferris 5.6.5 1/2 Thomas James Febry 10th. Transfd. 2.7.10 18.7.2 1/2 Drummers John Martin 5.6.5 1/2 George Wills 5.6.5 1/2 John Campen 5.6.5 15.19.4 1/2 Centinels John Allen 3.16.1/2 William Allen 3.16.1/2 George Bennett 3.16.1/2 John Blackwell 3.16.1/2 Joseph Blackwell 3.16.1/2 John Brook 3.16.1/2 Richard Bickerstaff 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll of the fourth company for the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a running total of £2,304 7s 2d. Brought over, £2,304 7s 2d William Stedman, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Jonathan Lake, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Ferris, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas James, corporal, transferred 10 February 1766, £2 7s 10d Corporals, total, £18 7s 2½d John Martin, drummer, £5 6s 5½d George Wills, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Campen, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £15 19s 4½d John Allen, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Allen, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brook, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Britliot, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Bower, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Beacham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Barton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksay, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Carney, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Close, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Isaiah Cummings, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		William Blackman 3.16.1/2 John Brilliot 3.16.1/2 John Bower 3.16.1/2 John Beachum 3.16.1/2 Andrew Barton 3.16.1/2 James Cartwright 3.16.1/2 George Capeling 3.16.1/2 William Cooksay 3.16.1/2 Duncan Cameron 3.16.1/2 James Culsher 3.16.1/2 John Cunningham 3.16.1/2 John Carney 3.16.1/2 Richard Close 3.16.1/2 Isaiah Cummings 3.16.1/2 John Carfoot Jany. 20th. Transfd. 16.8 Henry Havenberg 3.16.1/2 James Hendry 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carrd. over £ 88.5.7 1/2 Carrd. over £ 2338.13.9	John Corfoot, sentinel, transferred 20 January 1766, £0 16s 8d Henry Harenburg, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hendry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £88 5s 7½d Carried over, £2,338 13s 9d **Interpretations** The entry for Thomas James settled where the second company's new sergeant came from. He served as a corporal of the fourth company until 10 February 1766, was transferred that day and was entered in the second company on 11 February 1766 as a sergeant, in the place of John Fish, who was broken on 10 February 1766. The Council therefore passed over every corporal of the second company and brought in a man from the one company whose non-commissioned officers kept their ranks throughout the quarter. A promotion from within was the ordinary course, and the choice of an outsider showed how little the second company's own corporals were trusted a week after George Exton deserted from it. Two of them, Stapleford and Newton, were themselves reduced before the quarter ended. The paymaster handled a transfer by closing the man's account in one company and opening it in the next, so James appeared twice in the list with his quarter divided at the date of the move. John Corfoot, transferred on 20 January 1766, and Henry Standford of the third company, transferred on 10 January 1766, were treated in the same way, though their new entries lay elsewhere in the list. The fourth company carried three drummers where the first, second and third had two each. The drum major was paid that quarter for teaching young drummers, and the extra place was probably held by a boy under instruction.
350	345	1766 Brought over £ 2338.13.9 Centinels bro. over £ 88.5.7 1/2 Edward Davis 3.16.1/2 John Deal 3.16.1/2 John Euston 3.16.1/2 George Gran 3.16.1/2 Richard Goulding 3.16.1/2 John Gilmore 3.16.1/2 Edward Gorman 3.16.1/2 Joseph Good 3.16.1/2 James Goudy Jany 6 Discharged 5 Thomas Hilliard 3.16.1/2 Stephen John 3.16.1/2 Christian Johnson 3.16.1/2 Thomas Killock February 10th. made Corpl. 1.14.2 do. Corporal from do. 11 2.18.7 1/2 Richard Kempton 3.16.1/2 William Lambon 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll of sentinels in the fourth company for 1766 continued from a sub-total of £88 5s 7½d, with the main running total standing at £2,338 13s 9d. Brought over, £2,338 13s 9d Sentinels brought over, £88 5s 7½d Edward Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Deal, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Euston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Gran, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Gorman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Goudy, sentinel, discharged 6 January 1766, £0 5s 0d Thomas Hilliard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Killock, sentinel until made corporal on 10 February 1766, £1 14s 2d Thomas Killock, corporal from 11 February 1766, £2 18s 7½d Richard Kempton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyness, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Lawrence, sentinel, deserted 4 February 1766, £1 8s 4d Richard Morton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Murdock McCloud, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Moore, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		Thomas Lee 3.16.1/2 Thomas Lyness 3.16.1/2 John Lawrence February 4th. Deserted 1.8.4 Richard Morton 3.16.1/2 Simon Mason 3.16.1/2 Mordock Mc. Cloed 3.16.1/2 William Mitchell 3.16.1/2 John Moore 3.16.1/2 Thomas Marshall 3.16.1/2 John Newton 3.16.1/2 Martin Newman 3.16.1/2 John Oswald 3.16.1/2 John Pluck 3.16.1/2 Daniel Patrick 3.16.1/2 Stephen Papps 3.16.1/2 William Parker 3.16.1/2 Francis Powell 3.16.1/2 James Richardson 3.16.1/2 Patrick Riley 3.16.1/2 Centinels Carried over £ 212.9.1/2 Carried over £ 2338.13.9	John Oswald, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Papps, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Parker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels so far, carried over, £212 9s 0½d Carried over, £2,338 13s 9d **Interpretations** The fourth company lost a deserter too. John Lawrence was entered as gone on 4 February 1766, a day later than Crabb, Exton, Clancy and Hoving, yet he drew the same £1 8s 4d as they did, the pay for 34 days to 3 February 1766. He therefore left with the other four, and his absence was simply noticed or reported a day late. Five soldiers from all four companies got away together, and with John Strubshall on 28 February 1766 the garrison lost six men by desertion in the quarter out of roughly 290. The fourth company's sergeants and corporals nonetheless kept their ranks, where the other three companies had men broken. Punishment fell on those who commanded the guard through which the men escaped, not on the companies the deserters belonged to. A soldier off duty could walk out of quarters freely, and the fault lay at the landing place or the post where he reached a boat. Thomas Killock was made corporal on 10 February 1766, the day Corporal Thomas James left the company on transfer to become a sergeant in the second. The promotion filled that vacancy at once from the fourth company's own ranks. James Goudy was discharged on 6 January 1766 with 5s 0d for six days, another release outside the shipping season of the kind granted to William Fletcher on 24 February 1766. Francis Powell, paid for the full quarter, was one of the seven sentinels discharged on 7 April 1766.
351	346	21. April Bro. over £ 2338.13.9 Centinels bro. over £ 212.9.1/2 Thomas Rutherford 3.16.1/2 John Scotcher 3.16.1/2 John Shaw 3.16.1/2 William Scottman 3.16.1/2 John Swindall 3.16.1/2 Zedekiah Saunderson 3.16.1/2 Roderick Shaffer 3.16.1/2 John Slade 3.16.1/2 Thomas Suffret 3.16.1/2 John Thompson 3.16.1/2 Jeremiah Whaerill 3.16.1/2 William Waite 3.16.1/2 John Wood 3.16.1/2 Thomas Williams 3.16.1/2	The paymaster's roll for the quarter to 31 March 1766 finished the sentinels of the fourth company and opened the artillery company, with the main running total standing at £2,338 13s 9d. Brought over, £2,338 13s 9d Sentinels brought over, £212 9s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Scottman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Suffrett, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Whovill, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Wood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Watts, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels of the fourth company, total, £269 9s 8d Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sample, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sample, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sample, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathan Sample, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Leech, total, £27 11s 10½d

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		Thomas Watts 3.16.1/2 269.9.8 Artillery Company Archibald Mitchel Capt. Saly. 45.12.6 Nathan Sample Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Thomas Leech Lieut. Saly. 18.5 do. Diet Money 6.16.10 1/2 do. House Rent 2.10 27.11.10 1/2 Sergeants John Whitchurch 9.2.6 Adam Watson 9.2.6 John Sharkey 9.2.6 Richard Waterhouse Feby. 10th. reduced 4.2 do. Matross from do. 11 2.10.3 33.19.9 Corporals John Cox Feby. 10th. made Sergt. 3.1.6 do. Sergeant from 11th. Feby. 5.6 Corporals Carried over £ 8.2 Carried over £ 2742.19.5	John Whitchurch, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, sergeant, £9 2s 6d John Shirkey, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, sergeant until his reduction on 10 February 1766, £4 2s 0d Richard Waterhouse, matross from 11 February 1766, £2 10s 3d Sergeants, total, £33 19s 9d John Cox, corporal until made sergeant on 10 February 1766, £3 1s 6d John Cox, sergeant from 11 February 1766, £5 0s 6d Corporals so far, carried over, £8 2s 0d Carried over, £2,742 19s 5d **Interpretations** The artillery was paid on a higher scale than the infantry. A sergeant of artillery drew 2s 0d a day against 1s 8d in the other companies, a corporal 1s 6d against 1s 2d, and the private gunner, called a matross, 1s 0d against a sentinel's 10d. The work of serving guns required trained men who could handle powder and lay a piece, and the Company paid a fifth more to keep them. A matross was the lowest rank in the artillery, the assistant who loaded, sponged and hauled the gun under a gunner's direction. An artillery sergeant fell on the same day as the first infantry sergeant. Richard Waterhouse was reduced to matross on 10 February 1766, the date on which Sergeant John Fish of the second company was broken, a week after the five soldiers deserted. The artillery manned the batteries that commanded the anchorage, and a ship leaving the road without clearance could be stopped by a shot from them. The reduction of the sergeant of artillery alongside the sergeant of the guard suggested that both the post at the landing place and the battery above it failed in their duty when the *Admiral Stevens* sailed. Eight sergeants and corporals were broken in the quarter in all. John Cox, a corporal, took Waterhouse's place the same day. Archibald Mitchell held two full appointments. He commanded the artillery company at £182 10s 0d a year and served as engineer on the civil list at £200 0s 0d with diet money and house rent, which brought his official income to about £490 0s 0d. That was nearly equal to the Governor's salary and almost double the Lieutenant Governor's. Two names connected the roll with entries elsewhere. Zedekiah Saunderson drew a sentinel's pay here and a further £2 0s 0d on the civil list as groom, so the Governor's stable was kept by a soldier excused from ordinary duty. John Swindall was one of the seven sentinels discharged on 7 April 1766 at the end of their contracts.
352	347	1766 Brought over £ 2742.19.5 Corporals brought over £ 8.2 Thomas Collier 6.16.10 1/2 John Grainger January 7th. Died 10.6 Nicholas Houghton 6.16.10 1/2 22.6.3 Bombardiers Robert Gilson Jany 7th. made Corpl. 10.6 do. Corporal from 8th. January 6.6.4 1/2 John Jack February 10th. made Corpl. 3.1.6 do. Corporal from do. 11th. 3.15.4 1/2	The paymaster's roll of the artillery company for 1766 continued from a running total of £2,742 19s 5d. Brought over, £2,742 19s 5d Corporals brought over, £8 2s 0d Thomas Collier, corporal, £6 16s 10½d John Grainger, corporal, died 7 January 1766, £0 10s 6d Nicholas Houghton, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Corporals, total, £22 6s 3d Robert Gilson, bombardier until made corporal on 7 January 1766, £0 10s 6d Robert Gilson, corporal from 8 January 1766, £6 6s 4½d John Jack, bombardier until made corporal on 10 February 1766, £3 1s 6d John Jack, corporal from 11 February 1766, £3 15s 4½d John Turner, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d James Parfitt, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Bombardiers, total, £27 7s 6d

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		John Turner 6.16.10 1/2 James Parfitt 6.16.10 1/2 27.7.6 Gunners John Martin Jany 7th. made Bombardier 9.4 do. Bombardier from Janry 8th. 6.6.4 1/2 Eustace White 6.1.8 Evan Nowland Feby. 10th. made Bombardier 2.14.8 do. Bombardier from February 11. 3.15.4 1/2 David Dennis 6.1.8 John Fox March 10th. Reduced 4.12 do. Matross from March 11th. 1.2.3 Thomas Yates 6.1.8 Thomas Tyler 6.1.8 John Smith 6.1.8 49.8.4 Drummers George Garratt 5.6.5 1/2 Robert Saunders 5.6.5 1/2 10.12.11 Matrosses Robert Allum 4.11.3 Benjamin Braten 4.11.3 Isaac Buck 4.11.3 John Bower 4.11.3 James Bottomly 4.11.3 Matrosses Carried over £ 22.16.3 Carried over £ 2852.14.5	John Martin, gunner until made bombardier on 7 January 1766, £0 9s 4d John Martin, bombardier from 8 January 1766, £6 6s 4½d Eustace White, gunner, £6 1s 8d Evan Nowland, gunner until made bombardier on 10 February 1766, £2 14s 8d Evan Nowland, bombardier from 11 February 1766, £3 15s 4½d David Dennis, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Fox, gunner until his reduction on 10 March 1766, £4 12s 0d John Fox, matross from 11 March 1766, £1 2s 3d Thomas Yates, gunner, £6 1s 8d Thomas Tyler, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Smith, gunner, £6 1s 8d Gunners, total, £49 8s 4d George Garrett, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Robert Allum, matross, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Braten, matross, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, matross, £4 11s 3d John Bower, matross, £4 11s 3d James Bottomly, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses so far, carried over, £22 16s 3d Carried over, £2,852 14s 5d **Interpretations** The artillery had a longer ladder of ranks than the infantry, and each vacancy moved men up it one step at a time. Below the sergeants came corporals and bombardiers at 1s 6d a day, then gunners at 1s 4d and matrosses at 1s 0d. A bombardier was the non-commissioned officer who prepared shells and fuses and had charge of the mortars. When Corporal John Grainger died on 7 January 1766, the bombardier Robert Gilson took his place and the gunner John Martin became bombardier, all on that day. The reduction of Sergeant Waterhouse on 10 February 1766 produced a longer chain: John Cox rose from corporal to sergeant, John Jack from bombardier to corporal and Evan Nowland from gunner to bombardier. One man's disgrace therefore raised three others. Promotion in the company went strictly by the next rank below, with no man skipping a step. That practice contrasted with the second company of infantry, where the Council brought in Corporal Thomas James from another company as sergeant on 11 February 1766. The artillery's trades had to be learned in order, and a gunner could not be made sergeant over the heads of the bombardiers. John Fox was reduced from gunner to matross on 10 March 1766, a date that matched none of the infantry reductions. His offence was therefore a separate one, and the punishment cost him 4d a day. Grainger was the fourth soldier of the garrison to die in the quarter, after Thomas Jones on 5 January 1766, John Archinstale on 22 January 1766 and Thomas Mudge on 11 February 1766. Four deaths among roughly 330 men in three months was a heavy rate for a healthy station, and the hospital's large issues of sago and sugar in the same quarter pointed to sickness in the garrison that summer.
353	348	21 April Bro. over £ 2852.14.5 Matrosses bro. over £ 22.16.3 William Brown 4.11.3 John Cope 4.11.3 John Cresswell	The paymaster's roll of matrosses in the artillery company for the quarter to 31 March 1766 continued from a sub-total of £22 16s 3d, with the main running total standing at £2,852 14s 5d. Brought over, £2,852 14s 5d Matrosses brought over, £22 16s 3d William Brown, matross, £4 11s 3d John Cope, matross, £4 11s 3d John Cresswell, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, matross, £4 11s 3d

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		4.11.3 Thomas Clark 4.11.3 Edmond Conner 4.11.3 Robert Cunningham 4.11.3 Adam Critchton Febry. 10th. made Gunner 2.1 do. Gunner from Feby. 11th. 3.7 John Carfoot Enterd. 21 January 3.10 John Dowse 4.11.3 Daniel Finn 4.11.3 Thomas Mc. Farling 4.11.3 Joseph Fellows 4.11.3 Robert Frankish 4.11.3 Christian Greenawald 4.11.3 Thomas Gorrall 4.11.3 Thomas Green 4.11.3 Lawrence Hall 4.11.3 William Hodges 4.11.3 William Jenkins 4.11.3 Thomas Jones 4.11.3 John Lewis 4.11.3 Daniel Maloney 4.11.3 George Marshall 4.11.3 Jonathan Mallett 4.11.3 Thomas Nimble 4.11.3 George Nelson 4.11.3 John Osbourn 4.11.3 William Phillips January 7th. made Gunner 7 do. Gunner from do. 8 5.12.4 William Poulton 4.11.3 Samuel Smith March 10th. made Gunnr. 3.9 do. Gunner from do. 11 1.9.8 Godfrey Smith 4.11.3 Matrosses Carried over £ 165.16 Carried over £ 2852.14.5	Edmond Conner, matross, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, matross, £4 11s 3d Adam Critchton, matross until made gunner on 10 February 1766, £2 1s 0d Adam Critchton, gunner from 11 February 1766, £3 7s 0d John Corfoot, matross, entered 21 January 1766, £3 10s 0d John Dowse, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, matross, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, matross, £4 11s 3d Robert Frankish, matross, £4 11s 3d Christian Greenawald, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Gorrall, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Green, matross, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hall, matross, £4 11s 3d William Hodges, matross, £4 11s 3d William Jenkins, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Jones, matross, £4 11s 3d John Lewis, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney, matross, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, matross, £4 11s 3d Jonathan Mallett, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, matross, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, matross, £4 11s 3d John Osborn, matross, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, matross until made gunner on 7 January 1766, £0 7s 0d William Phillips, gunner from 8 January 1766, £5 12s 4d William Poulton, matross, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, matross until made gunner on 10 March 1766, £3 9s 0d Samuel Smith, gunner from 11 March 1766, £1 9s 8d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses so far, carried over, £165 16s 0d Carried over, £2,852 14s 5d **Interpretations** Thomas Clark, the man given a pair of shoes from the store, was a matross of the artillery. He lost his own swimming out to fetch a boat so that a crew could row after the *Admiral Stevens* in search of the deserters. His company served the guns and worked at the landing place below the batteries, which put him on the spot when the alarm was raised. His sergeant, Richard Waterhouse, was reduced on 10 February 1766, so the same incident brought one artilleryman a reward and another a punishment. John Cresswell, a matross at 1s 0d a day, was also first coxswain of the longboat at £30 0s 0d a year on the civil list. The second coxswain, William French, was a sentinel of the first company. Both of the Company's boat steerers were therefore soldiers, and the allowance nearly trebled Cresswell's pay. The artillery supplied the boats' crews because its men were stationed at the waterside. The entry for John Corfoot completed a transfer begun in the fourth company's roll. He was struck off there on 20 January 1766 and entered here on 21 January 1766, with his rate rising from 10d to 1s 0d a day. A move from the infantry to the artillery was thus a promotion in pay, and it showed how the artillery kept up its numbers by taking picked men from the other companies. Each chain of promotion in the company ended on this page with a matross made gunner. William Phillips rose on 7 January 1766, the day Corporal Grainger died. Adam Critchton rose on 10 February 1766, when Sergeant Waterhouse was reduced. Samuel Smith rose on 10 March 1766 to fill the place of John Fox, who was reduced from gunner that day.
354	349	1766 Bro. over	The paymaster's roll for 1766 closed with the last of the matrosses in the artillery company, carried on

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		£ 2852.14.5 Matrosses bro. over £ 165.16 Samuel Spencer 4.11.3 John Scotcher 4.11.3 Henry Stapleford Enter Janry 11 4.[...] Daniel Tong Jany the 20th. Discharged 1 Thomas Watts 4.11.3 John Webley 4.11.3 Richard Wellman 4.11.3 Thomas Wyatt 4.11.3 £ 198.3.6 £ 3050.17.11	from a sub-total of £165 16s 0d and a main running total of £2,852 14s 5d. Brought over, £2,852 14s 5d Matrosses brought over, £165 16s 0d Samuel Spencer, matross, £4 11s 3d John Scotcher, matross, £4 11s 3d Henry Standford, matross, entered 11 January 1766, £4 0s 0d Daniel Long, matross, discharged 20 January 1766, £1 0s 0d Thomas Watts, matross, £4 11s 3d John Webley, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses, total, £198 3s 6d Total of salaries, diet money and pay for the quarter, £3,050 17s 11d **Interpretations** The Company's whole establishment on the island cost £3,050 17s 11d in pay for the quarter, or a little over £12,000 0s 0d a year. The civil servants and tradesmen accounted for about £850 0s 0d of the quarter's sum and the five military companies for about £2,200 0s 0d. Nearly three quarters of the wage bill therefore went on the garrison, which showed what the island was to the Company: a fortified watering place held by soldiers, with a small civil staff to supply and account for them. The island did not find that money from its own resources. The storekeeper's sales for the same quarter came to about £1,030 0s 0d, and most of that was the servants' and soldiers' own wages returning to the Company across the counter. The balance had to be met in coin, which explained the Council's readiness to take cash from Kirkpatrick, Corneille, the Governor and the ships' commanders in April 1766 and give bills on London in exchange. The £2,122 0s 0d received in that way within ten days covered two thirds of a quarter's pay. Daniel Long was discharged from the artillery on 20 January 1766, and a man of that name drew £13 7s 0d as an overseer on the civil list for the same quarter. The two entries probably described one man, who left the ranks to supervise labour on the Company's plantations or works. His discharge fell outside the shipping season, like those of James Goudy and William Fletcher, and marked a soldier taken into civil employment and not one going home. Henry Standford's entry completed his transfer. He left the third company on 10 January 1766 and joined the artillery on 11 January 1766, where his pay rose from 10d to 1s 0d a day. John Scotcher and Thomas Watts appeared here as matrosses, and men of the same names stood among the sentinels of the fourth company at full pay for the quarter, so the garrison held two soldiers of each name.
355	350	21st. April 1766 Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1766 March 31. To Cash received £ 3904.11.7 Carried over £ 3904.11.7	The paymaster's own account was entered on 21 April 1766 in the name of Thomas Kirkpatrick, and its debit side recorded the money he received. 31 March 1766, cash received, £3,904 11s 7d Carried down, £3,904 11s 7d **Interpretations** The account identified Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as the garrison's paymaster. He was charged as a debtor with every pound the treasury advanced to him, and he cleared the charge by showing what he paid out, so the list of salaries and pay for the quarter served as his discharge. The form made him personally answerable for the money. Any sum he could not account for remained a debt from him to the Company. The cash he drew, £3,904 11s 7d, exceeded the £3,050 17s 11d of the pay list by more than £850 0s 0d. The paymaster's disbursements therefore went

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			beyond wages, and the credit side of the account had to explain the difference. The office gave Kirkpatrick the handling of the island's largest flow of coin. He was at the same time a member of the Council that examined and approved the paymaster's accounts on 21 April 1766, and he signed the consultations of that month. He paid £400 0s 0d into the Company's cash for bills on London on 7 April 1766, a week after the date on which this money was charged to him.
356	351	1766 Per Contra Cr. By Cash paid Capt. Griffin for 61 1/2 Bushels Wheat at 7/6 p Bl. 22.17.6 By Cash paid do. for 2 Liagrs. Arrk. containg. 305 Galls. @ 4/ p G 61 By Cash paid do. for 13 C. 2. 13. Sugar at £ 3. 9. p Ct. 47.11 Jany. 31 By Cash pd. John Steward junr. Thomas Nimble, and Wm. Jerman £ 10. each for relistg. to serve the HCompy. five Years longer each 30 Feby 17th. By Cash pd. John Thompson for relisting to serve as above 10 By Cash pd. John Twaits Native for do. 5 18th. By Cash pd. John May for do. 10 March 23. By Cash pd. Adam Scott, Thomas Morris, Isaac Day, Thos. Tyler, Daniel Maloney, John Holbrook, William Cliffton, Geo. Capeling, Thos. Berwick, Samuel Smith, Willm. Phillips, John Springthorp and James Kemp for relisting to serve as above £ 10. each 130 By Cash paid Samuel Kittson for 13 days Work Cardg. wool to make Mattrasses for the Hospitals use at 1/6 p day 19.6 By Cash paid Mr. M Purling for a Window Sash Glazed for the Castle 4 By Cash paid Capt. Hindman for the passage of Michael Reed Edward Cozens, Charles Edgels, John Cary, Edward Davis, and Joseph Good, six Inlisted Soldiers £ 5. each 30 By Cash paid Benj. Mason for 102 Goths of Rushes at 6d p Goth 2.11 By Cash paid William Jenkins for baking 66 Batches of bread at 1/8 p Batch for the use of the Garrison this Quarter 5.10 By Cash pd. do. bakg. 16 Batches Bread for the HCompys. Slaves 1.6.8 By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men for 642 days Work at the Stores unloading the two Store Ships at 1/ p Day 32.2.6 By Cash pd. Orlando Bagley Senr. 1/ p Bushl. 166 1/4 Bushels Potatoes for the use of the Garrison 8.6.3 By Cash pd. Capt. Peters for the following Articles for the use	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account for 1766 set out the payments he made in cash. Paid Captain Griffin for 61 bushels of wheat at 7s 6d a bushel, £22 17s 6d Paid Captain Griffin for 2 leaguers of arrack holding 305 gallons at 4s 0d a gallon, £61 0s 0d Paid Captain Griffin for 13 cwt 2 qr 13 lb of sugar at £3 9s 0d a cwt, £47 11s 0d 30 January 1766, paid John Steward junior, Thomas Nimble and William Yeoman £10 0s 0d each for re-enlisting to serve the Company five more years, £30 0s 0d 17 February 1766, paid John Thompson for re-enlisting on the same terms, £10 0s 0d 17 February 1766, paid John Twaits, a native of the island, for re-enlisting, £5 0s 0d 10 March 1766, paid John May for re-enlisting, £10 0s 0d 23 March 1766, paid Adam Scott, Thomas Morris, Isaac Day, Thomas Tyler, Daniel Maloney, John Holbrook, William Cliffton, George Capeling, Thomas Berwick, Samuel Smith, William Phillips, John Springthorpe and James Kemp £10 0s 0d each for re-enlisting, £130 0s 0d Paid Samuel Kitson for 13 days' work carding wool for hospital mattresses at 1s 6d a day, £0 19s 6d Paid Matthew Purling for a glazed window sash for the castle, £4 0s 0d Paid Captain Hindman for the passage of six invalid soldiers at £5 0s 0d each, £30 0s 0d Paid Benjamin Mason for 102 bundles of rushes at 6d a bundle, £2 11s 0d Paid William Jenkins for baking 66 batches of bread for the garrison that quarter at 1s 8d a batch, £5 10s 0d Paid William Jenkins for baking 16 batches of bread for the Company's slaves, £1 6s 8d Paid various men of the garrison for 642½ days' work at the stores unloading the two store ships at 1s 0d a day, £32 2s 6d Paid Orlando Bagley junior for 166¼ bushels of potatoes for the garrison, £8 6s 3d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 163 lb of cheese at 9d a lb, £6 2s 3d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 4 hams weighing 76 lb, £4 1s 8d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 43 lb of loaf sugar, £2 14s 0d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 5 firkins of butter at £3 3s 0d a firkin, £15 15s 0d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 3 cases of pickles at £3 3s 0d a case, £9 9s 0d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, ¼ lb of race ginger, £0 0s 6d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, ¼ lb of turmeric, £0 0s 6d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 2 oz of cinnamon, £0 3s 9d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 2 oz of mace, £0 3s 9d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, ¼ lb of nutmegs, £0 4s 6d Paid Captain Peters for the Company's table, 2 oz of cloves, £0 3s 9d Carried over, £401 4s 5d

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		of the Honble. Compys. Table vizt. 163 lb Cheese @ 9d. p lb £ 6.6 4 Hams wt. 76 lb at 1/1 p lb 4.1.8 43 lb Loaf Sugar at 1/3 p lb 2.14 5 Firkins Butter @ £ 3. 3 p Firkg. 15.15 3 Cases Pickles @ 3. 3 p Case 9.9 1/4 Raw Ginger 6 1/4 Turmerick 6 2 Cinamon 3.9 2 Mace 3.9 1/2 lb Nutmegs 4.6 2 Cloves 3.9 Carrd. over £ [...]	The six invalids sent home with Captain Hindman were Michael Reed, Edward Cozens, Charles Edgels, John Cary, Edward Davis and Joseph Good. **Interpretations** The Company paid soldiers to stay. A man whose contract expired received £10 0s 0d in cash for signing on for another five years, a sum equal to eight months of a sentinel's pay. Nineteen men took the bounty in the quarter, and 13 of them did so together on 23 March 1766, the day the *Earl of Elgin* and the *Admiral Pocock* arrived from the East. The timing was deliberate on both sides. A homeward ship in the road gave a time-expired soldier his one real chance to leave, and the Council put the money on the table at that moment. Seven others refused it and were discharged on 7 April 1766. Recruits sent from England cost the Company their passage and several months of unproductive pay, so a bounty to a seasoned man already on the island was the cheaper course. John Twaits received only £5 0s 0d, and the paymaster marked him as a native. He was a drummer of the third company born on the island. A man with family and no home in England was unlikely to leave whatever he was offered, and the Council halved his bounty accordingly. The six invalids went home in the *Duke of Richmond*, which Thomas Hindman commanded and which sailed on 4 April 1766. Her muster roll listed no passengers, so the roll covered only the ship's own company and the invalids were carried outside it. Five of the six stood on the garrison's pay list at full pay to 31 March 1766. The Company paid £5 0s 0d a head, a low charitable rate against the fare of a cabin passenger, and so cleared its ranks of men unfit for duty at a cost of £30 0s 0d. Soldiers did the island's casual labour at fixed extra rates. Unloading the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* took 642½ man-days at 1s 0d a day, more than a sentinel's daily wage and paid on top of it. William Jenkins, a matross, baked the garrison's and the slaves' bread at 1s 8d a batch, and Samuel Kitson, a sentinel of the second company, carded wool at 1s 6d a day. Such earnings were a large part of what made a soldier's 10d a day liveable. The ships' commanders sold provisions to the Company as well as to the inhabitants. Captain Griffin supplied wheat, sugar and 305 gallons of arrack in leaguers, the large Dutch casks of about 150 gallons in which Batavia arrack was shipped. Captain Peters sold cheese, hams, butter, pickles and spices from England for the Company's table. Those purchases were the private trade of the commanders, and the proceeds returned to them as the bills on London granted in April 1766. Race ginger was ginger in the whole dried root, as distinct from ground. Matthew Purling, a member of the Council, sold the Company a glazed sash for £4 0s 0d, and Orlando Bagley junior, a planter, supplied 166¼ bushels of potatoes at 1s 0d a bushel. The rushes, bought by the bundle, were probably for thatching or for stuffing the hospital's mattresses.
357	352	21 April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1766 March 31 To Cash brought over £ 3904.11.7 Carried over £ 3904.11.7	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster was carried forward under 21 April 1766 without any new entry. 31 March 1766, cash brought over, £3,904 11s 7d Carried over, £3,904 11s 7d
358	353	1766 Per Contra Cr. 1766	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster continued in 1766 from a running total of £440 0s 10d.

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		Bro. over £ 440.8.10 By Cash pd. Eliz. Lamb for 13,350 Yam at 3/ p Hd. 20.6 By Cash pd. do. for 650 Seed do. at 1/6 p Hd. 9.9 By Cash pd. do. for 2,600 Suckers at 2/6 p Hd. 6.6 By Cash pd. Samuel Alexander for 7,400 do. at 2/6 p Hd. 18.6 By Cash pd. do. for 3000 do. at 4/ p Hd. 12 By Cash pd. do. for 2 Rafter for the use of one of the Honble. Company's Houses 1.8 By Cash pd. do. for 2 Loads Binders at 2/ p Load for do. 4 By Cash pd. Margt. Alcock for 10,000 Yams @ 3/ p Hd. 15 By Cash pd. Thomas Harper Clark of the Market 1/ upon 274 lb of Beef for the use of the Garrison this Quarter 1.2.10 By Cash paid Capt. Hindman for 340 lb Paddy there being none in the Honble. Compys. Stores 1.8.4 By Cash pd. do. for a Long Boats Grapnl. Wt. C 2. 0. 16 at £ 3. 2 p Ct. 6.2.1 By Cash pd. Willm. Harris for 77 days work in the Armourers Shop this Quarter at 1/6 p day 5.15.6 By Cash pd. Henry Davis for 77 days work in do. at 1/6 p day 5.15.6 By Cash pd. Mr. Jonathan Doveton for 10 Loads Bamboos for the use of the Honorable Compy. 1.5 By Cash paid Wm. Holbrook for 168 lb Iron 5 By Cash paid John Pritchard for a Cask of Stale Beer for the use of the Honorable Company 4 By Cash paid Adam Evans for makg. 13 Prs. Chair Straps 1 By Cash paid do. for makg. 13 Prs. Pillions 13 By Cash paid Julio Fabiano for breaking up the Fly Cutter 5 By Cash paid Noth quedah Pochullen his allowance 1.12.6 By Cash paid do. for House Rent 1 By Cash paid the Clerk of the Arraigns and Prosecutor of the Court 12.6 By Cash paid Sundry Garrn. Men for coming express wth. Acct. of Ships to windward 4.15 By Cash paid do. for 10 days Mowing at 2/3 p day 1.2.6 By Cash paid do. 22 do. Work Carpr. breakg. up the F. Schooner 1.13 By Cash paid do. 43 3/4 do. Labourers Work for do. at 1/	Brought over, £440 0s 10d Paid Elizabeth Lamb for 13,350 yams at 3s 0d a hundred, £20 0s 6d Paid Elizabeth Lamb for 650 seed yams at 1s 6d a hundred, £0 9s 9d Paid Elizabeth Lamb for 2,600 suckers at 2s 6d a thousand, £0 6s 6d Paid Samuel Alexander for 7,400 suckers at 2s 6d a thousand, £0 18s 6d Paid Samuel Alexander for 3,000 suckers at 4s 0d a thousand, £0 12s 0d Paid Samuel Alexander for 2 rafters for one of the Company's houses, £0 1s 8d Paid Samuel Alexander for 2 loads of binders at 2s 0d a load for the same house, £0 4s 0d Paid Margaret Alcock for 10,000 yams at 3s 0d a hundred, £15 0s 0d Paid Thomas Harper, clerk of the market, his fee on the beef supplied to the garrison that quarter, £1 2s 10d Paid Captain Hindman for 340 lb of paddy, there being none in the Company's stores, £1 8s 4d Paid Captain Hindman for a longboat's grapnel weighing 1 cwt 3 qr 16 lb at £3 2s 0d a cwt, £6 2s 1d Paid William Harris for 77 days' work in the armourer's shop that quarter at 1s 6d a day, £5 15s 6d Paid Henry Davis for 77 days' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £5 15s 6d Paid Jonathan Doveton for 10 loads of bamboos for the Company's use, £1 5s 0d Paid William Holbrook for 160 lb of iron, £1 8s 0d Paid John Pritchard for a cask of stale beer for the Company's use, £4 0s 0d Paid Adam Evans for making 13 pairs of chair straps, £1 0s 0d Paid Adam Evans for making 13 pairs of [...], £0 13s 0d Paid Julio Fabiano for breaking up the Fly cutter, £5 0s 0d Paid Nockqueda Bockullen his allowance, £1 12s 6d Paid Nockqueda Bockullen his house rent, £1 0s 0d Paid the clerk of the arraigns and prosecutor of the court, £0 12s 6d Paid various men of the garrison for bringing express word of ships to windward, £4 15s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 10 days' mowing at 2s 3d a day, £1 2s 6d Paid men of the garrison for 22 days' carpenters' work breaking up the Fly cutter, £1 13s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 43¾ days' labourers' work on the same at 1s 0d a day, £2 3s 9d Paid men of the garrison for 5 days' sawing at 1s 6d a day, £0 7s 6d Paid men of the garrison for 1 day's mason's work repairing the officers' houses, £0 2s 6d Carried over, £524 13s 3d **Interpretations** The Company broke up one of its own vessels that quarter. The Fly was a cutter, a small single-masted craft kept at the island, and the paymaster's entries recorded her end. The storekeeper issued 1,510 lb of cordage partly for hauling her up, Julio Fabiano received £5 0s 0d for taking her to pieces, and carpenters and labourers of the garrison put in 65¾ days on the same task. A vessel hauled ashore and dismantled was past repair, and her timber, iron and copper went back into store. The loss explained the Council's purchase of a longboat from Captain Wyche on 14 April 1766, where it stated that the Company wanted another boat, and the grapnel bought from Captain Hindman for £6 2s 1d was an anchor for a longboat.

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		2.3.9 By Cash paid do. 5 do. Turning at 1/6 p day 7.6 By Cash paid do. 1 do. Masons Work reprg. the Offrs. House 2.6 Carried over £ 524.13.3	The entry for Nockqueda Bockullen named the man behind the storekeeper's account headed Malay. He received a cash allowance of £1 12s 6d and house rent of £1 0s 0d for the quarter, beside the rice, beef, tea and soap issued for him from the store. A person maintained in a rented house with a pension, and not set to labour, was a prisoner of rank and not a slave. The first part of his name was the Malay and Persian title of a ship's master, so he was perhaps a native sea captain sent into exile from the Company's settlements in Sumatra. The Company bought the staple of its slaves from the planters. Elizabeth Lamb and Margaret Alcock supplied 23,350 yams at 3s 0d a hundred, part of the 32,700 entered as bought in the plantation account for the same quarter. Both sellers were women, probably widows running family plantations. The suckers were offshoots for planting, bought by the thousand for the Company's own ground, and Samuel Alexander, who sold 10,400 of them, was the plantation overseer and the new sheriff appointed on 31 March 1766. He therefore sold produce to the establishment he worked for. The £4 15s 0d paid to soldiers for bringing word of ships to windward showed how the alarm system worked beyond the guns. Lookouts on the high eastern ridges saw sails long before they reached the road, and a runner carried the news down to the castle on foot. The gunner's account for March 1766 recorded six alarms fired on such reports. The clerk of the market supervised the sale of meat and took a fee on each pound of beef the garrison bought from the planters. The clerk of the arraigns, who also acted as prosecutor, read the charges and presented the case when the Council sat as a criminal court, and he was paid by the sitting. Captain Hindman of the *Duke of Richmond* sold the Company 340 lb of paddy because its own store held none, although the plantations drew 2,535 lb of it in the quarter. The stock ran out before the China ships arrived, and the Council bought at 1d a pound from a ship in the road to keep the horses and poultry fed. The stale beer bought from John Pritchard, the surgeon's mate, was old sour beer, used in place of vinegar for scouring or in mixing size and limewash. The article Adam Evans made in 13 pairs beside the chair straps could not be read.
359	354	21st. April Thomas Kirkpatrick. Dr. 1766 March 31. To Cash bro. over £ 3904.11.7 Carried over £ 3904.11.7	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster was again carried forward under 21 April 1766 with no new entry. 31 March 1766, cash brought over, £3,904 11s 7d Carried over, £3,904 11s 7d
360	355	1766 Per Contra Cr. Bro. over £ 524.13.3 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 160 days Labrs. Work repg. the Honble. Company's Houses 8 By Cash paid do. 17 3/4 days Laborers Work in the Stores 1/ p day 17.9 By Cash paid do. 30 1/4 do. making Mortar for the Hospital 1.10.3 By Cash paid 132 do. for bringing Rafters &c. for the Blacks Ho. 6.12 By Cash pd. do. 2 3/4 do. Paintg. the Long Boat @ 1/6 p day 4.1 1/2	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster went on in 1766 from a running total of £524 13s 3d. Every entry was a payment to men of the garrison for extra work. Brought over, £524 13s 3d 160 days' labourers' work repairing the Company's houses, £8 0s 0d 17¾ days' labourers' work in the stores at 1s 0d a day, £0 17s 9d 30¼ days' making mortar for the hospital, £1 10s 3d 132 days' bringing rafters and other materials for the slaves' house, £6 12s 0d 2¾ days' painting the longboat at 1s 6d a day, £0 4s 1½d 805½ days' work aboard the longboat at 1s 0d a day, £40 5s 6d 20 days' carpenters' work repairing the longboat, £1 10s 0d

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		By Cash pd. do. 805 1/2 do. workg. on board do. 1/ 40.5.6 By Cash pd. do. 20 do. Carpentrs. Work repg. do. 1.10 By Cash pd. do. 278 1/2 do. Labourers do. Catchg. Fish for the Garrn. 13.18.6 By Cash pd. do. 20 3/4 do. Painters Work used Carps. Hd. Spikes Gun Carriages and Flag Staff 1.11.1 1/2 By Cash pd. do. 46 do. Carpentrs. Work hewg. Timber for Chl. House 3.9 By Cash pd. do. 160 do. Plaisterers do. for do. 12 By Cash pd. do. 982 do. Labourers do. do. 49.2 By Cash pd. do. 77 1/2 do. makg. Bricks at 1/6 p day 3.17.3 By Cash pd. do. 3 do. Stone Blowr. for a Brick Kiln 4.6 By Cash pd. do. 37 do. Painters Work at the Lieut. Govrs. House 2.15.6 By Cash pd. do. 15 do. Carpenters do. at do. 1.2.6 By Cash pd. do. 10 do. Plaisterers do. at do. 15 By Cash pd. do. 2 do. Glaziers do. at do. 3 By Cash pd. do. 81 3/4 do. Labourers do. at do. 4.1.9 By Cash pd. do. 106 1/2 do. gettg. Lime Stone at 1/6 p day 7.19 By Cash pd. do. 227 do. gettg. do. 1/ p day 11.7 By Cash pd. do. 17 do. repairg. the Lime House at Sandy Bay 1.5.6 By Cash pd. do. 6 do. Stone Sawg. for the Fortifications at do. 9 By Cash pd. do. 31 do. Stone Blowg. at do. at 1/6 2.6.6 By Cash pd. do. 182 do. Labourers do. at do. 9.2 By Cash pd. do. 6 do. Masons Work at 1/6 p day [11] By Cash pd. do. 14 do. do. hewg. Stone for a Mill 2.9 By Cash pd. do. 6 do. do. do. for do. 9 By Cash pd. do. 4 do. Stone Blowr. for building a Store House upon Ladder Hill 6 By Cash paid do. 158 do. Labourers do. for do. 7.18 By Cash paid do. 42 do. Stone Sawg. at the PortCullis at Banks's 3.3 Carried over £ 724.13.[...]	278½ days' labourers' work catching fish for the garrison, £13 18s 6d 20¾ days' painters' work on the wood carts, handspikes, gun carriages and flagstaff, £1 11s 1½d 46 days' carpenters' work hewing timber for the slaves' house, £3 9s 0d 160 days' plasterers' work for the slaves' house, £12 0s 0d 982 days' labourers' work for the slaves' house, £49 2s 0d 51½ days' making bricks at 1s 6d a day, £3 17s 3d 3 days' stone blasting for a brick kiln, £0 4s 6d 37 days' painters' work at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £2 15s 6d 15 days' carpenters' work at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £1 2s 6d 10 days' plasterers' work at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 15s 0d 2 days' glaziers' work at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 3s 0d 81¾ days' labourers' work at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £4 1s 9d 106 days' quarrying limestone at 1s 6d a day, £7 19s 0d 227 days' quarrying limestone at 1s 0d a day, £11 7s 0d 17 days' repairing the lime house at Sandy Bay, £1 5s 6d 6 days' stone sawing for the fortifications at Sandy Bay, £0 9s 0d 31 days' stone blasting at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £2 6s 6d 182 days' labourers' work at Sandy Bay, £9 2s 0d 6 days' masons' work at 3s 6d a day, £1 1s 0d 14 days' masons' work hewing stone for a mill, £2 9s 0d 6 days' work on stone for the mill, £0 9s 0d 4 days' stone blasting for a storehouse on Ladder Hill, £0 6s 0d 158 days' labourers' work for the storehouse on Ladder Hill, £7 18s 0d 42 days' stone sawing at the cullis at Banks's, £3 3s 0d Carried over, £724 13s 0d **Interpretations** The garrison was the island's labour force. The page recorded about 3,650 paid working days in a single quarter, the equivalent of 40 soldiers employed every day on building, quarrying, boat work and fishing. The Company paid a flat 1s 0d a day for labouring and 1s 6d for skilled work, on top of a man's military pay of 10d. A soldier put to the works therefore more than doubled his income, and the extra £200 0s 0d on this page alone amounted to a tenth of the garrison's whole wage for the quarter. The arrangement gave the Company cheap labour without hiring anyone and gave the men a strong reason to stay, which fitted the 19 bounties paid for re-enlistment in the same quarter. The slaves' house was the largest single work. It took 982 days of labouring, 160 of plastering, 46 of hewing timber and 132 of carrying rafters, or 1,320 days at a cost of £71 3s 0d in labour alone. The scale indicated a full rebuilding of the building where the Company's slaves were locked in at night, the same house the overseer inspected by candlelight in the storekeeper's account. The Council spent more on it that quarter than on the fortification at Sandy Bay, where the paid labour came to 236 days. The crews of the longboat accounted for 805½ days at £40 5s 6d. That figure represented about nine men in the boat every day of the quarter, ferrying water, stores and cargo between the ships and the landing place. The work wore out the boat as well as

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			the rope, and the same page charged carpenters and painters for repairing her. Fishing for the garrison was organised as paid duty. Soldiers spent 278½ days at it, about three men a day, and the catch was issued as a ration. The Company thus ran a small fishery with its own men beside the one worked by its slaves, and fresh fish supplemented the salt meat that dominated the store's sales. Lime, brick and stone were all produced on the island by the same hands. Soldiers quarried limestone for 333 days, made bricks for 51½ and blasted rock with powder for a brick kiln, for Sandy Bay and for a new storehouse on Ladder Hill. The gunner's account for March 1766 charged 39 lb 8 oz of powder to the works, which supplied that blasting. The men who drilled and fired the charges earned the skilled rate of 1s 6d. A mason's day cost 3s 6d, more than three times a labourer's and as much as a lieutenant's daily salary. The rate applied to men hewing stone for the wheat mill, the project for which the store issued candles to the masons, and it showed how scarce trained stonecutters were among the soldiers.
361	356	21st. April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. To Cash brought over £ 3904.11.7 £ 3904.11.7	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster was brought forward under 21 April 1766 and closed. Cash brought over, £3,904 11s 7d Total, £3,904 11s 7d
362	357	1766 Per Contra Cr. Bro. over £ 724.13 By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men 16 1/2 days Work at 3/6 p day 2.17.9 By Cash pd. do. 4 days Carpenters Work at 1/6 6 By Cash pd. do. 58 do. Stone Blowr. do. 4.7 By Cash pd. do. 981 do. Labourers do. 49.1 By Cash pd. do. 27 do. Plaisterers do. 2.6 By Cash pd. do. 35 do. do. at the Castle 2.12.6 By Cash pd. do. 86 1/2 do. Work cutting Stone for do. 6.7.9 By Cash pd. do. 166. do. Carpenters do. at do. 12.9 By Cash pd. do. 94 do. Stone Sawyers do. at do. 7.1 By Cash pd. do. 207 do. Labourers do. at do. 10.7 By Cash paid John Bland for 12 Bottles Mustard and 65 lb Raisons for the use of the Honble. Companys Table 4.6.9 By Cash pd. for 990 lb Pork bought of the Seamen belongg. to the Ship Earl of Middlesex 14.7.11 By Cash pd. Mary Seale for 8450. Yam at 3/ p Hd. 12.13 By Cash pd. do. for 300 Yam at 1/6 p Hundred 4.6 £ 853.13.8 By the amount of the pay List 3050.17.11 £ 3904.11.7 St. Helena 31. April 1766 Errs. Excepted (signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster closed in 1766 with the following payments, carried on from a running total of £724 13s 0d. Brought over, £724 13s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 16½ days' masons' work at 3s 6d a day, £2 17s 9d Paid men of the garrison for 4 days' carpenters' work at 1s 6d a day, £0 6s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 58 days' stone blasting, £4 7s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 981 days' labourers' work, £49 1s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 27 days' plasterers' work, £2 0s 6d Paid men of the garrison for 35 days' plasterers' work at the castle, £2 12s 6d Paid men of the garrison for 36½ days' cutting stone for the castle, £6 7s 9d Paid men of the garrison for 166 days' carpenters' work at the castle, £12 9s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 94 days' stone sawyers' work at the castle, £7 1s 0d Paid men of the garrison for 207 days' labourers' work at the castle, £10 7s 0d Paid John Bland for 12 bottles of mustard and 65 lb of raisins for the Company's table, £4 6s 9d Paid for 990 lb of pork bought from the seamen of the *Earl of Middlesex*, £14 7s 11d. Paid Mary Seale for 8,400 yams at 3s 0d a hundred, £12 12s 0d Paid Mary Seale for 300 yams at 1s 6d a hundred, £0 4s 6d Total of payments other than pay, £853 13s 8d Amount of the pay list, £3,050 17s 11d Total, £3,904 11s 7d Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster at St Helena on 31 March 1766, subject to correction of any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for March 1766. **Interpretations** The account balanced to the penny. Kirkpatrick was charged with £3,904 11s 7d received, and his pay list of £3,050 17s 11d and other payments of £853

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		Paymr. Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of March last, which is as follows vizt.	13s 8d came to exactly that sum, so no balance stood against him or in his favour. An account that closed at nothing was the form the Company required. The paymaster drew from the treasury only what his vouchers covered, the treasury held the island's cash, and the Council's count of that cash, taken immediately afterwards, checked the other half of the transaction. The Company bought salt pork from common sailors. The seamen of the *Earl of Middlesex*, which left on 6 March 1766, sold 990 lb at about 3½d a pound. Foremast hands had no trading privilege like their officers, and the meat was probably their own saved rations or a small private stock carried for sale. The Council bought it because the store's salt provisions were the island's largest single article of consumption, and a purchase in the road cost less than freight from England. John Bland, who sold mustard and raisins for the table, was a midshipman of the *Duke of Richmond* in her muster roll of 1766. The private trade of the ships thus reached from commanders such as Wyche and Rice, who remitted hundreds of pounds, down to a midshipman with a few bottles and a bag of fruit. The castle absorbed a large share of the quarter's skilled labour, with 166 days of carpentry, 94 of stone sawing, 36½ of stone cutting and 35 of plastering. The storekeeper's issue of 59 single and 42 double deals for the castle and the Company's works belonged to the same repairs. Mary Seale was the third woman to sell yams to the Company in the quarter, after Elizabeth Lamb and Margaret Alcock. The three supplied 32,700 between them, which matched the number entered as bought for the slaves in the plantation account approved on 14 April 1766. The 300 sold at half price were seed yams for planting.
363	358	21st. April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1766 March 1. To Balance remaining £ 7439.8.2 4 To Ship Earl of Middlesex 47.10 14 To Account Current London for one Chest Treasure received from Ship Prince of Wales amounting by Sale to 1003.8.1 31. To Exchange for one Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Christopher Baron Esqr. 80 To Ship Plassey the received the Balance of her Account 7.5 To Ship Prince of Wales received do. 7.5 To James Cowell received of him for stores Sold in the Quar. ending this day 990.12.7 To Plantation for Provision Sold 6.10.5 To Licences for Publick Houses 17.10 To fines received of John Seale and James Goudy as p Consultation of the 17th. February 1766. 2 To Fortification for Lime Sold 2.3.6 £ 9603.12.9	The account of the Company's cash for March 1766 was entered under 21 April 1766 in the name of Thomas Kirkpatrick, and its debit side recorded the money that came in. 1 March 1766, balance remaining in hand, £7,439 8s 2d 4 March 1766, received from the *Earl of Middlesex*, £47 10s 0d. 14 March 1766, one chest of treasure received by the *Prince of Wales* and charged to the account current with London, which produced by sale £1,003 8s 1d. 31 March 1766, one set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors and payable to Christopher Baron, £80 0s 0d 31 March 1766, received from the *Plassey* the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d. 31 March 1766, received from the *Prince of Wales* the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d. 31 March 1766, received from James Bowell for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £990 12s 7d 31 March 1766, received from the plantation for provisions sold, £6 10s 5d 31 March 1766, licences for public houses, £17 10s 0d 31 March 1766, fines received from John Seale and James Goudy under the consultation of 17 February 1766, £2 0s 0d 31 March 1766, received from the fortifications for lime sold, £2 3s 6d Total, £9,603 12s 9d **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick held the Company's treasury as well as the paymaster's office. This account charged him with all the cash on the island, opening with £7,439 8s 2d in hand, and the quarter's £3,904 11s 7d for pay and works passed from it to his second account. One councillor therefore kept the chest, paid the garrison

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			and sat on the board that audited both sets of figures. The Council's only independent check was the physical count of the coin that it made each month. The chest of treasure was silver sent out from London in the *Prince of Wales*. The Directors shipped foreign coin, chiefly Spanish dollars, as bullion by weight, and the phrase recording its sale meant that the island's treasury took the coin into circulation at the local rate and credited London with the proceeds of £1,003 8s 1d. The island ran at a loss in cash, since its wage bill of over £12,000 0s 0d a year far exceeded what the store took back, and consignments of silver made up part of the gap. Bills of exchange covered the rest, and the £80 0s 0d from Captain Corneille on 31 March 1766 appeared here as cash received. The storekeeper's payment tied the two sets of accounts together. James Bowell handed over £990 12s 7d, which equalled the £905 14s 1d sold to the Company's servants and the £84 18s 6d sold to the planters in his collection for the quarter. The sales to the ships were settled separately, and the *Earl of Middlesex*, the *Plassey* and the *Prince of Wales* each paid the balance of an account before sailing. Public houses were licensed by the Council, and the fees brought in £17 10s 0d. The licence let the Council limit the number of houses selling drink to soldiers and sailors and close any that became disorderly, while taking a revenue from a trade it could not suppress. James Goudy, fined with John Seale under an order of 17 February 1766, was the sentinel of the fourth company discharged on 6 January 1766. He left the garrison, stayed on the island as a free inhabitant and was before the Council for an offence within six weeks. The lime sold from the fortifications showed the Company supplying building material to private persons. Soldiers quarried and burned it for the works, and the surplus was sold to inhabitants who had no other source.
364	359	1766 Per Contra Cr. 1766 March 31. By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Saly. &ca. in the Quarter ending this day 3904.11.7 By Balance remaining vizt. In Specie 5159.6.2 In Cash notes of no use 539.15 5699.1.2 £ 9603.12.9 We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Mitchell vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena Gentlemen, Having been pleased to approve of what I proposed relative to my giving you an Account, at the End of each Quarter, of the Progress made in the Construction and repairs of the fortifications and other publick	The credit side of the Company's cash account for March 1766 showed where the money went and what remained. 31 March 1766, advanced to the paymaster on sundry accounts to pay salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £3,904 11s 7d Balance remaining in coin, £5,159 6s 2d Balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Balance remaining, total, £5,699 1s 2d Total, £9,603 12s 9d The Council received a letter that day from Captain Mitchell, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. It opened by recalling that the Council approved his proposal to report at the end of each quarter on the progress made in building and repairing the fortifications and other public works. **Interpretations** Nearly a tenth of the balance was paper that could not be spent. The treasury held £539 15s 0d in cash notes described as of no use, beside £5,159 6s 2d in coin. Cash notes were paper promises issued by the island's government in earlier years to stand in for scarce silver in local payments. Notes returned to the chest and marked as useless were ones withdrawn from circulation, worn out or no longer accepted, which the treasurer still carried in his balance because they were charged to him until formally cancelled. The entry separated them from the coin so that the Council, counting the chest, knew how much real money the island possessed. The coin in hand, a little over £5,100 0s 0d, would meet the pay list and works for about one more quarter and a third. The treasury therefore depended on the cash paid in during April 1766 for

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			bills on London, which came to £2,122 0s 0d from Kirkpatrick, the Governor, the two commanders and the steward, and on further silver from home. Mitchell's letter introduced a new routine of account. The engineer undertook to describe the state of the works every quarter, where the storekeeper's and paymaster's books recorded only the materials issued and the days of labour paid. The Council and the Directors gained by it a means of judging whether the money spent at Sandy Bay, Banks's, the castle and the slaves' house produced results on the ground. The proposal came from Mitchell himself, who commanded the artillery, served as engineer and signed the gunner's account, and it placed his own conduct of the works on record each quarter.
365	360	21 April public Works under my Direction, during the three foregoing Months, I shall now begin this Task by a Recapitulation of what has been done towards the Execution of the Company's Orders since my Arrival on this Island As the immediate Repair of the Castle (in which some progress had been made before my Arrival) was recommended by the Court of Directors, my first Attention was therefore to comply with this part of their Instructions which, as far as regarded Essentials, has been long since effected some farther Alterations of no great Consequence are now in hand, by order of the Governor and will soon be compleated. The Plantation House, which was also recommended as an Object of my Attention, and which in fact was going very fast to Ruin, has had something done to it, The principal Leaks in the Roof have been Stopt: The Practicability of rendering the whole water tight (which had been despaired of) has been Shewen, and the Materials for compleating it, as soon as it can be done without interfering with more essential Works, have been prepared and collected. The Houses likewise of the Company, which were very leaky and much out of repair, have been thoroughly refitted, And materials have been collected by your Order for building an Hospital for the Companys Slaves, which you have now thought proper to postpone. With respect to the Fortifications, as my Operations during the first Year were, by the Instructions from England, confined to Repairs only, and Banks's lower Battery (agreeable to the Accounts I gave of it in my Remarks) was in a very ruinous condition, and demanded an immediate Attention; I received your Orders, in Consequence of my Representations to make it my first Work and have accordingly compleated the whole in the manner I proposed in my remarks, and which I have exhibitted in the inclosed Plan. As it was necessary to pull some part of it entirely down and to form a Canal of some extent in Order to convey the Torrents of Water under the Battery, as well as to make many other Alterations in	Captain Mitchell's letter of 21 April 1766 went on to say that he would cover the public works under his direction for the preceding three months. He chose to begin with a summary of everything done to carry out the Company's orders since he arrived on the island. The Court of Directors recommended the immediate repair of the castle, where some progress was made before he came. He therefore attended to that part of his instructions first. The essential repairs were finished long before, and a few further alterations of small importance were in hand by order of Governor Skottowe and would soon be done. Plantation House was also named to him as needing attention, and it was falling quickly into ruin. The main leaks in its roof were stopped. He showed that the whole roof could be made watertight, which others despaired of, and the materials to finish it were prepared and gathered for use as soon as more pressing works allowed. The Company's other houses, which leaked badly and were much out of repair, were thoroughly refitted. Materials were collected by the Council's order to build a hospital for the Company's slaves, but the Council now chose to put that building off. His instructions from England confined him to repairs alone during his first year on the fortifications. The lower battery at Banks's was in a ruinous state, as he reported in his remarks, and needed attention at once. The Council accepted his representations and ordered him to make it his first work. He completed the whole in the way he proposed, as shown in a plan enclosed with the letter. Part of the battery had to be pulled down entirely. A channel of some length was built to carry the torrents of water underneath it, and alterations were made to almost every part of the original construction. The work therefore took much labour and time. A second essential work was also finished. A path was cut along the rocks to connect the battery at Banks's with the one in Rupert's Bay. A gully between the two, which gave access to the interior, was walled up. Preparations were made for making bricks. **Interpretations** The letter explained the cullis at Banks's that ran through the storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts. It was the channel Mitchell built to lead flood water beneath the lower battery. The battery stood at the foot of a steep ravine, and the rare but violent rains sent a torrent down on it that undermined the walls. The 248 lb of iron, 116 lb of sheet lead and 42 days of stone sawing charged to the cullis in the quarter to 31 March 1766 were the last stages of that work. The Directors limited Mitchell to repairs for his first year and withheld authority for new construction. An engineer newly arrived might have been expected to begin on fresh defences, and the restriction showed the Court's caution about cost. It wanted the existing works made sound and his

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		almost every part of its first Construction; this has been a Work of considerable Labour and Duration, as has also been another very essential Work, which is now compleated and consisted of cutting a Communication along the Rocks betwixt the above Battery and that in Ruperts Bay. An accessible Gulley, leading into the Country, and situated between these two, has been walled up. Preparations have been made for making Bricks such as	proposals for anything new sent home in his remarks for approval before money was committed. The fortification at Sandy Bay, which had its own account in the quarter to 31 March 1766, therefore belonged to a later stage of his instructions. The walled gully and the path along the rocks dealt with one weakness. An enemy landing between Banks's and Rupert's could climb the gully into the interior and take both batteries from behind. The wall closed that route, and the path let the two garrisons reinforce each other along the shore without the long march inland. The Council postponed the hospital for the Company's slaves after ordering the materials collected for it. The letter gave no reason. The paymaster's account for the same quarter showed 1,320 days of labour on the slaves' house, so the Council put the building where the slaves were lodged and secured ahead of the one where the sick among them were to be treated. Mitchell's claim that he made a roof watertight when others despaired of it, set at the head of a report to his employers, also served as a statement of his own competence. The stores issued to Plantation House garden and the 425 lb of sheet lead for the Company's works in the quarter fitted the repairs he described.
366	361	1766 as clearing the ground, collecting the Clay, and Fewell for burning them, erecting Sheds and a Brick-Kiln &ca. And the whole is now in great Forwardness. As the sending out from England a quantity of Limestone sufficient to compleat the Fortifications of this Island, would have been attended with great Inconveniences as well as Expence to the Honble. Compy. I was at some pains upon my Arrival to examine the natures of the different kinds of Stones here, and was so luckly in my Researches as to discover several Sorts of Lime Stone, and particularly a very large Quarry of it at Sandy Bay (sufficient to last the Island for ever) where (as it lay convenient for water Carriage, and contiguous to One of the principal Works I proposed to construct) I have compleated the proper Preparations for burning and Lodging it, and have, with considerable Labour compleated a Road to the Quarry itself, which was before inaccessible. I have already burnt a pretty large Quantity of it, and find it very good Lime for Building, tho' not requiring so great a proportion of Sand as that from England, and wanting but very little Coal to burn it, which is a great Advantage. These are the principal Works which have been carried on and were compleated before the Arrival of the Storeships, and if the number of Workmen employed during the last Year be consider'd, it will I hope be allowed that as much has been done as could reasonably have been expected. And here I must beg Leave to mention the Disappointment I have mett with in Regard to the Quantity of Labour I expected from the Company's Slaves, who (I mean the Labouring Slaves) consisting only of	Captain Mitchell's letter of 21 April 1766 described the preparations for brickmaking as clearing ground, gathering clay and fuel for firing and putting up sheds and a kiln. All of it was well advanced. Shipping enough limestone from England to finish the island's fortifications would have been troublesome and costly to the Company. Mitchell therefore examined the different kinds of stone on the island soon after he arrived. He found several sorts of limestone, and in particular a very large deposit at Sandy Bay, big enough to supply the island permanently. It lay close to the sea for carriage by boat and next to one of the main works he proposed to build. He finished the arrangements for burning and storing the lime there. A road to the quarry, which could not be reached before, was completed with much labour. A fairly large quantity was already burned and proved very good for building. It needed less sand than English lime and very little coal to burn, which he counted a great advantage. Those were the main works carried on and finished before the storeships arrived. Mitchell hoped the Council would agree that as much was done as could fairly be expected from the number of workmen employed over the previous year. He reported his disappointment at the amount of work obtained from the Company's labouring slaves. They were raw, slow, weak and sickly men brought from Africa by Captain Skottowe, and they were of very little use up to that time. About a third of them were generally in the hospital. He allowed that they were by then somewhat healthier and stronger, more skilful, and beginning to be much more useful. He enclosed a general summary of the workmen then employed, which showed where each party worked. The Council judged it necessary after the storeships arrived to raise the number of labourers to three times what it was before, and he expected the Company's orders to be carried out faster in proportion. A. Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 21 April 1766. **Interpretations** Mitchell rejected the supply of lime from England and found it on the island instead. Lime was the binding agent of all masonry, and St Helena, a volcanic island, was believed to have almost none, so

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		raw, inactive, weak & sickly Men brought from Africa by Captain Skottowe, have hitherto been of very little service, and have been generally One third of them in the Hospital. They are now it is true somewhat more healthy & vigorous, as well as handy, and begin to be much more serviceable. I have done myself the Honour to enclose for your Perusal a General Abstract of the Number of the Workmen now employed, which will likewise shew the respective Places where they are at Work; And as I have thought it necessary since the Arrival of the Storeships, to increase the Labourers to three Times their former Number, the Execution of the Company's Orders will of Consequence be proportionably expedited I have the Honour to be, with great Respect, Gentlemen Your most obedient humble Servant (signed) A. Mitchell St. Helena 21st. April 1766	the expected course was to ship limestone or burned lime out as ballast. He set that aside on grounds of cost and delay and prospected for local stone. The deposit at Sandy Bay was calcareous sand and shell rock on the windward coast. The find explained a run of entries in the accounts for the quarter to 31 March 1766: 333 days of quarrying limestone, the lime house at Sandy Bay repaired and fitted with locks, calf skin for gloves at the lime works, sail needles for mending lime bags and an iron-bound block for hoisting goods out of the longboat. Lime burned at Sandy Bay went round to James's Valley by sea, since no cart road crossed the island. His remark that the lime needed little coal mattered as much as the stone itself. Fuel was the island's scarcest material, and the store issued 105 bushels of imported coals to the smith's shop alone that quarter. A kiln that burned on brushwood and a little coal freed the works from dependence on shipments of fuel. The passage on the slaves recorded a direct importation from Africa. Captain Skottowe, who shared the Governor's surname, brought a cargo of men for the Company's works, and they arrived unseasoned to labour and in poor health. A third in hospital at any time was a very high rate of sickness. It accounted for the hospital's heavy issues of sago, sugar and rice in the quarter, for the arrack given to sick slaves and for the two men and a boy who died among the Company's slaves in February 1766. Mitchell judged the men entirely by the work they yielded, and his statement that they were becoming useful described survivors who lived through their first year. The Council tripled the labourers once the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* came in during March 1766. Those ships brought the tools, deals, iron and other stores without which a larger gang could not be set to work, and the paymaster's 642½ days for unloading them marked the start of the increase. The roughly 3,650 days of soldiers' labour paid for in the quarter reflected that decision. The letter doubled as a defence. Mitchell listed what he achieved, pointed to the small number of workmen and blamed the slaves for the shortfall before anyone accused him of slow progress. A quarterly report that he proposed himself gave him the means to put that case on the record for the Directors.
367	362	21st. April General Abstract of the Artificers and Labourers employed for the Honble. Compy. at their respective Stations April 21st. 1766 Divisions Smiths Masons Brick Makers Stone Blowers Carpenters Coopers Painters Plaisterers Sailers Overseers Stations, Smiths Whites, Smiths Blacks, Smiths Black Boy Apprent., Masons Whites, Masons Blacks, Masons Black Boys Apprent., Brick Makers White, Brick Makers Black Boys Appren., Stone Blowers White, Stone Blowers Black Boys Appren., Carpenters White, Carpenters Black, Carpenters Black Boys Appren., Coopers White, Coopers Black, Coopers Black Boy Apprent., Painters Whites, Painters Black Boys Apprent., Plaisterers White, Plaisterers Black Boys Apprent., Sailers Coxswain, Sailers Crew, Overseers Whites, Overseers Black, Stone Sawyers White, Baker White, Labourers White, Men Slaves Black, Total Sandy Bay Fort: Smiths Whites 1, Smiths Blacks 0, Smiths Black Boy Apprent. 0, Masons Whites 0, Masons Blacks 1, Masons Black Boys Apprent. 2, Brick Makers White 0, Brick Makers Black Boys Appren. 0, Stone Blowers White 6, Stone Blowers Black Boys Appren. 2, Carpenters White 0, Carpenters Black 1, Carpenters Black Boys Appren. 0, Coopers	The general abstract enclosed with Captain Mitchell's letter counted the craftsmen and labourers employed for the Company at each station on 21 April 1766, and Archibald Mitchell signed it as engineer. Sandy Bay fort, smiths: 1 white, 0 slaves, 0 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, masons: 0 white, 1 slave, 2 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, brickmakers: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, stone blasters: 6 white, 2 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, carpenters: 0 white, 1 slave, 0 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, coopers: 0 white, 0 slaves, 0 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, painters: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, plasterers: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices Sandy Bay fort, sailors: 0 coxswains, 0 boat's crew Sandy Bay fort, overseers: 4 white, 1 slave Sandy Bay fort, stone sawyers: 0 white Sandy Bay fort, bakers: 1 white

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		White 0, Coopers Black 0, Coopers Black Boy Apprent. 0, Painters Whites 0, Painters Black Boys Apprent. 0, Plaisterers White 0, Plaisterers Black Boys Apprent. 0, Sailers Coxswain 0, Sailers Crew 0, Overseers Whites 4, Overseers Black 1, Stone Sawyers White 0, Baker White 1, Labourers White 52, Men Slaves Black 43, Total 114 James's Valley Fort: Smiths Whites 2, Smiths Blacks 2, Smiths Black Boy Apprent. 1, Masons Whites 2, Masons Blacks 1, Masons Black Boys Apprent. 4, Brick Makers White 0, Brick Makers Black Boys Appren. 0, Stone Blowers White 0, Stone Blowers Black Boys Appren. 0, Carpenters White 7, Carpenters Black 3, Carpenters Black Boys Appren. 3, Coopers White 1, Coopers Black 1, Coopers Black Boy Apprent. 1, Painters Whites 1, Painters Black Boys Apprent. 1, Plaisterers White 1, Plaisterers Black Boys Apprent. 1, Sailers Coxswain 2, Sailers Crew 12, Overseers Whites 1, Overseers Black 0, Stone Sawyers White 2, Baker White 0, Labourers White 8, Men Slaves Black 6, Total 64 Plantation House: Smiths Whites 0, Smiths Blacks 0, Smiths Black Boy Apprent. 0, Masons Whites 0, Masons Blacks 2, Masons Black Boys Apprent. 4, Brick Makers White 1, Brick Makers Black Boys Appren. 5, Stone Blowers White 0, Stone Blowers Black Boys Appren. 0, Carpenters White 0, Carpenters Black 0, Carpenters Black Boys Appren. 0, Coopers White 0, Coopers Black 0, Coopers Black Boy Apprent. 0, Painters Whites 0, Painters Black Boys Apprent. 0, Plaisterers White 3, Plaisterers Black Boys Apprent. 2, Sailers Coxswain 0, Sailers Crew 0, Overseers Whites 1, Overseers Black 0, Stone Sawyers White 0, Baker White 0, Labourers White 12, Men Slaves Black 3, Total 32 Total: Smiths Whites 3, Smiths Blacks 2, Smiths Black Boy Apprent. 1, Masons Whites 2, Masons Blacks 4, Masons Black Boys Apprent. 10, Brick Makers White 1, Brick Makers Black Boys Appren. 6, Stone Blowers White 6, Stone Blowers Black Boys Appren. 2, Carpenters White 7, Carpenters Black 4, Carpenters Black Boys Appren. 3, Coopers White 1, Coopers Black 1, Coopers Black Boy Apprent. 1, Painters Whites 1, Painters Black Boys Apprent. 1, Plaisterers White 4, Plaisterers Black Boys Apprent. 3, Sailers Coxswain 2, Sailers Crew 12, Overseers Whites 6, Overseers Black 1, Stone Sawyers White 2, Baker White 1, Labourers White 72, Men Slaves Black 52, Total 210 (signed) Archd. Mitchell Engineer &ca.	Sandy Bay fort, labourers: 52 white Sandy Bay fort, men slaves: 43 slaves Sandy Bay fort, total: 114 men and boys James's Valley fort, smiths: 2 white, 2 slaves, 1 slave boy apprentice James's Valley fort, masons: 2 white, 1 slave, 4 slave boy apprentices James's Valley fort, brickmakers: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices James's Valley fort, stone blasters: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices James's Valley fort, carpenters: 7 white, 3 slaves, 3 slave boy apprentices James's Valley fort, coopers: 1 white, 1 slave, 1 slave boy apprentice James's Valley fort, painters: 1 white, 1 slave boy apprentice James's Valley fort, plasterers: 1 white, 1 slave boy apprentice James's Valley fort, sailors: 2 coxswains, 12 boat's crew James's Valley fort, overseers: 1 white, 0 slaves James's Valley fort, stone sawyers: 2 white James's Valley fort, bakers: 0 white James's Valley fort, labourers: 8 white James's Valley fort, men slaves: 6 slaves James's Valley fort, total: 64 men and boys Plantation House, smiths: 0 white, 0 slaves, 0 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, masons: 0 white, 2 slaves, 4 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, brickmakers: 1 white, 5 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, stone blasters: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, carpenters: 0 white, 0 slaves, 0 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, coopers: 0 white, 0 slaves, 0 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, painters: 0 white, 0 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, plasterers: 3 white, 2 slave boy apprentices Plantation House, sailors: 0 coxswains, 0 boat's crew Plantation House, overseers: 1 white, 0 slaves Plantation House, stone sawyers: 0 white Plantation House, bakers: 0 white Plantation House, labourers: 12 white Plantation House, men slaves: 3 slaves Plantation House, total: 32 men and boys All stations, smiths: 3 white, 2 slaves, 1 slave boy apprentice All stations, masons: 2 white, 4 slaves, 10 slave boy apprentices All stations, brickmakers: 1 white, 5 slave boy apprentices All stations, stone blasters: 6 white, 2 slave boy apprentices All stations, carpenters: 7 white, 4 slaves, 3 slave boy apprentices All stations, coopers: 1 white, 1 slave, 1 slave boy apprentice All stations, painters: 1 white, 1 slave boy apprentice All stations, plasterers: 4 white, 3 slave boy apprentices All stations, sailors: 2 coxswains, 12 boat's crew All stations, overseers: 6 white, 1 slave All stations, stone sawyers: 2 white All stations, bakers: 1 white All stations, labourers: 72 white All stations, men slaves: 52 slaves All stations, total: 210 men and boys **Interpretations**

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			The abstract showed a deliberate plan to train slaves in the building trades. Twenty-six slave boys were bound as apprentices across eight crafts, ten of them to the masons, five to the brickmakers and three each to the carpenters and plasterers, and 11 grown slaves already worked as smiths, masons, carpenters and a cooper. White craftsmen were soldiers paid 1s 6d to 3s 6d a day on top of their wages, or contracted tradesmen such as the master mason at £120 0s 0d a year. A slave who learned the trade as a boy cost the Company his food and clothing for life. Mitchell therefore placed apprentices beside every white craftsman, with the aim of replacing hired skill by owned skill within a few years. The 37 pairs of shoes and 30 yards of canvas issued to slave craftsmen in the quarter to 31 March 1766 clothed that group. More than half of the whole workforce stood at Sandy Bay. The fort there employed 114 of the 210, including 52 white labourers, 43 slaves, all six stone blasters and five of the seven overseers. The numbers confirmed the tripling of labourers that Mitchell's letter attributed to the Council after the storeships arrived, and they marked Sandy Bay as the principal new work, sited beside the limestone quarry he opened. The party was large enough to need its own baker and its own smith to sharpen tools. The white labourers were soldiers. The 72 listed matched the scale of extra work paid for in the paymaster's account, and with the white craftsmen they took over 100 men out of a garrison of about 330 on any working day. The Company's 52 labouring slaves were fewer than the soldiers employed beside them, which bore out Mitchell's complaint that the Africans brought by Captain Skottowe supplied far less labour than expected. The two coxswains and 12 boat's crew at James's Valley were the longboat's men, counted as part of the works because they carried stone, lime and stores. They corresponded to the first and second coxswains on the civil list and to the 805½ days of boat work paid in the quarter. Brickmaking was placed at Plantation House, where one white brickmaker worked with five slave boys. The clay ground, sheds and kiln described in the letter therefore lay in the interior near the Governor's country residence, and the bricks were first intended for the repairs to that house.
368	363	Captn. Henry Bazett this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipl. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council The Humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for six Acres of Land, lying in Sandy Bay, your Petitioner therefore humbly prays, your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a renewal of the Same And your Petitioner will ever pray St. Helena 21st. April 1766 (signed) Henry Bazett Granted John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Captain Henry Bazett petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council on 21 April 1766 about six acres of land at Sandy Bay. His lease of that ground was at an end, and he asked for it to be renewed. The Council granted the request. John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the consultation. **Interpretations** The petition showed that the island's farmland was held on the same footing as its house plots. The Company owned the soil and let it for fixed terms, so a planter's title to his fields lapsed when the lease ran out and revived only by the Council's grant. Robert Ballard renewed the lease of part of his house in James's Valley in the same way on 7 April 1766. The system kept every holding within the Council's reach at regular intervals, which let it adjust rents and refuse a tenant who gave offence. Bazett was captain of the second company and was named churchwarden on 31 March 1766. A serving officer who also leased farmland was typical of the garrison's senior men, whose plantations supplied produce to the Company and the shipping and earned them more than their pay. His six acres lay at Sandy Bay, where the Company was then building its principal new

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			fortification and where Captain Mitchell reported a large limestone quarry and a new road on the same day. The Council renewed the lease without recorded conditions, at a time when 114 workmen were stationed in the bay and when land there was gaining in use and value from the works.
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371	366	Blank page	
372	367	Blank page	
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374	369	Blank page	
375	370	Book cover	
376	371	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1765–1766 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm) 48 cm x 32 cm x 5 cm No. written pages 363 No. blank pages 6 Spine and cover Good condition Inside pages Pages not numbered Foxing present Some pages have tattered edges Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours) 2 hours	