St Helena Letters to England 1766-1772

Introduction: This is the 11th volume in the series *St Helena Letters to England*. It includes outgoing official correspondence from the Governor and Council of St Helena to the East India Company in London reporting on the administration of the island, including matters such as government decisions, defence, military preparedness, trade and shipping, supply shortages, personnel issues, and judicial proceedings. They often included explanations of difficulties faced by the island and defences against criticisms from London of past actions or policies. The letters were usually copied or abstracted into the island records.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-2-11.

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

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

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

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

Text Loss: Many pages have tattered edges, and some of the text along them is missing. A few pages also have holes in the middle, presumably caused by termites. On most pages, ink has bled through from the reverse side and makes the text difficult to read.

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

The records begin on film No. 8, and this has been assumed to be page 1. It is then further assumed that the page numbers continue sequentially through to the end of the volume.

Dates: The earliest date recorded in this volume is a letter sent on 2 April 1766, and the latest is a letter sent on 21 May 1772. All these letters were sent to England during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The Governor and Council sent the Court of Directors 20 general letters between 2 April 1766 and 26 March 1767, 20 from 11 April 1767 to late January 1768, 13 from 23 February 1768 to February 1769, 17 with one to the Secret Committee from 13 February to 19 July 1769, about 24 from 19 July 1769 to late May 1770, 21 from 30 May 1770 to about July 1771 and 20 from 3 July 1771 to 21 May 1772, each with a numbered packet list. The undated last letters of the third and sixth runs are placed by a reference to the letter of 23 January 1769 and by the arrival of the *Egmont* on 29 June 1771. The Court's orders are known only from the Council's replies, and the consultations, court and inquiry proceedings and letters to the Secret Committee were enclosures and are absent. Days left open in a letter are inferred from its date, which is followed where a summary conflicts with it. [Film No. 8-356]

Governance and Administration

On 2 April 1766 Governor John Skottowe and his councillors Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick promised obedience to any order of the Secret Committee signed by three of its members, a pledge repeated on 2 June 1768, in late May 1770, on 4 May 1771 and on 29 August 1771. The letter defended three steps taken before approval arrived. Captain Mitchell received command of the artillery company to restore its discipline, which the Court approved. John Robinson's salary was raised because it barely exceeded the master mason's and he could earn double as a free workman, which the Court's 34th paragraph rebuked. Lieutenant Bridgwater was posted to Sandy Bay at 5s a day. The Council cited its regular application for Mr Beale, an old servant, as proof that it knew the rule, declined a provisional keeper of ordnance stores in favour of the artillery officers and placed James Black, the gardener sent out, on the ordered salary. [Film No. 8, 11-14]

John Bland, formerly master mason, returned with the Court's leave against the Council's wishes, and a consultation of 10 March 1766 recorded him buying up the private trade brought for the inhabitants and lowering the value of the local coin. The Council undertook to deport him on a further offence, and the Court, as the letter of 11 April 1767 recorded, approved and ordered his removal if he misbehaved. No offence was reported before he left with his family at his own request in the *Earl of Ashburnham* on 20 May 1767, when the Council asked that he never be allowed back. [Film No. 12, 62, 76, 77]

Each packet carried duplicates of its predecessor's letters and consultations, the commanders' receipts for earlier packets, sent by a different ship, the effective state of the garrison and cash accounts closed to the day of sailing, with legal business in a separate letter from April 1766. Muster rolls went home on 2 April, 7 July and 3 November 1766. Lists of families, rents and the Company's slaves were taken every 30 September and the general books balanced to that day. Those of 1766 went home on 5 March 1767, those of 1767 on 18 January 1768 with duplicate lists by the *Hector* on 23 February 1768, those of 1768 on 13 February 1769, the books of 1769 by the *Ponsborne* on 25 January 1770, the books and slave list of 1770 on 7 March 1771, five months late for want of a ship, the lists of 1771 with one of stock on 10 November 1771 and the books of 1771 on 10 March 1772. The lists of 1769 named Blacks separately from slaves. Lists of officers and servants were taken on 14 October 1769 and 9 April 1770. Packets left every week or two from April to early August 1766, but none sailed between 4 August and 23 September 1766 or between 3 November 1766 and 5 March 1767, so the last carried almost four months of consultations. Where ships sailed in company, as on 22 February and 6 April 1770, one carried the packet and her consorts small paper packets with copies of the letter. [Film No. 17, 19, 21, 38, 47, 49, 51-52, 102, 105, 109-110, 113, 115, 120-121, 124, 126-127, 134-135, 138, 159, 160, 208, 210, 222, 223, 224, 226, 232, 241, 244, 245, 277, 279, 324, 327, 329]

The *Northumberland* arrived on the night of 23 March 1767 with the Court's orders, and with three ships about to sail the letter of 26 March 1767 only promised obedience, while Skottowe alone acknowledged the Secret Committee's letter. The reply of 11 April 1767 cited a consultation of 6 April to prove that she left

within her 10 working days. The Court ruled that a ship's rotation be settled by her arrival in the Downs and no longer by her boat's arrival at Banks's, and the Council undertook to tell the captains and still to record the boat times. It blamed the omission of bale goods from the *Grenville*'s cargo abstract on a copying error, three packets having gone between 5 and 10 June 1766. [Film No. 55, 57, 58, 63, 73, 94, 100, 104]

The letter of 11 April 1767 answered the Court's complaint that the engineer's letters were forwarded without comment: Mitchell wrote so fully that little remained to add, but the Council promised its judgement wherever one was called for. On 11 May 1767 it ordered his inspection of the guns itself and sent the resulting demand home under its own name. His proposals for Munden's battery were debated in the consultations of 23 and 30 November and 7 and 14 December 1767 and issued as the Council's orders with its reasons, the battery's position and construction being altered before London could answer. [Film No. 60, 76, 103]

From 11 April 1767 the Council recommended salary increases and granted none. John Robins, the armourer, received only the salary ordered, with a promise to state his case if it proved too small for his family. A letter of 2 August 1767 recommended £40 0s 0d a year for Philip Mahony, clerk of the peace, whose small civil salary and fees obliged him to hold a garrison post, a union the Council thought improper. On 18 January 1768 it recommended John Drawwater, the Company's cooper, a diligent and sober man on £36 0s 0d a year. Britannicus Wright, whose five-year term as a writer ended on 1 July 1767, was made a factor on application under a standing order. [Film No. 61, 89, 91, 102]

Repairs to the Castle were merged in general charges and their cost hidden from the Court. On 11 April 1767 the Council directed the storekeeper to extract every article issued, opened a separate head for labour, stores and materials and promised that the fortifications would remain the first work. The account came before it on 1 June 1767 and went home with its minutes. [Film No. 61, 63, 84, 89, 102, 105]

All four members signed every general letter from 23 February to 15 June 1768. The Sandy Bay plan went in its own box under Captain Williams's signed receipt. The *Tilbury* brought the Court's orders on 12 May 1768, and with the homeward ships about to sail the Council again only promised obedience, while Skottowe acknowledged a letter from the Secret Committee without disclosing its contents. She was released under a consultation of 25 May 1768 once her 10 working days ran out, and the same was promised for the *Duke of Richmond*, which arrived on 3 June 1768 with Court letters of 5 and 16 February 1768. [Film No. 109-110, 113, 115, 120-121, 124-127, 134-135, 138]

The letter of 2 June 1768 answered the Court's decisions on individuals. Mahony, a sergeant, was struck off the military roll on his new appointment, and the Council protested that the salary left him only £14 0s 0d better off and asked for a subaltern's standing. Corneille agreed to the Court's request that he stay another year. John Preston, a mason, was to draw the salary ordered once he arrived. Two Bramins were told of unspecified orders about them, and John Stebley, a matross, appointed an attorney for business reported through Lord Sandys. On 15 June 1768 the Council promised Peter Morrit, a carpenter's mate, his salary and welcomed the Court's refusal to readmit the deserter Jonathan Lake, whose wife was kept by her relations. It appointed George Bazett a writer on its own authority on 13 August 1768, pleading the death of Francis Wrangham and heavier work in the stores, and returned Richard Wright's signed bond. [Film No. 130-132, 135, 139, 147, 150]

On 25 April 1768 Skottowe, Corneille and Purling sent home proceedings about Kirkpatrick's not acting as a justice of the peace, the councillors being the island's justices, and his written reply followed on 13 May 1768. Kirkpatrick accused Corneille on 11 July 1768 of taking Company property for his own use. Corneille answered on 19 July 1768, and the Governor and Purling cleared him, holding that the accuser acted from ill will because he kept silent until the two men quarrelled. Corneille resigned on 21 July 1768 and sailed in the *Admiral Pocock* with his servant, refusing to sit beside his accuser. The two judges thought Kirkpatrick's conduct worthy of the severest blame but left the decision to the Court. He ignored the Governor's summons to sign the papers on 12 August 1768, and only the consultations of meetings he attended went to his house. The letters of 13 August and 10 September 1768 carried two signatures, and his name returned without explanation on 23 January 1769 and remained until 30 March 1769. [Film No. 121, 124, 127, 142-143, 147-148, 153, 155, 158]

The *Duke of Albany* arrived on 1 April 1769 with the Court's general letter of 19 January 1769 and its ruling on the quarrel. Kirkpatrick was unwell, so the Secretary carried the orders to him and demanded his account as paymaster for the quarter ending 31 March 1769. He was dismissed on 7 April 1769. The Council then disclosed that he once passed off a fictitious advance to the company commanders and that his accounts contained errors over re-enlisted soldiers. It promised to ask before he sailed whether he held plans of the fortifications, and no result was recorded. He remitted £400 0s 0d on 29 April and £168 3s 0d on 5 May 1769 to Allen Auld and left with his family in the *Tilbury* about 11 May 1769. Skottowe and Purling signed alone from 3 April 1769. [Film No. 168-170, 176, 181, 184-185, 202]

Corneille landed from the *Speke* on 7 May 1769 as Lieutenant Governor and took his seat before the Court's packet was opened. The Court ordered his salary paid for the whole absence and gave him the choice of a company to command. Paragraph 23 gave all lieutenants an extra 2s a day, but on his recollection of the Court's intentions the Council paid second lieutenants 1s until the Court ruled. [Film No. 177, 184, 189-190]

The orders of 1769 favoured James Greentree, George Bazett and Mahony, gave the widows Beale and Kennedy annuities of £30 0s 0d each and Drawwater extra salary, and raised the pay of the Governor, Purling and the civil and military servants. Only the surgeon, Robert Barclay, on £79 0s 0d with diet money, and his mate John Pritchard, on £65 0s 0d, were left out, and the Council pleaded for them on 16 June 1769. The Court accepted the innocence of the gentlemen accused by Bland, and the Council denied as a plain falsehood his executors' claim that it refused £700 0s 0d offered to the treasury. [Film No. 175-176, 187, 190-191, 197, 203]

A reproach that His Majesty's Ship *Dolphin* carried no letter home in March 1768 drew the reply, on 11 April 1769, that Captain Wallace stayed one day and that the offices needed two or three more writers. The Council could not supply a letter for each of three ships that sailed on the day of that reply. It admitted two copying errors in June and July 1769, over artillery ironwork and the number of officers' sashes. On 19 June 1769 it appointed James Deffountain and William Webber Doveton writers without leave, arguing that six covenanted assistants served in 1744 and only seven in 1769 despite more ships, soldiers and works. William Wrangham of the Accountant's office became paymaster at £50 0s 0d a year, and two iron chests were requested on 3 July 1769 for the cash of the Storekeeper and Paymaster. George Bazett offered two island residents as sureties in £500 0s 0d. [Film No. 173-174, 177, 196, 201-202]

The Court's orders arrived by the storeships *British King* on the evening of 8 May 1770 and *Harcourt* next morning. The Council acknowledged them on 9 May 1770 and answered paragraph by paragraph after 25 May 1770, completing the reply on 30 May 1770. The two writers were confirmed and signed covenants, with Lieutenant Samuel Deffountain, James Greentree, William Wrangham and Jonathan Doveton as securities, the Council insisting that both posts were absolutely necessary. The covenants and George Bazett's bond went home for enforcement in England. Barclay and Pritchard received additional salary. The Court approved placing the paymaster's department under a civil servant, and Wrangham took it at the salary of the Storekeeper and Secretary while assisting Purling until Mr Wright could act as Accountant. James Carmichael, gardener, was to be paid and dieted in place of James Gordon, who left his ship at Plymouth and whose chest was sold in August 1769 for £20 17s 8d and credited in account current with London. [Film No. 211, 248, 250, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 270, 273, 279-280, 283, 306]

On 14 May 1770 the Council acted without reference home on a representation from the principal inhabitants about the costs of the office of Sheriff. Other settlements paid the expenses of sheriffs and bailiffs, the serving of warrants and the execution of criminals, and the previous year's Sheriff was repaid. [Film No. 249]

Captain Tippett, appointed by the Court Captain of Artillery and principal Engineer, ranked next below the junior captain, and on 30 May 1770 Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, formerly in charge of the works, was placed under him. Lieutenant Leech heard the Court's 40th paragraph read before the Council and was warned that further misconduct would end his service. Lieutenant Nathan Sample, also spelt Sampell, received a pension and the second lieutenants their arrears. The Council thanked the Court for a set of plans and

denied Mitchell's claim in London that the island held no copies, adding that he neither designed nor drew them. [Film No. 254-258]

A Court order of 29 March 1751 barred every foreigner from the interior. On 30 May 1770 the Council asked for an exception for foreign-born officers long in the Company's service, who resented being denied exercise in the country for their health. The Court replied that the order was never meant for such men, and on 4 May 1771 the Council undertook to admit them. [Film No. 258-259, 288]

Three signatures closed every letter of this run except that of 8 March 1771, which lacked Purling's without explanation. The Governor wrote separately to the Court on 4 and 9 August 1770 and 7 and 16 March 1771. No Company ship called between 9 August 1770 and 6 January 1771, and the Council sent a four-paragraph letter on 12 September 1770 by the Dutch *West Friesland*, whose Captain Mooy meant to touch in the English Channel and signed a receipt. The Court's letter of 2 January 1771 censured it for saying too little about the Company's ships and settlements. The Council answered on 4 May 1771 that the ship came straight from Batavia and that Dutch commanders were neither forthcoming nor well informed. Letters of 26 March and 26 May 1771 went by Danish ships bound up the Channel, the second with full shipping news. [Film No. 260, 270, 273, 274, 278-280, 283, 285-286, 290-291, 297, 306]

The Court's replies reported on 4 May 1771 gave Mahony the additional salary he petitioned for on 30 July 1770. Edward Daniels arrived as master mason at £120 0s 0d a year with a sum for his son's labour, and the Council paid his house rent of £20 0s 0d under orders, noting that every other servant without a Company house received £10 0s 0d. William Roberts, the Town Adjutant, asked on 27 May 1771 for a lieutenant's salary and was recommended. The Governor asked in the same month for chairs, tables and looking glasses for the Castle, where the furniture was old and scarce. [Film No. 269, 289-290, 297-298]

Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed as the whole Council until 15 April 1772, when the *Lord Camden* arrived from England with the Court's packet and Matthew Bazett took his seat as fourth member under its 17th paragraph. The full reply went on 3 May 1772. Bazett became accountant in place of Purling, who had long managed that office, Alexander Wright, a factor, secretary and John Goodwin, a factor, collector of customs. John Bazett, a writer appointed to Bengal, was to travel by way of Bencoolen in the *Earl of Sandwich* at his own cost. [Film No. 341-342, 346-347]

The Council named Richard Powell a cadet on 1 April 1771 and meant him for the second lieutenancy left by Lieutenant Frost's retirement. The *Pigot* arrived on 26 July 1771 with the Court's letter of 17 May 1771 giving the vacancy to Lauchlan Leslie. On 29 August 1771 the Council pleaded Powell's five months of steady duty, his father's long service and the Court's refusal of a writership for him in 1764 as too young, and by May 1772 the Court had made him a supernumerary lieutenant. [Film No. 311-312, 347]

Tippett asked on 7 September 1771 for an allowance of candles, customary for his department at other settlements, and for ground on which to build a house. The Council referred the candles home and refused the ground, which the Company had bought and might want for warehouses, proposing a Company house for the engineer once more essential works were done. The Court named Thomas Stroud to succeed Barclay whenever he resigned, and in May 1772 the Council gave Stroud use of the medicine chest for his practice meanwhile. [Film No. 318, 320, 348]

In October 1771 Tippett protested to the Council against a reprimand from Corneille after the pursuit of deserters on 30 September 1771. Corneille answered as a party, so only the Governor and Purling gave opinions, and the decision was left to the Court. The proceedings filled the consultations of 7, 14, 21 and 28 October 1771, and the Council's own letter credited Tippett with doing everything possible. [Film No. 321-322]

Three letters travelled by other carriers, among them one by His Majesty's Ship *Stagg* on 4 February 1772 and one by the Danish *Queen Sophia Magdalena* on 14 March 1772, for which her captain signed a receipt. The letters of 13 and 14 March 1772 carried only two signatures. [Film No. 310, 312, 314, 326, 332-333, 335, 337, 344-345]

Military Affairs and Defence

After the Court approved the engineer's plans, the Council on 2 April 1766 put to the works every Company slave not growing provisions or kept as a servant, with 104 soldiers at an extra cost that it rested on the engineer's opinion. Sandy Bay was begun first, under Bridgwater as resident officer and with a separate ledger head. The engineer was still testing local limestone and bricks, and gun carriages were the only supply expected from India. A plan of Banks's lower battery went home on 23 April 1766. [Film No. 11, 13-14, 23]

The orders for 1767, sent on 5 June 1766, included 10 brass guns, for which the Council made the engineer give written reasons. The same letter asked for 50 recruits, with building craftsmen among them, and sent a sword home as a pattern for scabbards. Shovels and spades were pressed for on 23 September 1766. Mitchell altered the Sandy Bay design after the approved plans went home, and the Council agreed in a consultation of 3 October 1766. All the flints in store were reported bad on 5 March 1767. [Film No. 28-29, 46, 48, 51]

Six invalid soldiers went home in the *Duke of Richmond* on 4 April 1766 for £30 0s 0d, with a surgeon's certificate and a signed waiver of wages. Discharged but able men were placed in homeward ships to complete their crews, at least 20 between 4 April and 25 July 1766, with two deserters from the *Plassey*, a former overseer and a former parish clerk. A soldier who deserted in Bengal was hidden by the crew of Captain Barkley's ship and could not be found, as the letter of 23 September 1766 admitted. [Film No. 18, 20, 24, 26, 28, 35, 37, 39, 42, 46]

Mitchell accused Bridgwater, of the third company, of cheating the soldiers at Sandy Bay of part of the arrack he bought for them. A general court martial on 10 July 1766 found him guilty and discharged him, the proceedings went home for confirmation and he sailed in the *Duke of Cumberland* on 11 May 1767. The Court said nothing of the vacancy, and on 27 June 1767 the Council asked for an officer from England or leave to take a young islander, holding that each company needed two subalterns. It made Mr Greentree's son, aged 15, a cadet from that day and sent a pattern of lace for the officers' regimentals. [Film No. 41, 43, 45, 61, 71, 73, 85, 87]

The Court refused the brass guns, and on 11 April 1767 the Council sent the engineer's argument again: tar or lacquer would protect the outside of iron guns, but salt air would corrode their inner parts over years and make brass cheaper in the end. If refused again he meant to move the guns at Munden's Point to Sandy Bay and order others for that battery. The captain of the artillery was told to list the laboratory utensils article by article, the Court having declined a general description. On 18 May 1767 Mitchell reported that the saluting curtain needed 21 guns of 6 pounds and the new battery at Munden's Point nine of 24 pounds. [Film No. 58, 59, 76]

On 11 April 1767 the Council declined the Court's order to exercise the soldiers on the works regularly, because they laboured from 6 in the morning to 6 at night. A little practice, it argued, would restore their discipline once the works ended, and recruits were kept from the labour. Its letter of late January 1768 stated that soldiers, who drew extra pay for building, would be used until every work was finished, the Company's slaves being too few and unequal to the task. [Film No. 62, 107]

The outward ships of April 1767 brought 19 recruits, many of them craftsmen. A review reported on 27 June 1767 showed that more than 60 soldiers would be entitled to discharge in 1768, and 16 recruits of 1762 had already claimed theirs and taken passage in the *Hawke* and the *Duke of Albany*. The Council again asked for 50 recruits. Discharged men went home as hands or by permit, like Richard Jones and James Hendry in the *Hampshire* on 19 April 1767, who signed away any claim to wages. Captain Haldane took 14 by permit in the *Duke of Albany* on 5 July 1767, although the packet list counted 15. [Film No. 61, 66, 84, 88, 90]

Sandy Bay's fortification was reported finished on 18 January 1768, and the Council ordered Munden's battery and the upper battery at Banks's to be carried on together with the hands released, to hasten the defence of the leeward coast. The plan, its key, the Council's opinion, an estimate and the whole cost under a single head followed, the engineer's other business having delayed them. The letter of 23 February 1768

admitted four departures from the approved design, reported as costing little: a musketry flank covered the smaller line, a covered passage joined the two lines across the dividing hill, the demolished old battery was dropped and a breastwork for wall pieces, also covering a walled gully, was raised east of the bay. By 10 September 1768 the work was called Mitchell's Line. [Film No. 103, 107-110, 152]

Mitchell asked on 23 May 1768 for 30 more soldiers for about two months, and the Council sent him the 26 recruits landed from the *Tilbury*, who were not yet fit for garrison duty. His letter before the consultation of 8 August 1768 reported works in progress at Munden's and planned at Lemon Valley, to be finished by May or June 1769, after which only two demi-bastions of the inner line in James's Valley and some gully walls would remain. The Council agreed that he could leave for England in 1769 and asked for an officer from the artillery train to command and drill the artillery company. Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, who had supervised the works for over two years, was proposed as superintendent at £100 0s 0d a year, the Council refusing to trust important works to any master mason. A start was made at Lemon Valley by 10 September 1768. [Film No. 129-130, 144-146, 152]

The Council inspected the finished upper battery at Banks's on 1 September 1768 and named it Purling's Battery. Its enlarged merlons were faced with stone in lime mortar and filled with lime, sand and earth, which deadened shot and spared the gunners from stone splinters. Every other parapet on the island was solid masonry, and the Council asked whether all those open to ships' guns should be rebuilt. Ships making for the road at James's Valley had to pass close to Buttermilk Point, where the wind generally took them aback under both batteries. The plan went home in a box with Captain Mears of the *Egmont*, and the cost was held back until the quarter's accounts were presented. [Film No. 151-152, 154]

Lieutenant De Launé died on 8 August 1768, leaving two commissions vacant and five lieutenants for the whole garrison duty. The Council commissioned the cadet James Greentree and left the second vacancy to the Court. With 50 soldiers' terms due to expire in March 1769 it asked for at least 50 recruits. Sample, of the artillery, pleaded age and infirmity on 14 November 1768, and the Council, having no power to grant pensions, retired him on half pay and gave the other half to Corporal Robert Gilson. A general court martial suspended Lieutenant Thomas Leech for six months on 8 November 1768 for neglect of duty, and Sergeant John Shirley took his place. Both promotions rested on Mitchell's recommendation, and the Council meant to move Leech to another company. [Film No. 146-147, 157]

At least 35 discharged men went home between 21 March and 13 August 1768. Passengers signed away any claim to wages, as the sergeant Richard Moreton did on the first of those dates and eight men in the *Europa* did on 25 April 1768. Men ordered aboard to complete a crew signed nothing and kept their pay: six went so with Captain Hasell, 10 in the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King* and four in the *Admiral Pocock*. Four soldiers sent by the *Triton* on 2 April 1768 travelled on a bare permit. [Film No. 114-116, 118, 121, 125, 132, 137, 147]

The Lemon Valley battery was reported finished on 13 February 1769, and the Council inspected it on 7 March 1769 and found it built to the approved plan. Its gun platforms waited for stone from England, so the cost summary was withheld while the plan went home with Captain Tanner. The cost of Purling's Battery was sent, and the Engineer was set to the demi-bastions and Munden's battery. The Court refused to rebuild other parapets with the new merlons without his written opinion, which he gave on 17 April 1769. A violent surf at Sandy Bay shortly before 7 May 1769 damaged the glacis of Mitchell's Line and carried away a gully wall. Twenty horsemen's tents were explained as movable shelter for men walling remote gullies. [Film No. 159, 161-162, 174-176, 181, 184]

Skottowe judged on 13 February 1769 that no sergeant in the garrison was fit to be adjutant and asked for one from the Foot Guards. The Court sent an adjutant by the *Speke* and allowed a separate town adjutant, a post given to Sergeant Major William Roberts. The *Duke of Albany* brought 38 recruits, but 80 promised by the *Speke* did not arrive. The Court proposed 100 privates in each company, and on 3 June 1769 the Council asked for 180 recruits in 1770, with the artillery included. The garrison could not then furnish a single relief, and guard duty was cut. Every officer assented to two unstated articles from the Court and received a reissued commission with its old date. Muster rolls were to say private in place of sentinel, and a bounty was offered to good men who stayed. [Film No. 158, 175, 188-190]

Under Captain Stewart's receipt 31 unserviceable iron guns left in the *Duke of Albany* on 14 April 1769 as ballast, free of freight, and 15 more were kept until replacements came. On 16 June 1769 the Council returned 194 of 200 bayonet scabbards as 4 inches too short and sent a fire engine pipe for repair by Bristow of Ratcliff Highway. Robert Nickles, a deserter from the Malabar coast, was enlisted for five years on 27 June 1769. Between March and July 1769 the ships took home 17 discharged soldiers, most as working crew, and three invalids at £5 0s 0d each. [Film No. 161, 166, 177-179, 184, 192, 196, 203, 207]

Work on the battery at Munden's Point, the subject of letters from the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant Bazett, Superintendent of the Works, in October 1769, stood unfinished for three months for want of Purbeck stone, as the reply of late May 1770 admitted. Captain Paul of the *Harcourt* offered to carry worn-out cannon home as ballast free of freight. The Captain of Artillery condemned 38 iron guns, which were loaded under two bills of lading binding Paul and his owners to deliver them in the Thames, and she returned from Bencoolen in June 1771 still carrying them homeward. The Court could send no master mason to replace William Holbrook, who had died. On 14 September 1769 the Council asked for two hawsers of 5 inches and 50 fathoms of iron chain to moor the longboats. [Film No. 215, 221, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260, 263, 269, 288, 304]

Five discharged soldiers went as crew with Captain Rice on 1 August 1769 and two in the *Grenville* on 17 August 1769. Invalids travelled as paid passengers at £5 0s 0d a head on a surgeon's certificate: John Fexon and William Ford in July 1769, Silvanus Rolf in February 1770 and George Wells and Benjamin Tooles in March 1770. Nine men, among them a serjeant and a matross, sailed on 6 April 1770 and six more next day. Only 94 of the 100 recruits sent in the storeships arrived in May 1770, three being named as dead on the passage. The Council kept Robert Grosvenor, a Bombay deserter found in the *Grenville*, to serve out his term and enlisted John Harrison, a deserter from the *Earl of Ashburnham*, for five years on about 16 April 1770. Lieutenant Welch died on 21 August 1769, and his commission went to the cadet Richard Mason subject to confirmation. [Film No. 208, 209, 211, 212, 215, 230, 234, 240, 242, 244, 256]

Flints sent for some years failed after one or two shots, and on 12 June 1770 the Council asked that new ones be tested before shipment. Gun carriages ordered from Bombay for two years never came, a survey found many unfit, and on 4 August 1770 the Council ordered them from England because the island's situation allowed no delay. The Court agreed in its letter of 23 November 1770 but complained that the order gave no dimensions. The Council replied that carriages were always ordered by weight of shot and conceded only that it should state whether trucks were wanted. [Film No. 260, 263, 269, 288, 304]

Lieutenant Frost petitioned for retirement, blind and weak after long service. On 16 June 1770 the Council put him on Sample's pension at once, admitting that the Company had no establishment for half pay, and asked the Court to confirm it. Lieutenant Lambert, the senior second lieutenant, took the vacant first lieutenancy in the second company. Printed copies of the covenant with Lord Clive for a fund to relieve European officers and soldiers arrived in April 1771. Men discharged at their own request had no claim on it, and the Governor published its terms in garrison orders and posted them at the barracks. [Film No. 265-266, 288-289, 305]

Seven soldiers deserted in a longboat on 28 July 1770, a date another letter gives as 23 July, and the general letter written a week afterwards, on 4 August 1770, asked for 100 recruits to reach the Court's new establishment and did not mention them. The Court found only a slight entry in the consultations, and on 4 May 1771 the Council admitted that it deserved blame without giving a reason for its silence. Soldiers worked the longboats, so rudders and sails were thereafter locked ashore whenever a boat lay idle. [Film No. 268-269, 289, 324]

Plans of the completed batteries at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley went home on 7 March 1771 with a summary of their cost. On 4 May 1771 the Council reported work on walling up the leeward valleys and repairing the merlons of a battery whose name is damaged, probably Purling's. It inspected every leeward valley on 14 May 1771 and kept its findings in the consultation of 20 May 1771. The Court ordered gunny bags from Fort William in place of sandbags, and the Council warned that the open-woven rice bags would

not hold sand. A dozen hourglasses for the outlying guards were requested on 14 June 1771. [Film No. 277, 279, 287, 290, 298, 303]

His Majesty's Ship *Portland* arrived from England on 24 March 1771 with a packet addressed to the Governor and Lieutenant Governor alone, enclosing Court letters of 23 November 1770 and 2 January 1771. Replies to the Secret Committee signed by those two officers went home on 4 May and 17 June 1771. She stayed six weeks and sailed on 4 May 1771 with the bark *Endeavour* and 12 Company ships under convoy, the *Lord Camden* and the *Kent*, which arrived on 25 and 29 March 1771, having waited for the fleet. Later arrivals went home unescorted. Copies of the Council's letter travelled in the *Lord Camden*, the *Portland* and the *Duke of Kingston*, and no receipt was taken from the warship. His Majesty's Sloop *Swallow* arrived from England on 30 April 1771 and was met off Cape Agulhas going eastward. [Film No. 285-287, 293-294, 296, 299, 301, 307]

The *Calcutta* and the *Duke of Richmond* brought about 120 recruits in April 1771, the first figure being damaged and the second 60. Two died on the passage, three deserted from the *Duke of Richmond* and the garrison stood complete. Three deserters from Bombay found in the *Duke of Cumberland* on 4 March 1771 were kept to serve their whole terms. Four soldiers went missing from barracks before the convoy sailed: one was found in the *Portland* and two in the *Duke of Kingston*, and Thomas Williams of the artillery probably passed the sentries dressed as a seaman. The Council reported this in full three weeks after receiving the Court's rebuke. [Film No. 268, 277, 288, 293]

Between 9 August 1770 and 17 June 1771 the ships took home 25 invalid soldiers at £5 0s 0d a head, each group with a surgeon's certificate: four in the *Fox*, five in the *Earl of Middlesex*, four in the *Greenwich* and 12 in the *Worcester*. Only four of the last group were recommended to the Military Fund for long service, age and infirmity. Discharged men went as working hands, four in the *Duke of Albany*, two in the *Anson* and one in the *Vansittart*. Captain Nicholas Skottowe had permission on 14 June 1771 to carry Corporal William Jones to England, with no reason given. [Film No. 264-265, 268, 271, 280-281, 283, 301, 303, 305, 307]

The Reverend William Bearcroft told the Council on 13 July 1771 that Andrew Tedrick, under sentence of death, claimed that men on the island meant to kill the sentry and blow up the main powder magazine in the valley. The Council inspected it with the engineer the next morning and found the passage walls built of small stones and mud mortar. The powder was moved to the castle, the inner walls were rebuilt in lime mortar and large stones and the outer wall in Purbeck stone cramped with iron, and the outer door was faced in copper. [Film No. 315-316]

Three deserters sent from Fort St George were kept to serve out their terms, as the consultation of 1 July 1771 recorded, and on 29 August 1771 the Council asked for 60 recruits. Seven invalids went home in the *Prime* on 7 September 1771 at £5 0s 0d a head, and George Oliver, hurt by a falling rock at Munden's Point, was recommended to the Military Fund. Twelve more sailed in the *British King* on 12 March 1772 for £60 0s 0d, with Murdock McCleod recommended for long service and a useless left arm. Those 12 signed an undertaking to claim no wages for the voyage, which the group of September 1771 did not. Discharged men went as hands in the *Prime*, the *Northumberland*, the *Stafford* and the *Pacific*, and two went by permit in the *Glatton* after signing the same undertaking. [Film No. 308, 312, 316, 320, 330, 332, 336, 340, 344, 352]

Skottowe learned on 30 September 1771 that six men planned to desert in a Company longboat: the sergeant, gunner and private forming the guard at Lemon Valley and the patron and two crew of a longboat. Tippett and Lieutenant Thomas Bazett secured the longboat with a party of soldiers. The six were supposed to have put off in a yawl to reach a longboat lying to windward and to have drowned in a high sea, though no boat or body was reported found. A second plot, to take a boat of the *Duke of Portland*, was discovered and stopped on 19 October 1771, a general court martial tried the offenders on 24 October 1771 and the informers were rewarded. The Council blamed a black woman who returned to the island in the *Pigot*, said to have met in London some of the deserters of July 1770 and to have told soldiers that an open boat could reach safety and that deserters went free. [Film No. 321, 322, 324]

Every leeward valley was walled up by 10 March 1772, when the masonry of the officers' barracks was nearly finished and the church was to follow it. The merlons of Purling's Battery had decayed in the salt air,

and on 7 September 1771 the engineer was ordered to face the cheeks of the embrasures with stone. The Council proposed two guns and a mortar on the point above the battery to bear on ships rounding the Sugar Loaf and promised to do nothing beyond repairs until the Court approved. High surf breached the wharf at the landing place, and repairs were in hand on 6 April 1772. [Film No. 317, 327, 336]

Supply, Provisioning and Agriculture

The Council blamed a severe shortage on its order for 1763, which proved too small once the ships' demands and the number of slaves grew, and on 2 April 1766 it promised fuller orders. It admitted fault for keeping rice and paddy from Captain Webb at an exorbitant price. The Court ordered a double quantity of rice from Bengal and Bombay, and the flour improved after a change of contractor. On 10 June 1766 the Council bought 20 casks of salt provisions from Captain Fenner of the *Grenville* at 2½d a pound, with more rice and paddy, and stated the price at once. Two yawls arrived for catching fish for the slaves, and extra hooks and lines were ordered on 5 June 1766. [Film No. 10-11, 14-15, 28, 32]

The Court's rule required captains to bring their own fuel from India, and 30 chaldrons of coal were reserved for burning lime. Captain Webb's crew took 30 loads of wood already lying felled, after which the Council promised to issue coals alone. Many captains still applied, and by 23 September 1766 the stock stood at 1 chaldron and 30 bushels. [Film No. 9, 14, 46]

Stores were counted on 31 March 1766 and the orders for 1767 framed from that count, which the Council warned would overstate what remained by the end of the year. Anchors and cables kept for the ships were to be sold at 30 per cent above invoice. An invoice charging 30 pairs of dovetail hinges at £3 17s 11d, against a usual 4d a pair, was sent back for correction. Two fire engines were ordered. The *Fly* cutter was broken up as unfit under a consultation of 9 December 1765, and a longboat lost while watering the King's ships stood in the books at £80 0s 0d. [Film No. 9, 11, 27-28, 30]

Pastures and plantations were reported flourishing on 23 April 1766 and 5 March 1767, though a continuing disease among the black cattle chiefly killed breeding animals and kept the herds below strength. The *Asia* brought cattle, sheep and other stock from the Cape worth £317 1s 0d on 22 February 1767, and her captain's claim to a premium on his own money was referred to the Court. [Film No. 22, 50-51]

On 11 April 1767 the Council reported issuing ships only 1/4 of the charterparty beef, the herd having suffered when the later ships of 1765 each received two extra cattle. The planters' return nevertheless rose by 60 head. On 27 June 1767 the Council found that the early ships' call at the Cape had reduced demand and asked that six or seven captains continue the practice for another year, each bringing about 40 cattle and 20 sheep, none older than 2½ years, some for sale to planters whose herds were hit by disease. The letter of 14 September 1767 reported a very good year. The *Lord Holland* arrived on 12 January 1768 with 20 young cattle and 54 sheep from the Cape, for which Captain Fasham Nairn was paid £79 13s 0d, and the Council repeated that young animals did better than full-grown ones. [Film No. 59, 60, 83, 84, 100, 102, 103]

Captains, the Council urged on 11 April 1767, should always be ordered to bring fuel and salt provisions from India for the homeward passage, since the island could calculate its own consumption but not the shipping's. The *Duke of Albany* brought 25 casks from Bengal at more than £13 0s 0d a cask prime cost, and the letter of 5 July 1767 reported the beef rotten on the surgeon's report and thrown into the sea. The pork was sound but poor and was topped up with fresh pickle for the Company's slaves. A second consignment by the *Nottingham*, reported on 10 September 1767, was all sound, with five casks fairly good, and it too went to the slaves. The Council twice asked the Court to stop the supply. [Film No. 60, 88, 98]

Lime from the island's limestone was reserved for the fortifications, the Council wrote on 11 April 1767, and would be turned to profit afterwards, while brickmaking was given up as too costly for want of a skilled man. Of the gear kept for the Company's ships, one cable had gone to the *Grenville* and an undelivered topmast was written off on Captain Court's bill of lading, leaving two anchors, one cable and three topmasts. Captain Howe of the *Nottingham* received an anchor and a cable in August 1767, and replacements were requested. The flour certificate went home on 22 May 1767 and two worn-out Company clocks on 27 June

1767 for repair and new cases. The storekeeper found on 14 September 1767 that the hats and shoes from each ship, tried in wear, were of equal quality. [Film No. 59, 60, 62, 79, 84, 93, 99, 100]

The storekeeper found the *Europa*'s Bengal meat sound but very lean, as the letters of 25 April and 5 May 1768 reported. Each piece shrank to less than half its size once out of the brine, so the meat was withdrawn from the garrison. Four casks weighed 613 pounds each against an invoiced average of 1,407½ pounds for the 30 casks, a shortfall of 794 pounds a cask. The Court's ban on such shipments arrived by the *Tilbury* before these complaints left the island, and the *Earl of Elgin* still landed one more lean cargo. On 2 June 1768 the Council undertook to buy salted provisions from homeward commanders and paid Captains Cooke and Hoare the customary price. Its order of 13 August 1768 asked England for only 30 casks, claiming more than two years' stock in store. [Film No. 119, 122-123, 128, 129, 143]

On 2 June 1768 the Council asked that outward commanders buy Cape animals of 12 to 18 months, because half of the large old beasts died soon after landing. The cattle sickness persisted without cure, though less severely. On 23 January 1769 the planters offered 50 more cattle for slaughter than in 1768, and with more ships expected the allowance to each ship stayed at the 1768 level, the cattle being heavier. [Film No. 128-129, 155]

The Court allowed homeward ships to call at Ascension for turtle. The Council undertook on 11 April 1767 to send captains there only in urgent need and on 2 June 1768 reserved the leave for occasions useful to the island, then granted every request. Captain Cooke received leave on 1 June 1768 on his own written reasons, Captains Sealy and Palmer on 15 June 1768 with no reason recorded and Captains Mears and Hooke on 10 September 1768, the second because his crew in the *Greenwich* remained sickly. Ten commanders followed between 13 March and 3 June 1769, the last with a warning against needless delay, 12 between January and May 1770 and every applicant from Captain Rous on 30 May 1770 to Captains Hall and Sealy on 17 June 1771 and from 3 July 1771 to 21 May 1772. [Film No. 59, 129, 133, 137, 152-153, 162, 166, 171-172, 177, 183, 185, 192, 233, 234, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 249, 259-261, 264, 266, 274, 277-278, 283, 286, 296, 298, 305, 309, 313, 317-318, 328, 330, 337-338, 340, 342, 344, 348, 351-352, 354, 356]

Coal came 20 chaldrons under the order, as the letter of 2 June 1768 reported. The *Tilbury* and the *Duke of Richmond* brought no deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin or turpentine, and on 15 June 1768 not one deal remained in store. The Council expected to saw heavy timber into boards and to buy masts from ships. Without pitch and tar the longboats carrying materials to the works could not be kept afloat, and the fishing boats and homeward ships needed the same stores. A separate list of the other missing goods went home twice. [Film No. 128, 136-138, 149]

The letter of 13 August 1768 found the shoes, hats, coats and breeches good, but the suppliers' names were missing from the packages despite the Court's promise. The shirts were the worst ever received and were charged at the customary price. Gold lace ordered in 1767 did not come, and a pattern went home. The flour was so musty that its bread was scarcely fit to eat. The settlement had no Madeira wine, and the Council asked for one pipe by each Company ship calling there. The 1769 orders for stores and medicines went late, because the *Tilbury* brought no summary of the *Duke of Richmond*'s cargo. The storekeeper was under orders from 2 June 1768 to describe damaged packages exactly and to count and weigh cordage against the invoices. [Film No. 131, 142-144, 149, 154]

The crew of the *Earl of Middlesex* stove in a borrowed Company longboat beyond repair in April 1768. Two carpenters valued her at £4 0s 0d, the claim went to the Court and the Council bought a replacement with full gear from Captain Pelly for £35 0s 0d. A review of the consultations found Captain Hasell's bill for Cape cattle added up £4 0s 0d too high and paid in full, and that sum was referred home on 5 May 1768. Captain Hoare received an anchor and cable from the stores by 2 June 1768. [Film No. 119, 122, 132]

A consultation of 14 November 1768 refused to lease barren commons improved by public labour, as unjust to those who worked them. Two commanders landed 80 sheep from the Cape for £60 0s 0d on 17 March 1769 and took certificates on the Court instead of cash. Many Cape cattle received in 1768 died or failed to fatten, while sheep served the market and hospital at once. Only three of seven ships calling at the Cape in 1769 brought sheep, and on 2 July 1769 the Council asked that commanders bring no more cattle.

Cape garden seeds succeeded where the English seed of 1768 failed and left vegetables scarce. The planters could not meet the ships' demands, so the Council wanted early ships to refresh at the Cape. Corneille proposed on 16 June 1769 that each storeship bring a cow and a bull calf from England to restore a breed weakened by long inbreeding, with surplus bulls sold to planters. The Company's herd had been spared slaughter for three years and had grown. [Film No. 164, 173, 175, 196-197, 201]

By June 1769 the cargoes of the *Duke of Albany* and *Speke* were judged enough for the year. Orders for 1770 went home on 16 June 1769 with the remains taken on 30 April 1769, two months sooner than in 1768, and asked for 500 casks of provisions, extra clothing for the larger garrison and 70 chaldrons of coal. On 19 July 1769 the Council complained that commanders still begged fuel in defiance of the Court's rule, and in October 1769 it could spare Captain Haggis only 1 chaldron of coal from the stock for burning lime. Its reply of late May 1770 asked that the order be made standing, promised to name offenders and explained that the island's own fuel shrank every year, so coal orders should be met in full. [Film No. 174, 186-187, 195, 200, 205, 221, 246, 247, 248, 254, 255]

The Court asked whether the Governor's country house should be finished or rebuilt. The Engineer held it unfit, and on 19 July 1769 the Council reported the new Plantation House pulled down and sent plans and elevations for two houses, one for the Lieutenant Governor, about whom the Court did not ask. Roofs were to have a single pitch under slate, because the old ones leaked and rotted the stored materials. No estimate was offered for these or for the batteries, on the ground that the Company's own stone, lime, salaried craftsmen and slaves made costs impossible to isolate. Sashes, frames and balusters were ordered from England. The Court approved, and in late May 1770 the Council promised economy, asked for the windows, sashes and balusters the following year and undertook to state the squares of slate needed, packed in cases against breakage. A small addition to the island's order from China went to the Company's representatives at Canton on 22 May 1770. [Film No. 190, 205-206, 208, 255, 256, 257, 277, 279]

On 24 February 1770 the Council reported several months of exceptionally dry weather, the rains expected early in the year still awaited and the cattle losing condition. Eight Company ships had called between 16 January and 20 February 1770. The reply of late May 1770 recorded that a great many cattle had died, mainly from want of food, that those listed for slaughter were thin and small and that rain had recently fallen and done much good. On 7 May 1770 the Council had protested that the late storeships were about to halt the works and distress most inhabitants, citing the near-want of 1768. No Madeira came from Bengal, so the Council bought one pipe for the Company's table for £40 0s 0d. [Film No. 221, 232, 246, 247, 248, 254, 255, 256]

Commanders brought stock from the Cape between February and April 1770 and took certificates on the Court. Captain Ross supplied 50 sheep for £37 10s 0d, Captain Scott seven sheep and 12 pounds of garden seed for £7 18s 0d and Captain Swa[...] six black cattle and 25 sheep for £40 5s 0d. Captain Tryon bought 12 cattle and 55 sheep on the Company's account for £69 6s 0d and was certified the full cost although one beast and five sheep died at sea. The Court's orders of May 1770 confined such purchases to sheep on the Company's account, and the Council agreed that Cape cattle did not thrive. Of eight cattle sent from England to improve the breed only three arrived, three in the *Harcourt* being washed overboard in rough weather. The Council urged that the scheme continue and reserved judgement on wheat sent for trial. [Film No. 228, 234, 236, 238, 255, 256]

A paragraph of the Court's letter of 17 May 1769, forwarded from Madras by the *Speaker* in March 1770, ordered the island to take over surplus salt provisions from six ships that had carried recruits to India. Captains White of the *Havannah* and Jackson of the *Speke* received certificates for theirs on 6 April 1770, Captain Elphinston had none to spare and Captain Hardwicke of the *Earl of Lincoln* delivered 425 pieces of beef and 294 of pork. [Film No. 233, 234, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 249]

The storeships of 1770 were formally dispatched on 22 May 1770, one day after their 10 working days expired, but sailed only on 13 June 1770, the Council blaming the number of ships in the road for slowing the landing of stores. On 30 May 1770 it proposed that light Bengal ships carry bricks as ballast and exchange them at the island for stone. The yearly order for stores went home on 12 June 1770 with inventories of the warehouse, garrison and artillery stores taken on 30 April 1770, and a duplicate followed

four days afterwards. Curved timbers for the longboats were ordered from England to spare the island's trees, which were unsuitable and scarce. Supplementary orders for glass for the church and schoolhouse went on 4 August 1770. [Film No. 246, 251, 252, 254, 259, 262-263, 265, 267, 269-270, 280, 286-287]

The Council reported on 9 August 1770 that more than 500 cattle were dead, chiefly of starvation and chiefly the young stock meant for slaughter. The dry weather held on 12 September 1770, and by 6 January 1771 the rains of the middle of 1770 had also failed, the Company counting 150 head lost and the planters 550. At least a third of the island's cattle died between January 1770 and 4 May 1771, and few or no calves were being born. Of eight breeding cattle shipped by the Court in 1771 only three yearling cows landed alive. [Film No. 271-272, 274-275, 290-291]

The Council cut the charterparty allowance of beef on its own authority from 1/3 to 1/4 on 6 January 1771 and to 1/8 by 4 May 1771. The planters put forward only 199 thin animals for the year. Healthy ships received two cattle each, ships that had called at the Cape none and outward-bound or sickly ships seven. The *Portland* demanded fresh provisions three days a week and was given one, with part of her beef sold for cash from the Company's own stock. The market fell to one small beast a week, and the Council named the Company's gentlemen as the sufferers. [Film No. 275, 291, 293]

Homeward commanders landed only 132 Cape sheep in the season of 1770, too few for the hospital, despite the Court's recommendation. On 9 August 1770 the Council asked that binding orders be left at the Cape for every homeward commander to bring 100 sheep, and none arrived by that route in the season of 1771. Captain Nathaniel Smith of the *Lord Camden* instead drew 10 half puncheons each of salt beef and salt pork from the island's stores at £142 10s 0d. His owners were to pay the balance of £143 5s 0d in England, including a charge for gunpowder not delivered. [Film No. 272, 292]

Madeira wine from Bengal was invoiced in 1770 at £39 3s 0d a pipe, and the Court's standing advance of 30 per cent raised it to £50 17s 11d. The Council suspected on 9 August 1770 that Bengal had already added the advance and left the wine unsold, and the Court ordered Fort William to stop adding it to the prime cost. [Film No. 271, 290]

The *Calcutta* and the *Duke of Richmond* arrived on 3 and 5 April 1771 and sailed on 25 April 1771. Flour certificates for them went home in May 1771, and the *Pigot* was expected with further supplies. The order for 1772 left on 31 May 1771 with inventories taken on 31 March 1771, and its duplicate on 8 June 1771. [Film No. 259, 265, 280, 286-287, 290, 296, 300, 302]

The *Prime* arrived from China on 5 July 1771 with scurvy so severe that many died between the Cape and the island and nine more after she anchored, and she stayed until 7 September 1771. Two seamen left sick by the *Northington* were treated in the hospital at 7d a day, for £1 10s 11d and £1 1s 7d, to be recovered from her owners. The outward *Pigot* stayed from 26 July to 27 September 1771 against an allowance of 10 working days, after a promise of prompt dispatch and without explanation. [Film No. 309, 311, 313, 317-318, 323]

On 7 September 1771 the Council feared that the rains due in the following months would fail again. Some useful rain fell about August 1771, but December 1771 and January 1772 were extremely dry. The return of cattle fit for slaughter came to 237 head, too few for the market and the hospital. The Council wrote on 4 February 1772, by a King's ship so that the Court might order sheep by its early ships, that recovery from two failed years would take some years even with good seasons. [Film No. 317, 325-326]

Captain Watson of the *Morse* bought 40 black cattle at the Cape on the Company's account and landed 21, as the Council reported on 19 March 1772. Such cattle could not be slaughtered for 18 months or two years, and the Council suspected them of bringing in the disease then present. Captain Hoare did not call at the Cape and Captain Hough brought nothing. The Court then turned its recommendation into an enforced order that commanders calling at the Cape buy sheep and corn for the island, which the Council welcomed on 3 May 1772. Only Watson with cattle and Captain Rice with sheep had bought on the Company's account in 1772, while Captains Hough and Rutford spared a few animals for the hospital at special request. Three calves came by the *Lord Camden* to improve the breed. [Film No. 334, 346]

The *Lord Camden* was cleared on 29 April 1772 when her 10 working days ran out and sailed for China on 9 May 1772. With the Court's leave the Council enlarged its China order for tea, sugar and candy. The Court's new prices for store goods issued to planters and inhabitants were published, and the islanders returned thanks. [Film No. 346, 352-353]

Slavery, Exiles and Coerced Labour

Only one slave died on the *Royal George*'s passage from Angola, according to the letter of 2 April 1766, but many fell ill ashore with the craws, the contemporary name for yaws. They stayed in the hospital until the garrison's surgeon and the ship's surgeon passed them fit to re-embark, and Captain Skottowe then continued his voyage. The Council admitted its fault in not reporting the episode. The same letter described slaves received by that ship as inferior to Madagascar slaves and placed them on a 12-month trial, without recording how many were landed, kept or lost. [Film No. 9-11]

Slaves at the fortifications were fed imported rice in 1766 because fetching their own yams cost one working day in every week. By 25 July 1766 the Council reported that the Company's slaves from the Guinea coast fell well short of expectations and suffered in the cold of the middle of the year, despite full food and an arrack allowance. A Portuguese vessel of 80 tons, the *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, called from 19 to 23 April 1766 on the route from Rio de Janeiro to Angola. [Film No. 15, 22, 41, 49]

On 11 April 1767 the Council reported that the slaves received from Africa were beginning to improve and would be more useful once used to the climate, and claimed that they were treated humanely and encouraged. Overseers were to be watched so that soldiers and blacks at the works were not cheated. Thomas Townsend, the assistant mason, refused in June 1767 to teach stonecutting to two slave boys placed under him, telling the Council that he came to do his own work and nothing more. [Film No. 60, 61, 83, 88, 98, 105]

Lord Clive asked the Council, as its letter of 22 May 1767 reported, to return the two surviving Brahmins to their country at his own expense. They had been sent to the island as prisoners from Anjengo in 1757, and the Council referred the request to the Court. [Film No. 78]

Each slave's allowance of the Bengal meat judged unfit for the garrison rose from 6 pounds to 10 pounds on 5 May 1768. [Film No. 110, 119, 122, 140]

Fort Marlborough sent Mass Pangue, a Malay chief who obstructed the pepper investment in the Manna districts, by the *Duke of Richmond*, which arrived on 29 March 1769. The Court's letter of 23 December 1757 forbade such transportation. The Council gave him the allowance of Nockquedah Boccolum, an exile already on the island, and asked on 3 April 1769 that the Malays be removed as discontented and a pure expense, repeating objections first made on 21 June 1757. A Coffree slave and his wife came in the same ship, the man a habitual runaway and robber, and were accepted because they could work. [Film No. 166, 169-170]

On 16 June 1769 the Council reported the slaves' waistcoats too heavy and asked for coarse duffel lined with thin flannel, with long canvas drawers to protect breeches issued only once a year. The breeches sent were too small, and on 12 June 1770 it asked for larger sizes for both men and boys. [Film No. 160, 195, 206, 263, 277, 279, 282]

Mr Carter had sent Walpole to St Helena as a Company slave about 1754 for cheating the Company of money, and on 1 August 1769 asked to exchange him for a man of equal quality. The Court allowed the exchange but refused to sanction the removal of two Malay prisoners, whose allowance the Council continued. In late May 1770 the Council added that the island could suffer serious harm if the presidencies were free to send there everyone troublesome to their governments. [Film No. 209, 223, 256]

The *Harcourt* brought a letter about the return of Nagudale Poulim, a Malay prisoner held for Fort Marlborough, copied into the consultation of 24 June 1771. The Council asked the Court whether he should go back to Bencoolen and whether his costs should be charged to that settlement or written off in London.

He was told in May 1772 that the Court allowed him to return to his own country and appeared for the moment to decline, for no stated reason. [Film No. 307, 347]

John Fortune, a slave carried off by force in a Company longboat, was returned to the island and handed back to his mistress, as the Council reported on 3 May 1772. It assured the Court that he would not be punished, since his departure was no act of his own will. [Film No. 324, 329, 348]

Finance and Accounting

A chest of treasure consigned to the island by the *Plassey* was sent on to Canton in April 1766. The Council expected one chest from the *Prince of Wales* and the money paid in for bills on the Court, all drawn at 90 days' sight, to cover the year. Five sets dated 7 and 9 April 1766 raised £2,042 0s 0d. Thomas Greentree paid in £1,578 16s 0d on 14 July 1766, payable to Mrs Helena Harrold. John Chambers, supercargo of a Swedish ship, took a bill for £100 0s 0d on 12 June 1766 and the Dutch captain Van Bretten one for £1,040 0s 0d on 21 July 1766. Four sets of 24 March 1767 raised £2,698 0s 0d, of which Captain Clements of the *Royal Charlotte* supplied £1,500 0s 0d. Smaller bills ran from £28 5s 0d upwards. Skottowe remitted £300 0s 0d in April 1766 and £205 4s 0d on 3 November 1766 to Robert Wood, and Corneille and Kirkpatrick also drew bills. [Film No. 10-11, 13, 16, 20, 22, 32, 34, 37, 39-41, 46, 48, 51, 54-55]

Quarterly accounts were read in council on 21 April and 21 July 1766, 20 April and 20 July 1767, 18 April 1768, 17 April, 17 July and 16 October 1769, 16 April 1770, 16 July 1771 and 20 April 1772, and ships sailing earlier in a quarter carried only a duplicate of the previous cash account. Cash accounts otherwise ran from one packet to the next and by calendar month when no ship sailed. The *Ponsborne*'s list of 3 November 1766 named August where October was probably intended. The treasury advanced £4 10s 0d for the board of a Russian gentleman from the *Talbot* in May 1766. [Film No. 16, 18, 23-24, 37, 42, 49, 52, 61, 63, 84, 89, 115-116, 159, 207, 208, 210, 222, 241, 310, 344-345]

On 11 April 1767 the Council sent the chest of treasure consigned by the *Earl of Middlesex* on to Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen. The account balanced to 30 June 1767 showed enough cash for the following year, and on 2 August 1767 the Council asked leave to forward its spare cash there as well. [Film No. 58, 91]

The Governor remitted £400 0s 0d on 22 April 1767 and £70 0s 0d on 10 August 1767 to Wood, and Corneille sent £100 0s 0d and later £200 0s 0d to Christopher Baron. Captain John Mitford paid in £1,650 0s 0d for certificates under the 75th paragraph of his instructions, after swearing that it was the proceeds of his outward-bound investment. James Greentree paid £570 0s 0d on 22 June 1767 for a bill to Captain John Cotton, and Edwin Alcock £700 0s 0d on 14 September 1767. Other bills were payable to Captains Tryon, Morrison and Larkins. Bearcroft remitted £60 0s 0d to Edward Bearcroft on 7 September 1767 and £100 0s 0d more on 22 January 1768. [Film No. 63, 66, 68, 69, 73, 76, 85, 86, 88, 92, 94, 98, 100, 103, 106]

Bills dated between 14 March and 5 September 1768 came to £7,732 12s 4d. The largest were £1,034 15s 0d drawn by Kirkpatrick for the estate of the late Captain Cornelius Inglis and £500 0s 0d by Colvill Mure. Skottowe drew £400 0s 0d, Purling £700 0s 0d in two bills and Corneille £904 19s 3d in four. His servant Hugh Jones drew £363 12s 6d on 8 August 1768. John Purling Esquire in London was payee of four bills, two of them Purling's own. [Film No. 112, 116, 120, 123, 133, 137, 139, 146, 148, 151]

The Court ordered spare cash sent to Fort Marlborough, and £2,000 0s 0d went by the *Duke of Richmond*, as the letter of 13 August 1768 reported. The Council expected bill money to cover running costs in 1768 and 1769 and told the Court to send no coin. Receipts ranged from £100 0s 0d in the letter of 2 April 1768 to £2,476 8s 7d in the letter that announced the remittance. [Film No. 115-116, 130, 143-144, 148]

Expecting money for bills, the Council sent £1,000 0s 0d to Fort Marlborough by the *Duke of Albany* on 14 April 1769. Nine sets of 29 April 1769 included £667 6s 0d for the Governor and £760 0s 0d for Purling. William Kibbers, captain of a Dutch ship from Batavia, took a bill for £1,200 0s 0d on 9 May 1769 and Matthew Bazett one for £1,000 0s 0d on 14 June 1769. Mitchell remitted £800 0s 0d on 13 February and £400 0s 0d on 14 June 1769, and Barclay drew £220 0s 0d on 1 July 1769. [Film No. 158, 159, 169, 175, 178-181, 185, 187, 197-200, 203, 207]

On 1 August 1769 the cash balance stood at about £12,000 0s 0d, and the Council advised that no money need be shipped for 1770. The Governor remitted £350 0s 0d on 24 July and £120 0s 0d on 4 September 1769 to Wood, and John Whitchurch sent £325 6s 3d for the orphans of John Bland. Six sets of 4 and 11 September 1769 came to £923 0s 0d. The batch of 2 April 1770 totalled £1,845 15s 0d, of which Purling remitted £1,226 5s 0d, mostly to John Purling, and Corneille £599 10s 0d. Captain Ross took bills for £339 10s 0d in February 1770 and Captain Jeffry Jackson for £700 0s 0d on 6 April 1770, while John Barnes, a discharged private, remitted £20 0s 0d to himself. [Film No. 209, 210, 215, 217, 222, 228, 238, 240]

On 16 June 1770 the Council told the Court that cash in hand and expected receipts would meet the costs of 1771 without money from England. Purling remitted £307 17s 4d on 28 May 1770, £400 0s 0d by the letter of 4 August 1770 and £800 0s 0d in February 1771. The Governor sent £557 0s 0d to Wood on 5 June 1770 and £668 5s 0d in two bills of June 1771 to Captain Nicholas Skottowe, a Company commander. Mooy bought bills for £591 0s 0d on 12 September 1770. Whitchurch remitted £313 6s 4d on 6 August 1770 as attorney to Bland's orphans. Mrs Elizabeth D[...] remitted £109 0s 0d on 10 June 1771, the first woman among the drawers, and Matthew Bazett £600 0s 0d on the same day. Richard Bagley paid Kirkpatrick by bill in 1770 and 1771. [Film No. 258, 259, 260, 263, 266, 268, 271, 272, 274, 277, 298, 301, 303, 305]

The captains of the *Earl of Middlesex*, the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Greenwich* wore out the longboat's cable, valued at £39 14s 5d, and promised in March 1771 that their owners would pay. Barclay paid in £5 14s 11d on 9 August 1770 from the effects of a caulker of the *Duke of Grafton* who died in the hospital. [Film No. 271, 277, 279, 298]

Purling sent £3,622 17s 0d to John Purling in five bills between 26 July 1771 and 18 May 1772, the largest for £1,600 0s 0d on 3 February 1772. Commanders drew large bills on themselves: Captain Hoare £1,300 0s 0d, Captain Thomson £1,100 0s 0d in two sets and Captain Richard Doveton £1,000 0s 0d. William Wrangham sent £1,000 0s 0d to Cotton on 1 July 1771. Bills from Purling, Bearcroft, Barclay and Lieutenant Bazett were payable to commanders, Bearcroft paying £145 16s 0d to Captain Rutford on 10 April 1772. [Film No. 308, 313, 315, 318, 323, 325, 327, 330, 338, 343-344, 346, 348, 350, 352, 354-356]

The estates of men who died on the island were sold and credited to the London current account after their local debts were paid. Patrick Elliott, a seaman left by the *Northington*, died on 22 June 1771 and left £18 7s 7d. James Hogg, the carpenter's mate, died intestate and left £53 4s 4d after his debts, paid in on 13 April 1772. The Court ordered Bearcroft to keep a register of births, christenings, marriages and burials, and the Council, stating that he and his predecessors always kept one, undertook to send an attested copy yearly by two ships. [Film No. 308, 327, 329, 340, 346-347]

Trade, Shipping and Intelligence

The Court found the island's intelligence for 1765 inadequate, and the Council replied on 2 April 1766 that it could not compel ships' officers to tell all they knew. Captain Riddell described being forced into Touron in Cochin China, where a Portuguese priest warned him of a plot to cut him off. He left Whampoa on 10 December 1765, when 15 Company ships lay at Canton with three English country ships, two Danish, three Swedish, four Dutch and four French. Captain Affleck of His Majesty's Ship *Argo* quarrelled with the Chinese over measuring his ship and gave way before the trade was stopped. The *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, then completing Commodore Byron's circumnavigation, passed Anger Point in December 1765. [Film No. 9, 15-16]

For foreign ships, though never for the Company's own, the Council recorded tonnage, guns, crew, cargo and destination. Two Danish China ships of 1,100 and 900 tons called from 17 to 21 April 1766, and three Swedish China ships followed on 1 May, 18 May and 5 June 1766. The French *Adour* came from Bengal on 27 May 1766, the Danish *Countess Moltke* from Bengal on 7 July 1766 and a Dutch ship from Batavia with sugar and pepper on 9 July 1766. The French *Comte d'Argenson* from Mauritius and the Dutch *Young Thomas* from China called in March 1767. Canton in the 1766 season held 14 Company ships, one country ship, four Dutch, one Danish, one Swedish and three French. [Film No. 22, 24-25, 27, 29, 39, 54-55, 117-118]

A Swedish officer's sighting of the *Tilbury* in the Sunda Strait, reported on 5 June 1766, was withdrawn on 8 June 1766, and she arrived on 9 July 1766. The *Royal George* was met on 3 February 1766 bound for Banca and Banjarmasin. On 5 March 1767 the Council passed on a Dutch seaman's story, heard by Affleck at the Cape, that a treaty of trade was renewed there, and retracted it on 26 March 1767 after Captain Court met her in the Sunda Strait with a sickly crew and the venture failed. [Film No. 19-20, 29, 31, 39, 50, 54]

The *Argo* lost her masts in a typhoon after leaving Macao, refitted at Malacca and reached the island from the Cape on 11 February 1767. The *Ponsborne* left Ingeli about 10 April 1766 and arrived only on 26 October 1766, after a passage through the Strait of Malacca. The masters of the *Horsenden* and *Kent* failed to produce their cargo papers in 1766, and all four Bombay ships, the *True Briton*, *Hardwicke*, *Clive* and *Harcourt*, held no copy of a bill of lading. The *Prince of Wales* lacked hers in March 1767 and Captain Richardson of the *Pigot* his in August 1767. [Film No. 27, 31, 34, 36, 44-45, 48, 50, 55-56, 94]

The *Lord Camden* arrived from Madras on 22 April 1767 with Mr and Mrs Palk and General Caillaud. About 10 o'clock on the night of 17 May 1767 the boats of the *Britannia* and the *Speaker* came in, and the delayed *Duke of Kingston* carried word next day that Lord Clive was on board the first in good health. With him were General Carnac, Colonel Champion, Mr Maskelyne and Mr Strachey, and Mr Crommelin travelled in the *Speaker*. The *Britannia* sailed on 22 May 1767. [Film No. 67, 68, 75, 76, 79]

Homeward ships from China, Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen sailed between April and 14 September 1767, and none followed until the *Lord Holland* on 18 January 1768. Eight foreign ships were reported between 4 April and 4 September 1767. The Danish *Fredensborg Palace* came from China for Copenhagen, the Swedish *Stockholm Slott* from China for Gothenburg and a Dutch ship from Ceylon with spice for Middelburg. Three more Dutch ships arrived from Batavia and China between 11 and 14 May 1767, bound for Amsterdam, Hoorn and Zeeland, with 22 to 30 guns, 100 to 160 men and cargoes of tea, chinaware, coffee, spice and pepper. The Dutch *Elizabeth Dorothea* anchored to leeward of South West Point on 4 September 1767 and sailed five days later without entering the road, for reasons left to a consultation. [Film No. 58, 63, 67, 73, 97, 100, 104]

Captain Larkins saw the *Neptune* entering Princes Island on 23 February 1767. On 9 June 1767 the French ship *Ajax*, Captain St Martin, arrived from Mauritius with word of an unnamed English ship there without masts or rudder and with 6 or 7 feet of water in her hold, and letters she carried convinced the Council that it was the *Neptune*. No English ship lay in the road, so on 11 June 1767 it sent the news by the *Ajax* and asked the commander of Port L'Orient to forward packets for the Court, its secretary and the ship's husband with three other letters, repeating the letter by the *Hawke*. Her Captain Steward arrived on 7 September 1767 and reported a violent gale in latitude 19 degrees 30 minutes south, in which he lost his rudder, cut away topmasts, lower yards and the small bower anchor and threw over two guns of 9 pounds and much private trade. About 160 chests of the Company's Bohea tea were condemned at Mauritius, where the French governor received him kindly. [Film No. 69, 81, 82, 86, 97]

Captain John Williams's *Hector*, from Madras and the Cape, ran aground on the day she arrived in January 1768. Every Company boat and 100 soldiers were sent, and she floated at high water with the loss of her false keel and an injured rudder, which he mended himself. A Company longboat more than three years old was ruined in the rescue. The carpenter valued her at £10 0s 0d against £35 0s 0d in the books, and the Council left any charge on the ship to the Court while seeking a replacement. Her arrival is given as 11 January 1768, yet the letter of 18 January 1768 is silent on her and the bills and consultation connected with her date from 22 to 25 January 1768. [Film No. 105, 106, 107]

Eighteen homeward Company ships reached the road between 5 March 1768 and February 1769. Captain Milford reported in March 1768 that Chinese suppliers packed tea chests with sawdust and that the supercargoes had a sampan burnt, after which trade at Canton stopped for about 25 days until the Cohong settled the dispute. A rebellion in China during 1767 did no damage to trade. He counted six English country ships, two Danish, two Swedish, four Dutch and three French ships at China. The Court placed its China business under a council at Canton, which the letter of 2 June 1768 welcomed. [Film No. 111, 128]

Captain Hall saw the *Calcutta* leaky at Tellicherry on 7 January 1768, bound for Bombay to dock, and Captain Carteret placed her at Batavia on a country voyage during 1768. The *Egmont* put in at Mauritius to repair a leak after leaving Madras on 13 May 1768. Captain Hardwicke of the *Earl of Lincoln* and Hall of the *Worcester* each held no copy of his bill of lading. [Film No. 112-113, 122, 124, 150, 155]

Six foreign Indiamen, two Danish, one Swedish and three Dutch, reached the road between 6 and 16 April 1768 against two Company ships. They measured from about 800 to 1,300 tons and carried 24 to 32 guns and 110 to 170 men, the China ships with tea, chinaware and silk and the Dutch ships from Bengal with saltpetre and pepper. A Dutch ship failed to make the road in calm weather and passed on 9 May 1768, and another from Batavia arrived on 13 May 1768. The French *Marquis De Sancé* from Bengal came in on 26 May 1768 and the Dutch *Schoonzight* from Ceylon on 29 May 1768. [Film No. 117-118, 125-126, 133]

The *Dolphin*, then completing Wallis's circumnavigation, arrived from the Cape on 17 March 1768 and sailed the following day. His Majesty's Sloop *Swallow* under Carteret arrived on 21 January 1769 and left too quickly for the usual papers to be prepared. [Film No. 114, 155, 173-174]

Four China ships arrived between 19 and 24 March 1769, having left Canton on 27 December 1768, when 12 Company ships were there with three country ships, one Danish, one Swedish, four Dutch and four French. The *Ponsborne* and *Granby* lay at Batavia intending the eastern passage, and Captain Jackson died there. Foreign callers in 1769 were the Danish *Fredericksborg* of 1,300 tons from China on 24 April, a Dutch pepper ship on 1 May, the Danish *Rigernes Onske* from Bengal on 15 May, the French *Actionaire* from Pondicherry, with 300 men and 16 guns, on 29 May and another French ship on 2 June. [Film No. 165-166, 181, 183, 191-192]

Acting on the Secret Committee's letter of 19 January 1769, the Council sent Wrangham aboard the outward *Speke* to search for illicit trade. He found 35 chests of wine and five cases of clockwork, two more than her manifest showed. Nothing was detained on the officers' explanations, the Company's seal on the cases and the passengers' oaths, as the reply of 3 June 1769 reported, and the ship sailed on 24 May 1769. [Film No. 193-194]

Bengal had no news of the *Earl of Chatham* when the *Salisbury* left on 26 February 1769, and her commander, Captain Morrice, came home as a passenger in the *Dutton* in July 1769. [Film No. 191, 207]

Letters of August to October 1769 reported the *Prince of Wales* leaking and bound for Brazil, the *Talbot* overdue and 12 Company ships at Fort St George on 1 July 1769. Sir Charles Hudson brought the *Talbot* in on 17 October 1769, almost seven months out of Bengal, having struggled off the Cape for six weeks with a sickening crew and turned back to Madagascar. News followed in February 1770 that the *Lord Holland* was lost in September 1769 coming out of the river of Bengal. [Film No. 211, 213, 220, 223, 227]

Captain Payne of the *Ponsborne*, arriving on 16 January 1770, had found the King's frigates *Stagg* and *Aurora* and the sloop *Hawke* at the Cape in December 1769, with the Company's supervisors Messrs Vansittart, Scrafton and Ford in good health. The China fleet came in on 18 to 20 February and 29 to 31 March 1770. It reported 16 Company ships at Canton against four country, one Danish, two Swedish, four Dutch and three French, and the *Earl of Middlesex* had lost her passage and gone to Batavia. The last two China ships, the *Neptune* and *Norfolk*, arrived on 20 and 22 May 1770. [Film No. 225, 229, 230, 237, 251]

The Dutch *Rhynsburg* called on 22 September 1769 with pepper for Amsterdam and the *Maria Jacoba* on 22 May 1770 with spices for Holland. In March and April 1770 the Swedish *Adolph Frederick* and *Rickenstander*, each of 1,300 tons, and the Danish *Queen Sophia Magdalena* of about 1,100 tons carried tea, porcelain and silk for Gothenburg and Copenhagen. [Film No. 220, 233, 238, 253]

The *Britannia*, Captain Rous, left Madras on 8 February 1770 and met a violent gale on 10 March 1770 in latitude 20 degrees south. She took 5 feet of water in the hold, which dissolved part of her saltpetre and soaked 100 bales. At Mauritius he left the bales with a merchant under contract to wash them and return them to Madras, took in 70 tons of ballast and sailed on 15 April 1770, reaching the island on 22 May 1770.

Passengers that month included Harry Verelst, the retiring Governor of Bengal, Thomas Rumbold and the Danish Chief of Salampore. [Film No. 246, 251, 252, 254]

The *Devonshire* arrived from China on 29 May 1770 and carried the letter of 16 June 1770. The Danish *Countess of Moltke* from Tranquebar arrived on 3 June 1770 with 700 tons, 22 guns and only 60 men. The *Anson* from Madras and the *Fox* from Bombay arrived on 29 July and 2 August 1770, dates fixed by the letter of 4 August 1770 against a first reading of June and July. Captain Mitchell of the *Fox* reported Sir John Lindsay at Bombay, trade with Persia reopened and the Malabar settlements at peace. The *West Friesland* followed on 1 September 1770 with sugar, coffee and pepper. [Film No. 259-261, 264, 266-269, 274]

The *Lapwing* arrived from Madras by the Cape on 6 January 1771 and sailed the same day with only a short letter and two duplicates. Captain Owen reported six Company ships at Bengal on 20 September 1770, no news of the *Aurora* and the Commissioners since she left the Cape and General Coote returning to England overland. The *Prince of Wales* from Bengal and the *Duke of Cumberland* from Bombay arrived on 28 February and 2 March 1771, and the consultations sent by the first ran from 13 August 1770 to 4 March 1771. [Film No. 275-278]

The *Earl of Middlesex* opened the China season on about 7 March 1771, having left Canton on 26 November 1770. Captain Rogers reported that the *Bute*, the *Stafford*, the *Elgin* and the *British King* lost their passages to China and that one English country ship, five Dutch, two Danish, two Swedish and two French ships traded at Canton. Two Swedish and two Danish China ships of 1,100 to 1,300 tons called between 18 and 23 March 1771 with tea, porcelain and silk. Thirteen Company ships then reached the road between 25 March and 15 April 1771, and the *Europa* from Bengal completed the convoy. [Film No. 277-280, 283, 285-287, 296]

The *Europa* arrived with measles aboard, a disease never known on the island, and the Council forbade any infected person or their linen to come ashore. The summaries date the order 8 May 1771 and her arrival 7 May 1771, yet both stand in a letter dated 4 May 1771. Her Captain Pelly reported the *Ponsborne* at the Cape on 16 April 1771 with much sickness aboard. The *Endeavour* arrived from the Cape on 1 May 1771 with Mr Banks and Doctor Solander, her company having stayed healthy until Batavia, where many died, and recovered a good deal at the Cape. The Council did not name her commander, James Cook. [Film No. 287, 292-294]

The Danish *Carolina Matilda* from Bengal arrived on 21 May 1771. The *Resolution* arrived on 24 May 1771 under Captain Poynting, her commander having died on 5 May 1771. The *Bridgewater* and the *Huntingdon* followed on 30 May 1771 and the *Vansittart*, the *Northington* and the *Worcester* between 6 and 8 June 1771. Sealy of the *Northington* held no bill of lading, and an abstract of her cargo was supplied six days afterwards from another source. [Film No. 296-298, 300, 302, 304, 305]

The *Lord Mansfield* from Bengal on 7 July 1771 and the *True Briton* from Bombay on 20 July 1771 closed the season with the *Prime*. The *Duke of Portland* arrived from Madras on 13 October 1771 and reported the King's ships *Dolphin* and *Swallow* there with five Company ships. No Company ship called between her sailing on 10 November 1771 and the arrival of the *British King* from China on 28 February 1772. [Film No. 311, 320, 325-326]

Captain Hoare of the *British King* left 19 Company ships at China on 25 November 1771, with two English country ships, one Danish, one Swedish, four Dutch and two French ships and a snow from Mauritius. The *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, with 26 guns and 160 men, arrived on 10 March 1772 with tea, chinaware and silk for Copenhagen. A Swedish ship arrived on 14 March 1772 and reported the *Earl of Elgin* at Princes Island on 16 January 1772, pumping day and night, news sent at once by the Danish ship. [Film No. 326-328, 333]

The *Earl of Elgin* arrived leaking on 8 April 1772 and was driven out to anchor in 60 fathoms off Munden's Point. Nineteen Company ships reached the road between 28 February and 14 May 1772, most of them from China. Captain Thomson of the *Calcutta* heard in the Sunda Strait on 19 February 1772 that the *Pigot*

was at Batavia. A receipt for the Court's packets by the *Speke*, enclosed to the island by mistake from Bengal, was forwarded home. [Film No. 327, 332, 336, 338-339, 341, 348, 350, 354]

Wars and Foreign Affairs
Captain Fenner left Fort William on 16 February 1766 and reported all quiet. Ships arriving on 14 and 15 May 1766 brought an unverified story that the Dutch governor and leading councillors at Colombo were poisoned by the inhabitants. [Film No. 25, 27, 43-45, 54]

A letter of 4 August 1766 relayed ships' news from Tellicherry. Hyder Naig, who styled himself Hyder Ali Khan and commanded much of the Malabar coast, asked the chief, Mr Ryley, for leave to march through the town and was refused. His advance guard pulled down the Company's colours at outlying posts, an act he disowned, and a subaltern's detachment recovered every post but one pagoda without opposition. Ryley then sent 300 Europeans and sepoys with two guns against the main army, and they were defeated with the loss of many men and both cannon. Hyder promised to return the guns, did not do so and called the English the aggressors. [Film No. 43-44]

The letter of 23 September 1766 added that Lord Clive was gone up to the army in Bengal. Sir Robert Fletcher came home in the *Cruttenden* in March 1767, listed without comment. Clive and Carnac were then expected to sail in the *Britannia* at the beginning of February 1767, and General Lawrence went home from Madras in the *Pacific*. Hyder was reported on 26 March 1767 with 30,000 disciplined men and 30 vessels, marching around the Company's settlements while assuring Bombay of his goodwill, which the Council doubted. The same letter reported disturbances between the inhabitants and the English at Mocha, which threatened the coffee trade unless Bombay gave support. [Film No. 25, 27, 43-45, 53, 54]

War on the Coromandel coast was reported on 18 January 1768. Nairn, who parted with his pilot in Bengal on 15 October 1767, said that the *Hector* sailed for the Coast with troops on 15 September 1767 and the *Northington* and *Earl of Elgin* on 30 September 1767, with three or four country ships, carrying three battalions of sepoys. Calcutta believed that Hyder and the Nabob of Golconda had marched between Madras and the Company's army, but a country ship then reported an engagement in which Hyder was wounded and communication reopened. Williams left Fort St George on 6 November 1767 and reported two victories, the second costing Hyder all his baggage and cannon, and the Council hoped that he could cause no more alarm. Williams also corrected Nairn's report that the *Bute* was on the Coast, while Nairn added that the *Calcutta* grounded at the mouth of the Bengal river and that the leaking *Vansittart* meant to put into Mauritius. [Film No. 101, 102, 105, 106]

Riddell, who left Bengal on 7 April 1768, reported peace with the Nizam, a naval expedition fitting out at Bombay against Hyder's ports and Colonel Peach expected to subdue a minor rajah south of Masulipatam. Captain Hooke, who left Tellicherry on 3 May 1768, reported that Hyder retook Mangalore and that the Company's troops fell back on Tellicherry. [Film No. 139, 150, 156]

Captain Purvis heard at the Cape, as relayed on 13 February 1769, that the French were gathering many Europeans at Mauritius, which the French Crown had taken over from its East India Company in 1767. Captain Roddam reported on 29 March 1769 that a snow full of officers was bound there and that nearly 4,000 disciplined troops were held on the island. The Governor wrote alone to the Secret Committee on 3 and 8 April 1769 on subjects the lists left unstated. [Film No. 156, 166, 171-172, 192]

The *Queen* brought word, reported on 30 April 1769, that a mission to Sujah Dowlah ended on friendly terms and that Bengal was at peace. Hyder was reported on 3 June 1769 overrunning the Carnatic with cavalry while avoiding battle. The *Dutton*, which left Madras on 11 March 1769, told of a brief ceasefire, a wasted country and an embassy by Mr Andrews. Peace between Madras and Hyder, concluded in April 1769, was first heard third-hand in September 1769 and confirmed by Haggis in October 1769. [Film No. 180, 192, 205, 211, 213, 220, 223, 227]

Captain Jones of the *Shrewsbury*, who arrived on 28 August 1769, reported that the governor of Mauritius, Monsieur De La Roche, forbade any landing and supplied him by French boats. Jones answered that French commanders were always allowed ashore at St Helena and was refused again. Some officers and a passenger,

Mr Barwell, were taken under escort to a ball at 8 o'clock at night, where they counted more than 400 military officers and heard of troops in proportion and much cavalry. On 14 September 1769 the Council resolved to call out the militia and to supply French ships in the same manner, without landing, until the Court ordered otherwise. [Film No. 213, 214]

Haggis of the *Thames* told the Council, in its letter of 14 October 1769, that Frenchmen wandered about Calcutta and that French ships reached Bengal crowded with men and twice the usual officers, then left with a working crew. At the Cape he heard of many troops at Mauritius, of St Mary's seized and fortified, of rapid advances on Madagascar and of Dutch unease. Elphinston of the *Triton* reported on 6 April 1770 three outward French ships at the Cape with about 700 soldiers of the Regiment of Conti. [Film No. 221, 240]

The rule was first applied to *Le Duc de Praslin*, from Bengal for Port L'Orient, which arrived on 28 March 1770 with 20 guns and 164 men on about 600 tons. Her captain and officers were kept out of the garrison, except one officer who waited on the Governor accompanied throughout by the Town Adjutant, and she received her provisions and all the water she wanted. In the same week Mr Yard, a French gentleman, went home as a passenger in the *Granby*. The Court's approval of this conduct, past and future, arrived in May 1770, and the Council promised that no Frenchman would have fair grounds for complaint. [Film No. 237, 238, 239, 255]

Larkins saw a Spanish frigate of 28 guns and about 300 men leave the Cape on 16 April 1770, reportedly for Manila, and Captain Fortescue saw a ship apparently of 74 guns and a frigate under Spanish colours in the Straits of Banca. Two frigates from Manila bound for Spain, of 28 guns and 170 men and of 26 guns and 180 men, called on 20 and 22 May 1770 without restriction, in the year that Britain and Spain came close to war over the Falkland Islands. [Film No. 246, 251, 252]

Mitchell of the *Fox* reported in August 1770 that Hyder was retreating before the Marathas and offered 37 lakh of pagodas for peace against their demand for a crore. [Film No. 259, 266-269]

Four Englishmen from the *Verelst*, wrecked on Mauritius, reached Madras in a Danish ship in July 1771 and reported her crew held prisoner and the Danish ship detained for three weeks with her rudder unshipped. Three French warships were reported at the Cape in the letter of 4 February 1772, and three with two transports awaiting orders from Europe on 10 March 1772. Rice reported on 19 April 1772 that four were bound for France with many troops from Mauritius and that the Dutch were said to have refused the French further wheat. The *Stagg*, arriving on 2 February 1772, reported Fort St George at war with the King of Tanjore and General Smith besieging his capital. [Film No. 311, 320-321, 325-327, 342]

A French brigadier general from the Cape and a supercargo from China arrived as passengers in the *Northumberland* on 28 March 1772 and were kept aboard, the Governor of Mauritius still allowing no Company gentleman ashore. The brigadier was reported to be a very good engineer, a second reason given for denying him sight of the works. [Film No. 336]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

General quarter sessions sat on 13 January, 9 April, 16 July and 8 October 1766, 14 January, 29 April, 15 July and 7 October 1767, 13 January, 18 April, 18 July and 3 October 1768, 11 January, 3 April, 12 July and 4 October 1769, 10 January, 25 April, 11 July and 3 October 1770, 9 January, 10 April, 10 July and 9 October 1771 and 8 January and 29 April 1772, each reported in a letter on law matters. Returns of courts martial went home for 19 August 1765 to 4 August 1766, 5 August 1766 to 31 August 1767, 17 September 1767 to 8 August 1768, 15 August 1768 to 31 August 1769, 1 September 1769 to 26 February 1771 and 4 March 1771 to 2 March 1772. [Film No. 17, 23, 28-29, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 53, 62, 64, 70, 79, 93, 105, 110, 121, 149-150, 158, 160, 176, 182, 197, 209, 210, 223, 224, 225, 227, 247, 248, 270, 277-279, 296, 314, 324, 328-329, 347, 351, 356]

On 5 June 1766 the Council refused Fenner's request to try a seaman who struck an officer, doubting its jurisdiction over acts at sea, and asked the Court for a ruling. [Film No. 17, 23, 28-29, 42, 49, 53]

Captain Inglis of the *Asia* quarrelled with his seaman John Pinchback at the landing crane on Tuesday 24 February 1767 and raised his cane. Pinchback wrenched it away, the captain fell backwards on to the rocks and he died of a fractured skull on 1 March 1767. John Moffat, the chief mate, was sworn to command until the Court decided, and Pinchback was gaoled for the sessions of 29 April 1767. By 6 May 1767 he was going home in the *Lord Camden*, no letter stating the verdict. He could not pay the clerk of the peace's fees of £0 19s 2d, which the Council advanced, asking the Court to stop the sum from the wages owed by the *Asia*'s owners. [Film No. 50, 70, 79, 93, 105]

Captain Richard Beale was tried by general court martial on 23 March 1767, and the proceedings went home on 11 April 1767 as a bare enclosure, with no charge or sentence named. The Court made Captain Griffin pay £72 0s 0d for six soldiers who deserted in the *Admiral Stevens* and approved the Council's orders on ships sailing at night, of which all captains were to be warned. Stray seamen were cleared into the next ship: Michael Herley into the *Speaker* on 26 May 1767, five deserters from the *Nottingham* and *Anson* into the *Devonshire* on 10 September 1767 and three men left by the *Devonshire* into the *Lord Holland*. For two French deserters from the *Ajax*, Charles Dewolfe and Joseph Veuille, the Council paid Cotton £10 0s 0d in June 1767. [Film No. 62, 64, 80, 82, 98, 101, 102]

Bland laid accusations in London that the Court took up in seven paragraphs of its letter by the *Tilbury*. The accused received copies and answered on 20 June 1768, and the Council found every charge false and spiteful and sent the answers home. The letter of February 1769 disclosed that Mitchell and Captain Bazett were among the accused, Bland alleging that Company workmen and materials went into a billiard room and other premises that the two owned in partnership. The Council separately blamed Bland for failures, blunders and shallow repairs in the Company's buildings. [Film No. 130, 139-140, 146, 149, 156]

Sergeant Thomas Payne, clerk of the works, who kept the daily record of men and materials, revived the billiard room charge in the consultation of 12 December 1768. The Council heard his witnesses on oath, found the charge false and dismissed him from the service, and Purvis carried him home in the *Valentine* as a charter-party passenger for £5 0s 0d. [Film No. 156-157]

John Fish, a sentinel, was convicted of attempted sodomy at the sessions of 3 October 1768, and Morrit was accused on 30 September 1768 of stealing a door lock from Plantation House. Both were shipped off as crew in the *Valentine* in February 1769. Stephen Papps, convicted of the same offence as Fish by the same court, was discharged before his term and shipped as crew on 1 August 1769 as unfit to stay. The Council promised on 11 April 1769 to follow the Court's new paragraphs on holding courts of justice. The first lieutenant of artillery, probably Leech, stood on probation after his suspension. [Film No. 158, 160, 176, 182, 197, 209, 210]

A special meeting of justices on 8 November 1769 found the soldiers John Dobson and William Brown guilty of counterfeiting rupees. They waited 11 weeks for a ship and left as charterparty passengers in the *Ponsborne* for £10 0s 0d. [Film No. 223, 224, 225, 227, 247, 248]

Two soldiers, Sutton L[...] and Patrick Newland, were tried for sodomy at the court of October 1770 and were suspected of the offence before. The letter of 7 March 1771 does not say that they were convicted, and the Council removed them by its own order as working hands in the *Prince of Wales*. [Film No. 270, 277-279, 296]

Thieves broke through the wall of the Company's stores with a crowbar on the night of 12 March 1771, forced the cash chest and took £355 12s 11½d in coin of various kinds. The Council suspected the corporal's guard in the Castle, from which the sentry over the stores was relieved. It had no evidence fit for a committal, yet it confined every man separately on suspicion and offered a reward of £40 0s 0d and a pardon to any informer, including an accomplice. On 17 March 1771 it reminded the Court that the two iron chests were never sent. [Film No. 281-283]

Tedrick, a matross, confessed on 22 June 1771 to the robbery, saying that he acted alone but that Stephen Swartson, another matross, advised him and shared the money. Only £165 12s 0d was recovered, in two parcels, and each man admitted spending no more than £30 0s 0d to £40 0s 0d. Tedrick found the bag

lighter on his second visit to the hiding place, and the Council suspected that Swartson, who denied it, had another partner. The recovered money was kept out of the books until the trials ended. [Film No. 308-309]

The quarterly court of 10 July 1771 condemned Tedrick, and he was hanged before 7 September 1771. He accused Godfrey Smith of the artillery, Peter Buckman and another man of the magazine plot and held to the story until the gallows, where he declared it invented. The accused denied everything. The Council discharged Buckman, elsewhere named John, as a man of bad character and sent him as a hand in the *Prime*, and warned the others that only their future conduct could clear them. Swartson stayed in gaol until the King's free pardon arrived by the *Lord Camden*, when the Council released him and sent him home on 7 May 1772 as a hand in the *Asia* with William Dowsing, a discharged gunner. [Film No. 314, 315-316, 320, 324, 328-329, 347, 351, 356]

Religion, Education and Social Order

The Council asked on 2 April 1766 that materials for the church be held back until the fortifications allowed. The Reverend John Thackeray gave notice on 4 May 1766 that he would leave the service in April 1767, drew a bill for £35 0s 0d on 24 March 1767 and sailed in the *Duke of Cumberland* on 11 May 1767, his salary continued until he left on the precedent of his predecessor, Mr Lee. His successor, Bearcroft, was to recover his bond for £100 0s 0d once he paid it off. Joseph Chamberlain, the carpenter's mate, resigned on 30 June 1766 pleading Sunday work, which the Council answered meant one coffin and one packet box, a remark omitted from the consultation, and no replacement could be found in the ships. [Film No. 11, 24, 41, 46, 54, 62, 71, 98, 106]

The Council's letter of 27 June 1767 wanted Townsend dismissed but kept him as the only man able to cut and square stone for gun platforms. He petitioned on 29 June 1767 to leave, his contracted time being served, and the Council ordered him and his wife off the island and asked for another mason. In August 1767 he refused to embark unless forced, was held in custody for 24 hours and was put on board the *Pigot*, the Council paying Richardson £5 0s 0d. His island-born wife petitioned to stay with his consent, and the Council agreed, calling him a very bad husband. On 16 August 1767 it asked the Court how far it could send away an island-born wife with a dismissed husband, distinguishing a wife whose friends gave security that she would not become a charge on the parish from one who could find none and still wished to stay. [Film No. 83, 87, 88, 94, 95]

Acting on Bland's charge that Company servants bought up goods in bulk for resale, the Court's letter by the *Tilbury* restricted the servants' private trade and opened retail dealing with the ships to everyone. On 13 August 1768 the Council asked that the restriction be lifted, pleading that salaries scarcely gave a bare living. It opposed open dealing on the ground that cheap arrack from the ships was bought in excess and resold in small amounts to soldiers and slaves. [Film No. 140]

The Council cut the punch houses from 10 to five on 11 June 1768, as the Court ordered, wrote new rules into the licences and sent copies of the old and new home. It chose the closures by declaring women unfit to keep such houses, five licence holders being women. Mrs Beale and Mrs Kennedy, widows of long-serving captains, held their licences as relief for poor families with young children. The Widows' Fund paid £30 0s 0d a year but began after their husbands died, so the Council asked the Court for pensions. [Film No. 141-142, 149]

Bearcroft thanked the Court on 2 June 1768 for a library for the chaplain and senior servants, expected by the *Duke of Richmond*, and for tracts for the poorer people. He rated tracts above preaching because most people came to worship very seldom, which he blamed on the nature of the place and other unnamed causes, and held that moral instruction strengthened government. On 13 August 1768 he advised that the new church needed a marble font. [Film No. 130-131, 144]

The Court asked whether the transit of Venus of 1769 could be observed from the island and enclosed a letter from Mr Maty, probably Matthew Maty, Secretary of the Royal Society. On 15 June 1768 the Council replied that it had neither a qualified observer nor instruments and would only brief ships' officers present. [Film No. 135-136]

Paragraphs 9 to 21 of the Court's letter of 19 January 1769 regulated the sale of arrack and other spirits. The Council adopted rules in a consultation of 29 May 1769, swore in Richard Wright as collector of customs and reported a Society for the Sale of Arrack in which named servants, Purling among them, held shares. Three pipes of Madeira were also to be shared among the servants at invoice price. On 14 September 1769 it reported refusing Captain R[...] leave to land 20 gallons of arrack for his own use free of the Company's duty, arguing that exemptions would revive unlicensed retailing to soldiers and poorer islanders, which the new system had stopped to the visible benefit of the garrison's conduct. [Film No. 175, 187-188, 191, 214]

Richard Beale, Judge Advocate and schoolmaster, petitioned on 4 September 1769 to resign both posts through age and illness. The Council asked the Court for a pension for life, citing the support of the Company's servants and of a vestry held on 8 September 1769, and kept him in office because no one else could teach. He died on 7 October 1769. [Film No. 215, 217, 218, 221]

As the letter of 17 September 1769 reported, the vestry voted £450 0s 0d from the fund for the poor to build a schoolmaster's house. It raised quarterly fees from £0 6s 0d to £1 0s 0d for spelling and reading and from £0 12s 0d to £1 10s 0d for writing and arithmetic, with 20 scholars always expected. The Company's salary was £30 0s 0d a year and the Judge Advocate's £50 0s 0d. Bearcroft argued for a clergyman, whom the Council thought unfit to act in criminal prosecutions, so it asked the Court to add the lost £50 0s 0d to the school salary and proposed a civil servant as Judge Advocate. [Film No. 218, 219]

John Congreve, the schoolmaster sent by the Court, was also appointed Judge Advocate, as the Council reported on 30 May 1770. He began teaching before the schoolhouse was built, and the inhabitants were allowed to buy materials from the Company's stores. The will of Mrs Mary Hunt, who died at Bengal, was registered on the island in 1770, and the Court secured her estate to the island's poor on the death of a named beneficiary. [Film No. 258, 269-270, 288]

Bearcroft sought a higher salary by a letter of 7 September 1771, which the Council forwarded with a warm testimonial. [Film No. 315, 318, 320, 327, 338, 346]

Personalities

Mitchell commanded the artillery, kept the ordnance stores and directed the works as engineer in 1766. The captain of the *Royal George* shared the Governor's surname, and no letter stated a relationship. A Captain Skottowe sailed as a passenger in the *Worcester* on 5 May 1768. [Film No. 10-11, 13, 16, 20, 41, 48, 123]

Four men named Bazett appeared between 13 June and 5 September 1768, Captain Henry, the writer George, Lieutenant Thomas and Matthew, with no relationship stated, and Henry and Matthew remitted money in 1770 and 1771. [Film No. 123, 137, 139, 146, 148, 151, 258, 260, 263, 266, 272, 277, 298, 301, 303]

The Council resolved on 9 May 1768 to send the Company's gardener off the island and gave no reason in its letter. He is named Samuel Black in the letter of 13 May 1768 and James Black in that of 10 September 1768. Hooke carried him for £5 0s 0d, and a soldier kept the garden until a replacement came. [Film No. 125-126, 150, 154]

Captain Archibald Mitchell received leave to go home in July 1769, and Lieutenant Thomas Bazett was named superintendent of the works. The Council revealed only on 16 June 1769 that Mitchell resigned without reason soon after 1 April 1769 and was talked out of it by Skottowe and Purling. He handed in his commission on 10 June 1769 and then insulted the board in ways left to the consultations of 12 and 14 June 1769. The Council called his mind disturbed, suspected that he resigned first to escape military discipline and kept its praise of his works. He sailed in the *Horsendon*, and the Council asked for a trained artillery officer, a sober master mason and books and instruments for his successor. [Film No. 158, 187, 197-200]

Preston, the second mason, was a heavy drinker whom the Council did not expect to keep, as it told the Court on 9 August 1770. [Film No. 258, 260, 263, 266, 272, 277, 298, 301, 303]

Robins, formerly the armourer, sailed home with his family in the *Prime* in September 1771, having received £250 0s 0d by a bill from Hugh Jones. William Freeman, a soldier made carpenter's mate, injured his chest and went home in the *Northumberland* on 6 April 1772 at a fare of £5 0s 0d, the Council commending his five years of good conduct to the Court's protection. [Film No. 313, 317, 321, 336-337, 347]

Conclusion

The letters close on 21 May 1772 with the Court's rulings on Tippett's protest, the guns proposed above Purling's Battery and Bearcroft's salary still awaited. [Film No. 308-356]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena§ §Document Name and Date§ §St HELENA LETTERS TO ENGLAND 1766 - 1772§ §Photographer§ §PETER§ §Date photographed§ §7 MARCH 2022§ §Additional comments§	
2		Book cover	
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8	1	To the Honorable &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors last under date of the 4th March, by§ §the Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §2 It gives Us very great pleasure to hear all your Ships of§ §last Season arrived safe, the like good fortune we hope will attend those§ §of this Year.§ §3 All Orders received from the Gentlemen of the secret Committee§ §or any three of them, shall be duly complied with and Obeyed.§ §4 The Ships your Honors have been pleased to take into your§ §Service for carrying on your Commerce the present Year, we sincerely hope will§ §be returned to you in safety, and with the desired success.§ §5 We observe by the Charter Partys of the Ships this Year, that§ §their freight and Demorage are both lessened, The Rippon and Prince of Wales§ §we dispatched on the expiration of the ten working Days, but the Surf has§ §been so uncommonly high for some time, as your Honors will please to observe§ §by our Consultation of the 24th of last Month in which the Captains of those§ §Ships have protested against it, has been the Cause of their not getting away§ §so soon, as they otherwise would have done.§ §6 We sincerely wish success to your Honors Affairs in China§ §under the management and direction of the Gentlemen you are pleased to§ §mention are appointed for that purpose, agreeable to your permission, we§ §have made some small alterations in our Indent for China Ware as you§ §will observe by our Letter to your Council at Canton§ §7 We hope your Honors will always continue the Order	The Council addressed this letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 4 March, sending that letter by the *Earl of Middlesex*. 2: News that every ship of the previous season arrived safely gave the Council great pleasure. The Council hoped the same good fortune would follow the ships of the current year. 3: The Council undertook to carry out every order received from the Secret Committee, or from any three of its members. 4: The Council sincerely hoped that the ships engaged for the Company's trade that year would return safely and with the success the Court wanted. 5: The charterparties of that year's ships showed the Council that both the freight and the demurrage were lower than before. The *Rippon* and the *Prince of Wales* were dispatched once their ten working days ran out. For some time, however, the surf ran unusually high, as the Court would see from the consultation of the 24th of the previous month. The captains of those two ships entered a protest against the delay in that consultation. The heavy surf was the reason they did not get away as early as they otherwise would. 6: The Council sincerely wished the Court success in its China business under the gentlemen named to manage and direct it. With the Court's permission, the Council made some small changes to its order for chinaware, as the Court would see from the Council's letter to the Company's council at Canton. 7: The Council hoped the Court would always continue the order to its captains. **Interpretations** The charterparty was the hire contract between the Company and a ship's owners. It fixed the freight, the price paid for carrying cargo, and the demurrage, the daily compensation owed to the owners when the Company kept a ship beyond the agreed time. The ten working days were the period the island was allowed to hold a ship before demurrage began to run. The captains' protest was a formal recorded declaration that the delay was not their doing, which protected the owners' claim and shifted responsibility away from the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		to your§ §Captains§	ship. By reporting the high surf alongside the protest, the Council was building its own defence against any charge for the days lost. The Secret Committee was a small body of directors that issued confidential orders, chiefly on the sailing and safety of ships. The promise to obey any three of its members shows that three signatures were enough to bind the island's government without the full Court. The indent was the island's standing requisition for goods. Chinaware was ordered directly from the Company's supercargoes at Canton and delivered by homeward-bound China ships calling at the island, which is why the Council wrote to Canton as well as to London.
2	2	Captains for supplying themselves in India with Fewel, as we shall never§ §be able to do it at this Place, we therefore hope you will be pleased to comply§ §with our Indent for Coals, to enable Us to supply the Captains with fewel§ §as we cannot incroach upon the 30 Chaldron the Engineer requires for§ §burning Lime.§ §8 Your Honors will please to Observe by our Consultation of the§ §9th December last, that we came to a resolution to have the Fly Cutter§ §broke up, as we found she would not answer the purpose she was§ §intended for.§ §9 As you do not think proper to alter the method of your Ships§ §leaving a Barrel of Powder at this Place, we shall duly Observe your Orders§ §relative thereto.§ §10 The long Boat lost last Year in Watering his Majesty's§ §Ships stood upon your Books at £30.. in future we will be§ §particularly careful to inform your Honors of every circumstance relative§ §to your affairs in General§ §11 It is with concern we find the Intelligence communicated§ §to you last Year, has not met with your Honors approbation, as we§ §imagined we had been very full and explicit on this head. We do our§ §utmost endeavours to collect all the news from the Gentlemen of the§ §Shipping we possibly can, with regard to your affairs in General, but§ §if they conceal any thing material from us, we flatter ourselves you§ §will not impute it to our neglect or want of care in this respect, we§ §shall pursue collecting every intelligence that we think may be§ §satisfactory to your Honors§ §12 Notwithstanding only one Slave died upon the Royal§ §George's Passage from Angola to this Island, many of them soon after§ §broke out with a disorder called the Craws, which obliged them to be§ §sent§	The Council wanted the Court's standing order kept in force, under which captains supplied themselves with fuel in India, because the island could never provide it. For that reason the Council asked the Court to meet its order for coals so that captains could be given fuel when they needed it. The 30 chaldrons the engineer required for burning lime could not be drawn on for that purpose. 8: The consultation of 9 December of the previous year recorded the Council's decision to break up the *Fly* cutter. The vessel proved unfit for the work she was meant to do. 9: The Court chose not to change the practice of its ships leaving a barrel of powder at the island. The Council promised to follow the Court's orders on that point. 10: The longboat lost the previous year while watering His Majesty's ships stood in the Company's books at £80 0s 0d. The Council promised to take particular care in future to report every circumstance bearing on the Company's business. 11: The Council learned with concern that the intelligence sent the previous year did not satisfy the Court, having believed its report on the subject full and explicit. Every effort was made to gather news of the Company's affairs from the gentlemen of the shipping. If those gentlemen kept back anything of importance, the Council trusted the Court would not blame the island for neglect or carelessness. The Council undertook to go on collecting whatever intelligence seemed useful to the Court. 12: Only one slave died on the *Royal George*'s passage from Angola to the island. Soon after landing, however, many of the slaves fell ill with a disease called the craws, which made it necessary to send them away. **Interpretations** The Council's defence in paragraph 11 shows how the Court gathered news of its eastern trade. Returning ships called at the island months before reaching England, and the Council was expected to question their officers and forward what it learned. The officers had private trade and reputations of their own to protect, so the Council had no means of compelling a full account. By naming that weakness, the Council placed any gaps in its reports on the ships' officers and not on its own diligence. The craws was a contemporary name for yaws, a contagious skin disease common among slaves shipped from West and Central Africa. It produced raspberry-like sores, spread by contact and often showed itself only some weeks after infection, which explains why the slaves seemed healthy on the voyage and sickened once ashore. Removing the sick to a separate place was the usual way of stopping it spreading through the rest of the island's slaves. A chaldron was a measure of coal by volume, the London chaldron weighing roughly 28 hundredweight. Lime was made by burning limestone in a kiln and was needed for mortar in the island's fortifications and buildings, so the engineer's 30 chaldrons were reserved

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			for the works. Ships' fuel therefore had to come from a separate supply, which is why the Council pressed for its coal order while still wanting captains to bring fuel from India. The barrel of powder was a customary contribution each Company ship made to the island's magazine on calling there. The Court's refusal to alter the practice kept the garrison's supply of gunpowder dependent on passing shipping. The longboat's book value of £80 0s 0d mattered because the boat was lost in serving the Royal Navy and not the Company, so the figure was the sum the Company would need in order to write off the loss or seek repayment from the Crown.
10	3	sent to the Hospital, and from time to time informed ourselves from the§ §Surgeon of the Garrison as well as the Royal Georges, when they would be§ §fit to reimbark, and as soon as they reported to Us that they were§ §sufficiently recovered, and fit to be sent on board, and Captain Skottowe§ §acquainted Us that he was ready for sailing, we gave him Orders to proceed§ §on his Voyage, and was deficient in not having informed your Honors of§ §the above circumstance.§ §13 The Charterparty's desired for our Guidance we have received§ §which will be of use to Us upon particular occasions§ §14 The two Yawls we requested to be sent last Year for catching§ §Fish for the Slaves we are much pleased are come, being in great want of§ §them.§ §15 We return your Honors thanks for the ample supply of Provisions§ §&ca received by these Ships, when we made out our Indent for the Year§ §1765 we imagined what Provision we requested would be quite sufficient§ §for the Years consumption, with what we then had in Store, but the§ §unusual demands of your Ships last Year for all kinds of Provisions,§ §together with the additional Number of Slaves, were the Cause of our being§ §so greatly distressed in that respect, but in future will take particular§ §care our Demands especially for Provisions, shall be sufficient for every§ §purpose wanted for the Use of the Island, We will pay all due regard§ §to the observations made upon our Indents, as you have been pleased§ §to order.§ §16 The Chest of Treasure consigned to Us by the Plassey, we§ §have forwarded by that Ship to your Council in China, apprehending§ §that took out of the Prince of Wales, together with what money we may§ §receive for Bills, will be quite sufficient to answer the expences of the§ §current Year.§	The slaves sickened with the craws went into the hospital. From time to time the Council asked the garrison's surgeon and the surgeon of the *Royal George* when they would be fit to go back on board. Once both reported them well enough recovered, and Captain Skottowe announced that he was ready to sail, the Council ordered him to continue his voyage. The Council admitted its fault in not reporting these circumstances to the Court. 13: The charterparties requested for the Council's guidance arrived and would prove useful on particular occasions. 14: The two yawls requested the previous year for catching fish for the slaves also arrived. Their coming pleased the Council greatly because the island badly needed them. 15: The Council thanked the Court for the generous supply of provisions and other stores received by these ships. When the order for 1763 was drawn up, the Council believed the provisions requested, added to those then in store, would fully cover the year's consumption. The unusual demands of the Company's ships the previous year for every kind of provision, together with the larger number of slaves, caused the severe shortage. The Council promised to take particular care in future that its orders, above all for provisions, would meet every need of the island. Due attention would also be paid to the Court's comments on the island's orders, as the Court directed. 16: The chest of treasure consigned to the island by the *Plassey* went forward in that ship to the Company's council in China. The Council judged that the chest taken out of the *Prince of Wales*, together with whatever money came in for bills, would fully cover the expenses of the current year. **Interpretations** Paragraph 16 records a consignment deliberately passed on. The chest of treasure in the *Plassey* was addressed to the island, and the obvious course was to land it. The Council instead sent it on to Canton, reasoning that one chest from the *Prince of Wales* and the proceeds of bills would meet the year's costs. Silver was the Company's means of buying tea in China, so coin lying unused in the island's treasury was of more value there. The bills were bills of exchange drawn on the Court in London: residents and ships' officers paid cash into the island's treasury and received a bill payable in England, which gave the island a steady local source of coin without shipping it from home. The account of the slaves from the *Royal George* shows that they were not intended for the island. They were landed only to recover and were re-embarked on the certificate of two surgeons, one answering for the island and one for the ship, before Captain Skottowe was allowed to proceed. The Council's admission of fault answered the Court's complaint, recorded earlier in this letter, that the island's reports left out material circumstances. The yawls were small open boats worked by oars or a light sail. Fishing with them gave the Company's slaves a cheap local ration and reduced the call on

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			salted provisions sent from England, the same stores whose shortage paragraph 15 explains.
11	4	17 The Anchors Cables &ca sent for the Use of your Ships, shall§ §be kept for that purpose, and whenever the Captains want any of those§ §articles, we shall charge 30 P Cent on the Invoice price, as you are pleased to§ §direct.§ §18 We beg leave to observe to your Honors that we could not acquaint§ §you with the goodness of the Slaves received by the Royal George, untill we had§ §a twelve months tryal of them, and are very sorry that we think them not§ §any ways equal to the madagascar Slaves, but hope in time they may§ §improve§ §19 We have the pleasure to inform you that the Flour received this§ §Year proves extremely good, and we thank your Honors for your attention, in§ §changing hands, as your former Contractor did really not do you justice§ §20 As the Fortifications are now our first object, we beg that§ §you will defer sending Us any materials for the Church, untill we can§ §inform you that we are ready for them.§ §21 The reasons of our appointing Captain Mitchell to the§ §command of the Artillery (yet submitting that measure to your Honors§ §approbation) was the immediate necessity required to put that§ §Company in a proper state of discipline, and as he had served in the§ §Artillery, we thought him the most capable Person for that purpose,§ §which he has executed with great Ability, without taking off his§ §attention from his other necessary imployments, and for the future,§ §shall observe your Orders relative to all other vacancy's§ §22 On more maturely considering the liberty you allow Us§ §for appointing an officer provisionally to take care of the Ordnance and§ §Military Stores, we are now of opinion that the Officers of the Artillery§ §Company may discharge that duty, without putting your Honors to§ §any further Expence by making any new Department.§	17: The anchors, cables and other gear sent for the Company's ships would be held for that use alone. Whenever a captain needed any of those articles, the Council would charge 30 per cent above the invoice price, as the Court directed. 18: The Council explained that it could not report on the quality of the slaves received by the *Royal George* until they were tried for twelve months. Regret was expressed that they seemed in no way equal to the Madagascar slaves, although the Council hoped they would improve with time. 19: The flour received that year proved extremely good. The Council thanked the Court for its care in changing suppliers, since the former contractor did the Company no justice. 20: The fortifications were then the Council's first concern. For that reason the Court was asked to hold back any materials for the church until the island reported itself ready for them. 21: Captain Mitchell was appointed to command the artillery because that company urgently needed bringing into proper discipline, although the Council submitted the step for the Court's approval. He served in the artillery before, and the Council thought him the ablest man for the task. He carried it out with great ability and without neglecting his other necessary duties. The Council promised to follow the Court's orders on all other vacancies in future. 22: The Court allowed the Council to appoint an officer provisionally to take charge of the ordnance and military stores. After more careful thought, the Council concluded that the officers of the artillery company could do that duty themselves. No new department was therefore needed, and the Court was spared any further expense. **Interpretations** Paragraph 22 records a permission declined. The Court offered the island a provisional keeper of ordnance and military stores, and the natural course was to fill the post. The Council instead left the duty with the artillery officers, giving the cost of a new department as its reason. The choice followed directly from paragraph 21: with Captain Mitchell newly placed over the artillery and credited with restoring its discipline, the Council could present that company as fit to be trusted with the guns and stores it used. The wording of paragraph 21 shows that the Court questioned the appointment. Filling a commissioned post was the Court's prerogative, and the Council acted first and sought approval afterwards. Its defence rested on urgency and on Mitchell's earlier artillery service, and the closing promise to obey orders on other vacancies conceded that the step was not to become a precedent. The 30 per cent advance in paragraph 17 was a fixed mark-up on the cost of the goods as invoiced in London. It covered freight, risk and storage and turned the island's naval stores into a small source of revenue. The charge fell on the ships' owners, since a captain drawing an anchor or cable was replacing gear that the owners were bound to provide under the charterparty. The twelve-month trial in paragraph 18 was the period the Council thought necessary to judge new slaves, covering their recovery from the voyage, their adjustment to the island and their performance at work. These were perhaps the slaves from Angola whose arrival by the *Royal George* was reported earlier in this letter, and the Council measured them against slaves from Madagascar, the source it plainly preferred. Paragraph 20 shows the order of priorities in the island's building work. Labour, lime and masons were limited, as the earlier reservation of 30 chaldrons of coal for lime burning showed, so church materials

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			arriving early would only lie unused and deteriorate while the defences absorbed every available hand.
12	5	23 We are sorry to have incurred your Honors displeasure in§ §having augmented John Robinsons Salary, as P the thirty fourth§ §paragraph of your General Letter, we can assure you that nothing could§ §have induced Us to such a measure, but the inadequate difference between§ §his and the master Masons Salary, and the constant attendance that§ §your service requires from one in his station, so as to put it out of his§ §power to earn by his industry any other advantage, and as he is a sober§ §and good Workman we thought it of consequence not to run the hazard of§ §loosing so essential an Artificer (as we were sensible he could earn§ §double his Salary if master of his own time) was the reason that induced Us§ §to the immediate Augmentation, before we had received your Honors§ §approbation, which liberty we should not have taken under any other§ §circumstance, as you find by our application for Mr Beale who begs§ §leave to take this opportunity of returning your Honors his grateful§ §sense and gratitude for your favour, and the satisfaction he has§ §received of your remembrance of an old and faithful Servant§ §24 We are sorry your Honors permitted John Bland to§ §return again to the Island, as we are fully convinced he cannot§ §behave in that becoming manner he ought, you will please to observe§ §by our Consultation of the 10th of last month, what steps he had so§ §early taken to engross the private Trade brought for the Use of the§ §Island, and to lower the current Coin of the place, but shall§ §strictly observe your Honors Orders in sending him off the Island§ §in case he further misbehaves§ §25 James Black the Gardener you have sent shall be§ §paid the Salary &ca you have been pleased to order§ §26 It gives Us pleasure that your Honors have approved of the§ §Plans sent you by the Engineer to be carried into Execution for the defence§ §of§	23: The Council regretted displeasing the Court by raising John Robinson's salary, a step criticised in the thirty-fourth paragraph of the Court's general letter. Nothing would have prompted the increase except the small gap between his pay and the master mason's. His post also demanded constant attendance, which left him no chance of earning anything extra by his own effort. Robinson was a sober and capable workman, and the Council thought it important not to risk losing so essential a craftsman. He could earn twice his salary if his time were his own, and that was why the increase was granted at once, before the Court's approval arrived. The Council insisted it would not have acted so freely in any other circumstances, and pointed to its application on behalf of Mr Beale as proof. Mr Beale asked the Council to convey his gratitude for the Court's favour and his satisfaction at being remembered as an old and faithful servant. 24: The Council regretted that the Court allowed John Bland to return to the island, being fully convinced he could not conduct himself as he should. The consultation of the 10th of the previous month showed how quickly he moved to buy up the private trade brought for the island's use and to lower the value of the local coin. The Council undertook to follow the Court's orders strictly and send him off the island if he offended again. 25: James Black, the gardener sent out by the Court, would receive the salary and allowances the Court ordered. 26: The Council was pleased that the Court approved the plans sent home by the engineer. **Interpretations** Paragraph 23 sets two ways of raising a servant's pay side by side. The regular course was the one followed for Mr Beale: apply to the Court and wait a year or more for an answer. For Robinson the Council raised the salary first and reported afterwards, and the Court's thirty-fourth paragraph rebuked it. The defence rested on the labour market of a small island. A skilled craftsman tied to constant attendance could not take private work, while a free workman could earn double, so the Council judged that Robinson would leave the service before any reply came from London. Citing the Beale application was meant to show that the rule was understood and that the breach was a single exception. The same pattern appeared earlier in this letter, where the Council defended appointing Captain Mitchell to the artillery before the Court's approval and promised to observe orders on other vacancies. The charge against John Bland in paragraph 24 was engrossing, the buying up of a whole supply in order to resell it at a higher price. The private trade was the allowance of goods that ships' officers carried on their own account and sold to the inhabitants, who depended on it for most things the Company's stores did not provide. One buyer taking the whole of it could set prices for the island. Lowering the current coin perhaps meant that Bland accepted or paid out coins at less than the rate fixed by the government, which unsettled every other bargain made in that money. The Court evidently gave a conditional order with his permission to return, so the Council needed only a further offence, and no fresh reference home, to deport him.
13	6	of this Island, as well as our remarks upon the same, and beg leave to assure§ §you that we shall have all due attention in the prosecution of those Works,§ §with that order and Oeconomy that you recommend, and that all your Slaves§ §excepting those that are employed in raising Provisions	The Court's approval covered the engineer's plans for defending the island and the Council's remarks on them. The Council promised to press on with those works in the orderly and economical way the Court recommended. Every Company slave would be put to that labour, apart from those raising provisions and those kept as servants. The Council pointed out that

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		and for servants,§ §shall be put to that useful Work. We must observe that the Fortifications§ §cannot be carried on with them alone, and the unavoidable expence we are§ §obliged to put your Honors to by employing so many Soldiers which§ §amount at present to 104 and as we apprehend that expedition in§ §compleating the works as soon as possible will be pleasing to your Honors§ §the sooner the Island is put into a proper state of Defence, and the§ §necessity represented to Us by the Engineer of the want of those People§ §whose opinion we must in some measure be guided by, we flatter§ §ourselves will be a sufficient reason for those extraordinary Expences,§ §which we should only upon that Account give way to, and as Sandy Bay§ §is the Work the Engineer has now set about, and the distance of that place,§ §together with the number of Soldiers and Blacks, that will be employed in§ §the prosecution of it, we have thought it absolutely necessary to§ §appoint a Commissioned Officer constantly to reside upon the Spot, to§ §superintend the workmen, and execute such directions as he will§ §receive from time to time from Capt. Mitchell, and for that purpose have§ §appointed Lieutenant Bridgwater at 5/ P day, as we think it only§ §adequate to the trouble and constant attendance we do require of him§ §In Order that your Honors may have the fullest and clearest account of§ §the Charge and expence, in carrying on the works for the defence of the§ §Island, we have agreed to open a head in the Ledger, for Sandy Bay§ §Fortification, that you may see, at one view the amount of that particular§ §work, which method we shall continue to pursue in the prosecution§ §of the others§	the fortifications could not be built by slaves alone. Many soldiers were therefore employed, at an unavoidable cost to the Company, and they then numbered 104. The Council believed the Court would welcome speed, since the sooner the works were finished the sooner the island stood in a proper state of defence. The engineer also represented that those men were needed, and the Council felt bound to be guided in some measure by his opinion. These two reasons, the Council trusted, would justify extraordinary expenses that it would accept on no other ground. Sandy Bay was the work the engineer then began. Because of the distance of that place and the number of soldiers and blacks to be employed there, the Council thought a commissioned officer must live constantly on the spot. His task was to supervise the workmen and carry out the directions sent from time to time by Captain Mitchell. Lieutenant Bridgwater was appointed for that purpose at 5s a day, a rate the Council thought no more than adequate to the trouble and constant attendance required of him. The Council wanted the Court to have the fullest and clearest account of the cost of the island's defences. A separate head was therefore opened in the ledger for the Sandy Bay fortification, so that the Court could see the cost of that particular work at a glance. The same method would be followed for the other works. **Interpretations** The Court's recommendation was economy, and the cheapest course was to build with the Company's own slaves, whose labour cost nothing beyond their keep. The Council accepted that instruction in form and then set it aside in substance by putting 104 soldiers on the works. Soldiers employed as labourers drew working pay on top of their ordinary pay, which is why their employment counted as an extraordinary expense. The justification offered was twofold: the Court's own presumed wish for speed, and the engineer's professional opinion that the men were needed. Resting the decision on the engineer placed responsibility for the cost on the officer the Court itself sent out, whose plans it approved. Lieutenant Bridgwater's appointment was another step taken before the Court's approval, like Captain Mitchell's command of the artillery and John Robinson's salary reported earlier in this letter. The Council again argued necessity, here the remoteness of Sandy Bay, which lay on the far side of the island from the seat of government and could not be overseen from there. The arrangement also extended Captain Mitchell's authority from the artillery to the direction of the works, with the lieutenant as his resident deputy. The separate ledger head was an accounting device offered to disarm criticism in advance. Charging each fortification to its own account let the Court compare the cost of one work with another and with the engineer's estimates, instead of finding the outlay buried in the island's general charges. By volunteering it alongside the admission of extraordinary expense, the Council presented the spending as open to inspection.
14	7	27 We acquainted Captain Mitchell with your approbation§ §of his appointment to the Command of the Artillery Company§ §In consequence of which he beged we would forward the Enclosed Letter§ §to your Honors§ §28 With regard to the Lime Stone our former Letters and§ §Consultations will have fully satisfied you, and as to the bricks the§ §Engineer is about making another tryal, which we shall pay all§ §due attention in acquainting your Honors of the success§	27: The Council told Captain Mitchell that the Court approved his appointment to command the artillery company. He then asked the Council to forward the enclosed letter to the Court. 28: The Council's earlier letters and consultations gave the Court full information about the limestone. The engineer was about to make a further trial of the bricks, and the Council promised to report the result carefully. 29: The engineer received orders to state what craftsmen, stores and other supplies the works would need the following year. The Council undertook to send that list home as soon as possible. After consulting Captain Mitchell, the Council knew of no supplies that the Company's presidencies in India or

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		§29 We have given Orders to the Engineer to inform Us what§ §Artificers Stores &ca may be wanting next Year for carrying on your§ §Works, which we shall take care to transmit you as soon as possible,§ §and on consulting with Captain Mitchell, do not find there will be any§ §supplies that we know of that your Presidencys in India or China§ §can send us, except Gun Carriages, which we shall demand when§ §wanted§ §30 The 30 Loads of Wood which the Governor gave liberty to§ §Captain Webb to send some of his Crew for, were not cut down, but was§ §part of that then lying on the Ground, and shall take care in future§ §to supply them with only Coals, in case they should be in want of§ §Fewel.§ §31 With respect to the Rice and Paddy we had from§ §Captain Webb we have to observe the necessity we were in our future§ §wants, since so strongly verified, and did not imagine, he would have§ §taken so shameful an Advantage of our necessity's in which we were§ §much to blame in knowing his price, not to have returned it to him, a method§ §we shall take care strictly to pursue for the time to come, and at the same§ §time, give your Honors information of such of your Captains as may§ §hereafter endeavour to take such Advantages§	China could send, apart from gun carriages. Those would be requested when they were needed. 30: Governor [...] allowed Captain Webb to send some of his crew for 30 loads of wood. That wood was not felled for him but formed part of what then lay on the ground. The Council promised in future to give ships coals alone if they ran short of fuel. 31: The Council answered the Court on the rice and paddy obtained from Captain Webb. Its own later shortage, so strongly confirmed since, showed how badly the island needed the grain. The Council never supposed he would exploit that need so shamefully. It admitted being much at fault for knowing his price and still not handing the grain back to him. That course would be followed strictly in future, and the Court would be told of any captain who tried to profit in the same way. **Interpretations** Paragraph 31 turns on a choice the Council conceded was wrong. On learning Captain Webb's price, the proper course was to return the rice and paddy and refuse the bargain. The Council kept the grain and paid, because the island was short of food, and the Court evidently censured the price. The reply accepted the blame but shifted most of it onto the captain, and the promise to report future offenders offered the Court a means of disciplining commanders through their prospects of further employment. Paddy was rice still in the husk, which kept better in store and could also serve as seed or feed. The shortage pleaded here was the same one explained earlier in this letter by the heavy demands of the Company's ships and the larger number of slaves. Paragraph 30 answered a complaint about timber. Wood was scarce on the island and felling it for ships stripped the land, so the Council stressed that Captain Webb's 30 loads were already lying cut. The undertaking to issue coals alone tied this reply to the request made earlier in this letter for a supply of coals for the ships, separate from the 30 chaldrons reserved for burning lime. The limestone and brick trials concerned whether the island could make its own building materials for the fortifications. Local lime and bricks would spare the Company the freight of sending them from England, which is why the Court followed the experiments closely. Gun carriages were the wooden mountings on which cannon were worked. India could supply them in teak, a timber far more durable in the open than anything the island grew, and this explains why they were the one article the Council expected to draw from the eastern presidencies.
15	8	32 We are extremely pleased to find your Honors have Ordered§ §a double quantity of Rice, to be sent Us from Bengal and Bombay; as§ §we are constantly in great want of that Article, and more especially now§ §the number of your Slaves are increased, and the necessity of feeding such§ §of your Blacks as are employed at the Works with Rice, as their getting§ §their own Yams loses one day in a Week of their Labour, and shall§ §duly inform your Honors how your Presidents and Councils of those§ §abovementioned Places comply with your Orders§ §33 In obedience to your Orders we have returned by this§ §Conveyance, Certificates of Flour &ca landed here, out of the Ships Plassey§ §and Prince of Wales§ §34 On the 23d of last month, arrived your Honors Ships Earl of Elgin§	32: The Council was extremely pleased that the Court ordered a double quantity of rice to be sent from Bengal and Bombay. The island was constantly short of that article, and more so once the number of the Company's slaves grew. The blacks employed at the works also needed feeding with rice, because fetching their own yams cost them one working day in every week. The Council promised to report how the presidents and councils of those two places carried out the Court's orders. 33: Certificates for the flour and other stores landed from the *Plassey* and the *Prince of Wales* went home by this conveyance, as the Court's orders required. 34: The Company's ships *Earl of Elgin* and *Admiral Pocock* arrived on the 23rd of the previous month. The *Duke of Richmond* followed the next day, and all three came from China. Captain Riddell reported that contrary winds on his passage from Manila to China forced him into the port of Touron on the coast of Cochin China. The inhabitants there came very near to cutting him off, but a Portuguese priest fortunately

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		§and Admiral Pocock, and the next day the Duke of Richmond all from China.§ §Capt. Riddell acquaints Us that in his Passage from Manilla to China, he§ §was by contrary Winds obliged to put into the Port of Touron on the Coast§ §of Cochin China, and that he was very near being cut off by the natives§ §but was fortunately apprised of their design by a Portuguese Padre, and§ §we beg leave to congratulate your Honors upon the arrival of that missing§ §Ship at this Island, he likewise tell Us he left Wampo the 10th Decemr§ §last and that there were fifteen of your Honors Ships, viz, Talbot, Salisbury§ §Dutton, Ankerwyke, York, Thames, Royal Captain, Tilbury, Grosvenor§ §Horsendon, Essex, Duke of Richmond Earl of Elgin, Duke of Glocester and§ §Admiral Pocock, his Majesty's Ship Argo and three English Country Ships§ §two Danes, three Swedes, four Dutch and four French at Canton this§ §Season, he also inform Us he was told that his Majesty's Ships§ §Dolphin and Tamar passed Anger Point the 7th Decemr last, Capt.§ §Cook tell Us he left Wampo the 16th December in company with the§ §Duke of Richmond, and Duke of Glocester, we are likewise told§ §that the Talbot, Dutton, Salisbury and Ankerwyke, were to be§ §dispatched§	warned him of their plan. The Council congratulated the Court on the arrival of that missing ship at the island. Captain Riddell also said he left Whampoa on 10 December of the previous year. Fifteen of the Company's ships were at Canton that season, namely: *Talbot* *Salisbury* *Dutton* *Ankerwyke* *York* *Thames* *Royal Captain* *Tilbury* *Grosvenor* *Horsenden* *Essex* *Duke of Richmond* *Earl of Elgin* *Duke of Gloucester* *Admiral Pocock* His Majesty's ship *Argo* was there too, together with these other vessels: English country ships, 3 Danish ships, 2 Swedish ships, 3 Dutch ships, 4 French ships, 4 Captain Riddell was further told that His Majesty's ships *Dolphin* and *Tamar* passed Anger Point on [...] December of the previous year. Captain Cook reported leaving Whampoa on 16 December in company with the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Duke of Gloucester*. The Council also received news concerning the *Talbot*, *Dutton*, *Salisbury* and *Ankerwyke*. **Interpretations** Paragraph 34 was the Council's answer in practice to the Court's complaint, recorded earlier in this letter, that the island's intelligence was inadequate. The captains were questioned on arrival and their reports set down in detail: sailing dates, the full roll of Company ships at Canton and a count of every rival nation's shipping. That count told the Court how much competition its supercargoes faced in buying tea that season, months before the ships themselves reached England. The argument for rice in paragraph 32 rested on a calculation of labour. Slaves on the island ordinarily fed themselves from yams, which they dug and carried on a day set aside for the purpose. Issuing imported rice to those on the fortifications bought back that day, so the Council treated the cost of grain from Bengal and Bombay as cheaper than losing a sixth of the working week. The request tied the food supply directly to the speed of the defence works, which the Council earlier named as its first concern. The certificates in paragraph 33 were signed receipts for goods landed. They let the Court check deliveries against the invoices and bills of lading in London, and settle any claim against a ship's owners for cargo short delivered or damaged. Touron was the bay on the coast of central Vietnam later known as Da Nang. To be cut off meant having the ship seized and the crew killed or taken. Whampoa was the anchorage below Canton where foreign ships lay while their cargoes were handled upriver. Country ships were privately owned vessels trading between Asian ports under the Company's licence. Anger Point lay on the Java side of the Sunda Strait, the usual passage for ships between the China Sea and the Indian Ocean.
16	9	dispatched about the middle of January, the Argo left Canton about the§ §middle of November, we are informed that Captn Affleck had some§ §difference with the Chinese, relative to the	The Council heard that the *Talbot*, *Dutton*, *Salisbury* and *Ankerwyke* were to be dispatched about the middle of January. The *Argo* left Canton about the middle of November. Captain Affleck was reported to have quarrelled with the Chinese over the measurement of

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		measurement of his Ship,§ §which was apprehended would have stopped your Trade for the§ §last Season, but his submitting to their Customs every thing was§ §settled to the satisfaction of your Supra Cargoes§ §35 The Passengers on board the Earl of Elgin are, Captain§ §Baker, and Mr Bradney§ §36 Daniel Corneille Esqr applied to pay £80.. into§ §your Cash which we have received, and given him Bills drawn§ §on your Honors for that Sum payable to Christopher Baron Esqr§ §or Order 90 Days after sight, dated the 31st of last Month§ §37 As the Quarters Accounts will not be paid before the§ §untill the 21 instant, we cannot transmit you any other Cash§ §Account than Duplicates of our last§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe.§ §Daniel Corneille.§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §2d April 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena, P Ship§ §Admiral Pocock, dated 2d April 1766 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 2d April 1766.§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 4th March Do§	his ship, and it was feared the dispute would stop the Company's trade for the previous season. He gave way to their customs, however, and everything was settled to the satisfaction of the Company's supercargoes. 35: The passengers on board the *Earl of Elgin* were Captain Baker and Mr Bradney. 36: Daniel Corneille applied to pay £80 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 31st of the previous month. They were payable 90 days after sight to Christopher Baron or to his order. 37: The quarter's accounts would not be read before the 21st of April. The Council could therefore send no cash account other than duplicates of its previous one. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 2 April 1766 and sent by the *Admiral Pocock*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 April 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 March, which first went by the *Earl of Middlesex*. **Interpretations** The quarrel over measurement concerned the charge the Chinese customs levied on every foreign ship at Whampoa. Officials measured the vessel's length and breadth and calculated the port duty from those dimensions, so a commander who disputed the measuring was disputing the tax. Captain Affleck commanded a King's ship, the *Argo*, and a warship would ordinarily claim exemption from a merchant duty. The Chinese authorities answered such resistance by suspending trade with the whole nation, which is why a naval officer's stand threatened the Company's tea purchases for the season. His giving way removed that threat. Paragraph 36 shows the bill system at work, described earlier in this letter as one of the two sources expected to meet the year's expenses. Corneille paid coin into the island's treasury and took a bill on the Court, payable in London 90 days after it was presented. The island gained cash for its running costs, and Corneille moved £80 0s 0d to England without risking coin at sea. He was himself a member of the Council that accepted the money and signed the letter reporting it. Paragraph 37 explains a gap in the enclosures. The cash account was made up quarterly and had to be read and passed in council before it could be sent home. The ship sailed before that date, so the Court received only a copy of the earlier account. Sending duplicates by a second ship was the standard safeguard against the loss of the first, as the second item of the packet list also shows.
17	10	3 Duplicate Governor and Councils Genl Letter dated 4th March relating to§ §Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from 10th to 31st March 1766.§ §5 Duplicate Do from 10th Febry to 3d March Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Admiral Stevens§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Rolls of Do§ §10 List of Officers and Servants taken 2d April 1766§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §12 Do Cash Account from the 4th to 28th Febry 1766§ §13 Do Do from the 1st to 4th March Do§ §14 Ship Admiral Pococks Account§	The packet list continued with these further items. 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 March on law matters 4: The consultations from 10 to 31 March 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 10 February to 3 March 1766 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Middlesex* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Admiral Stevens* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: The muster rolls of the garrison 10: A list of officers and servants taken on 2 April 1766 11: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Middlesex*

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		§15 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §16 Do Plasseys Do§ §17 Duplicate Proceedings of a Genl Quarty Sessions held the 13th Janry 1766§ §18 Abst of the Cargoes of Ships Admiral Pocock Earl of Elgin, and Duke of§ §Richmond§ §19 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §20 Certificate of the Flour &ca§ §21 Duplicate Ship Earl of Middlesexs Account§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on your Honors by the Ship Admiral§ §Pocock which sailed from hence the 2d instant§ §2 We have given Capt Hindman an Order to receive on board§ §the§	12: A duplicate cash account from 4 to 28 February 1766 13: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 4 March 1766 14: The account of the *Admiral Pocock* 15: The account of the *Prince of Wales* 16: The account of the *Plassey* 17: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 13 January 1766 18: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Admiral Pocock*, *Earl of Elgin* and *Duke of Richmond* 19: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 20: The certificate for the flour and other stores 21: A duplicate of the account of the *Earl of Middlesex* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Admiral Pocock*, which sailed from the island on the 2nd of that month. 2: Captain Hindman received an order from the Council to take something on board his ship. **Interpretations** The receipts at items 6 and 7 were acknowledgements signed by a ship's commander on taking charge of the Company's packet. Returning them to London by a later ship let the Court fix responsibility on a named captain if a packet went missing. The cash accounts at items 12 and 13 were the duplicates promised in the letter of 2 April 1766, sent because the current quarter's account was not yet read in council. Item 19 was a record of when each arriving ship's boat reached Banks's, the battery on the coast to the north-east of the anchorage. Every ship approaching the road had to send a boat ahead there to identify herself before being allowed to pass, and the fort was under orders to fire on any that did not. Sending the times home let the Court see whether its commanders complied promptly with that rule. The effective state of the garrison was a return of the men actually fit and present for duty, as distinct from the muster rolls, which named every man on the establishment. Read together, the two showed the Court how far sickness, death and desertion reduced the force it was paying for. The ships' accounts at items 14 to 16 and 21 recorded what each vessel received from the island's stores and what she landed there. They were the basis on which the Court settled with the owners in London, including the 30 per cent advance on naval stores described in the letter of 2 April 1766.
18	11	the Duke of Richmond Michael Read, Edward Cozens, Charles Edges§ §John Cary, Edward Davis and Joseph Good six Invalid Soldiers, they have§ §signed the Instrument that they will not demand any wages for their Voyage§ §home which goes Enclosed, together with the Surgeons Certificate of their§ §disorders, and Captain Hindmans Receipt for £30.. paid him for§ §their Passage.§ §3 We have likewise put on board the Earl of Elgin Richard§ §Goulding and William Fletcher, two discharged Soldiers towards§ §compleating her Company§ §4 The Ships Prince of Wales and Plassey this Day§ §proceeded on their Voyage§ §5 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Earl of Elgin§ §which sails in Company with the Duke of Richmond§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§	Captain Hindman's order was to take six invalid soldiers on board the *Duke of Richmond*. Michael Read Edward Cauzens Charles Edges John Cary Edward Davis Joseph Good Each man signed an undertaking not to claim any wages for the voyage home. That document went enclosed with the letter, together with the surgeon's certificate of their disorders and Captain Hindman's receipt for £30 0s 0d paid to him for their passage. 3: The Council also put two discharged soldiers, Richard Goulding and William Fletcher, on board the *Earl of Elgin* to help make up her crew. 4: The *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* continued their voyages that day. 5: The letter went to the Court by the *Earl of Elgin*, which sailed in company with the *Duke of Richmond*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 4 April 1766 and signed by:

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		§Your most obt and hum Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe.§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §4th April 1766§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Earl of Elgin dated 4th March 1766 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils Genl Letter dated 4th April 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 2d Do Do§ §3 Do Consultations from 10th to 31st March Do§	John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena sent by the *Earl of Elgin*, which the clerk dated 4 March 1766. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 April 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 April 1766 3: A duplicate of the consultations from 10 to 31 March 1766 **Interpretations** The two groups of soldiers went home on different terms, and the difference shows how the Council sorted men by their usefulness. The six invalids were unfit to work, so they travelled as passengers at a cost to the Company of £30 0s 0d, or £5 0s 0d a man. The signed undertaking stopped them claiming seamen's wages from the ship's owners on arrival, a claim a man carried on a ship's books might otherwise raise. The surgeon's certificate proved to the Court that each discharge rested on medical grounds and not on favour. Goulding and Fletcher were discharged but able-bodied, so they were placed in the *Earl of Elgin* as hands. A ship returning from China was commonly short of men through death and desertion, and the two soldiers worked their passage at no charge to the Company. The packet list carried the date 4 March 1766, although the letter it accompanied and the ship's sailing both belonged to 4 April 1766. April was perhaps the month intended.
19	12	4 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Admiral Pocock§ §5 Second Do for Do P Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §6 Effective State of the Garrison,§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Admiral Pocock§ §8 Ship Earl of Elgins Account§ §9 Do Duke of Richmonds Do§ §10 Duplicate Adml Pocock Do§ §11 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §12 Do Plasseys Do§ §13 Do Certificate of Flour§ §14 Surgeons Do of six Invalid Soldiers§ §15 Instrument in Writing from Do§ §16 Captain Hindmans Receipt for £30..§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to your Honors by the Earl of Elgin which§ §sailed from hence the 4th instant, in company with your Ship Duke of§ §Richmond§ §2 On the 6th of this Month, arrived your Honors Ships Dutton§ §and Salisbury from China, the Captains acquaint Us they left§ §Canton the 4 Janry in company with the Talbot, they likewise tell§ §Us they met with your Honors Ship Royal George, and two other§ §Vessels the 3d February last, in their way to the Island of Banca§ §and§	The packet list for the *Earl of Elgin* continued with these further items. 4: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock* 5: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Middlesex* 6: The effective state of the garrison 7: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock* 8: The account of the *Earl of Elgin* 9: The account of the *Duke of Richmond* 10: A duplicate of the account of the *Admiral Pocock* 11: A duplicate of the account of the *Prince of Wales* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Plassey* 13: A duplicate of the certificate for the flour 14: The surgeon's certificate for the six invalid soldiers 15: The written undertaking signed by the six invalid soldiers 16: Captain Hindman's receipt for £30 0s 0d The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Earl of Elgin*. That ship sailed from the island on the 4th of that month in company with the *Duke of Richmond*. 2: The Company's ships *Dutton* and *Salisbury* arrived from China on the 6th of that month. Their captains reported leaving Canton on 4 January in company with the *Talbot*. On 3 February they met the Company's ship *Royal George* and two other vessels, which were then on their way to the island of Banca. **Interpretations** Items 14 to 16 were the three papers promised in the letter of 4 April 1766 for the six invalids sent home in the *Duke of Richmond*: the medical grounds for discharge, the men's waiver of wages and the proof that £30 0s 0d was paid for their passage. Listing each separately in the packet made the commander who signed for it answerable for their delivery.

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			The sailing date of 4 January was earlier than the Council expected. The letter of 2 April 1766 passed on a report that the *Talbot*, *Dutton*, *Salisbury* and *Ankerwyke* were to be dispatched from Canton about the middle of January. The captains' own account corrected that hearsay within days and left only the *Ankerwyke* unaccounted for. Banca was an island off the south-east coast of Sumatra. The strait between the two was the usual route for ships passing between the Sunda Strait and the China Sea, so a meeting there placed the *Royal George* on her outward passage towards China.
20	13	and afterwards to proceed to Banjar Masseen§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange, Vizt§ §One Set to Captain Thos Kirkpatrick for £400.. paye to Mrs Mary Hal[e]§ §dated the 7th instant; One Set to John Skottowe Esqr for £300.. paye§ §to Robert Wood Esqr. One Set to Captn David Rice for £327.. paye§ §to himself. One Set to Captn John Wyche for £450.. payable to himself§ §And one Set to Mr Giles Mini[f]ie for £65.. payable to himself all§ §dated the 9th instant, and drawn at 90 Days sight§ §4 We have given Captain Wyche an Order to receive on board§ §his Ship John Smith, Wm Hawkes, John Swindell, Francs Powell and§ §Alexr Gray five discharged Soldiers: also Robert Bartlett and Thomas§ §Morgan two deserters from the Ship Plassey, towards compleating the§ §Salisbury's Company and have likewise put on board the Dutton§ §William Clay, and Willm Pinchin two other discharged Men to§ §compleat that Ships Company, and have permitted Capt Rice to§ §take on board his Ship William Smith late Clerk of the Parish§ §5 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Dutton, which§ §Sails in Company with the Salisbury§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe.§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §12th April 1766§	The *Royal George* and her two consorts were bound first for Banca and afterwards for Banjarmasin. 3: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. One set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, payable to Mrs Mary Hale and dated 7 April 1766, £400 0s 0d One set to John Skottowe, payable to Robert Wood, £300 0s 0d One set to Captain David Rice, payable to himself, £827 0s 0d One set to Captain John Wyche, payable to himself, £450 0s 0d One set to Mr Giles Minifie, payable to himself, £65 0s 0d The remaining sets were all dated 9 April 1766. 4: Captain Wyche received an order to take five discharged soldiers on board his ship. John Smith William Hawker John Swindell Francis Powell Alexander Gray Robert Bartlett and Thomas Morgan, two deserters from the *Plassey*, joined them towards making up the *Salisbury*'s crew. Two other discharged men, William Clay and William Pinchin, went on board the *Dutton* to fill her complement. The Council also allowed Captain Rice to take William Smith, formerly clerk of the parish, in his ship. 5: The letter went to the Court by the *Dutton*, which sailed in company with the *Salisbury*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 12 April 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The bills in paragraph 3 came to £2,042 0s 0d, paid into the island's treasury in coin within a few days of two China ships anchoring. The letter of 2 April 1766 explained that the Council forwarded the *Plassey*'s chest of treasure to Canton because money received for bills would help meet the year's expenses, and these sums were that expectation being realised. The two largest belonged to Captain Rice and Captain Wyche, the commanders of the ships then in the road, who were perhaps remitting the proceeds of private trade sold on the island. Two of the five sets went to men who signed the letter: Kirkpatrick as a member of the Council and Skottowe at its head. A set consisted of two or three identical copies of one bill sent by different ships, of which only the first presented was paid. Bartlett and Morgan deserted from the *Plassey*, which sailed outward on 4 April 1766, so they could not be returned to their own ship. The Council treated them as it treated discharged soldiers and used them to fill gaps in a homeward crew, which removed two idle men from the island and spared the *Salisbury*'s commander the cost of sailing short-handed.

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			Banjarmasin lay on the south coast of Borneo and was a source of pepper, which suggests the *Royal George* was to take in a cargo there for the China market.
21	14	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena, P Ship§ §Dutton dated the 12th April 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr and Councils General Lettr dated 12th April 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 4th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from 1st to 9th Do Do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Earl of Elgin§ §5 Second Do for Do P Ship Admiral Pocock§ §6 Effective State of the Garrison§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 12th April 1766§ §8 Do of 7 Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Earl of Elgin§ §10 Ship Duttons Account§ §11 Do Salisburys Do§ §12 Duplte Earl of Elgins Do§ §13 Do Duke of Richmonds Do§ §14 Do Captain Hindmans Receipt for £30..§ §15 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §16 Abst of the Cargoes of Ships Dutton and Salisbury's§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs.§ §1 Our last Letter waited on your Honors by the Dutton§ §which sailed from hence the 13th instant, in company with your Ship§ §Salisbury§ §2 On the 15th instant arrived the Duke of Glocester and the 19§ §the§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 12 April 1766 and sent by the *Dutton*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 12 April 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 April 1766 3: The consultations from 7 to 9 April 1766 4: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin* 5: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock* 6: The effective state of the garrison 7: A list of officers and servants taken on 12 April 1766 8: A list of 7 discharged soldiers 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin* 10: The account of the *Dutton* 11: The account of the *Salisbury* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Earl of Elgin* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Duke of Richmond* 14: A duplicate of Captain Hindman's receipt for £30 0s 0d 15: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 16: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Dutton* and *Salisbury* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Dutton*. That ship sailed from the island on the 13th of that month in company with the *Salisbury*. 2: The *Duke of Gloucester* arrived on the 15th of that month. **Interpretations** Item 8 counted seven discharged soldiers, which matched the men named in the letter of 12 April 1766: five placed in the *Salisbury* and two in the *Dutton*. The two deserters from the *Plassey* who sailed with them were left out, since they were seamen and never on the garrison's books. A separate list let the Court strike the seven from the establishment and stop their pay from the date of sailing. The letter of 12 April 1766 stated that it went by the *Dutton*, yet the next letter gave her sailing date as the 13th. The packet was therefore closed and dated a day before the ships left the road.
22	15	the Talbot both from China§ §3 The 17th of this Month arrived a Dane Ship from China§ §called the Queen Sophia Magdalena, Capt Dixon burthen 1100 Tons§ §carrys 26 Guns, and 150 Men: and the next day arrived another Dane§ §Ship from China, called the Queen Julian Maria Captn Smit burthen§ §900 Tons carrys 26 Guns and 140 Men, both loaden with Tea China§ §Ware and Silk and bound to Copenhagen; they sailed from hence the 24th§ §instant§ §4 On the 19th of this Month, Arrived a small Portuguese Vessel§ §from Rio Janeiro called the [...] Conception Capt Joze burthen 80 Tons, and carrys 17 Men, bound§ §to Angola she sailed the 23d instant, the Captn acquaints Us that Captn§ §Clements sailed from Rio Janeiro in September last, with another English§ §Ship, but he could not tell her name§	The *Talbot* arrived on the 19th of that month, and both she and the *Duke of Gloucester* came from China. 3: A Danish ship from China called the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, under Captain Dixon, arrived on the 17th of that month. She was of 1,100 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 150 men. Another Danish ship from China, the *Queen Juliana Maria* under Captain Smit, came in the next day. She was of 900 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 140 men. Both were loaded with tea, chinaware and silk and were bound for Copenhagen. They sailed from the island on the 21st of that month. 4: A small Portuguese vessel from Rio de Janeiro arrived on the 19th of that month. She was called the *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* and was commanded by Captain José [...]. Her burthen was 80 tons, she carried 17 men and she was bound for Angola. She sailed on the 23rd of that month. Her captain reported that Captain Clements sailed from Rio de Janeiro in September of the previous year with another English ship, whose name he could not give.

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		§5 We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt§ §One Set to Captn Henry Bazett for £28.5 payable to Captn John§ §Wyche, and one Set to Captn Robert Burdett for £150 payable to§ §himself, both drawn at 90 days sight, and dated this day§ §6 We have had a good Summer Season, and the Pastures§ §and Plantations are at present in a flourishing condition.§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §23d April 1766§	5: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 23 April 1766. One set to Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Captain John Wyche, £28 5s 0d One set to Captain Robert Burdett, payable to himself, £150 0s 0d 6: The island enjoyed a good summer season. The pastures and plantations were then in a flourishing condition. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 April 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 continued the reporting of foreign competition that the Court demanded. The letter of 2 April 1766 counted two Danish ships at Canton that season, and both then called at the island on their way home. The Council recorded each ship's tonnage, guns, crew, cargo and destination, which gave the Court a measure of how much tea, chinaware and silk the Danish company would bring to the European market that year. Burthen was a ship's carrying capacity reckoned in tons. The Portuguese vessel was on the direct route between Brazil and Angola, the passage by which slaves were carried to Rio de Janeiro. Her master's news of Captain Clements was the kind of secondhand report about English shipping that the Council passed on to answer the charge of neglecting intelligence. Paragraph 6 mattered to the Court because the island's pastures and plantations fed the garrison, the slaves and the calling ships. A good season at the close of the southern summer promised cattle and yams for the coming months and eased the shortage of provisions that the letter of 2 April 1766 explained at length.
23	16	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P Ship§ §Duke of Glocester dated 23 April 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 23d April 1766§ §2 Do Do & Do dated 23d Do Do relating to§ §Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated 12th April 1766§ §4 Consultations from 14th to 23d Do Do§ §5 Duplte Do from 7th to 9th Do Do§ §6 First Receipt for ye Packet P Ship Dutton§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Earl of Elgin§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Duplte List of the Packet P Ship Dutton§ §10 Ship Duke of Glocesters Account§ §11 Duplicate Ship Dutton Do§ §12 Do Do Salisburys Do§ §13 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §14 Abstract of ye Cargoes of Ships Duke of Glocester and Talbot§ §15 Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessions held on the 9th April 1766§ §16 Plan of Banks's lower Battery§ §17 Cash Acct from the 5th to 31st March 1766§ §18 Do from the 1st to 23d April Do§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We Addressed your Honors last under date of the§ §23d April by your Ship Duke of Glocester§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 23 April 1766 and sent by the *Duke of Gloucester*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 April 1766 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 April 1766 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 12 April 1766 4: The consultations from 14 to 23 April 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 7 to 9 April 1766 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Dutton* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Dutton* 10: The account of the *Duke of Gloucester* 11: A duplicate of the account of the *Dutton* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Salisbury* 13: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 14: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Duke of Gloucester* and *Talbot* 15: The proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 9 April 1766 16: A plan of Banks's lower battery 17: The cash account from 5 to 31 March 1766 18: The cash account from 1 to 23 April 1766 The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 23 April, sending that letter by the *Duke of Gloucester*. **Interpretations**

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			Items 17 and 18 closed the gap admitted in the letter of 2 April 1766. The Council then explained that the quarter's accounts would not be read until 21 April and that only duplicates of the earlier cash account could be sent. With that reading past, the account for the rest of March went home, together with a second one running up to the day the packet closed. The earlier duplicates ended on 4 March, so the new account began on the 5th and left no day uncovered. The plan of Banks's lower battery at item 16 belonged to the programme of defence works that the letter of 2 April 1766 called the Council's first concern. Sending a drawing let the Court judge the engineer's design for that position before the cost was incurred, as it did with his earlier plans. The quarterly sessions at item 15 were the island's criminal court, at which the Governor and Council sat as justices. Their proceedings went home in full so that the Court could review the sentences passed in its name.
24	17	2 On the 1st instant arrived a Swede Ship from China, called§ §the Finland, Captain Rooth, burthen 1300 Tons, carrys 30 Guns, and§ §130 Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware and Silk, bound to Gottenbourg§ §3 The Reverend Mr Thackeray, desires we will acquaint§ §your Honors, that he intends to quit your Service the first opportunity§ §in April 1767§ §4 We have given Captn Dethick an Order to receive on board§ §his Ship Thos Warne late Overseer, and John Robinson a Discharged§ §Soldier, towards compleating the Talbots Company§ §5 We have paid on Account of the Russian Gentlemen on§ §board the Talbot, the Sum of £4.10 for his Lodging and Diet here§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your mt Obedt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §4th May 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P§ §Ship Talbot dated 4 May 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Counl General Letter dated 4th May 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 23d April Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 23 Do Do relatg to Law§ §matters§ §4 Consultn of the 3d May Do§ §5 Duplte Do from 14th to 23d April Do§	2: A Swedish ship from China called the *Finland*, under Captain Rundt, arrived on the 1st of that month. She was of 1,300 tons burthen and carried 30 guns and 130 men. Her cargo was tea, chinaware and silk, and she was bound for Gothenburg. 3: The Reverend Mr Thackeray asked the Council to tell the Court that he intended to leave the Company's service at the first opportunity in April 1767. 4: Captain Dethick received an order to take two men on board his ship towards making up the *Talbot*'s crew. They were Thomas Warne, formerly an overseer, and John Robinson, a discharged soldier. 5: The Council paid £4 10s 0d on account of the Russian gentleman on board the *Talbot*, for his lodging and food on the island. The letter was dated at St Helena on 4 May 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 4 May 1766 and sent by the *Talbot*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 May 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 April 1766 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 April 1766 on law matters 4: The consultation of 3 May 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 14 to 23 April 1766 **Interpretations** Mr Thackeray's notice in paragraph 3 ran almost a full year ahead. A chaplain could only be replaced from England, and a letter home followed by an outward voyage took the better part of that time. Announcing his departure for April 1767 gave the Court one shipping season to appoint and send out a successor, so that the island was not left without a clergyman. The *Finland* was one of the three Swedish ships counted at Canton in the letter of 2 April 1766. As with the two Danish ships reported on 23 April 1766, the Council recorded her size, armament, crew, cargo and destination, giving the Court a view of the tea and silk a rival company would land in Europe that year. The payment in paragraph 5 was an advance made from the island's treasury for a foreign passenger's board ashore while the *Talbot* lay in the road. Reporting it by name of ship let the Court recover the £4 10s 0d in London from the passenger or from whoever answered for his passage.

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25	18	6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Duke of Glocester§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Dutton§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 List of Officers and Servants taken 4th May 1766§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Duke of Glocester§ §11 Cash Account from 1 to 4th May 1766§ §12 Duplte Do from 5th to 31st March Do§ §13 Do Do from 1st to 23d April Do§ §14 Ship Talbots Account§ §15 Duplicate Ship Duke of Glocesters Acct.§ §16 Do Proceedings of a Genl Quary Sessions, held on the 9th April 1766§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs.§ §1. Our last Advices waited on your Honors under date of§ §the 4th instant by the Ship Talbot§ §2. On the 14th of this month arrived your Ships York and§ §Thames and the next Day the Essex all from China. the Captains tell§ §Us they parted Company with Captain Ross about a fortnight after they§ §left Princes Island, they likewise acquaint Us they met with your Ships§ §Hampshire, and Duke of Kingston off the Cape all well, we are also§ §informed that the Governor and the principal Gentlemen of the Council§ §at Columbo were poisoned by the Natives§ §3. The 18 instant arrived a Swede Ship from China called§ §the [Ricksenstander] Captn [Seeman] burthen 1300 Tons carrys 32 Guns§ §and 140 Men loaden with Tea China Ware and Silk, bound to§ §Gottenbourg, the Swede Gentlemen acquaint Us they left your Ship§ §Horsendon at North Island she was to sail from thence the Day after§ §them§	The packet list for the *Talbot* continued with these further items. 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Gloucester* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Dutton* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A list of officers and servants taken on 4 May 1766 10: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Duke of Gloucester* 11: The cash account from 1 to 4 May 1766 12: A duplicate cash account from 5 to 31 March 1766 13: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 23 April 1766 14: The account of the *Talbot* 15: A duplicate of the account of the *Duke of Gloucester* 16: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 9 April 1766 The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous news went to the Court by the *Talbot* in a letter dated the 4th of that month. 2: The Company's ships *York* and *Thames* arrived on the 14th of that month. The *Essex* followed the next day, and all three came from China. Their captains reported parting company with Captain Ross about a fortnight after leaving Princes Island. They also met the Company's ships *Hampshire* and *Duke of Kingston* off the Cape, where all was well. The Council further learned that the governor and the leading gentlemen of the council at Colombo were poisoned by the inhabitants. 3: A Swedish ship from China called the *Rickvenstander* [...], under Captain Seeman, arrived on the 18th of that month. She was of 1,300 tons burthen and carried 32 guns and 140 men. Her cargo was tea, chinaware and silk, and she was bound for Gothenburg. The Swedish gentlemen reported leaving the Company's ship *Horsenden* at North Island. She was due to sail from there the day after them. **Interpretations** The report from Colombo concerned the Dutch East India Company, which governed the coast of Ceylon from that town and was then at war with the inland kingdom of Kandy. News of the poisoning of a rival company's governor and council reached the island only as ships' talk, and the Council passed it on without vouching for it. Such a report mattered to the Court because disorder in the Dutch settlements affected the cinnamon trade and the balance of European power around India. The cash account at item 11 covered only four days. The Council made a fresh account up to the day each packet closed, so that the series sent home ran without a break from one ship to the next, as the accounts sent on 23 April 1766 also did. Princes Island lay at the western mouth of the Sunda Strait and was the usual place for homeward ships to take in wood and water before crossing the Indian Ocean. North Island was an anchorage off the Sumatran shore at the other end of the same strait, where ships from China waited for a wind. The *Horsenden* and the ship under Captain Ross were both in the roll of 15 Company ships at Canton given in the letter of 2 April 1766, so these sightings told the Court how far behind the remaining China ships were.
26	19	4 We have given Captain Hagg[es] an Order to receive on board§ §His Ship to compleat her Company John [Scokker], John Blackwell and§ §Henry Dudley three discharged Soldiers§ §5 This waits on your Honors by the Ship York which sails in§	4: Captain Haggis received an order to take three discharged soldiers on board his ship to make up her crew. John Scokker John Blackwell Henry Dudley

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		§company with the Thames and Essex§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §25th May 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P Ship York§ §dated 25th May 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councl Genl Letter dated 25th May 1766§ §2 Duplte Do and Do dated 4th Do Do§ §3 Consultn from the 5 to 23d Do Do§ §4 Duplte Do of the 3d of Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for ye Packet P Ship Talbot§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Duke of Glocester§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison.§ §8 Duplte List of the Packet P Ship Talbot§ §9 Cash Account from the 5 to 23d May 1766§ §10 Duplicte Do from the 1 to 4th Do Do§ §11 Ship York's Acct§ §12 Do Thames Do§ §13 Do Essexs Do§ §14 Duplte Talbots Do§ §15 Time of Ships Boats Arrivl at Banks's§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships York, Thames and Essex§	5: The letter went to the Court by the *York*, which sailed in company with the *Thames* and the *Essex*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 25 May 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 25 May 1766 and sent by the *York*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 May 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 May 1766 3: The consultations from 5 to 23 May 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultation of 3 May 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Talbot* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Gloucester* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Talbot* 9: The cash account from 5 to 25 May 1766 10: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 4 May 1766 11: The account of the *York* 12: The account of the *Thames* 13: The account of the *Essex* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Talbot* 15: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 16: An abstract of the cargoes of the *York*, *Thames* and *Essex* **Interpretations** The three men in paragraph 4 brought the number of discharged soldiers shipped home as working hands since 4 April 1766 to 13, spread across the *Earl of Elgin*, *Salisbury*, *Dutton*, *Talbot* and the ship under Captain Haggis. Each homeward China ship in turn was used to clear time-expired men from the island at no cost in passage money, in contrast to the £30 0s 0d paid on 4 April 1766 for six invalids who could not work.
27	20	17 List of 3 discharged Soldiers§ §18 Governor & Councl Letter relative to the Widow & Captn [Trench]§ §19 Copy of the Articl. Do Do and Do§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors last by the Ship York§ §which sailed from hence in company with the Thames and Essex§ §2 On the 26th of last month arrived your Ships§ §Ankerwyke from China, the 30th the Grenville from Bengal and the Day§ §after the Horsendon from China, Captn Fenner acquaints Us he left§ §Fort William the 16 February in company with the Kent, and that every§ §thing was in perfect tranquillity there, he also tells Us that your Ships§ §Admiral Watson and the Ponsborne were to be dispatched for Europe, the§ §Pacifick was sailed for Madrass, the Asia for Bombay and the§ §Speke for China, he likewise informs Us he met with your Ships Neptune§ §and Glatton the 12th April last in the Latitude of 31.5 South about§ §17.30 to the Eastward of the Cape which place they had touched at, he§ §also met with a Portuguese Ship of War the 26 of the same Month from§ §Goa, bound to Europe, we likewise hear that his majesty's Ship Argo§ §had lost her Masts in a Tuffoon two Days after they left Macao and had§	The packet list for the *York* continued with these further items. 17: A list of 3 discharged soldiers 18: The Governor and Council's letter concerning the widow of Captain French 19: A copy of the articles concerning the widow of Captain French The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *York*, which sailed from the island in company with the *Thames* and the *Essex*. 2: The Company's ship *Ankerwyke* arrived from China on the 26th of the previous month. The *Grenville* came in from Bengal on the 30th, and the *Horsenden* from China the day after. Captain Fenner reported leaving Fort William on 16 February in company with the *Kent*, when everything there was perfectly quiet. He added that the *Admiral Watson* and the *Ponsborne* were to be dispatched for Europe. The *Pacific* was waited for at Madras, the *Asia* was intended for Bombay and the *Speke* for China. On 12 April he met the Company's ships *Neptune* and *Glatton* in latitude 31 degrees 55 minutes south, about 17 degrees 30 minutes east of the Cape, where both ships called. A Portuguese warship from Goa, bound for Europe, crossed his track on the 26th of the same month. The Council also heard that His Majesty's ship *Argo* lost her masts in a typhoon two days after leaving Macao and put into Malacca to refit. 3: A French ship from Bengal called the *Adour*, under Captain Gaslin, arrived on the 27th of the previous month. She was of 600 tons burthen and carried 20 guns and 130 men. Her cargo was Bengal goods, and she was bound for France.

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		§put into Malaca to refit.§ §3 The 27th of last month arrived a French Ship from§ §Bengal called the L'Adour Capt Gaslin burthen 600 tons carrys 20§ §Guns and 130 men, loaden with Bengal Goods bound to France§ §4 By this opportunity we transmit you the List§ §of Remains &ca together with our Indents wanted for the service of§ §the Year 1767, as we are obliged to make up the aforesaid List at a very§ §early§	4: The list of remains and other papers went home by this opportunity, together with the Council's orders for the supplies needed in 1767. The Council explained that it was obliged to make up that list very early. **Interpretations** The list of remains was the inventory of everything left in the Company's storehouses on the island. The Court read it beside the indent, the island's order for the following year, to judge whether each quantity requested was justified by what was actually in stock. The pairing answered the Court's criticism reported in the letter of 2 April 1766, where the Council blamed the provisions shortage on an order for 1763 that proved too small and promised that later orders would cover every need. The *Ankerwyke* was the last of the four ships that the letter of 2 April 1766 reported as due to leave Canton in mid-January, and the *Horsenden* was the ship the Swedish officers left at North Island. Their arrival, with Captain Fenner's account of the Bengal shipping, gave the Court the positions of most of its fleet in a single paragraph. The remark that Fort William was quiet mattered because Calcutta was the seat of the Company's government in Bengal, where its ships loaded and its revenues were collected. The *Argo* was the King's ship whose commander disputed the Chinese measuring duty at Whampoa, as the letter of 2 April 1766 recorded. Her dismasting explained to the Court why a warship that left Canton in November was still in eastern waters. Bengal goods meant chiefly cotton and silk piece goods, with saltpetre and raw silk. The French ship's size and cargo showed the Court that its main European rival was again trading from Bengal.
28	21	early period, in order to form our Indents, many Articles appear to be§ §remaining which are daily in demand, but before the end of the Year will§ §entirely be expended, so that we have confined our Indents to only what§ §we think will serve the consumption of the next Year, Your Honors will§ §observe that we have Indented for a larger number of Hooks and Lines§ §than usual, which are things of so great Utility that the want of them§ §distresses the whole Island, and shall fall short of them this Year§ §5 We have indented for two Fire Engines those here being very§ §much out of repair, yet of some little use, therefore shall not return them§ §to England, until we receive those we have now wrote for§ §6 In the Prince of Wales's Invoice 50 Pr of Dove tail§ §Hinges are charged at £3.17.11 which are usually invoiced at about§ §4d P pair this appears to be a mistake, therefore beg it may be§ §rectified, as we are sure at the above price they will not sell§ §7 In Consequence of the Engineers Indent in which he demands§ §10 Brass Guns, and as such Artillery we are sensible are infinitely§ §more expensive than Iron Ordnance, we desired that he might§ §explain his reasons to Us in writing why he required them of that§ §Metal, to transmit to your Honors for your satisfaction, and as§ §we think his reasons are valuable, submit it to your Honors§ §Judgment, We beg leave further to inforce the measure of sending Us,§	The list of remains was made up very early so that the orders could be framed from it. Many articles therefore appeared as still in store, although they were in daily demand and would be entirely used up before the end of the year. The Council accordingly limited its orders to what it thought the following year's consumption would require. A larger number of hooks and lines than usual was requested. Those articles were so useful that a lack of them distressed the whole island, and the Council expected to run short of them that year. 5: The Council ordered two fire engines. Those on the island were badly out of repair but still of some small use, so they would not go back to England until the new ones arrived. 6: The invoice of the *Prince of Wales* charged 30 pairs of dovetail hinges at £3 17s 11d. Such hinges were usually invoiced at about 4d a pair. The Council took the charge for a mistake and asked for it to be corrected, being certain the hinges would not sell at that price. 7: The engineer's order asked for 10 brass guns. The Council knew such artillery cost vastly more than iron ordnance and asked him to explain in writing why he needed guns of that metal. His explanation went home for the Court's information. The Council thought his reasons sound and left the matter to the Court's judgement. It also pressed the proposal in the engineer's letter that craftsmen useful in building should be sent among the recruits. 8: The Council asked the Court to send 50 recruits the following year. That number would be needed to bring the garrison up to strength by the time the store ship arrived. 9: Captain Ross received an order to take John Passwater, a discharged soldier, on board his ship towards making up the *Ankerwyke*'s crew. 10: Captain Fenner applied to the Council to have one of his men sent on shore for trial for striking another person. **Interpretations**

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		§among the Recruits, such Artificers as may be useful in the§ §building way, as recommended by the Engineers Letter§ §8 We request your Honors will send Us the next Year fifty§ §Recruits, as We shall want that Number to compleat the§ §Garrison, by the time the Store Ship arrives§ §9 We have given Captain Ross an Order to receive on§ §board his Ship John Passwater a discharged Soldier towards§ §compleating the Ankerwyke's Company§ §10 Captn Fenner having applied to Us for one of his§ §Men to be sent on Shore to be tried by Us for having struck§ §one§	Paragraph 7 records a request the Council neither granted nor refused. The cheaper and usual course was iron ordnance, and the Council could simply have struck the brass guns from the order or passed them without remark. It instead required the engineer to justify the metal in writing, forwarded his paper and added its own approval. That placed the technical case and the responsibility for the cost on the engineer, as the letter of 2 April 1766 did over the 104 soldiers employed on the works. Brass guns, cast in what would now be called bronze, were lighter than iron pieces of the same calibre, did not rust in sea air and gave warning before failing instead of bursting, but the metal cost several times as much. The opening passage explained a weakness in the island's ordering. The list of remains was a count of stock on a single day, taken months before the year ended, so it overstated what would be left when the next supplies came. The Council wanted the Court to read the two papers together with that in mind, and not to cut the order because the stores looked full. Hooks and lines were the tackle for the fishing that fed the slaves and much of the population, the same purpose for which the two yawls acknowledged on 2 April 1766 were sent. The hinge charge in paragraph 6 mattered because goods from the Company's stores were sold to the inhabitants at a fixed advance on the invoice price. An error in London therefore passed straight into the island's selling price and left the article unsaleable. Dovetail hinges were small hinges with flared leaves, used on cupboards and boxes. The fire engines were hand-worked pumps on wheels for throwing water on a burning building. Keeping the worn pair until replacements came avoided leaving the town and its storehouses with none.
29	22	one of his Officers as well as great insolence to himself, and as a doubt§ §arose whether such Actions happening at Sea could come under our§ §Cognisance we thought proper not to comply with his request, and beg§ §your Honors will inform Us how far our Authority can go under such§ §circumstances§ §11. The Passengers on board the Grenville are Messrs Senior§ §Lyster, Gray, [Naples], Hatley, Hay, Brown and Mrs Middle[s]ton &§ §Lyster and Miss Hepbourn; and Mr Nicholas on board the§ §Horsendon§ §12. We have sent in the Horsendon a Sword for a pattern to make§ §the scabbards by§ §13 This Day arrived a Swede Ship from China called the§ §Prince Charles Captn Habicht burthen 1000 Tons carrys 26 Guns§ §and 120 Men loaden with Tea China Ware and Silk bound to§ §Gottenbourg the Swede Gentlemen acquaint Us they saw your Ships§ §Royal Captain and Tilbury in the Streights of Sunda§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §5th June 1766§	Captain Fenner's man was accused of striking one of the ship's officers and of gross insolence to the captain himself. A doubt arose whether acts committed at sea fell within the Council's jurisdiction, so the Council declined the request. The Court was asked to state how far the island's authority extended in such circumstances. 11: The passengers on board the *Grenville* were: Mr Senior Mr Lyster Mr Gray Mr Naples Mr Hatley Mr Hay Mr Brown Mrs Middleston Mrs Lyster Miss Hepbourn Mr Nicholas travelled on board the *Horsenden*. 12: The Council sent a sword home in the *Horsenden* as a pattern for making scabbards. 13: A Swedish ship from China called the *Prince Charles*, under Captain Habricht, arrived that day. She was of 1,000 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 120 men. Her cargo was tea, chinaware and silk, and she was bound for Gothenburg. The Swedish gentlemen reported seeing the Company's ships *Royal Captain* and *Tilbury* in the Sunda Strait. The letter was dated at St Helena on 5 June 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 5 June 1766 and sent by the *Ankerwyke*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 June 1766

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		§List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P§ §Ship Ankerwyke dated 5th June 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Generl Letter dated 5th June 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 25th May Do§	2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 May 1766 **Interpretations** Paragraph 10 records a trial refused. A commander asked the island's government to try a seaman who struck an officer, and the simple course was to bring the man ashore and deal with him at the sessions, where the Governor and Council already sat as justices. The Council held back because the offence took place at sea. Its criminal authority rested on the Company's charter and covered the island, while offences on the high seas belonged in England to the admiralty jurisdiction. A conviction given without power could have exposed the members to an action by the seaman once he reached home. Referring the question to the Court left the man to shipboard discipline for the rest of the voyage and sought a ruling for future cases. The sword in paragraph 12 served as a physical specification. Scabbards made in England without sight of the blade would not fit, so the Council sent one of the garrison's swords home as a model and avoided the waste of a consignment made to the wrong size. The *Prince Charles* was the third Swedish ship to call that season, after the *Finland* reported on 4 May 1766 and the ship under Captain Seeman that arrived on 18 May. That matched the three Swedish ships counted at Canton in the letter of 2 April 1766. The *Royal Captain* and *Tilbury* were both in the roll of 15 Company ships given in that letter, so their sighting in the Sunda Strait showed the Court that two more of its China ships were on their way home.
30	23	3 Consultations from 26th May to 2d June 1766§ §4 Duplicate Do from 5th to 23d May Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship York§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Talbot§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 5th June 1766§ §9 Do of Stores remaing in the Hble Company's Ware Houses 31st March 1766§ §10 Do of Garrison Stores remaing 31 March 1766§ §11 Do of Artillery Stores from 1st October 1765 to 31st March Do§ §12 Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1767§ §13 Do of Medicines Do Do Do§ §14 Duplte List of the Packet P Ship York§ §15 Cash Account from 26th to 31st May 1766§ §16 Do from 1st to 5th June Do§ §17 Duplicte Do from 5th to 25th May Do§ §18 Ship Ankerwyke's Account§ §19 Duplte Ship Yorks Do§ §20 Do Thames Do§ §21 Do Essex's Do§ §22 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §23 Abst of the Cargoe of Ships Ankerwyke and Grenville§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our Last Letter waited on your Honors under§ §date of the 5th instant by the Ship Ankerwyke§ §2 On the 6th of this Month arrived your Ship§ §Royal Captain from China§ §3 We cannot transmit your Honors the Abstract of the Horsendon§ §Cargoe§	The packet list for the *Ankerwyke* continued with these further items. 3: The consultations from 26 May to 2 June 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 5 to 23 May 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *York* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Talbot* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A list of officers and servants taken on 5 June 1766 9: A list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 31 March 1766 10: A list of garrison stores remaining on 31 March 1766 11: A list of artillery stores from 1 October 1765 to 31 March 1766 12: The order for stores needed in 1767 13: The order for medicines needed in 1767 14: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *York* 15: The cash account from 26 to 31 May 1766 16: The cash account from 1 to 5 June 1766 17: A duplicate cash account from 5 to 25 May 1766 18: The account of the *Ankerwyke* 19: A duplicate of the account of the *York* 20: A duplicate of the account of the *Thames* 21: A duplicate of the account of the *Essex* 22: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 23: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Ankerwyke* and *Grenville* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Ankerwyke* and was dated the 5th of that month. 2: The Company's ship *Royal Captain* arrived from China on the 6th of that month. 3: The Council was unable to send the Court the abstract of the *Horsenden*'s cargo. **Interpretations** Items 9 to 13 were the papers described in the letter of 5 June 1766, where the Council explained that the list of remains was made up very early so that the

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			orders for 1767 could be framed from it. The date on the lists, 31 March 1766, showed how early: the stock was counted more than two months before the packet sailed and nine months before the year it was meant to inform. That gap was the basis of the Council's warning that many articles shown as in store would be used up before the year ended. The stores were divided into three accounts. The warehouse list covered trade and general goods sold or issued by the Company, the garrison list covered the soldiers' equipment and provisions, and the artillery list ran over a half-year and so recorded what was received and used as well as what was left. Keeping the artillery stores apart reflected the arrangement reported on 2 April 1766, under which the officers of the artillery company took charge of the ordnance and military stores instead of a new department. The cash accounts at items 15 and 16 were split at the end of May, so that one closed the month and the other ran to the day the packet was sealed.
31	24	Cargoe, as Captain Master acquaints Us he has mislaid it§ §4. The Officer that came on Shore in the Swedes first Boat§ §Acquainted Us that they saw the Tilbury in the Streights of Sunda;§ §which by the Supra Cargoes Accounts proves to be a mistake§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt & humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §8 June 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Horsendon dated 8th June 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Counl Genl Letter dated 8th June 1766§ §2 Duplte Do and Do dated 5th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 7th June Do§ §4 Duplte Do from 26 May to 2d June Do§ §5 First Receipt for ye Packet P Ship Ankerwyke§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship York§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Duplte List of ye Packet P Ship Ankerwyke§ §9 Cash Account from 6th to 8th June 1766§ §10 Duplicate Do from 26th to 31st May Do§ §11 Do Do from 1st to 5th June Do§ §12 Ship Horsendons Acct§ §13 Duplicate Ship Ankerwyke's Acct§ §14 Time of the Arrival of the Royal Captains Boat at Banks§	The abstract of the *Horsenden*'s cargo could not be sent because Captain Marter told the Council he mislaid it. 4: The officer who came ashore in the Swedish ship's first boat reported seeing the *Tilbury* in the Sunda Strait. The supercargoes' accounts showed that report to be a mistake. The letter was dated at St Helena on 8 June 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 8 June 1766 and sent by the *Horsenden*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 8 June 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 June 1766 3: The consultation of 7 June 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 26 May to 2 June 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Ankerwyke* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *York* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Ankerwyke* 9: The cash account from 6 to 8 June 1766 10: A duplicate cash account from 26 to 31 May 1766 11: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 5 June 1766 12: The account of the *Horsenden* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Ankerwyke* 14: The time at which the boat of the *Royal Captain* arrived at Banks's **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 withdrew a piece of intelligence sent only three days earlier. The letter of 5 June 1766 passed on the Swedish officers' statement that the *Royal Captain* and *Tilbury* were both in the Sunda Strait. The *Royal Captain* then arrived on 6 June, and the papers she carried from the supercargoes at Canton showed that the *Tilbury* could not have been there. The Council corrected the report by the next ship instead of letting it stand, since the Court used such sightings to estimate when each vessel would reach England. The correction also showed the weakness of the secondhand ships' talk on which the Council's reports depended, a limit it pleaded on 2 April 1766 when the Court found its intelligence inadequate. The supercargoes were the Company's commercial agents at Canton, who bought and loaded each ship's

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			cargo. The abstract was the summary of that lading which each commander carried, and which the Council copied home ahead of the ship. Captain Marter's loss of his copy left a gap in the series, since the abstracts for the *Ankerwyke* and *Grenville* went by the previous packet and the *Horsenden*'s own packet carried none.
32	25	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We Addressed your Honors last the 8th instant by the Ship§ §Horsendon§ §2 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange viz't§ §One set to Captain Parson Fenner for £280.. payable to Mr James§ §Waugh, and one set to Mr Jonathan Doveton for £179.2 payable to§ §Captn Willm Master both drawn at 90 Days sight, and dated the§ §7 instant§ §3 Captn Fenner making Us an Offer of some Salt Provision§ §at 2[/] P Pd We have bought 20 Casks, as it comes much cheaper than§ §that we receive from England, as we think it a prudent measure to§ §have a little more in store than what serves for the consumption of the Year,§ §in case any of the latter Ships should want or the Store Ships detained§ §longer than usual, we have likewise bought of him some Rice and Paddy§ §as P Consultation of the 7th instant, and propose buying the former until§ §we have sufficient to answer the demand of the current Year, as we have§ §already informed your Honors the necessity of feeding the Blacks at the§ §Fortifications with Rice, instead of Yam.§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §10th June 1766§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 8th of that month, sending that letter by the *Horsenden*. 2: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 7 June 1766. One set to Captain Parson Fenner, payable to Mr James Waugh, £280 0s 0d One set to Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Captain William Marter, £179 2s 0d 3: Captain Fenner offered the Council some salt provisions at 2½d a pound. The Council bought 20 casks because they came much cheaper than those received from England. Holding a little more in store than the year's consumption strictly required seemed a prudent step, in case any of the later ships ran short or the store ships were delayed longer than usual. Some rice and paddy were also bought from him, as the consultation of 9 June recorded. The Council proposed to go on buying rice until it held enough to meet the demand of the current year. The Court already knew of the need to feed the blacks at the fortifications with rice instead of yams. The letter was dated at St Helena on 10 June 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 records a purchase outside the regular channel. The island's salt meat ordinarily came from England in the store ships, and the Council's default was to wait for that supply and order more by indent. It instead bought 20 casks from a homeward commander, and it gave its reasons in advance: the price was lower than the English supply, and a reserve guarded against late ships. The care taken over the explanation followed from the letter of 2 April 1766, in which the Council admitted being at fault for keeping rice and paddy from Captain Webb at an exorbitant price. Here the price was stated outright, the purchase was entered in a consultation and the Court was told at once. The same letter of 2 April 1766 blamed the earlier shortage on heavy demands from the Company's ships, which is why a margin above the year's consumption was presented as prudence. Captain Fenner commanded the *Grenville* from Bengal, so the salt provisions were perhaps meat cured in India, where cattle and labour were cheap. The rice and paddy came from the same source and anticipated the double quantity that the Court ordered from Bengal and Bombay. Buying on the spot let the Council begin issuing rice to the slaves on the fortifications without waiting for those consignments, and so recover the working day each week that the letter of 2 April 1766 said was lost to fetching yams. The bills in paragraph 2 show how such purchases were financed without coin leaving the island. Captain Fenner took a bill for £280 0s 0d payable in London, which perhaps represented part of what the island owed him for the provisions or the proceeds of his private trade. The second bill ran the other way between a resident and a commander: Mr Doveton paid money into the treasury and the bill was made payable to Captain Marter of the *Horsenden*, which settled a debt owed to the captain for goods bought from him.

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33	26	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P Ship§ §Grenville dated the 10th June 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr and Councils Generl Letter dated 10th June 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 8th Do Do§ §3 Consultn of the 9th June Do§ §4 Duplte Do of the 7th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Horsendon§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Ankerwyke§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Duplte List of Stores remaining in the Honoble Company's Ware§ §Houses 31st March 1766§ §9 Do Do of Garrison Stores remaing 31st March 1766§ §10 Do Do of Artillery Do from 1st Octor to 31st March Do§ §11 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1767§ §12 Do Do of Medicines Do Do Do§ §13 Do List of the Packet P Ship Horsendon§ §14 Cash Acct from 9th to 10th June 1766§ §15 Duplicate Do from 6th to 8th Do Do§ §16 Ship Grenville's Acct§ §17 Duplicte Ship Horsendons Do§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Royal Captain.§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Soon after our Packet was closed Yesterday,§ §a Boat arrived from your Ship Kent, but as she left Bengal§ §with the Grenville we have nothing material to inform your§ §Honors of, The Officer that came on Shore acquainted Us they§ §have several Passengers on board vizt Messrs Burdett Gregory§ §[Sinyard]§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 10 June 1766 and sent by the *Grenville*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 June 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 8 June 1766 3: The consultation of 9 June 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultation of 7 June 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Horsenden* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Ankerwyke* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 31 March 1766 9: A duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 31 March 1766 10: A duplicate list of artillery stores from 1 October 1765 to 31 March 1766 11: A duplicate of the order for stores needed in 1767 12: A duplicate of the order for medicines needed in 1767 13: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Horsenden* 14: The cash account from 9 to 10 June 1766 15: A duplicate cash account from 6 to 8 June 1766 16: The account of the *Grenville* 17: A duplicate of the account of the *Horsenden* 18: An abstract of the cargo of the *Royal Captain* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. A boat from the Company's ship *Kent* arrived soon after the packet was closed the day before. She left Bengal with the *Grenville*, so the Council had nothing of importance to add. The officer who came ashore reported that the ship carried several passengers, among them Mr Burdett and Mr Gregory. **Interpretations** The Council reopened its correspondence a day after sealing the packet, although the *Kent* brought no fresh news. The easier course was to let the *Grenville* sail with the packet as it stood and report the arrival by the next ship. A short supplementary letter was written instead, perhaps because the Court's complaint about thin intelligence, answered in the letter of 2 April 1766, made the Council unwilling to leave even an uneventful arrival unreported. Captain Fenner told the Council on arrival that he left Fort William on 16 February in company with the *Kent*, which is why her news could add nothing to his. Items 8 to 12 repeated the stock lists and the orders for 1767 that first went by the *Ankerwyke* on 5 June 1766. Those papers governed the whole of the following year's supply, so a second set by another ship insured against the loss of the first.
34	27	Amyad Hardwicke Captains Wetherbourn Sutherland Mackneth§ §Gold and Mrs Amyad§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs.§ §Your most obt and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §11th June 1766§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs.§ §1 We wrote your Honors two Letters by the Ship§ §Grenvill, that sailed Yesterday, one Enclosed in the	The officer from the *Kent* named her passengers as follows. Mr Burdett Mr Gregory Mr Amyad Mr Hardwicke Captain Wetherbourn Captain Sutherland Captain Mackneth Captain Gold Mrs Amyad The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 June 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick

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		Packet, and§ §the other to acquaint you of the arrival of the Kent from Bengal§ §2 As Captain Mills is not yet come on shore, nor sent§ §the Kents Bill of Lading we cannot transmit it P this Conveyance§ §3 Mr John Chambers Supra Cargoe of the Swede§ §Ship applied to Us to pay £100 into your Cash which we have§ §received, and given him Bills drawn on your Honors for that sum§ §payable to himself or Order, drawn at 90 Days sight and dated this§ §Day§ §We are§ §Honl Sirs§ §Your mt obt & humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §12 June 1766§	The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council wrote two letters to the Court by the *Grenville*, which sailed the day before. One was enclosed in the packet, and the other reported the arrival of the *Kent* from Bengal. 2: Captain Mills was not yet ashore and did not send the *Kent*'s bill of lading. The Council therefore could not forward it by this conveyance. 3: Mr John Chambers, supercargo of the Swedish ship, applied to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated 12 June 1766. They were payable to himself or to his order and drawn at 90 days' sight. The letter was dated at St Helena on 12 June 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 shows the island's treasury taking money from a rival company's officer. Mr Chambers served the Swedish ship, perhaps the *Prince Charles* that arrived on 5 June 1766, yet he bore an English name and wanted funds payable in London. British subjects commonly served the Swedish and Danish companies as supercargoes and needed a safe way to send their earnings home. A bill on the Court gave him that, and the Council gained £100 0s 0d in coin towards the year's expenses, the purpose for which the letter of 2 April 1766 said it relied on money received for bills. The bill of lading was the commander's signed list of the cargo he carried, against which the Court checked what was delivered in London. The Council normally copied such papers home ahead of each ship. Paragraph 2 explained the gap in advance, as the letter of 8 June 1766 did when Captain Marter mislaid the abstract of the *Horsenden*'s cargo.
35	28	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P Ship§ §Royal Captain dated the 12th June 1766§ §No 1 Govr and Counl Generl Letter dated 12th June 1766§ §2 Duplicte Do and Do dated 10th Do Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 11th Do Do§ §4 Consultn of the 12th June Do§ §5 Duplte Do of the 9th Do Do§ §6 First Receipt for ye Packet P Ship Grenville§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Horsendon§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 List of Officers and Servants taken 12th June 1766§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Grenville§ §11 Cash Acct from 11th to 12th June 1766§ §12 Duplicte Do from 9 to 10th June Do§ §13 Ship Royal Captains Account,§ §14 Duplicate Ship Grenvilles Do§ §15 Time of the Kents Boat arrivl at Banks's§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs.§ §1. Our last Letter waited on your Honors under date of§ §of the 12th instant, by the Ship Royal Captain§ §2 On the 21st of this Month arrived your Ship True§ §Briton from Bombay which place Captain Crichton acquaints§ §Us he left the 21st February last and your Honors Ships§ §Hardwicke Clive and Harcourt there he likewise acquaints Us§ §he spoke with Captain Clements the Day after he sailed from§ §Bombay the Fox he tells Us was gone down the Coast.§ §3 We have given Captain Mills an order to receive§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 12 June 1766 and sent by the *Royal Captain*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 12 June 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 June 1766 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 June 1766 4: The consultation of 12 June 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultation of 9 June 1766 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Grenville* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Horsenden* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A list of officers and servants taken on 12 June 1766 10: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Grenville* 11: The cash account from 11 to 12 June 1766 12: A duplicate cash account from 9 to 10 June 1766 13: The account of the *Royal Captain* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Grenville* 15: The time at which the boat of the *Kent* arrived at Banks's The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Royal Captain* and was dated the 12th of that month. 2: The Company's ship *True Briton* arrived from Bombay on the 21st of that month. Captain Crichton reported leaving that place on 21 February, when the

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		§on board his Ship William Huckley and John Allis two discharged§ §Soldiers§	Company's ships *Hardwicke*, *Clive* and *Harcourt* lay there. He spoke with Captain Clements the day after sailing from Bombay. The *Fox*, he added, was gone down the coast. 3: Captain Mills received an order to take two discharged soldiers, William Huckley and John Allis, on board his ship. **Interpretations** Captain Clements was the commander whom the Portuguese master, reported on 23 April 1766, placed at Rio de Janeiro in September 1765 with another English ship. Captain Crichton's meeting with him off Bombay in late February showed the Court that he completed his outward passage safely. Huckley and Allis brought to 16 the discharged soldiers sent home as working hands since 4 April 1766, the *Kent* under Captain Mills being the latest homeward ship used to clear such men from the island without passage money.
36	29	Soldiers towards compleating the Kents Company§ §4 Capt Crichton acquaints Us he has no Bill of Lading§ §of the True Britons Cargoe§ §5 The Passengers on board the True Briton are Captain§ §England and his Wife and Commodore Watson and his§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §29th June 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Kent dated 29th June 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Governr & Counl Generl Letter dated 29th June 1766§ §2 Duplte Do and Do dated 12th Do Do§ §3 Consultn from 16th to 23d Do Do§ §4 Duplicte Do of the 12th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royal Captain§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Grenville§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicte List of the Packet P Ship Royal Captain§ §9 Cash Account from 13th to 29th June 1766§ §10 Duplicte Do from 11th to 12th Do Do§ §11 Ship Kents Account§	The two discharged soldiers went on board towards making up the *Kent*'s crew. 4: Captain Crichton told the Council that he held no bill of lading for the *True Briton*'s cargo. 5: The passengers on board the *True Briton* were Captain England and his wife, and Commodore Watson and his [...]. The letter was dated at St Helena on 29 June 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 29 June 1766 and sent by the *Kent*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 29 June 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 12 June 1766 3: The consultations from 16 to 23 June 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultation of 12 June 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Royal Captain* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Grenville* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Royal Captain* 9: The cash account from 13 to 29 June 1766 10: A duplicate cash account from 11 to 12 June 1766 11: The account of the *Kent* **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 reported a third gap in the cargo papers within a month. Captain Marter mislaid the abstract of the *Horsenden*'s cargo, as the letter of 8 June 1766 recorded, and the letter of 12 June 1766 explained that Captain Mills did not send the *Kent*'s bill of lading. The bill of lading was the signed list of cargo against which the Court checked deliveries in London, so the Council named the commander responsible each time and left the Court to take the matter up with him.
37	30	12 Duplicte Ship Royal Captains Account§ §13 Time of the arrivl of the True Britons Boat at Banks's§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Kent§ §15 List of two discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs.§ §1. We Addressed your Honors last by the Ship Kent which§ §Sailed from hence the 1st instant§ §2 As the last Quarters Accounts will not be laid before§ §Us until the 21st instant, We cannot transmit by this opportunity§	The packet list for the *Kent* continued with these further items. 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Royal Captain* 13: The time at which the boat of the *True Briton* arrived at Banks's 14: An abstract of the cargo of the *Kent* 15: A list of 2 discharged soldiers The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Kent*, which sailed from the island on the 1st of that month. 2: The previous quarter's accounts would not come before the Council until the 21st of that month.

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		§any other Cash Account than the Duplicate of the last§ §3. James Procter and John Wyburd two Soldiers§ §Petitioning for their Discharges on the 30th of last month We gave§ §Captain Mills an Order to receive them on board towards§ §compleating the Kents Company, but as the Packet was made up§ §the Day before, we could not mention it in that Letter a List§ §of them goes herewith§ §4 Captain John Havard applied to Us to pay £240..§ §into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills drawn§ §on your Honors for that Sum payable to Captain Nathanl Tanner§ §or Order 90 Days after sight dated this Day§ §5. This Day Arrived your Honors Ship Grosvenor from§ §Bencoolen and a Dane Ship from Bengal, We are informed by§ §the§	No cash account could therefore go by this opportunity except the duplicate of the earlier one. 3: Two soldiers, James Procter and John Wizard, petitioned for their discharges on the 30th of the previous month. The Council ordered Captain Mills to take them on board towards making up the *Kent*'s crew. The packet was made up the day before, so that letter could not mention them. A list of the two men went with the present letter. 4: Captain John Havard applied to pay £240 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the day of the letter. They were payable 90 days after sight to Captain Nathaniel Tanner or to his order. 5: The Company's ship *Grosvenor* arrived that day from Bencoolen, and a Danish ship came in from Bengal. **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 explained a discrepancy the Court would otherwise have noticed. The letter of 29 June 1766 named William Huckley and John Allis as the two discharged soldiers placed in the *Kent*, and item 15 of her packet listed two men. Procter and Wizard petitioned a day after that packet closed and joined the ship before she sailed on 1 July, so the *Kent* carried four soldiers while her papers showed two. Reporting the late pair by the next ship let the Court strike all four from the garrison's pay and reconcile the ship's crew list on her arrival. Their petitions also show that a soldier whose time was served had to ask for his discharge, and that the Council granted it most readily when a homeward ship needed hands. Paragraph 2 repeated the situation of 2 April 1766, when the quarter's accounts were not due to be read until the 21st of the month. The cash account was evidently passed in council on the same day in each quarter, and a ship sailing before that date carried only a copy of the earlier account. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra. The *Grosvenor* was in the roll of 15 Company ships at Canton given in the letter of 2 April 1766, so she perhaps called at Bencoolen on her way home from China to complete her cargo with pepper.
38	31	the Dane Gentlemen that they spoke with your Ship Duke of Albany§ §off the Cape all well§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §7 July 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P Ship§ §True Briton dated 7 July 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Governor & Councl Generl Letter dated 7th July 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 29th June Do§ §3 Consultn from the 30th June to 7 July Do§ §4 Duplicte Do from 16 to 23d June Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Kent§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Royal Captain§ §7 Effecte State of the Garrison§ §8 Muster Rolls of Do§ §9 List of Officrs & Servants taken 7th July 1766§ §10 Do of 2 Discharged Soldiers§ §11 Duplicte List of the Packet P Ship Kent§ §12 Do Cash Acct from 13 to 29th June 1766§ §13 Ship True Britons Acct§	The Danish gentlemen told the Council that they spoke with the Company's ship *Duke of Albany* off the Cape, where all was well. The letter was dated at St Helena on 7 July 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 7 July 1766 and sent by the *True Briton*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 July 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 29 June 1766 3: The consultations from 30 June to 7 July 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 16 to 23 June 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Kent* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Royal Captain* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: The muster rolls of the garrison 9: A list of officers and servants taken on 7 July 1766 10: A list of 2 discharged soldiers 11: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Kent* 12: A duplicate cash account from 13 to 29 June 1766 13: The account of the *True Briton*

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		§14 Duplicte Ship Kent Do§	14: A duplicate of the account of the *Kent* **Interpretations** Item 10 was the list promised in the letter of 7 July 1766 for James Procter and John Wizard, the two soldiers who joined the *Kent* after her own packet closed on 29 June 1766. Item 12 was the only cash account in the packet and a duplicate, as the same letter warned, because the quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 21 July. The muster rolls at item 8 last went home in the packet of 2 April 1766. Their reappearance three months later suggests they were sent quarterly, while the effective state of the garrison went with every ship.
39	32	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1. Our Last Letter to your Honors went by the Ship True Briton§ §under date of the 7th instant§ §2 We informed you in that Letter of the arrival of your Ship§ §Grosvenor and a Dane Ship from Bengal, she is called the Countess§ §Moltke Captn Samson burthen about 400 Tons carry's 18 Guns and§ §75 Men loaden with Bengal Goods bound to Copenhagen.§ §3 On the 9th instant Arrived the Tilbury from China and the§ §same Day a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the [Nichingburgh] Capt§ §Van [Brettien] burthen about 700 Tons carry's 28 Guns and 130 Men§ §loaden with Sugar and Pepper bound to Amsterdam§ §4 We have given Captn Saunders an order to receive on§ §board his Ship Wm Bell a discharged Soldier, towards compleating§ §the Grosvenor's Company§ §5 The Passengers on board the Grosvenor are Major§ §Smith and Messrs Cooke [Clithero] Jones Crisp Grant [Tyrritt]§ §and Beckett§ §6 Mr Thos Greentree applied to Us to pay £1578.16§ §into your Cash, which We have received, and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to Mrs Helena§ §[Carrold] or Order 90 Days after sight dated ye 14th instant§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §16 July 1766§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *True Briton* and was dated the 7th of that month. 2: That letter reported the arrival of the Company's ship *Grosvenor* and of a Danish ship from Bengal. The Danish vessel was called the *Countess Moltke* and was commanded by Captain Samson. She was of about 400 tons burthen and carried 18 guns and 75 men. Her cargo was Bengal goods, and she was bound for Copenhagen. 3: The *Tilbury* arrived from China on the 9th of that month. A Dutch ship from Batavia called the *Nieuw Nieuwerkerk* [...], under Captain Van Bretten, came in the same day. She was of about 700 tons burthen and carried 28 guns and 100 men. Her cargo was sugar and pepper, and she was bound for Amsterdam. 4: Captain Saunders received an order to take William Bell, a discharged soldier, on board his ship towards making up the *Grosvenor*'s crew. 5: The passengers on board the *Grosvenor* were: Major Smith Mr Cooke Mr Clitheroe Mr James Mr Crisp Mr Grant Mr Tyrrell Mr Beckett 6: Mr Thomas Greentree applied to pay £1,578 16s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 14th of that month. They were payable 90 days after sight to Mrs Helena Harrold or to her order. The letter was dated at St Helena on 16 July 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The bill in paragraph 6 was by far the largest single remittance of the season. The five sets granted on 12 April 1766 came to £2,042 0s 0d between them, and the other bills reported since ranged from £28 5s 0d to £280 0s 0d. One resident's payment of £1,578 16s 0d therefore supplied the treasury with a substantial part of the coin on which the Council relied for the year's expenses, as the letter of 2 April 1766 explained when the *Plassey*'s chest of treasure was sent on to Canton. Unlike the commanders' bills, which were mostly payable to themselves, this one transferred a large sum to a named woman in England, which suggests the settlement of an estate, a debt or a family provision. The arrival of the *Tilbury* completed the correction made on 8 June 1766. The Swedish officers' report placed her in the Sunda Strait at the beginning of June, and the Council withdrew it on the evidence of the supercargoes' accounts. Her appearance more than a

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			month after the *Royal Captain* confirmed that she was well behind. The Dutch ship gave the Court its first report that season of the Dutch company's homeward trade from Batavia, its headquarters on Java. Sugar from the Javanese mills and pepper from Sumatra and Borneo were staple cargoes of that trade. The Council recorded her tonnage, guns, crew and destination as it did for the Danish, Swedish and French ships reported earlier in the year.
40	33	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Grosvenor dated 16 July 1766 Vizt§ §No 1 Govr and Counl General Letter dated 16th July 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 7th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 14th Do Do§ §4 Duplicte Do from 30 June to 7th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for ye Packet P Ship True Briton§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Kent§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicte List of the Packet P Ship True Briton§ §9 Ship Grosvenor's Account§ §10 Duplicte Ship True Britons Do§ §11 Time of the Arrivl of the Grosvenor's and Tilbury's Boats at§ §Banks's§ §12 Abst of the Cargoes of Ships Grosvenor and Tilbury§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs.§ §1 We Addressed your Honors last the 16th instant by the Ship§ §Grosvenor§ §2 Yesterday Arrived your Honors Ship Clive last from Anjengo§ §which Place Captn Allen acquaints Us he left the 5th May, and that the§ §Hardwicke was to sail from Tellicherry about the same time, he also tells§ §Us that the Royal Charlotte had sailed for Surat in order to proceed on her§ §Voyage to Mocha and that the Pacifick had left Madrass about the latter§ §end of March with General Laurence on board§ §3 Capt [Tunes] Van [Brattem] applied to Us to pay £1840..§ §Pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or Order 90 Days§ §after§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 16 July 1766 and sent by the *Grosvenor*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 July 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 July 1766 3: The consultation of 14 July 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 30 June to 7 July 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *True Briton* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Kent* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *True Briton* 9: The account of the *Grosvenor* 10: A duplicate of the account of the *True Briton* 11: The times at which the boats of the *Grosvenor* and *Tilbury* arrived at Banks's 12: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Grosvenor* and *Tilbury* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 16th of that month, sending that letter by the *Grosvenor*. 2: The Company's ship *Clive* arrived the day before, last from Anjengo. Captain Allen reported leaving that place on 5 May. The *Hardwicke*, he said, was to sail from Tellicherry about the same time. He added that the *Royal Charlotte* sailed for Surat in order to go on to Mocha. The *Pacific* left Madras about the end of March with General Lawrence on board. 3: Captain [...] Van Bretten applied to pay £1,040 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or to his order. **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 shows the commander of a rival company's ship using the island's treasury. Captain Van Bretten commanded the Dutch vessel from Batavia that arrived on 9 July, as the letter of 16 July 1766 reported. A bill on the Court let him move £1,040 0s 0d to Europe without carrying coin, and the island gained a large sum towards its running costs. The Swedish ship's supercargo did the same on 12 June 1766 with £100 0s 0d. With the £1,578 16s 0d received from Mr Greentree on 14 July, the treasury took in more than £2,600 in coin within a few days, which bore out the Council's reliance on bill money when it sent the *Plassey*'s chest of treasure on to Canton. The *Clive* and *Hardwicke* were two of the three Company ships that Captain Crichton left at Bombay on 21 February, as the letter of 29 June 1766 recorded. Anjengo and Tellicherry were Company settlements on the Malabar coast of south-west India, where homeward Bombay ships completed their cargoes with pepper. Surat was the chief port of Gujarat, and Mocha, at the mouth of the Red Sea, was the source of the Company's coffee. The *Pacific* was the ship that Captain Fenner reported as waited for at Madras, in the letter of 5 June 1766.
41	34	after sight dated 21st instant§ §4 In consequence of a Complaint made by Capt	Captain Van Bretten's bills were drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 21st of that month.

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		Mitchell§ §the Engineer against Lieut Bridgwater on Suspicion of having§ §fraudulently cheated the Soldiers employed at the Honoble Company's§ §Work at Sandy Bay of part of their Allowance of Arrack that was§ §purchased for their use by him, Upon which we Ordered him to be§ §Tryed by a General Court Martial which found him Guilty and§ §sentenced him to be Discharged your Honors service, which sentence§ §we have approved of and transmit the proceedings of the said General§ §Court Martial for your Honors approbation.§ §5 We must observe in consequence of Captn Mitchells§ §remark on the Blacks in his Letter Entered in Consultation of the 14th§ §instant, that we have already mentioned in former Letters that your§ §Slaves from the Coast of Guinea have not by any means answered§ §expectations, the Winter Season having affected them very much§ §notwithstanding they have been well fed, and an Allowance of Arrack§ §given them, which may in some measure retard the Works of the Fortification§ §during the Winter Season, as we have already spared all the Soldiers except§ §a single relieve for the detail of the Garrison§ §6 Joseph Chamberlain your Carpenters mate having resigned§ §your Service as P Consultation of the 30th of last Month and setting forth§ §in his Petition that he was obliged to work some times on a Sunday as a§ §seeming hardship and reason for quitting your service we beg leave to§ §clear up that point by informing your Honors that his Sundays Work§ §amounted to no more than making a Coffin upon an extraordinary§ §occasion and likewise a Packet Box, which remark we omitted on the§ §Consultation where his Petition is Entered, and if we cannot get another§ §Carpenters Mate out of the latter Ships shall be careful to give you§ §timely Notice to send one out by the Storeship as we are much in want§ §of such an Artificer.§ §7. The only Passenger on board the Clive is Captain§ §Campbell§	4: Captain Mitchell, the engineer, complained against Lieutenant Bridgwater on suspicion of fraud. The lieutenant was accused of cheating the soldiers employed at the Company's works at Sandy Bay of part of the arrack allowance that he bought for their use. The Council ordered him to be tried by a general court martial, which found him guilty and sentenced him to be discharged from the Company's service. That sentence was approved, and the proceedings of the court martial went home for the Court's approval. 5: Captain Mitchell's letter, entered in the consultation of the 14th of that month, contained a remark on the blacks. In answer, the Council recalled its earlier letters, which already reported that the Company's slaves from the coast of Guinea fell well short of expectations. The winter season affected them severely, although they were well fed and given an allowance of arrack. Their condition was perhaps going to slow the fortification works to some degree during the winter. Every soldier was already spared for the works, except a single relief for the garrison's duties. 6: Joseph Chamberlain, the Company's carpenter's mate, resigned from the service, as the consultation of the 30th of the previous month recorded. His petition gave occasional Sunday work as an apparent hardship and as his reason for leaving. The Council wished to clear up that point for the Court. His Sunday work amounted to no more than making a coffin on an exceptional occasion and also a packet box. That remark was left out of the consultation in which his petition was entered. If no other carpenter's mate could be found in the later ships, the Council promised to give the Court early notice to send one out by the store ship, since the island badly needed such a craftsman. 7: The only passenger on board the *Clive* was Captain Campbell. **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 closed an arrangement the Council made only months earlier. The letter of 2 April 1766 reported Lieutenant Bridgwater's appointment to live at Sandy Bay and supervise the workmen at 5s a day, under directions from Captain Mitchell. The same officer who directed him then brought the charge. The Council could have dealt with the matter by removing him from the post or by an inquiry of its own, but it ordered a general court martial, the formal military tribunal of garrison officers. A commissioned officer could be dismissed only by such a sentence, and sending the full proceedings home let the Court confirm a discharge that touched its own power of appointment. Arrack was a spirit distilled in the East from palm sap, rice or molasses and brought to the island by returning ships. It was issued to men on heavy labour as part of their allowance, so an officer who bought it for the soldiers and kept back a share was taking part of their pay in kind. Paragraph 5 prepared the Court for slower progress on the defences. The letter of 2 April 1766 judged the slaves landed from the *Royal George* inferior to those from Madagascar and asked for a twelve-month trial. The island's winter, which fell in the middle of the calendar year, was cool and wet on the high ground, and men brought from the Guinea coast suffered in it. The Council stressed that food and arrack were not stinted and that no more soldiers could be found, so that any delay would be put down to the season and the slaves' health and not to a lack of effort. Paragraph 6 was written to forestall a complaint in England. Chamberlain's petition, as entered in the consultations, suggested that the Company's craftsmen were made to work on Sundays, a charge the Court would take seriously. The Council's correction reduced it to two pieces of urgent work: a coffin for a burial that could not wait and a box for a packet that went with a departing ship. The admission that the remark was missing from the consultation shows that the

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			Council expected the Court to read the petition there without its answer.
42	35	8 We have given Captain Mainwaring an order to receive§ §on board his Ship Henry Sandford a discharged Soldier towards§ §compleating the Tilbury's Company§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humbe Servants.§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §25th July 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P Ship§ §Tilbury dated the 25 July 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 25th July 1766§ §2 Do and Do dated 25th July 1766 relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 16 July 1766§ §4 Consultation of the 21st July Do§ §5 Duplicate Do of the 14th Do Do§ §6 First Receipt for ye Packet P Ship Grosvenor§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship True Briton§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 List of Officers and Servants taken 25th July Do§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Grosvenor§ §11 Cash Acct of the 30th June 1766§ §12 Do from the 1 to 25 July Do§ §13 Ship Tilbury's Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Grosvenors Acct§ §15 Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessions held the 16 July 1766§	8: Captain Mainwaring received an order to take Henry Sandford, a discharged soldier, on board his ship towards making up the *Tilbury*'s crew. The letter was dated at St Helena on 25 July 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 25 July 1766 and sent by the *Tilbury*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 July 1766 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 July 1766 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 July 1766 4: The consultation of 21 July 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultation of 14 July 1766 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Grosvenor* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *True Briton* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A list of officers and servants taken on 25 July 1766 10: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Grosvenor* 11: The cash account of 30 June 1766 12: The cash account from 1 to 25 July 1766 13: The account of the *Tilbury* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Grosvenor* 15: The proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 16 July 1766 **Interpretations** Items 11 and 12 ended the gap announced in the letter of 7 July 1766, which warned that the quarter's accounts would not come before the Council until 21 July. The consultation of that date went in the same packet at item 4. The earlier account sent home closed on 29 June, so a separate account for the single day of 30 June completed the quarter, and a new one opened the next. The separate letter on law matters at item 2 travelled with the proceedings of the quarterly sessions at item 15. The same pairing appeared in the packet of 23 April 1766, which carried a law letter and the sessions of 9 April 1766. The Council evidently reported on the island's judicial business once a quarter, after each sitting of the court.
43	36	16 General Court Martial held on the 16th July 1766§ §17 Time of the Arrival of the Clives Boat at Banks's§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to your Honors went by the Ship§ §Tilbury under date of 25 July 1766§ §2 On the 27 of last Month, arrived your Ship Pacifick§ §from Madrass and the 31 the Hardwicke last from Tillicherry Capt§ §Barkley acquaints Us, he met with the Duke of Albany the 22 June§ §last in the Latitude of 32.20 South, and the Anson the 29 of the same§ §Month in 36.28 South all well; We are informed that at the departure§ §of your Honors Ship Hardwicke from Tillicherry, that there had been some§ §disturbances there, occasioned by Hyder Nagg, who from a mean beginning§ §has raised himself by his Ability's to Command a great extent of the§ §Malabar Coast and become formidable to the Country	The packet list for the *Tilbury* continued with these further items. 16: The general court martial held on 10 July 1766 17: The time at which the boat of the *Clive* arrived at Banks's The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous news went to the Court by the *Tilbury* in a letter dated 25 July 1766. 2: The Company's ship *Pacific* arrived from Madras on the 27th of the previous month. The *Hardwicke* followed on the 31st, last from Tellicherry. Captain Barkley reported meeting the *Duke of Albany* on 22 June in latitude 32 degrees 20 minutes south. He met the *Anson* on the 29th of the same month in 36 degrees 28 minutes south, and all was well in both ships. The Council learned that disturbances broke out at Tellicherry about the time the *Hardwicke* left. They were caused by Hyder Naig, a man of humble origins whose abilities brought him command of a great stretch of the Malabar coast. He was by then formidable to the country powers and used the name Hyder Ali Khan.

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		Powers and has§ §now taken the name of Hyder Ally Cawn, The occasion of the troubles§ §are as follow, Said Hyder having occasion to demand of Mr Ryley§ §chief of Tillicherry to pass thro' the Town with his Army, in order to§ §shorten his Rout, to subdue some of the Country Powers; was§ §refused, after which his advance Guard pull'd down our Colours at§ §some advanced Posts belonging to the said settlement which Hyder§ §denied having given his orders for, on which Mr Ryley ordered a§ §Subaltern detatchment to retake possession of them and hoist the§ §Colours, which was accordingly done unmolested, excepting at one§ §Pagoda, where the Enemy was posted, on which was sent a stronger§ §Force consisting of 300 Men Europeans and Seapoy's together, with§ §2 pieces of Cannon, with which we attacked Hyder Ally Cawn and§ §his Army, and was defeated with the loss of many Men, and the§ §above Artillery, and with Difficulty returned to Tillicherry. Hyder§ §Ally Cawn had promised to return the Cannon, but had not done§ §it§	The trouble began when Hyder asked Mr Ryley, the chief of Tellicherry, for leave to march his army through the town. He wanted a shorter route for subduing some of the country powers, and the request was refused. His advance guard then pulled down the Company's colours at some outlying posts belonging to the settlement. Hyder denied giving any order for that act. Mr Ryley sent a detachment under a subaltern to retake the posts and hoist the colours again. This was done without opposition, except at one pagoda where the enemy was posted. A stronger force of 300 Europeans and sepoys with 2 pieces of cannon was then sent out. That force attacked Hyder Ali Khan and his army and was defeated, losing many men and both guns. The survivors made their way back to Tellicherry with difficulty. Hyder Ali Khan promised to return the cannon, but they were not yet given back. **Interpretations** The account of Tellicherry shows a local dispute turned into a defeat by a choice the record makes visible. Hyder disowned the lowering of the colours, and the first detachment recovered every post but one without a shot. The chief could have left the matter there or settled the remaining post by negotiation, since Hyder was offering a disclaimer. He instead sent 300 men and 2 guns against the main army of a ruler who commanded much of the coast, perhaps because a Company flag left down at even one post was thought to invite further encroachment. The loss of the guns mattered beyond their value, because captured artillery was a public mark of defeat, and Hyder's unkept promise to return them left that mark standing. Hyder Naig was Hyder Ali, the soldier who made himself ruler of Mysore and in 1766 was conquering the small states of Malabar. Naig was a military rank, roughly a commander of troops, and the change to Khan marked his claim to princely standing. The country powers were the local Indian rulers, and sepoys were Indian soldiers trained and officered in the European manner. A subaltern was a junior commissioned officer below the rank of captain. The pagoda was a Hindu temple, whose walled enclosure made a ready strongpoint. Tellicherry was a subordinate factory under Bombay, governed by a chief and valued for its pepper. The news reached the island as ships' report and was passed on at length because the Court would otherwise wait months for Bombay's own dispatches. The fullness of the narrative answered the complaint about thin intelligence that the Council addressed in the letter of 2 April 1766. Item 16 was the trial of Lieutenant Bridgwater, whose conviction and discharge the letter of 25 July 1766 reported. The date showed that the court sat on 10 July, four days before Captain Mitchell's letter was entered in the consultation of 14 July.
44	37	it when your Honors Ship left that Coast, and further accused Us§ §of being the aggressors, as he said he had no design of attacking§ §the English§ §3 The Passengers on board the Pacifick are General Lawrence§ §Colonel Campbell and Messrs Fairfield Turing Short and Mrs§ §Bishop, and Captn Morrane on board the Hardwicke§ §4 We cannot transmit you the Abstracts of the Cargoes of§ §the Ships Hardwicke and Clive as the Captains Acquaint Us§ §they have no Copy of their Bills of Lading§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§	The cannon were still not returned when the Company's ship left that coast. Hyder Ali Khan further accused the English of being the aggressors, declaring that he never intended to attack them. 3: The passengers on board the *Pacific* were: General Lawrence Colonel Campbell Mr Fairfield Mr Turing Mr Short Mrs Bishop Captain Morrane travelled on board the *Hardwicke*. 4: The abstracts of the cargoes of the *Hardwicke* and *Clive* could not be sent. Their captains told the Council that they held no copies of their bills of lading. The letter was dated at St Helena on 4 August 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille

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		§John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §4 August 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Hardwicke dated the 4 August 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils Generl Letter dated 4th August 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 25 July Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 25 Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from 28th July to 4 August 1766§ §5 Duplicate Do of 21st Do Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Tilbury§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Grosvenor§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Tilbury§ §10 Cash Account from 26 to 31 July 1766§ §11 Do from the 1 to 4th August Do§	Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 4 August 1766 and sent by the *Hardwicke*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 August 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 July 1766 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 July 1766 on law matters 4: The consultations from 28 July to 4 August 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultation of 21 July 1766 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Tilbury* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Grosvenor* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Tilbury* 10: The cash account from 26 to 31 July 1766 11: The cash account from 1 to 4 August 1766 **Interpretations** Hyder Ali Khan's charge that the English were the aggressors completed the account of Tellicherry begun earlier in this letter. He disowned the lowering of the colours and then met an attack by 300 men and 2 guns, so his claim had some footing in the sequence the Council itself reported. By sending home his version beside its own, the Council left the Court to judge the conduct of Mr Ryley, the chief who ordered the attack, when Bombay's dispatches arrived. Paragraph 4 added two more ships to the run of missing cargo papers. Captain Marter mislaid the *Horsenden*'s abstract, as the letter of 8 June 1766 recorded, Captain Mills did not send the *Kent*'s bill of lading, and Captain Crichton held none for the *True Briton*, as the letter of 29 June 1766 reported. The *True Briton*, *Hardwicke* and *Clive* all came from Bombay and the Malabar coast, which suggests that ships of that presidency sailed without the copies the Council needed, and not that three commanders were separately careless. General Lawrence was the passenger Captain Allen reported as leaving Madras in the *Pacific* about the end of March, in the letter of 25 July 1766.
45	38	12 Duplicate Cash Account of the 30th June 1766§ §13 Do Do from 1 to 25 July Do§ §14 Ship Clives Account§ §15 Do Pacificks Do§ §16 Do Hardwickes Do§ §17 Duplicate Ship Tilburys Do§ §18 Do Proceedings of a Generl Quartr Sessions held 16th July 1766§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Pacifick§ §20 Time of the Arrivl of the Pacificks and Hardwickes§ §Boats at Banks's§ §21 Courts Martial from 19 August 1765 to 4 August 1766§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors the 4th of last Month by the§ §Hardwicke which sailed from hence in Company with your Ships§ §Clive and Pacifick§ §2 On the 5th instant Arrived your Ship Harcourt last from§ §Anjengo and the Admiral Watson from Bengal, Capt Roddam§ §acquaints Us he left that place the 22 May and that the Asia was to be§ §dispatched from Bombay about the latter end of the same Month§ §for Europe, Capt Maury sailed from Ingelee the 10	The packet list for the *Hardwicke* continued with these further items. 12: A duplicate cash account of 30 June 1766 13: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 25 July 1766 14: The account of the *Clive* 15: The account of the *Pacific* 16: The account of the *Hardwicke* 17: A duplicate of the account of the *Tilbury* 18: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 16 July 1766 19: An abstract of the cargo of the *Pacific* 20: The times at which the boats of the *Pacific* and *Hardwicke* arrived at Banks's 21: The courts martial from 19 August 1765 to 4 August 1766 The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 4th of the previous month. That letter went by the *Hardwicke*, which sailed from the island in company with the *Clive* and the *Pacific*. 2: The Company's ship *Harcourt* arrived on the 5th of that month, last from Anjengo, and the *Admiral Watson* came in from Bengal. Captain Roddam reported leaving Anjengo on 22 May. The *Asia*, he said, was to be dispatched from Bombay for Europe about the end of the same month. Captain Money sailed from Ingeli on 10 April, where he left the Company's ship *Ponsborne*

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		April, where he§ §left your Ship Ponsborne bound for England; We are also told that§ §Lord Clive was gone up to the Army upon some business§ §3 The Passengers on board the Admiral Watson are Messrs§ §Majendie, Hudson, [Ladder], Wilson, Hearn and Bird, and Messrs§ §Gardner and Holdercraft§ §4 We cannot transmit you the Abstract of the Ship§ §Harcourts Cargo as Capt Roddam acquaints Us he has no Copy of§ §his Bill of Lading§	bound for England. The Council also heard that Lord Clive was gone up to the army on some business. 3: The passengers on board the *Admiral Watson* were: Mr Majendie Mr Hudson Mr Ladder Mr Wilson Mr Hearn Mr Bird Miss Gardner Miss Holdercraft 4: The abstract of the *Harcourt*'s cargo could not be sent, because Captain Roddam told the Council that he held no copy of his bill of lading. **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 strengthened the pattern noted in the letter of 4 August 1766. The *Harcourt* was the third of the three ships that Captain Crichton left at Bombay on 21 February, and like the *True Briton*, *Hardwicke* and *Clive* she arrived without a copy of her bill of lading. Every ship of the Bombay presidency that season therefore reached the island without that paper, while the China and Bengal ships generally carried theirs. The fault lay perhaps with the practice of the Bombay government and not with the individual commanders. Item 21 gathered a full year of the garrison's military trials into one return, ending on the day the packet closed. It took in the general court martial of 10 July 1766 that discharged Lieutenant Bridgwater, whose proceedings went separately by the *Tilbury*. An annual return let the Court review how military justice was applied to the ordinary soldiers, as the quarterly sessions papers did for the civil court. The *Admiral Watson* and *Ponsborne* were the two ships that Captain Fenner reported as due to be dispatched from Bengal for Europe, in the letter of 5 June 1766. Ingeli was the anchorage at the mouth of the Hooghly where homeward ships from Calcutta completed their lading and took their final departure. Lord Clive was then Governor of Bengal, and news of his movements told the Court where the head of its largest presidency was engaged.
46	39	5 Captain Barklay informed Us that he had on board his§ §Ship one of the Soldiers he carried from England to Bengal who§ §Deserted when he left that Place upon which we Ordered him to be§ §sent on Shore, but he could not be found, and Capt Barkley acquainted§ §Us that he suspected that some of his People had secreted him, for§ §notwithstanding he had made strict search several times he could not§ §discover where he was§ §6 We request your Honors will be pleased to Order all the§ §Tools to be sent we have Indented for, as well as those in the§ §Engineers, as the General Indent, especially the Shovels and Spades§ §as we are in very great want of them to carry on the Fortifications, and§ §the other necessary Works of the Island§ §7 As We have not been able to get a Carpenter's Mate out of§ §the Ships as we expected desire your Honors will be pleased to send§ §Us one by the first opportunity, as we are much in want of such an§ §Artificer, and delayed giving you Notice of it sooner, for the above§ §reason§ §8 Notwithstanding your Honors Orders to your	5: Captain Barkley told the Council that one of the soldiers he carried from England to Bengal was on board his ship, having deserted when the ship left that place. The Council ordered the man to be sent ashore, but he could not be found. Captain Barkley suspected that some of his crew were hiding him, since several strict searches failed to discover where he was. 6: The Council asked the Court to send every tool requested in its own order and in the engineer's. Shovels and spades were wanted above all, because the island was very short of them for the fortifications and its other necessary works. 7: No carpenter's mate could be obtained from the ships, contrary to the Council's hopes. The Court was therefore asked to send one out at the first opportunity, since the island badly needed such a craftsman. Notice was held back until then only because a man was expected from the shipping. 8: The Court's orders required its captains to provide their own fuel for the homeward passage. Many of them nevertheless applied to the Council for it that year, and the island did not hold enough coals to supply them. The Council hoped the Court would enforce the order, so that the same difficulty did not arise again. The chaldron spared to Captain Money reduced the stock of coals to 1 chaldron and 30 bushels, which was all that remained to meet every demand until a fresh supply came. 9: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the 22nd of that month.

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		Captains for§ §supplying themselves with Fuel for their homeward bound Passage, yet§ §many of them this Year have applied to Us for that article, and we§ §have not had Coals sufficient to give them, therefore hope you'l be§ §pleased to inforce the Order that we may not be subject to the like§ §inconveniency in future, the Chaldron we have spared Captn Money§ §has reduced the remains of Coals to one Chaldron and 30 Bushels,§ §for answering all Demands until we have a supply§ §9 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange Vizt§ §One Set to Mr Jonathan Doveton for £58.6 payable to Mr George§ §[Rutherdon], and one set to Mr John Stephens for £50.. payable to§ §himself both drawn at 90 Days sight and dated the 22 instant§ §10 This waits on Your Honors by the Harcourt which sails in§ §Company§	One set to Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Mr George Rutherdon, £58 6s 0d One set to Mr John Stephens, payable to himself, £50 0s 0d 10: The letter went to the Court by the *Harcourt*, which sailed in company with another ship. **Interpretations** Paragraph 8 returned to the first subject of the letter of 2 April 1766, and the position was worse. The Council then asked the Court both to keep its captains under orders to bring fuel from India and to send coals, while 30 chaldrons were reserved for the engineer's lime burning. By September the whole stock stood at 1 chaldron and 30 bushels, a little under two chaldrons at 36 bushels to the chaldron. The homeward ships of the season drew the supply down almost to nothing, and the lime kilns on which the fortifications depended were left exposed. The same letter of 2 April 1766 promised that ships short of fuel would be given coals alone and no more of the island's wood, so the Council could not fall back on timber. That is why it pressed the Court to discipline the commanders instead of simply asking for a larger shipment. Paragraph 5 concerned a soldier who deserted in Bengal and hid in a homeward ship. He belonged to the Company's army, and the Council's order to land him would have added a man to its own short garrison, for which it requested 50 recruits in the letter of 5 June 1766. The crew's concealment defeated the order. A ship short of hands gained a working man by hiding him, the same need the Council met openly all season by placing discharged soldiers in homeward ships. The Council reported the failure so that the Court could have the man seized when the ship reached England. Paragraph 7 followed from the letter of 25 July 1766, which reported the resignation of Joseph Chamberlain, the carpenter's mate, and promised early notice if no replacement could be found in the later ships. The explanation for the delay answered in advance any charge that the Council let the season pass without asking. The demand for shovels and spades in paragraph 6 showed where the defence works stood. The labour at Sandy Bay and elsewhere was still chiefly digging and moving earth, and worn tools could not be replaced on the island. Naming the engineer's order beside its own told the Court that neither list was to be cut on the ground that the other covered the same need.
47	40	Company with your Ship Admiral Watson§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §23d Sept 1766§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Harcourt dated 23 Sept 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 23d Sept 1766§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 4 Augt Do§ §3 Consultations from 11th August to 22 Septr Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 28 July to the 4 August Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Hardwicke§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Tilbury§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 23d Sept 1766§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Hardwicke§ §10 Cash Account from the 5th to 31 August Do§ §11 Do from 1 to 23d Sept Do§	The *Harcourt* sailed in company with the Company's ship *Admiral Watson*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 September 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 23 September 1766 and sent by the *Harcourt*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 September 1766 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 August 1766 3: The consultations from 11 August to 22 September 1766 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 28 July to 4 August 1766 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Hardwicke* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Tilbury* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A list of officers and servants taken on 23 September 1766

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		§12 Duplicate Do from 26th to 31st July Do§ §13 Do Do from 1 to 4th Augt Do§ §14 Ship Harcourt's Account§ §15 Do Admiral Watsons Do§ §16 Duplicate Ship Clives Do§ §17 Do Do Pacificks Do§ §18 Do Do Hardwickes Do§	9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Hardwicke* 10: The cash account from 5 to 31 August 1766 11: The cash account from 1 to 23 September 1766 12: A duplicate cash account from 26 to 31 July 1766 13: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 4 August 1766 14: The account of the *Harcourt* 15: The account of the *Admiral Watson* 16: A duplicate of the account of the *Clive* 17: A duplicate of the account of the *Pacific* 18: A duplicate of the account of the *Hardwicke* **Interpretations** The packet covered a much longer interval than any earlier one that year. From April to early August a homeward ship left every week or two, and each packet carried consultations for a few days only. Item 3 ran over six weeks, from 11 August to 22 September 1766, and the cash accounts at items 10 and 11 covered seven weeks between them. No ship sailed for England between the *Hardwicke* on 4 August and the *Harcourt*, which marked the tail of the homeward season and explained why the letter of 23 September 1766 gathered several requests for the following year into one dispatch.
48	41	19 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Admiral Watson§ §20 Time of the Arrival of the Harcourt's Boat at Banks's.§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on your Honors under date§ §of the 23d Sept by the Ship Harcourt.§ §2 On the 26 of last Month, arrived your Ship Ponsborne§ §from Bengal, Capt Payne acquaints Us he was obliged to go through§ §the Streights of Malacca to make his Passage, he also tells Us§ §he spoke with your Ships, Deptford, Cumberland, Speke, and§ §Havannah, in the Streights of Banca in the Months of June§ §& July last: he further informs Us, that he heard the Hawke was§ §Arrived at Bencoolen and that the Prince of Wales, and Plassey had passed the§ §Streights in their Way to China§ §The Governor hath paid into your Cash the Sum of§ §£205.4. for which we have given him Bills drawn on your§ §Honors payable to Robert Wood Esqr drawn at ninety Days sight§ §and dated this day§ §4 The passengers on board this Ship are Miss Keen &§ §Messrs Fullerton, Abercromby, Maclean & Wroe§ §5 Since transmitting yr Honors the Plans of the§ §Fortifycations of the Island, Captain Mitchell has thought proper§ §to make some alterations at Sandy Bay, to which we have assented§ §our Reasons for so doing are entered in our Consultation of the 3d§ §of last Month, to which we beg leave to refer your Honors§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most hum Servts§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	The packet list for the *Harcourt* continued with these further items. 19: An abstract of the cargo of the *Admiral Watson* 20: The time at which the boat of the *Harcourt* arrived at Banks's The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Harcourt* and was dated 23 September. 2: The Company's ship *Ponsborne* arrived from Bengal on the 26th of the previous month. Captain Payne reported that he was obliged to go through the Strait of Malacca to make his passage. He spoke with the Company's ships *Deptford*, *Cumberland*, *Speke* and *Havannah* in the Strait of Banca in June and July. He also heard that the *Hawke* was at Bencoolen and that the *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* passed the straits on their way to China. 3: Governor Skottowe paid £205 4s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the day of the letter. They were payable to Robert Wood and drawn at 90 days' sight. 4: The passengers on board the *Ponsborne* were: Miss Keen Mr Fullerton Mr Abercromby Mr Maclean Mr Wroe 5: Captain Mitchell saw fit to make some alterations at Sandy Bay after the plans of the island's fortifications went home. The Council agreed to them and entered its reasons in the consultation of the 3rd of the previous month, to which the Court was referred. The letter was dated at St Helena on 3 November 1766 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 5 reported a departure from plans the Court already approved. The letter of 2 April 1766 recorded that approval and promised to carry the works out as the Court recommended, so the regular course was to build Sandy Bay as drawn or to seek fresh sanction before changing it. The Council instead agreed to Captain Mitchell's alterations on the spot and

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		§St Helena§ §3 Novr 1766§	told the Court afterwards, pointing to the consultation for its reasons instead of setting them out in the letter. Waiting for an answer from London would have halted the work for a year or more. The step followed the pattern of Captain Mitchell's own appointment, John Robinson's salary and Lieutenant Bridgwater's posting, all defended in the letter of 2 April 1766 as acts of necessity taken ahead of approval. The *Ponsborne* left Ingeli about 10 April, as the letter of 23 September 1766 reported, yet reached the island only on 26 October. Captain Payne's account explained the delay. A ship leaving Bengal so late in the season met the south-west monsoon in the Bay of Bengal and could not work directly south-west towards the Cape. Running down through the Strait of Malacca and out by Banca and the Sunda Strait was the longer route by which such a ship still made her passage. The Governor's bill was his second of the year payable to Robert Wood, after the £300 0s 0d set granted on 9 April 1766 and reported in the letter of 12 April 1766. The *Prince of Wales* and the *Plassey* were the two outward ships that left the island on 4 April 1766, the second carrying the chest of treasure forwarded to Canton, so the report told the Court that the silver was safely past the straits.
49	42	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Ponsborne dated 3d November 1766 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated 3d November 1766§ §2 Do & Do dated 3d Do relatg to Law mattrs§ §3 Duplicate Do & Do dated 23d Sepr 1766§ §4 Consultations from the 29th Sept to the 3d Novr Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from 11 Augt to 22d Sepr Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Harcourt§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Hardwicke§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Rolls of Do§ §10 List of Familys taken the 30th Sepr 1766§ §11 Do of Rents taken the 30th Do Do§ §12 Do of the Honble Compys Slaves Do Do§ §13 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Harcourt§ §14 Cash Acct from the 24th to the 30th Sepr 1766§ §15 Do Do for the Month of August Do§ §16 Do Do from the 1st to the 3d Novr Do§ §17 Duplicate Do from the 5th to the 31st August Do§ §18 Do Do from the 1st to the 23d Sepr Do§ §19 Ship Ponsbornes Account§ §20 Duplicate Ship Harcourts Do§ §21 Do Ship Admiral Watsons Do§ §22 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Ponsborne§ §23 Time of the Arrival of the Ponsbornes boat at Banks's§ §24 Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessions held the 8th October§ §1766§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to your Honors under date of 3d Novr§ §by§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 3 November 1766 and sent by the *Ponsborne.* 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 November 1766 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 November 1766 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 September 1766 4: The consultations from 29 September to 3 November 1766 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 11 August to 22 September 1766 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Harcourt* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Hardwicke* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: The muster rolls of the garrison 10: A list of families taken on 30 September 1766 11: A list of rents taken on 30 September 1766 12: A list of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1766 13: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Harcourt* 14: The cash account from 24 to 30 September 1766 15: The cash account for the month of August 1766 16: The cash account from 1 to 3 November 1766 17: A duplicate cash account from 5 to 31 August 1766 18: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 23 September 1766 19: The account of the *Ponsborne* 20: A duplicate of the account of the *Harcourt* 21: A duplicate of the account of the *Admiral Watson* 22: An abstract of the cargo of the *Ponsborne* 23: The time at which the boat of the *Ponsborne* arrived at Banks's 24: The proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 8 October 1766 The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court in a letter dated 3 November. **Interpretations** Items 10 to 12 were annual returns, all taken on 30 September 1766, the close of the Company's

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			accounting year on the island. The list of families was a census of the free inhabitants by household. The list of rents recorded what each landholder owed the Company for the ground he held, since all land on the island was held from the Company as proprietor. The list of slaves counted the Company's own labour force, as distinct from slaves owned by the planters. Together the three gave the Court a yearly measure of the island's population, its landed revenue and the hands available for the works. The slave list carried particular weight that year, after the Council's reports of 2 April 1766 and 25 July 1766 that the slaves landed from the *Royal George* were sickly and unequal to the labour of the fortifications. The law letter at item 2 again travelled with the proceedings of a quarterly sessions, here those of 8 October 1766 at item 24. The same pairing appeared in the packets of 23 April 1766 and 25 July 1766, which confirmed that the Council reported on judicial business after each quarterly sitting. The muster rolls at item 9 last went home on 7 July 1766 and before that on 2 April 1766, so they kept to a roughly quarterly interval.
50	43	by your Ship Ponsborne§ §2 On the 11 of last Month, arrived his Majesty's Ship Argo,§ §and the 22 the Asia both from the Cape, Capt Affleck acquaints Us that§ §a Dutch Ship came from Batavia to the Cape while he was there, and§ §that one of the Seamen belonging to her informed him, that they had§ §intelligence at Batavia of two English Vessels having arrived at Borneo§ §at the Port of Benjar Massen, that they met with a very friendly§ §reception from the Natives who readily renewed a former treaty of friendship§ §and Commerce with the English, He likewise informs Us, that the Governor§ §of the Cape told him, that twelve or thirteen of their latter homeward§ §bound Ships were ordered to touch here for refreshment; Capt Inglis§ §acquainted Us he left Bombay the beginning of Novr, and that the§ §Royal Charlotte was to sail from thence for Europe the 20th of the same§ §Month, and that your Ships Nottingham and Duke of Albany had§ §sailed from Bengal some time before he left Bombay§ §3 On tuesday the 24th of last Month Capt Inglis going§ §down to the Crane about the business of his Ship, and having some§ §words with John Pinchback one of his Seamen, and lifting up his Cane,§ §the said Pinchback seized hold of it and wrenched it from him,§ §which caused Capt Inglis to fall backwards into the Sea, and striking§ §his Head against the Rocks fractured his Skull from which blow§ §he died the 1st instant, the said Pinchback is now in Jail, to take his§ §Tryal at the next quarterly Sessions. And on Monday last we swore§ §Mr John Moffat Chief Mate to the Command of the Ship Asia§ §until your Honors further pleasure§ §4 We recd from the Cape by the Asia Cattle Sheep &ca§ §to the Amount of £3[7]7.1. as P Bill entered in our Consultation of§ §the 23d of last Month, the decd Capt Inglis informed Us that he§	The Council's previous letter of 3 November went to the Court by the *Ponsborne*. 2: His Majesty's ship *Argo* arrived on the 11th of the previous month. The *Asia* followed on the 22nd, and both came from the Cape. Captain Affleck reported that a Dutch ship from Batavia reached the Cape while he lay there. One of her seamen told him of news at Batavia that two English vessels were at the port of Banjarmasin in Borneo. The inhabitants received them very warmly and readily renewed an earlier treaty of friendship and trade with the English. The governor of the Cape also told Captain Affleck that 12 or 13 of the later Dutch homeward ships were ordered to call there for refreshment. Captain Inglis reported leaving Bombay at the beginning of November. The *Royal Charlotte*, he said, was to sail from there for Europe on the 20th of the same month. The Company's ships *Nottingham* and *Duke of Albany* sailed from Bengal some time before he left Bombay. 3: Captain Inglis went down to the crane on Tuesday the 24th of the previous month about his ship's business. He exchanged words with John Pinchback, one of his seamen, and raised his cane. Pinchback seized the cane and wrenched it from him, which sent the captain backwards into the sea. His head struck the rocks and his skull was fractured, and he died of the blow on the 1st of that month. Pinchback was then in gaol awaiting trial at the next quarterly sessions. On the Monday before the letter, the Council swore in Mr John Moffat, the chief mate, to command the *Asia* until the Court's wishes were known. 4: The *Asia* brought cattle, sheep and other stock from the Cape to the value of £317 1s 0d, as shown by the bill entered in the consultation of the 23rd of the previous month. Captain Inglis told the Council before his death that he laid out his own money to buy the stock. He applied for a premium on that outlay. The Council held no orders on the point and referred his application to the Court. **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 records a death that the Council treated as a matter for its own court. The letter of 5 June 1766 reported its refusal to try a seaman of Captain Fenner's who struck an officer, because the act took place at sea and the island's jurisdiction was doubtful. Pinchback's case differed in the one respect that mattered: the struggle happened at the landing crane, on the island's own shore. The Council therefore committed him for the quarterly sessions without referring home. The account it sent was careful on the facts that would decide the charge. The captain raised

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		§laid out his own Money for the purchase of the Stock, and applied to§ §Us for a premium thereon, but having recd no orders relative thereto, we§ §refer his application to your Honors§	his cane first, Pinchback took hold of it and did not strike, and death came from the fall on the rocks a week later. Those details separated a killing in a sudden quarrel from murder, and so bore directly on whether the man faced the gallows. Swearing in the chief mate filled the command by the ordinary rule of succession on board, but only provisionally. The appointment of a commander belonged to the ship's owners and the Court, so the Council limited Mr Moffat's authority to the period before the Court's decision. The oath bound him to the Company's orders for the remainder of the voyage. The premium in paragraph 4 was an allowance on money advanced. Captain Inglis bought the livestock at the Cape with his own funds, and the bill covered only the cost. He asked for a percentage on top, as compensation for the use of his money and the risk of losing animals on the passage. The Council could have granted or refused it, but with no standing order it did neither, a caution that followed the Court's censure of the rice and paddy bought from Captain Webb at an excessive price, answered in the letter of 2 April 1766. Stock from the Cape supplemented the island's own cattle and sheep, which could not meet the demands of the garrison and the calling ships. The news from Banjarmasin concerned the venture reported in the letter of 12 April 1766, when the *Royal George* and two other vessels were met on their way to Banca and then to that port. The Dutch claimed the pepper trade of southern Borneo, so a renewed English treaty there was a gain made at a rival's expense. It reached the island as the talk of a Dutch seaman at the Cape, passed on by Captain Affleck, and the Council reported it with that chain of sources in view. The *Argo* was the King's ship reported in the letter of 5 June 1766 as dismasted in a typhoon and refitting at Malacca. Her arrival in December, more than a year after leaving Canton, closed that account.
51	44	5 The Passengers on board of the Asia are Messrs Roach§ §Thomas Hammond and Hyde§ §6 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One Set to Mr Henry [Chads] for £100.. One Set to§ §Mr Mattw Horne for £100.. and one Set to Mr George§ §[Strode] for £450 all payable to themselves, and dated the 23§ §Febry last§ §7 By the List of Military Stores you will please to§ §observe we have a large quantity of Flints remaining, but they are§ §all bad and not fit for use, we thought proper to mention this,§ §that your Honors may in future Order what shall be Indented for,§ §to be of a good sort, as it is very essential to the Island to have§ §this Article of the best kind§ §8 We take this opportunity of transmitting your Honors§ §General Books of Accounts, Balanced to the 30 of Septr last§ §9 We have had a fine Summer Season, and the Pastures§ §and Plantations are at present in a very flourishing situation, but§ §it is with Concern we must Acquaint your Honors, that the disorder§ §among the Black Cattle still continues, and it principally affects the§ §breeders, which in a great measure prevents the Stocks from being§ §kept up to their full Numbers§ §10 This waits on your Honors by the Asia Copy of	5: The passengers on board the *Asia* were: Mr Roach Mr Thomas Mr Hammond Mr Hyde 6: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, all payable to the men themselves and dated 23 February 1767. One set to Mr Henry Chads, £100 0s 0d One set to Mr Matthew Horne, £100 0s 0d One set to Mr George Strode, £450 0s 0d 7: The list of military stores showed a large quantity of flints remaining. All of them were bad and unfit for use. The Council mentioned this so that the Court would in future order the flints requested to be of good quality, since the island greatly needed that article to be of the best kind. 8: The general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September of the previous year, went home by this opportunity. 9: The island enjoyed a fine summer season, and the pastures and plantations were then in a very flourishing state. The Council reported with concern, however, that the disease among the black cattle still continued. It chiefly attacked the breeding animals, which largely prevented the herds from being kept up to their full numbers. 10: The letter went to the Court by the *Asia*. A copy of it was sent by Captain Affleck of His Majesty's ship *Argo*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 5 March 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick

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		which§ §we transmit you by Capt Affleck of his Majestys Ship Argo§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §5 March 1767§	**Interpretations** Paragraph 7 warned the Court against reading the stock list at face value. A large remainder of flints would ordinarily justify cutting the next order, and the Council said outright that the whole quantity was useless. The same caution appeared in the letter of 5 June 1766, which explained that many articles shown as remaining would be used up before the year ended. Flints were the shaped stones held in the lock of a musket, which struck sparks from the steel to fire the charge. A soft or badly cut flint caused misfires, so a garrison with poor flints could not rely on its small arms, whatever the number in store. Paragraph 9 set a good season beside a continuing loss. The letter of 23 April 1766 reported an equally good summer with pastures and plantations flourishing, and made no mention of sickness in the herds. A year later the grass was as good, yet the cattle could not be kept up to number because the disease fell on the breeding stock, which cut off the supply of calves as well as killing grown animals. That explained the purchase of cattle and sheep from the Cape worth £317 1s 0d, reported earlier in this letter. Black cattle was the ordinary term for horned cattle of the beef and dairy kind, whatever their colour. The general books in paragraph 8 were the journal and ledger of the island's whole establishment, closed on 30 September 1766, the same date as the lists of families, rents and slaves sent in the packet of 3 November 1766. They included the separate head opened for the Sandy Bay fortification, promised in the letter of 2 April 1766, and so gave the Court its first full view of what that work cost. Sending a copy by the *Argo* used a King's ship as a second conveyance. The two vessels were leaving together at a time of year when few homeward ships called, so the duplicate could not wait for a later Company ship as it usually did.
52	45	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Asia dated 5 March 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Counl General Letter dated 5th March 1767§ §2 Do and Do dated 5 Do Do relating to§ §Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated 3d Novembr 1766§ §4 Do Do dated 3d Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §5 Consultations from 10th Novr 1766 to 2d March 1767§ §6 Duplicate Do from 29th Sept to the 3d Novr 1766§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Ponsborne§ §8 Second Do for Do P Ship Harcourt§ §9 List of Officers and Servants taken 5 March 1767§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Ponsborne§ §11 Do Do of Family's taken 30th Sept 1766§ §12 Do Do of Rents taking 30th Do Do§ §13 Do Do of the Honoble Compys Slaves taken 30th Do Do§ §14 Effective state of the Garrison§ §15 Muster Rolls of Do§ §16 Cash Acct from the 4th to the 30th Novr 1766§ §17 Do for the Month of December Do§ §18 Do for the Month of Jany 1767§ §19 Do for the Month of February Do§ §20 Do from the 1 to 5 of March Do§ §21 Duplicate Cash Account from 24 to 30 Sept 1766§ §22 Do Do for the Month of Octr Do§ §23 Do Do from the 1 to 3 Novr Do§ §24 Ship Asia's Account§ §25 Duplicate Ship Ponsbornes§ §26 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Asia§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 5 March 1767 and sent by the *Asia*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 March 1767 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 March 1767 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 November 1766 4: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 November 1766 on law matters 5: The consultations from 10 November 1766 to 2 March 1767 6: A duplicate of the consultations from 29 September to 3 November 1766 7: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Ponsborne* 8: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Harcourt* 9: A list of officers and servants taken on 5 March 1767 10: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Ponsborne* 11: A duplicate list of families taken on 30 September 1766 12: A duplicate list of rents taken on 30 September 1766 13: A duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1766 14: The effective state of the garrison 15: The muster rolls of the garrison 16: The cash account from 4 to 30 November 1766 17: The cash account for the month of December 1766 18: The cash account for the month of January 1767

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			19: The cash account for the month of February 1767 20: The cash account from 1 to 5 March 1767 21: A duplicate cash account from 24 to 30 September 1766 22: A duplicate cash account for the month of October 1766 23: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 3 November 1766 24: The account of the *Asia* 25: A duplicate of the account of the *Ponsborne* 26: An abstract of the cargo of the *Asia* **Interpretations** The packet spanned the dead season of the island's shipping. Item 5 carried consultations for almost four months, from 10 November 1766 to 2 March 1767, and items 16 to 20 held five successive cash accounts. No homeward Company ship left between the *Ponsborne* on 3 November 1766 and the *Asia*, so the Court received a third of a year's business in a single dispatch. During the months from April to August 1766, by contrast, a packet went every week or two and each covered only a few days. The cash accounts changed form over that interval. While ships sailed often, each account ran from the close of one packet to the close of the next. With no ship to send by, the Council made the account up by the calendar month, and broke it only at the start and end of the gap to join the earlier and later series without a missing day. Item 22, a duplicate cash account for October 1766, had no counterpart in the *Ponsborne*'s list as recorded on 3 November 1766. That list gave a cash account for the month of August at the corresponding place, between the account ending 30 September and the one beginning 1 November. October was therefore perhaps the month intended in the earlier list, since August was already covered there by another account.
53	46	27 Time of the Arrival of the Asia's Boat at Banks's§ §28 Proceedings of a Genl Quartr Session held the 14 Jany 1767§ §29 Duplicate Do held the 8 Octr 1766§ §30 General Books of Accounts§ §31 List of three discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs.§ §1 We Addressed your Honors last by the Ship§ §Asia, which sailed from hence the 5 of this Month in company§ §with His Majestys Ship Argo.§ §2 On the 18 instant arrived your Ship Royal Charlotte§ §from Bombay, the 21st the Prince of Wales from China, and the§ §22nd the Cruttenden from Bengal, Capt Clements acquaints Us he§ §left Bombay the 1st December, and saw a Ship going in, which§ §he took to be the Speaker, we are likewise informed that Hyder§ §Nagg had raised an Army of 30000 Men, well armed and§ §Disciplined, and had got a Fleet of 30 Vessels to attend his motions,§ §that he continued to March about your settlements, and that it§ §is greatly to be apprehended he will occasion some disturbances,§ §notwithstanding he has assured your President and Council of§ §Bombay that he has no intention to molest the English, we are§ §further acquainted that some disturbances has happened at Mocha§ §between the Natives, and English, and that it is imagined if the§	The packet list for the *Asia* continued with these further items. 27: The time at which the boat of the *Asia* arrived at Banks's 28: The proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 14 January 1767 29: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 8 October 1766 30: The general books of accounts 31: A list of 3 discharged soldiers The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Asia*. That ship sailed from the island on the 5th of that month in company with His Majesty's ship *Argo*. 2: The Company's ship *Royal Charlotte* arrived from Bombay on the 18th of that month. The *Prince of Wales* came in from China on the 21st and the *Cruttenden* from Bengal on the 22nd. Captain Clements reported leaving Bombay on 1 December. He saw a ship going in as he left, which he took to be the *Speaker*. The Council also learned that Hyder Naig raised an army of 30,000 men, well armed and disciplined, and gathered a fleet of 30 vessels to follow his movements. He went on marching around the Company's settlements. Serious fears were held that he would cause some disturbance, although he assured the president and council of Bombay that he meant the English no harm. Further news told of disturbances at Mocha between the inhabitants and the English. The coffee trade, it was thought, would suffer badly if the gentlemen at Bombay did not give the English there proper support. The *Prince of Wales* sailed from Canton on 19 December of the previous year in company with the *Speke*.

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		§Gentlemen at Bombay do not properly support them, it must§ §greatly embarrass the Coffee Trade; the Prince of Wales sailed§ §from Canton the 19 December last, in Company with the Speke§ §Duke§	**Interpretations** The report on Hyder Naig continued the account of Tellicherry sent in the letter of 4 August 1766, when a force of 300 men and 2 guns was beaten by his army. Six months later he commanded 30,000 men and a fleet of 30 vessels, which let him move troops and supplies along the Malabar coast and threaten settlements from the sea as well as the land. His assurance to Bombay matched the denial he gave after the earlier clash, and the Council passed it on with open doubt. Mocha, at the mouth of the Red Sea, was the Company's source of coffee and was managed from Bombay. The *Royal Charlotte* was the ship reported in the letter of 25 July 1766 as bound to Surat and then to Mocha, so Captain Clements perhaps brought the news of the quarrel from the port itself. The remark about support from Bombay pointed the Court to the presidency responsible if the season's coffee was lost. The *Prince of Wales* left the island outward bound on 4 April 1766 and returned from China in under a year. The letter of 3 November 1766 reported her past the straits with the *Plassey*, the ship carrying the chest of treasure forwarded to Canton. Item 29 duplicated the sessions papers first sent by the *Ponsborne* on 3 November 1766, and item 30 was the set of general books announced in the letter of 5 March 1767.
54	47	Duke of Cumberland, Deptford and Plassey, the latter was§ §ordered to touch at Bencoolen, we are likewise told, there were 14 of your§ §Honors 1 English Country, 4 Dutch, 1 Dane, 1 Swede and 3 French§ §Ships at Canton the last Season; we are sorry that the§ §intelligence we gave you in our last Letter of the success Capt§ §Skottowe met with at Borneo, wherein we mentioned his having§ §settled a Treaty of friendship and Commerce, has been premature§ §as Captain Court informs Us he met with your Ship Royal§ §George in the Streights of Sunda bound to Bombay, that Capt§ §Skottowe told him they had been very sickly, and had met with§ §no success in settling a Trade at Benjar Massen, and proposed§ §writing by him, but parted Company in the night; Captn Bowland§ §informs Us he sailed from Bengal the 21 Decr last, that he left§ §your Ships Pigot, Britannia and Lord Anson there, and saw the§ §Duke of Albany going up the River as he came down, the Pigot§ §he tells us was Expected to sail for Europe about the middle of§ §January, the Britannia the beginning of Febry with Lord Clive§ §and General Carnac on board, and the Lord Anson was to touch§ §at Madrass, in her way to Europe§ §3 On the 23d of this Month arrived a French Ship last§ §from Mauritius called the Count d'Argenson Capt De La [Croix]§ §burthen 1000 Tons Carrys 18 Guns and 120 Men loaden with§ §Tea and China Ware, bound to France§ §4 The Passengers on board the Cruttenden are§ §Mr and Mrs Sumner Sr Robt Fletcher Messrs Randolph§ §and John Marriotts Mr Yates Mr Rice Mr [Corkie] and§ §Capt Hepburne, and Mr Boyer on the Royal Charlotte§ §5 We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§	The *Prince of Wales* left Canton with the *Speke*, the *Duke of Cumberland*, the *Deptford* and the *Plassey*, and the *Plassey* was ordered to call at Bencoolen. The Council was also told of the shipping at Canton during the previous season. Company ships, 14 English country ships, 1 Dutch ships, 4 Danish ships, 1 Swedish ships, 1 French ships, 3 The Council regretted that the news in its previous letter about Captain Skottowe's success at Borneo was premature. That letter spoke of a treaty of friendship and trade settled there. Captain Court reported meeting the Company's ship *Royal George* in the Sunda Strait, bound for Bombay. Captain Skottowe told him that the crew were very sickly and that the attempt to open a trade at Banjarmasin failed. He proposed to send a letter by Captain Court, but the two ships parted company in the night. Captain Bowland reported sailing from Bengal on 21 December of the previous year. He left the Company's ships *Pigot*, *Britannia* and *Lord Anson* there and saw the *Duke of Albany* going up the river as he came down. The *Pigot* was expected to sail for Europe about the middle of January. The *Britannia* was to follow at the beginning of February with Lord Clive and General Carnac on board. The *Lord Anson* was to call at Madras on her way to Europe. 3: A French ship called the *Comte d'Argenson*, last from Mauritius and commanded by Captain de la [...], arrived on the 23rd of that month. She was of 1,000 tons burthen and carried 18 guns and 120 men. Her cargo was tea and chinaware, and she was bound for France. 4: The passengers on board the *Cruttenden* were: Mr Sumner Mrs Sumner Sir Robert Fletcher Mr Randolph Mr John Marriott Mr Yates Mr Rice Mr Corkie Captain Hepburne Mr Boyer travelled on board the *Royal Charlotte*.

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		§vizt One set to Capt Jno Clements for £1500.. payable§ §to himself, One set to the Revd Mr Jno Thackeray for £35..§ §payable to Mr Reynold Thomas, One set to Mr Jno [Bellasise]§ §for§	5: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain John Clements, payable to himself, £1,500 0s 0d One set to the Reverend Mr John Thackeray, payable to Mr Reynold Thomas, £35 0s 0d A further set was granted to Mr John Bellows [...]. **Interpretations** The retraction over Banjarmasin was the second time the Council withdrew intelligence it sent home, after the mistaken sighting of the *Tilbury* corrected on 8 June 1766. The letter of 5 March 1767 passed on a report of a renewed treaty that came from a Dutch seaman at the Cape by way of Captain Affleck. Captain Court's account came from the commander of the *Royal George* himself, and it reversed the story: no trade was settled and the crew were sickly. The Council could have let the earlier report stand until Bombay's dispatches arrived, but it corrected it by the next ship and named its source, since the Court would otherwise count on a pepper trade that did not exist. The episode again showed how far the island's reports depended on ships' talk, the weakness the Council pleaded in the letter of 2 April 1766. The count of shipping at Canton invited comparison with the previous season, reported in the letter of 2 April 1766. The Company's ships fell only from 15 to 14 and the Dutch held at four. The English country ships dropped from three to one, the Danish from two to one and the Swedish from three to one, while the French went from four to three. The Company therefore faced much lighter competition from the northern companies in buying that season's tea. The French ship came last from Mauritius, the French company's base in the Indian Ocean, where its China ships called on the homeward passage. Captain Clements's bill for £1,500 0s 0d was among the largest of the period, close to the £1,578 16s 0d paid in by Mr Greentree on 14 July 1766. Mr Thackeray was the chaplain who gave notice on 4 May 1766 that he would leave the service in April 1767, so his small bill perhaps formed part of settling his affairs before departure.
55	48	for £6[63].. payable to himself and one Set to Mr Robert§ §[Aislade] for £500.. payable to himself all dated the 24th instant,§ §and drawn at 90 Days sight§ §6 On the 23d instant at night arrived your Ship§ §Northumberland, the next morning we recd a Packet from your§ §Honors which we opened and read your Orders and Instructions§ §to Us, but these Ships sailing so soon after the Northumberlands§ §arrival, renders it impossible by this opportunity for Us to make§ §any other reply to your Letter, then that we can assure you that§ §all your Honors Orders shall be punctually Obeyed, and complied§ §with§ §7 Yesterday Arrived a Dutch Ship from China§ §called the Young Thomas Capt [Vapke Caspar] burthen 700§ §Tons carry's 28 Guns & 110 Men loaden with China Ware§ §and bound to Amsterdam§ §8 We cannot transmit your Honors the Abstract of the§ §Prince of Wales's Cargo as Captn Court acquaints Us he Cant find§ §the Copy of his Bill of Lading§ §9 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Royal§ §Charlotte which sails in Company with the Prince of Wales and§	The bills granted in paragraph 5 were completed by two further sets, and all of them were dated the 24th of that month and drawn at 90 days' sight. One set to Mr John Bellows, payable to himself, £663 0s 0d One set to Mr Robert Adlade, payable to himself, £500 0s 0d 6: The Company's ship *Northumberland* arrived on the night of the 23rd of that month. A packet from the Court came ashore the next morning, and the Council opened it and read the orders and instructions it contained. The ships then in the road were sailing so soon after her arrival that no fuller reply was possible by that opportunity. The Council could only assure the Court that every order would be punctually obeyed. 7: A Dutch ship from China called the *Young Thomas*, under Captain [...], arrived the day before the letter. She was of 708 tons burthen and carried 28 guns and 110 men. Her cargo was chinaware, and she was bound for Amsterdam. 8: The abstract of the cargo of the *Prince of Wales* could not be sent, because Captain Court told the Council that he was unable to find the copy of his bill of lading. 9: The letter went to the Court by the *Royal Charlotte*, which sailed in company with the *Prince of Wales* and the *Cruttenden*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 26 March 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling

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		§Cruttenden§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §26th March 1767§	Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 6 records a choice between holding the ships and answering the Court. The *Northumberland* brought the year's orders from London only two or three days before three homeward ships were due to sail. Detaining them while a full reply was drafted would have run up demurrage, the daily charge the Company paid the owners for delay, which the letter of 2 April 1766 showed the Council anxious to avoid. The ships were therefore let go with a bare acknowledgement, and the detailed answer was left for a later conveyance. The four bills of 24 March 1767 came to £2,698 0s 0d, paid into the treasury in coin within days of three ships anchoring. That was more than the £2,042 0s 0d raised by the five sets reported on 12 April 1766, at the same point in the previous season. Captain Clements alone supplied £1,500 0s 0d, perhaps the proceeds of private trade from his voyage to Bombay and Mocha. Captain Court's missing bill of lading extended the run of absent cargo papers reported through 1766. Those earlier cases all concerned ships from Bombay and the Malabar coast, as the letters of 4 August 1766 and 23 September 1766 noted. The *Prince of Wales* came from China, so this loss appears to be an individual lapse of the kind Captain Marter admitted on 8 June 1766. The *Young Thomas* was one of the four Dutch ships counted at Canton earlier in this letter. Her lading was given as chinaware alone, without the tea and silk reported for the other China ships that called.
56	49	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P§ §Ship Royl Charlotte dated 26 March 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 26th March 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 5th Do Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 5th Do Do relatg to§ §Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from 9th to 24th March 1767§ §5 Duplicate Do from 10 Novemr 1766 to 2 March 1767§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Asia§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Ponsborne§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Asia§ §9 Effective state of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 6 to 26 March 1767§ §11 Duplicate Do from 4th to 30th Novr 1766§ §12 Do Do for the month of Decemr Do§ §13 Do Do for the Month of Jany 1767§ §14 Do Do for the Month of Feby Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to 5 March Do§ §16 Ship Royal Charlottes Account§ §17 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §18 Do Cruttendens Do§ §19 Duplicate Ship Asia's Do§ §20 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §21 Duplicate Proceedgs of a Generl Quarterly Sessions held the 14th Jany§ §1767§ §22 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Royal Charlotte and Cruttenden§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 26 March 1767 and sent by the *Royal Charlotte*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 March 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 March 1767 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 March 1767 on law matters 4: The consultations from 9 to 24 March 1767 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 10 November 1766 to 2 March 1767 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Asia* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Ponsborne* 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Asia* 9: The effective state of the garrison 10: The cash account from 6 to 26 March 1767 11: A duplicate cash account from 4 to 30 November 1766 12: A duplicate cash account for the month of December 1766 13: A duplicate cash account for the month of January 1767 14: A duplicate cash account for the month of February 1767 15: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 5 March 1767 16: The account of the *Royal Charlotte* 17: The account of the *Prince of Wales* 18: The account of the *Cruttenden* 19: A duplicate of the account of the *Asia* 20: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 21: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 14 January 1767 22: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Royal Charlotte* and *Cruttenden* **Interpretations** Item 22 omitted the *Prince of Wales*, although she sailed in the same company and her account stood at item 17. The gap matched the letter of 26 March 1767,

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			in which Captain Court reported that he was unable to find the copy of his bill of lading. The sessions of 14 January 1767 at item 21 were the first quarterly sitting after John Pinchback was committed to gaol over the death of Captain Inglis, as the letter of 5 March 1767 recorded. Their proceedings first went home by the *Asia*, and the duplicate gave the Court a second copy of whatever that court decided in his case.
57	50	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §1. Our last Advices waited on your Honors by the Ship§ §Royal Charlotte, which sailed from hence the 27th of last month in§ §Company with the Prince of Wales and Cruttenden§ §2 It is with very great pleasure we are informed of the§ §safe arrival of all your Honors Ships the last Season; we flatter§ §ourselves the like success will attend those of this Year§ §3 All due Obedience shall be paid to the Orders received§ §from the secret Committee or any three of those Gentlemen, and§ §the Governor acknowledges the Receipt of a Letter and Duplicate§ §from your Honors secret Committee by the Northumberland, and§ §Earl of Middlesex§ §4 By our Consultation of the 6th instant, your Honors will§ §find that we dispatched the Northumberland upon the expiration§ §of the ten Working days, and you may be assured of our Attention§ §in doing the same by the Earl of Middlesex, the Copy of Captain§ §Mitfords Instructions we shall keep for our guidance, as you are§ §pleased to direct§ §5 We sincerely wish success to your Honors Affairs in§ §China, under the management of the Gentlemen you acquaint§ §Us are appointed to be your Council there, we have not found§ §it necessary to alter our Indent of last Year to China as you§ §will please to observe by our Letter entered in Consultation of§ §the 6th instant to the Gentlemen at Canton§ §6 Agreable to your orders we shall acquaint the§ §Captains that you have discontinued the method of taking§ §up the Ships by their Boats arrival at Banks's, but§ §that§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous news went to the Court by the *Royal Charlotte*. That ship sailed from the island on the 27th of the previous month in company with the *Prince of Wales* and the *Cruttenden*. 2: News that every Company ship of the previous season arrived safely gave the Council very great pleasure. The Council trusted that the same success would follow the ships of the current year. 3: The Council promised full obedience to the orders received from the Secret Committee, or from any three of its members. Governor Skottowe acknowledged receiving a letter and its duplicate from the Secret Committee by the *Northumberland* and the *Earl of Middlesex*. 4: The consultation of the 6th of that month showed that the *Northumberland* was dispatched when her ten working days ran out. The Council assured the Court that the same care would be taken with the *Earl of Middlesex*. The copy of Captain Mitford's instructions would be kept for the Council's guidance, as the Court directed. 5: The Council sincerely wished the Court success in its China business under the gentlemen named as its council there. No change to the previous year's order for China proved necessary, as the Court would see from the letter to the gentlemen at Canton entered in the consultation of the 6th of that month. 6: The Court's orders ended the practice of taking up the ships by the arrival of their boats at Banks's. The Council undertook to tell the captains so. **Interpretations** Paragraph 6 explains a paper that went home in almost every packet of 1766. The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's were not merely a check on commanders' compliance with the battery's rules. To take up a ship was to begin the period for which the Company answered to her owners, so the moment her boat reached Banks's fixed the start of her ten working days at the island and of any demurrage after them. The Court's order abandoned that starting point for another. The Secret Committee's letter was acknowledged by the Governor alone, while the Council as a body promised obedience. Such letters were evidently addressed to him personally, which kept confidential orders on the movement and safety of ships out of the general correspondence. Paragraph 4 answered the same concern as the letter of 2 April 1766, in which the *Rippon* and the *Prince of Wales* were held beyond their ten working days by high surf and their captains protested. Citing the consultation gave the Court dated proof that the *Northumberland* left on time and that no demurrage was owed. Captain Mitford's instructions were the Court's sailing orders to a commander, and a copy on the island let the Council judge what it could properly require of each ship. The China order stood unchanged in 1767, whereas the letter of 2 April 1766 reported small alterations to the order for chinaware.
58	51	that the rotation of their Ships would in future be determined by their§ §arrival in the Downs; the time of the Boats arrival at	The captains were also to be told that the rotation of their ships would in future be settled by their arrival in the Downs. The Council would still enter the time

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		Banks's§ §shall be entered upon our Consultations, and Lists sent in the§ §Packet as usual§ §7 We are sorry the Bale Goods were omitted in the§ §Abstract of the Ship Grenvilles Cargo it must have happened§ §from a mistake in the transcriber through hurry of business, as§ §your Honors will please to observe we sent you three Packets§ §from the 5 to the 10th of June, the day the Grenville sailed§ §8 Our sincerest thanks are due to your Honors for the§ §ample supply of Provisions, and necessarys you are pleased to§ §send Us this Season, which we hope will fully answer all§ §demands§ §9 The Chest of Treasure Consigned to Us by the Earl of§ §Middlesex, we shall forward to your President and Council of§ §Fort Marlborough, the Bills we may receive, and the present§ §state of the Cash which is high, we apprehend will be fully§ §sufficient for the Expences of the Current Year§ §10 We are sorry the particulars of the Laboratory Utensils§ §were not mentioned in our last Years Indent, but we shall give§ §directions to the Captn of the Artillery to particularize the§ §several Articles that shall be wanted for that purpose, which§ §shall be transmitted to your Honors in our Indent of this Year§ §11 When the goodness of the Soldiers Hats and Shoes§ §have been experienced, we shall inform you which of the§ §Tradesmen in our opinions have done you most Justice§ §12 We have given directions to the Surgeon to report to Us§ §the Condition of the medicines he shall from time to time receive on§ §your Account, of which we shall give your Honors due information§ §13 As your Honrs have not thought proper to comply with§ §our Indent of last Year for the 10 Brass Guns, we have Consulted§ §with§	of each boat's arrival at Banks's in the consultations and send the lists in the packet as usual. 7: The Council regretted that the bale goods were left out of the abstract of the *Grenville*'s cargo. A copying error made under pressure of business was the probable cause, since three packets went home between 5 and 10 June, the day the *Grenville* sailed. 8: The Council sincerely thanked the Court for the generous supply of provisions and necessaries sent that season, which it hoped would meet every demand. 9: The chest of treasure consigned to the island by the *Earl of Middlesex* would be sent on to the president and council of Fort Marlborough. The Council judged that the bills it expected to receive, together with the high balance of cash then in hand, would fully cover the expenses of the current year. 10: The Council regretted that the previous year's order did not set out the laboratory utensils in detail. The captain of the artillery would be directed to list each article needed for that purpose, and the list would go home in that year's order. 11: Once the soldiers' hats and shoes were tried in use, the Council would report which of the tradesmen served the Company best. 12: The surgeon received directions to report on the condition of the medicines he received from time to time on the Company's account. The Council promised to pass that information to the Court. 13: The Court chose not to meet the previous year's order for the 10 brass guns, and the Council took advice on the matter. **Interpretations** Paragraph 9 repeated a decision of the previous year with a different destination. A chest of treasure addressed to the island would ordinarily be landed there. The letter of 2 April 1766 reported that the *Plassey*'s chest was instead sent on to Canton, because bill money would meet the island's costs. The receipts recorded since bore that judgement out: £2,042 0s 0d on 12 April 1766, £1,578 16s 0d on 14 July 1766, £1,040 0s 0d on 21 July 1766 and £2,698 0s 0d on 24 March 1767. With the cash balance high, the Council again passed the silver on, this time to Fort Marlborough, the Company's fort and seat of government at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, where coin was needed to buy pepper. The rotation of ships was the order in which vessels were taken into the Company's service for their next voyages. Under the old method a ship's turn was reckoned from the arrival of her boat at Banks's, as the earlier part of this letter showed. The Court moved the reckoning to arrival in the Downs, the anchorage off the coast of Kent where homeward ships ended their passage. A commander therefore gained nothing by racing to the island or hurrying his boat ashore, and the test became the completed voyage. The Council kept recording the boat times all the same, so the series sent home in every packet of 1766 continued unbroken. Paragraph 13 gave the Court's answer to the request reported in the letter of 5 June 1766. The engineer asked for 10 brass guns, and the Council forwarded his written reasons with its own approval while noting that such guns cost far more than iron ones. The Court declined the order. Paragraph 7 answered a complaint about the abstract sent in the packet of 5 June 1766. Bale goods were the cotton and silk cloth packed in bales that formed the most valuable part of a Bengal cargo, so their omission left the Court without advance notice of the chief lading. The Council's excuse rested on dates the Court could check, since packets went by the *Ankerwyke* on 5 June, the *Horsenden* on 8 June and the *Grenville* on 10 June 1766. The laboratory was the artillery workshop where cartridges, fuses, portfires and other ammunition were made up, and its utensils were the measures, moulds,

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			sieves and similar tools of that work. The Court evidently refused to supply them on a general description. Passing the task to the captain of the artillery followed the arrangement reported on 2 April 1766, under which the artillery officers took charge of the ordnance and military stores. Paragraphs 11 and 12 show the Court using the island to check its London suppliers. The Council was to judge the hats and shoes of competing tradesmen after wear, and the surgeon was to report on each consignment of medicines. The same kind of report led to the change of flour contractor that the Council welcomed in the letter of 2 April 1766.
59	52	with the Engineer relative to that article, who is of opinion that the Taring§ §or lackering may preserve the outside surface, but is apprehensive that§ §the penetrating nature of the salt Air will in a course of Years corrode§ §the interior parts, notwithstanding all the precautions that can be used§ §to preserve them, for that reason pointed out having them Brass, as§ §considerably cheaper in the end, should your Honors remain of the§ §same opinion, the Engineer purposes to remove the Guns at Mundens§ §point to Sandy Bay, and will Indent for such Guns as will be§ §necessary for the other Battery§ §14 We have as yet only disposed of one Cable to the Ship§ §Grenville, and one top mast which Capt Court did not deliver, and it§ §was wrote off upon the back of his Bill of Lading, there now§ §remains of those stores the following Articles vizt two Anchors§ §one Cable and three top masts, when any more of those Articles are§ §disposed of, we shall inform you, as you have been pleased to§ §direct§ §15 The Supply's your Honrs sent us the last Season we§ §found fully sufficient to answer all demands, and we flatter§ §ourselves what we receive this Year will likewise do the same, and§ §we shall be able to judge in a couple of Months, whether it will be§ §necessary to continue the measure of Ordering your early Ships to§ §touch at the Cape. The present Years return of Cattle from the§ §Planters, exceeds that of the last 60 Head§ §16 We shall continue the supplying of your Ships with§ §only one Quarter part of the Charter party Beef until your stock§ §is sufficiently increased, and hope the supply we have received§ §from the Cape, will assist us in restoring to a larger quantity; as§ §it suffered much from that unavoidable measure of giving your§ §latter Ships of the Year 1765, two extraordinary Cattle, as to the§ §liberty you have been pleased to permit Us to give the Captains§ §of your Ships this Year, to touch at Ascension, we shall not§ §make§	The Council consulted the engineer about the brass guns that the Court declined to send. He held that tarring or lacquering would protect the outer surface of iron guns. He feared, however, that the penetrating salt air would corrode their inner parts over a period of years, whatever precautions were taken. For that reason he recommended brass as considerably cheaper in the end. If the Court kept to its view, the engineer intended to move the guns at Munden's Point to Sandy Bay and to order whatever guns the other battery then needed. 14: Only two of the stores kept for the Company's ships were so far disposed of. One cable went to the *Grenville*. One topmast was not delivered by Captain Court and was written off on the back of his bill of lading. The following articles remained. Anchors, 2 Cables, 1 Topmasts, 3 The Council promised to report any further disposals, as the Court directed. 15: The supplies sent by the Court the previous season proved fully sufficient for every demand, and the Council trusted that those of the current year would do the same. Within a couple of months it expected to judge whether the Court's early ships still needed to be ordered to call at the Cape. The planters' return of cattle for that year exceeded the previous year's by 60 head. 16: The Council intended to go on supplying the Company's ships with only one quarter of the charterparty beef until the herd grew large enough. The stock received from the Cape would, it hoped, help to restore a larger allowance. The herd suffered badly from the unavoidable step of giving the later ships of 1765 two extra cattle each. The Court also gave leave for the captains of that year's ships to be allowed to call at Ascension. **Interpretations** The first passage reopened a question the Court had closed. The letter of 5 June 1766 forwarded the engineer's request for 10 brass guns, and the Court refused it, as the earlier part of this letter recorded. The Council could have accepted the refusal in silence. It instead sent the engineer's argument a second time, now in terms of cost: iron guns in the island's salt air rusted from the bore outwards, where tar and lacquer could not reach, and so needed replacing, while brass lasted. The fallback he offered made the consequence of refusal concrete, since arming Sandy Bay would mean stripping Munden's Point, the battery on the headland beside the main anchorage, and ordering fresh guns for that position anyway. As before, the technical case and the responsibility were left with the engineer. Paragraph 16 shows the island rationing its obligations to the shipping. Each charterparty entitled a ship to a fixed quantity of fresh beef at the island, and the Council was issuing a quarter of it. The cause was traced to 1765, when the later ships each received two cattle beyond the usual number, and it was compounded by the disease among the breeding stock

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			reported in the letter of 5 March 1767. Against that, the planters' return, the yearly count of cattle in private hands, rose by 60 head, and the *Asia* brought stock from the Cape worth £317 1s 0d. Ordering outward ships to call at the Cape was the Court's remedy for the provisions shortage explained in the letter of 2 April 1766, and the Council's readiness to review it within two months showed that the shortage was easing. Ascension, the uninhabited island to the north-west, offered homeward ships turtle as fresh meat, which relieved the demand on the island's herd. The stores in paragraph 14 were the anchors, cables and other gear that the letter of 2 April 1766 said would be kept for the Company's ships and charged at 30 per cent above invoice. In a year only one cable was sold. Writing the undelivered topmast off on the back of the bill of lading recorded the shortage against Captain Court's own signed cargo list, so that the Court could settle it with the ship's owners in London.
60	53	make use of unless, upon the most urgent occasion and§ §apprehend there will be no necessity for it this Season§ §17 We hope you will always continue your Orders to the§ §Captains for supplying themselves with Fuel in India, for§ §their homeward bound Passage, we likewise hope that they will§ §furnish themselves with salt provisions agreable to your Orders, as§ §we can always ascertain our own Consumption, but cannot that§ §of your homeward bound shipping though we generally make a§ §small allowance for the wants of a few of them, and in case we§ §shall require any more, will purchase of the Commanders, and§ §settle according to your directions§ §18 In our former Letters we fully acquainted your Honors§ §with the advantages of the discovery of Lime Stone, which answers§ §our most sanguine expectations, but during the time of carrying on§ §the Works, we must chiefly appropriate it to that use, which§ §when compleated shall turn it to the profit of the Company, and§ §pay all due attention thereto, and as to the making of Bricks we§ §think it might answer, had we any one conversant in that§ §business, but not having such people, we desist from further§ §experiments as finding it too expensive§ §19 The Slaves received from Africa begin to improve, and§ §we hope will, in a few Years by being inured to the climate, become§ §more serviceable to your Honors, they are treated with humanity, and§ §have received from time to time all proper incouragement§ §20 We are sorry to observe that your Honors have had§ §occasion to find fault, of our not making such observations on the§ §Engineers Letters from time to time, as would have proved more§ §satisfactory to you, but in general, we have thought Capt Mitchell§ §so full and Explicit, as to leave us very little to say, but shall for§ §the future, strictly observe your directions, when ever	The Council undertook to use the leave for captains to call at Ascension only on the most urgent occasion, and expected no need for it that season. 17: The Council hoped the Court would always keep its captains under orders to supply themselves with fuel in India for the homeward passage. It likewise hoped they would provide their own salt provisions, as the Court's orders required. The island could always calculate its own consumption but never that of the homeward shipping. A small allowance was generally made for the needs of a few ships. If more were required, the Council would buy from the commanders and settle with them as the Court directed. 18: Earlier letters fully described the advantages of the discovery of limestone, which met the Council's highest hopes. While the works were in progress, the lime had to be kept chiefly for that use. Once they were finished, the Council promised to turn the limestone to the Company's profit and give it proper attention. Brickmaking, the Council thought, would succeed if the island held anyone skilled in that trade. No such people were available, and further trials were given up as too costly. 19: The slaves received from Africa were beginning to improve. The Council hoped that in a few years, once used to the climate, they would become more useful to the Company. They were treated humanely and were given proper encouragement from time to time. 20: The Council regretted that the Court found fault with it for not commenting on the engineer's letters in a way that would satisfy the Court better. Captain Mitchell was generally so full and explicit that the Council found very little to add. It promised in future to follow the Court's directions strictly whenever anything in those letters called for its judgement. **Interpretations** Paragraph 20 answered a criticism that struck at the Council's habit throughout this correspondence. On the 104 soldiers employed at the works, reported on 2 April 1766, and on the brass guns, forwarded on 5 June 1766 and argued again earlier in this letter, the Council passed on the engineer's reasoning and let the responsibility rest with him. The Court evidently wanted an independent check on its engineer's proposals and spending, and the bare forwarding of his letters did not supply one. The reply conceded the point only in part: it promised comment where something called for it, while maintaining that Captain Mitchell's letters usually left nothing to say. Paragraph 18 closed the brick trials reported in the letter of 2 April 1766, when the engineer was about to make a further attempt. The obvious course for an island paying freight on every building material was to persist until it could make its own. The Council

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		any thing offers in them§ §that may require our Judgment thereon§	abandoned the experiment because no one on the island knew the trade, so each failed firing wasted fuel and labour. Fuel was the scarcest of those, as the letter of 23 September 1766 showed when the stock of coals fell to 1 chaldron and 30 bushels. The limestone was a different case. Burnt into lime, it supplied the mortar for the fortifications, and the promise of later profit pointed to selling lime to the inhabitants once the works no longer absorbed it. Paragraph 17 gave the reasoning behind a request first made on 2 April 1766 and repeated on 23 September 1766. The island's stores were ordered a year ahead against a known population, but the number and wants of the homeward ships could not be forecast. The purchase of 20 casks of salt provisions from Captain Fenner at 2½d a pound, reported on 10 June 1766, was the kind of settlement with commanders that the paragraph described. The slaves in paragraph 19 were those landed from the *Royal George*, whom the Council judged inferior to Madagascar slaves on 2 April 1766 and reported as suffering badly in the winter on 25 July 1766. A year after the twelve-month trial was proposed, the verdict turned cautiously favourable. The encouragement mentioned perhaps meant small rewards or extra allowances, such as the arrack issued to them during the winter of 1766.
61	54	21 We have directed the Store keeper to take out of his Books§ §every article that have been Issued for repairs to the Castle, and shall§ §transmit you the Account as soon as possible. The charges incurred§ §for repairing the Castle &ca was carried to charges General as§ §usual, and we shall be able to collect from the Storekeeper and§ §paymasters Accounts, the whole expence that arose on that occasion,§ §and transmit the same to your Honors, agreable to your Orders we§ §will open a head for repairs upon your General Books of Accounts§ §and carry all Expence of Labour Stores, and Materials in as distinct§ §a manner as possible to that head, and your injunctions to us with§ §respect to the Fortifications being the first Work to be carried on,§ §shall be strictly observed and complyed with§ §22 We have acquainted the late Lieut Bridgwater, with§ §your Orders relative to him, and shall send him to England as§ §soon as he can settle his Affairs, which he informs us will be very§ §soon, all due attention shall be paid to your Orders with respect to§ §carrying on your Works with as small expence to your Honors as§ §possible, and we shall take particular care to see those that are§ §employed as overseers and others, shall not defraud or do injustice§ §to the Soldiers, and Blacks at your Fortifications§ §23 John Robins the Armourer shall be paid the Salary you§ §have been pleased to order, and if we find him a deserving Man§ §and think his allowance too little for the support of himself§ §and Family, shall represent his Case and wait your Honors§ §Orders thereupon§ §24 We have recd 19 Recruits by these Ships, and are much§	21: The storekeeper received directions to extract from his books every article issued for repairs to the Castle. The Council promised to send that account home as soon as possible. The cost of repairing the Castle and other buildings went to general charges, as was usual. The whole expense of that work could nevertheless be gathered from the storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts and would be reported to the Court. As the Court ordered, a head for repairs would be opened in the general books of accounts. All spending on labour, stores and materials would be carried to that head as distinctly as possible. The Council also promised strict compliance with the Court's instruction that the fortifications were the first work to be carried on. 22: The Council told the former Lieutenant Bridgwater of the Court's orders about him. He would be sent to England as soon as he settled his affairs, which he said would be very soon. The Council promised full attention to the Court's orders for carrying on the works at the least possible expense. Particular care would be taken that overseers and others employed there did not cheat or wrong the soldiers and blacks at the fortifications. 23: John Robins, the armourer, would receive the salary the Court ordered. If he proved a deserving man and his allowance seemed too small to support himself and his family, the Council would set out his case and wait for the Court's orders. 24: The ships brought 19 recruits. The Council was much pleased to find so many craftsmen among them, and they appeared in general to be very good men. 25: Mr John Stewart would be allowed to go on in the *Earl of Middlesex* to the Company's presidency of Fort St George. The Council would pay him £21 0s 0d, as the Court directed. **Interpretations** Paragraph 23 shows the Council changing its conduct after a rebuke. The letter of 2 April 1766 defended the raising of John Robinson's salary before the Court's approval, on the ground that a skilled workman would otherwise be lost, and recorded the Court's displeasure. Faced with the same question over the armourer, the Council paid the rate ordered and undertook to apply first and wait, even if the pay proved too little for a man with a family. The slower

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		§pleased to find so many Artificers among them, they appear to be in§ §general very good Men§ §25 Mr John Stewart shall be permitted to proceed upon the§ §Earl of Middlesex, to your Presidency of Fort St George, and we§ §shall pay him the Sum of £21.. as you are pleased to direct§	course was chosen knowingly, with the earlier reasoning set aside. Paragraph 21 extended to repairs the method the Council volunteered for the defences on 2 April 1766, when a separate ledger head was opened for the Sandy Bay fortification. Repairs to the Castle, the seat of government and principal storehouse in the town, were until then merged in general charges, the catch-all account for the island's running costs, where the Court could not see what a single job cost. The Court evidently asked for the figure and found it could not be read from the books. The Council met the past by a special extract from the storekeeper's issues and the paymaster's wages, and the future by a dedicated head. The Court's orders in paragraph 22 followed the general court martial of 10 July 1766, which discharged Lieutenant Bridgwater for cheating the soldiers at Sandy Bay of part of their arrack, as the letter of 25 July 1766 reported. Sending him to England removed a dismissed officer from the island. The promise to watch overseers was the Court's wider lesson from the case, and it covered the blacks as well as the soldiers. The 19 recruits fell well short of the 50 requested in the letter of 5 June 1766. The craftsmen among them answered the engineer's proposal, pressed in the same letter, that men useful in building be sent with the recruits. Fort St George was the Company's fort and seat of government at Madras. Mr Stewart was a passenger continuing outward, and the £21 0s 0d was an advance paid on the Court's order.
62	55	26 We are glad our proceedings with regard to John Bland§ §met with your Honors approbation, if he should behave amiss in§ §future, will take care your Orders for sending him off the Island§ §shall be duly put into execution§ §27 When all the Flour sent us by these ships is§ §received, we will transmit your Honors Certificates in Duplicate§ §by the first opportunity's, agreable to your Orders§ §28 We observe you made Captain Griffin pay £72..§ §for the six Soldiers that deserted from hence in the Admiral§ §Stevens, it gives us pleasure to find your Honors approve of our§ §putting your orders in execution with regard to Ships sailing§ §from hence in the night time, we shall take care to acquaint the§ §Captains not only of the Chartered Ships, but likewise of your own,§ §of the penalty they are liable to in this respect§ §29 With regard to your Injunctions in your 51 Paragraph§ §of your last General Letter, Ordering the Soldiers employed at the§ §Works to be regularly Exercised, we beg leave to observe, in answer to§ §that; that their daily Labour is from six in the morning to six at§ §night, from which we apprehend that we cannot discipline these§ §men in their Military vocation, consistent with that service which§ §they are now employed in: but when compleated will be soon§ §able to discipline them; as they will only require a little practice§ §to regain what they have been taught before, The Recruits are§ §not put to that Labour§ §30 The Reverend Mr Willm Bearcroft shall be paid the§ §Salary &ca you have been pleased to order, and when	26: The Council was glad that its handling of John Bland met with the Court's approval. If he misbehaved in future, the Court's orders for sending him off the island would be carried out. 27: Once all the flour sent by those ships was landed, certificates in duplicate would go home at the first opportunity, as the Court's orders required. 28: The Council noted that the Court made Captain Griffin pay £72 0s 0d for the six soldiers who deserted from the island in the *Admiral Stevens*. It was pleased that the Court approved the way its orders were enforced on ships sailing from the island at night. The captains of the Company's own ships, as well as those of the chartered ships, would be told of the penalty they faced on that score. 29: The fifty-first paragraph of the Court's previous general letter ordered the soldiers employed at the works to be regularly exercised. In answer, the Council explained that their daily labour ran from six in the morning to six at night. Drilling those men as soldiers was therefore thought incompatible with the work they were then doing. Once the works were finished they could soon be brought back into discipline, since a little practice would recover what they were taught before. The recruits were not put to that labour. 30: The Reverend Mr William Bearcroft would receive the salary and allowances the Court ordered. When he paid off his bond for £100 0s 0d, the Council would hand it back to him and report the fact to the Court, as directed. 31: The Council granted bills of exchange, among them one set to Daniel Corneille for £100 0s 0d. **Interpretations** Paragraph 29 records an order openly not carried out. The Court required the soldiers on the fortifications to be exercised regularly, and the plain course was to set aside hours for drill. The Council declined, pointing to a working day of twelve hours that left no time for it, and offered instead to restore their training once the works ended. The reply showed the cost of the decision reported on 2 April 1766 to put 104 soldiers to labour: the greater part of the garrison was serving as workmen and not as troops.

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		he§ §discharges his Bond for £100.. we shall deliver it up to§ §him, and duly advise your Honors thereof, agreeable to your§ §directions§ §31 We have Granted the following Bills of exchange§ §vizt one set to Danl Corneille Esqr for £100.. payable to§ §Christr§	The remark that the recruits were kept from that labour met the Court's concern in part, since the 19 new men reported earlier in this letter were being trained as soldiers first. The £72 0s 0d in paragraph 28 came to £12 0s 0d for each deserter, a penalty charged to the commander in whose ship the men escaped. It was meant to cover the cost of raising and sending out a replacement, and it made the captain answerable for stowaways whether or not he knew of them. Sailing at night was the usual means of getting such men away unseen, which is why the Court's orders dealt with night departures. The *Admiral Stevens* was one of the ships whose packet receipts were listed on 2 April 1766. The rule bore on cases like the soldier hidden in Captain Barkley's ship, reported on 23 September 1766. Mr Bearcroft was the chaplain sent to replace Mr Thackeray, who gave notice on 4 May 1766 that he would leave in April 1767. The year's warning therefore worked as intended, and the island was not left without a clergyman. His bond for £100 0s 0d was perhaps security for money advanced to him in London for his outfit and passage, to be cancelled once he repaid it on the island. John Bland was the man whose return the Council regretted on 2 April 1766, when it accused him of buying up the private trade and lowering the value of the local coin. The Court's approval left the conditional order for his removal standing.
63	56	Christr Baron Esqr and one set to Mr Robt Barclay for§ §£123.12.6 payable to Mr John Manley, both drawn at 90§ §days sight, and dated the 6th instant§ §32 On the 30th of last Month, arrived your Ship Speke,§ §and the 6th instant the Duke of Cumberland, both from China§ §and the 9th your ship Earl of Middlesex from England, by§ §which opportunity we recd a Packet from your Honors, which§ §we opened and read§ §33 The 1st of this month arrived a Dane Ship from§ §China called the Fredensborg Pallace Captn Swane burthen§ §800 Tons Carrys 26 Guns and 160 Men loaden with Tea§ §and China Ware, bound to Copenhagen§ §34 Mr Richd Dawson is the only passenger on the Speke§ §and Capt Paul Neidrick on board the Duke of Cumberland§ §35. We cannot transmit you by this opportunity a Cash§ §Account to a later date than a Duplicate of the last, as the§ §Quarters Accounts will not be laid before us until the 20th§ §Instant§ §36. This day arrived your Honrs Ship Hampshire from§ §China, Captn Smith acquaints Us he spoke with the Lord§ §Camden the 10th of last Month in the Latitude of 27 South. Mr§ §[Pauk] & General Caliaud were on board that ship§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §11 April 1767§	The bills granted in paragraph 31 were both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the 6th of that month. One set to Daniel Corneille, payable to Christopher Baron, £100 0s 0d One set to Mr Robert Barclay, payable to Mr John Manley, £128 12s 6d 32: The Company's ship *Speke* arrived on the 30th of the previous month. The *Duke of Cumberland* followed on the 6th of that month, and both came from China. The *Earl of Middlesex* arrived from England on the 9th. She brought a packet from the Court, which the Council opened and read. 33: A Danish ship from China called the *Fredensborg Palace*, under Captain Swane, arrived on the 4th of that month. She was of 800 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 160 men. Her cargo was tea and chinaware, and she was bound for Copenhagen. 34: Mr Richard Dawson was the only passenger in the *Speke*, and Captain Paul Neidrick travelled on board the *Duke of Cumberland*. 35: The quarter's accounts would not come before the Council until the 20th of that month. No cash account of a later date could therefore go by that opportunity, only a duplicate of the earlier one. 36: The Company's ship *Hampshire* arrived from China on the day of the letter. Captain Smith reported speaking with the *Lord Camden* on the 10th of the previous month in latitude 27 degrees south. Mr Pauk and General Caillaud were on board that ship. The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 April 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Daniel Corneille's bill repeated an arrangement of the previous year. The letter of 2 April 1766 recorded that he paid £80 0s 0d into the Company's cash for a bill payable to Christopher Baron, and here he sent £100 0s 0d to the same man. A member of the Council was therefore making a regular yearly remittance to one correspondent in England through the treasury he helped to manage, as Governor Skottowe did with his two bills payable to Robert Wood in 1766.

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			Paragraph 35 confirmed the quarterly rhythm of the cash accounts. The letters of 2 April 1766 and 7 July 1766 each explained that the quarter's accounts would not be read until the 21st of the month, and here the date was the 20th. A ship sailing in the first weeks of a quarter always carried only a copy of the earlier account. The *Fredensborg Palace* was the single Danish ship counted at Canton in the letter of 26 March 1767. The *Speke* and the *Duke of Cumberland* were two of the ships that left Canton with the *Prince of Wales* on 19 December 1766, as that letter also reported, so they reached the island one to two weeks behind her.
64	57	List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Speke dated the 11th April 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 11th Apl 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 26 March Do§ §3 Consultations from the 30th March to 9th April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 9 to 24 March Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royal Charlotte§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Asia§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Royal Charlotte§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Rolls of Do§ §10 Duplicate Cash Acct from the 6th to 26th March 1767§ §11 Ship Speke's Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship Royal Charlottes Acct§ §13 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §14 Do Cruttendens Do§ §15 Time of the arrivl of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Speke Havannah and§ §Duke of Cumberland§ §17 Proceedings of a General Court Martial held for the Tryal§ §of Captn Richd Beale the 23d March 1767§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §1 We Addressed your Honors the 11th instant by the§ §Ship Speke§ §2 Yesterday Arrived the Deptford from China, last§ §from§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 11 April 1767 and sent by the *Speke*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 April 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 March 1767 3: The consultations from 30 March to 9 April 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 9 to 24 March 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Royal Charlotte* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Asia* 7: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Royal Charlotte* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: The muster rolls of the garrison 10: A duplicate cash account from 6 to 26 March 1767 11: The account of the *Speke* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Royal Charlotte* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Prince of Wales* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Cruttenden* 15: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 16: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Speke*, *Havannah* and *Duke of Cumberland* 17: The proceedings of a general court martial held on 23 March 1767 for the trial of Captain Richard Beale The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 11th of that month, sending that letter by the *Speke*. 2: The *Deptford* arrived from China the day before the letter. **Interpretations** Item 17 recorded the trial of a captain by general court martial, a matter on which the letters of 26 March 1767 and 11 April 1767 were silent. The only earlier trial of an officer in this correspondence, that of Lieutenant Bridgwater on 10 July 1766, was reported in the general letter of 25 July 1766 with its charge and sentence. Here the proceedings went home as a bare enclosure. A general court martial was the only tribunal that could try a commissioned officer, and sending the full record let the Court confirm or set aside whatever sentence was passed. A Mr Beale was named in the letter of 2 April 1766 as an old and faithful servant on whose behalf the Council applied to the Court, though nothing on the page shows whether he was the same man. Item 15 showed the boat times still being sent after the Court ended their use for taking up ships, as the Council promised in the letter of 11 April 1767. Item 10 was the duplicate cash account that the same letter said was all that could go before the quarter's accounts were read on 20 April. The abstract at item 16 included the *Havannah*, a ship whose arrival none of the letters reported. Captain

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			Payne met her in the Strait of Banca in June or July 1766, as the letter of 3 November 1766 recorded.
65	58	from the Cape, Captain Tryon acquaints Us that your Ship§ §Hector sailed from the Cape a few days before he arrived there, and§ §the Triton two days after§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt & humbe Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §14 April 1767§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Havannah dated 14 Apl 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 14th Apl 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 11th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 13th Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 30th March to 9th Do Do§ §5 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Speke§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Royal Charlotte§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Speke§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Havannahs Account§ §10 Duplicate Ship Spekes Do§ §11 Time of the arrival of the Hampshire's Boat at Banks's§ §12 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ship Hampshire and Deptford§ §13 List of Officers and Servants taken 14th April 1767.§	The *Deptford* came last from the Cape. Captain Tryon reported that the Company's ship *Hector* sailed from the Cape a few days before he arrived there, and that the *Triton* left two days after. The letter was dated at St Helena on 14 April 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 14 April 1767 and sent by the *Havannah*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 April 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 April 1767 3: The consultation of 13 April 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 30 March to 9 April 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Speke* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Royal Charlotte* 7: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Speke* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: The account of the *Havannah* 10: A duplicate of the account of the *Speke* 11: The time at which the boat of the *Hampshire* arrived at Banks's 12: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Hampshire* and *Deptford* 13: A list of officers and servants taken on 14 April 1767 **Interpretations** The *Deptford* was one of the ships that left Canton with the *Prince of Wales* on 19 December 1766, as the letter of 26 March 1767 reported. She alone of that group was recorded as calling at the Cape, which explains why she reached the island some three weeks behind the *Prince of Wales*. The packet carried no cash account at all. The letter of 11 April 1767 explained that the quarter's accounts would not come before the Council until 20 April, and the duplicate of the earlier account already went by the *Speke* three days before.
66	59	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on your Honors the 14th instant§ §by the Ship Havannah§ §2 We have given Capt Smith a permit to receive on§ §board the Hampshire Richd Jones and James Hendry, two discharged§ §Soldiers, they having signed an Instrument that they will not demand§ §any Wages for their passage home, which goes enclosed§ §3 Mr Matthew Bazett applied to us to pay £190.12§ §into your Honors Cash, which we have received and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum, payable to Capt Robt Brooke§ §or order, drawn at 90 Days sight, and dated the 18 instant§ §4 Yesterday arrived your Ship Fox from China§ §5 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Deptford which§ §sails in company with the Hampshire§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Havannah* and was dated the 14th of that month. 2: Captain Smith received a permit to take two discharged soldiers, Richard Jones and James Hendry, on board the *Hampshire*. Both men signed an undertaking not to claim any wages for the passage home, and that document went enclosed with the letter. 3: Mr Matthew Bazett applied to pay £190 12s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 18th of that month. They were payable to Captain Robert Brooke or to his order and drawn at 90 days' sight. 4: The Company's ship *Fox* arrived from China the day before the letter. 5: The letter went to the Court by the *Deptford*, which sailed in company with the *Hampshire*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 19 April 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations**

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		§Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §19 April 1767§	Paragraph 2 departed from the practice followed all through 1766. Discharged soldiers were then placed in homeward ships by an order to the commander, towards making up the crew, and they worked their passage as hands. Jones and Hendry instead went by permit and signed away any claim to wages. The only earlier use of such an undertaking was for the six invalids sent in the *Duke of Richmond* on 4 April 1766, who travelled as passengers at £5 0s 0d a man. No passage money was mentioned here, so the two men perhaps travelled as supernumeraries whom the ship did not need as crew. The waiver protected the owners from a wage claim on arrival in England, and the enclosed document gave the Court proof of it.
67	60	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Deptford dated 19 April 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils Genl Letter dated 19th April 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 14th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 18 April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 13th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Havannah§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Speke§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Havannah§ §8 List of two discharged Soldiers§ §9 Instrument in writing from two Do§ §10 Effective state of the Garrison§ §11 Time of the arrival of the Deptfords Boat at Banks's§ §12 Ship Deptfords Acct§ §13 Do Hampshire's Do§ §14 Duplicate Ship Havannahs Account§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Address waited on your Hrs the 19th§ §instant, by the Ship Deptford.§ §2 On the 20th of this Month arrived a Dutch§ §Ship from Ceylon, called the General [...] Capt Anderson§ §burthen about 700 Tons, carrys 24 Guns, & 100 men§ §Loaden with Spice, bound to Middlebourg§ §3 The 21st instant arrived your Ship Glatton§ §from China, & the 22 the Lord Camden from Madrass§ §which Place Capt Smith acquaints Us he left§ §the 26 of Jany last§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 19 April 1767 and sent by the *Deptford*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 April 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 April 1767 3: The consultation of 18 April 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultation of 13 April 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Havannah* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Speke* 7: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Havannah* 8: A list of 2 discharged soldiers 9: The written undertaking signed by the 2 discharged soldiers 10: The effective state of the garrison 11: The time at which the boat of the *Deptford* arrived at Banks's 12: The account of the *Deptford* 13: The account of the *Hampshire* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Havannah* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Deptford* and was dated the 19th of that month. 2: A Dutch ship from Ceylon called the *General Gouverneur* [...], under Captain Anderson, arrived on the 20th of that month. She was of about 700 tons burthen and carried 24 guns and 100 men. Her cargo was spice, and she was bound for Middelburg. 3: The Company's ship *Glatton* arrived from China on the 21st of that month. The *Lord Camden* came in from Madras on the 22nd, and Captain Smith reported leaving that place on 26 January. **Interpretations** Items 8 and 9 were the papers for Richard Jones and James Hendry, the two discharged soldiers given a permit for the *Hampshire* in the letter of 19 April 1767. The list let the Court strike them from the garrison's pay, and the undertaking was their signed waiver of wages for the passage home. The Dutch ship's cargo of spice from Ceylon was chiefly cinnamon, of which the Dutch company held the monopoly through its settlements on that island's coast. Middelburg was the seat of the Zeeland chamber of that company, one of the bodies that fitted out and received its ships, which is why she was not bound for Amsterdam like the two Dutch ships reported on 16 July 1766 and 26 March 1767. The *Lord Camden* was the ship that Captain Smith of the *Hampshire* spoke with on 10 March in latitude 27 degrees south, as the letter of 11 April 1767 recorded. She reached the island 11 days after the *Hampshire*.
68	61	4 The Passengers on board the Lord Camden§ §are Mr & Mrs Palk & General Caillaud§ §5 The Govr hath paid £400 into your§ §Cash, which we have received, & given him Bills§	4: The passengers on board the *Lord Camden* were: Mr Palk Mrs Palk General Caillaud

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		§drawn on your Hrs for that Sum, payable to Robt§ §Wood Esqr, 90 Days after sight dated 22 instant§ §6 Capt John Mitford having wrote to Us§ §the 20th instant to receive into your Hrs Cash the Sum§ §of £1650 & grant him Certificates for the same,§ §we have agreeable to the 75 Paragraph of his§ §instructions received the above Sum, & gave him§ §Certificates accordingly, having first sworn him§ §that this Money was the produce of his outward§ §bound investment§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humble Servts§ §(Signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §26th April 1767.§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St§ §Helena P Ship Fox dated the 26th April 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Council General Letter dated 26th Apl 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 19th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from 20th to 22d Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 18th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Deptford§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Havannah§	5: Governor Skottowe paid £400 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 22nd of that month. They were payable to Robert Wood 90 days after sight. 6: Captain John Mitford wrote to the Council on the 20th of that month, asking to pay £1,650 0s 0d into the Company's cash and to be given certificates for it. The Council took the money under the seventy-fifth paragraph of his instructions and issued the certificates. Before doing so, it put him on oath that the money was the proceeds of his outward-bound investment. The letter was dated at St Helena on 26 April 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 26 April 1767 and sent by the *Fox*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 April 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 April 1767 3: The consultations from 20 to 22 April 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultation of 18 April 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Deptford* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Havannah* **Interpretations** Paragraph 6 records a payment handled differently from every other in this correspondence. Residents and commanders who paid coin into the treasury ordinarily received bills of exchange, as the Governor did in the paragraph before. Captain Mitford asked for certificates instead, and the Council granted them only after two checks: it cited the paragraph of his instructions that allowed the transaction, and it made him swear to the origin of the money. The outward-bound investment was the stock of goods a commander was permitted to carry from England on his own account and sell abroad. The oath confined the privilege to the proceeds of that licensed trade, so that the Company's treasury could not be used to send home money from any other source. A certificate was a receipt for money paid in, which the holder presented in London for repayment under the terms the Court set for its commanders. Captain Mitford commanded an outward ship, the copy of whose instructions the Council kept for its guidance, as the letter of 11 April 1767 recorded. That copy let the Council verify the paragraph he relied on. The sum of £1,650 0s 0d was the largest single payment into the treasury in this correspondence, above the £1,578 16s 0d from Mr Greentree on 14 July 1766 and the £1,500 0s 0d from Captain Clements on 24 March 1767. It added to the high cash balance that led the Council, in the letter of 11 April 1767, to send the *Earl of Middlesex*'s chest of treasure on to Fort Marlborough. The Governor's bill was his third payable to Robert Wood, after £300 0s 0d on 9 April 1766 and £205 4s 0d on 3 November 1766. Mr Palk and General Caillaud were the passengers whom Captain Smith of the *Hampshire* reported on board the *Lord Camden*, in the letter of 11 April 1767. The clerk dated the packet list 26 April 1766, although the letter it accompanied and the first item on the list both belonged to 26 April 1767. The later year was perhaps intended.
69	62	No 7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Deptford§ §9 Cash Account from 27th to 31st March 1767§ §10 Do Do from 1st to 26th April Do§	The packet list for the *Fox* continued with these further items. 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Deptford*

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		§11 Ship Foxes Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship Deptfords Do§ §13 Do Hampshire Do§ §14 Time of the arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §15 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Glatton Lord§ §Camden & Fox§ §16 Ship Northumberlands Account§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We wrote to your Honors the 26th of last Month§ §by the Ship Fox§ §2 On the 3 instant Arrived your Ships Lioness and§ §Duke of Kingston from China, Captn Larkins acquaints Us he§ §left Canton the 5th February and your Honors Ship Hawke there,§ §she was to sail about a week after, he likewise informs Us he§ §saw the Neptune the 23 February going into Princes Island§ §Capt Morrison tells us he parted Company with the Earl of§ §Ashburnham the 6th of March in the Latitude of 14 South§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One Set to Danl Corneille Esqr for £22.3 payable to Mr§ §Lawrence [Dwire] and one set to Mr Richd Goodwin for £39.10§ §payable to Capt Wm Tryon both drawn at 90 Days sight and§ §dated the 4th instant§	9: The cash account from 27 to 31 March 1767 10: The cash account from 1 to 26 April 1767 11: The account of the *Fox* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Deptford* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Hampshire* 14: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 15: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Glatton*, *Lord Camden* and *Fox* 16: The account of the *Northumberland* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 26th of the previous month, sending that letter by the *Fox*. 2: The Company's ships *Princess* [...] and *Duke of Kingston* arrived from China on the 3rd of that month. Captain Larkins reported leaving Canton on 5 February, when the Company's ship *Hawke* still lay there and was due to sail about a week later. He saw the *Neptune* going into Princes Island on 23 February. Captain Morrison reported parting company with the *Earl of Ashburnham* on 6 March in latitude 14 degrees south. 3: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the 4th of that month. One set to Daniel Corneille, payable to Mr Lawrence [...], £22 3s 0d One set to Mr Richard Goodwin, payable to Captain William Tryon, £39 10s 0d **Interpretations** Items 9 and 10 closed the gap announced in the letter of 11 April 1767, which warned that the quarter's accounts would not come before the Council until 20 April. The earlier account ended on 26 March 1767, so a short account for the last five days of March completed the quarter and a new one opened the next. The same division was made on 25 July 1766, when a separate account for 30 June closed the preceding quarter. The account of the *Northumberland* at item 16 belonged to an outward ship. She arrived from England on 23 March 1767 and was dispatched when her ten working days ran out, as the letter of 11 April 1767 recorded. No homeward packet was open to carry her account at once, so it went with the papers of the China ships. Mr Goodwin's bill was payable to Captain Tryon of the *Deptford*, who sailed on 19 April 1767. A resident paid the money into the treasury after the ship left, and the bill followed the captain home, which settled a debt for goods bought from him during his stay. The bill granted to Mr Doveton in favour of Captain Marter on 7 June 1766 worked in the same way.
70	63	4 John Pinchback Seaman who was detained here out of§ §the Ship Asia to take his Tryal for the Death of Captain§ §Inglis and is going to England on board the Lord Camden§ §having no money to pay the Fees of the Clerk of the Peace§ §amounting to £..19.2. we have paid the same out of your§ §Cash and take this opportunity to acquaint your Honors of it,§ §that it may be stopped out of his Wages due to him from the§ §Owners of the Ship Asia.§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servts§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§	4: John Pinchback was the seaman kept on the island out of the *Asia* to stand trial for the death of Captain Inglis. He was then going to England on board the *Lord Camden*. He held no money to pay the fees of the clerk of the peace, which came to £0 19s 2d. The Council paid that sum out of the Company's cash and reported it to the Court, so that it could be stopped from the wages owed to him by the owners of the *Asia*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 6 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 6 May 1767 and sent by the *Glatton*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 6 May 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 April 1767 3: The consultations from 27 April to 4 May 1767

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		§Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §6th May 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Glatton dated the 6 May 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 6th May 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 26 April Do§ §3 Consultations from 27 April to 4 May Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 20 to 22 April. Do§ §5 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Fox§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Deptford§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 6th May 1767§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Fox§	4: A duplicate of the consultations from 20 to 22 April 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Fox* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Deptford* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A list of officers and servants taken on 6 May 1767 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Fox* **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 gave the outcome of the case reported in the letter of 5 March 1767, though only by implication. Pinchback was then in gaol awaiting the quarterly sessions after Captain Inglis fell on the rocks at the crane and died of a fractured skull. A man convicted of murder would not have been sailing home as a seaman two months later, so the court perhaps acquitted him or found a lesser offence already purged by his confinement. The detail the Council stressed in March, that the captain raised his cane first and that Pinchback only seized it, pointed the same way. The fees show how the island's court was paid for. The clerk of the peace, the officer who kept the records of the sessions, was entitled to charges from the accused for the paperwork of the trial, and they were owed even by a man who went free. Pinchback could not pay because his ship sailed on 5 March 1767 with his wages still on her books. The Council could have held him until the debt was met or written the sum off. It advanced the money and asked the Court to recover it in London from the owners of the *Asia*, who owed him his pay up to the day he was taken out of the ship. That course cleared him from the island at no final cost to the Company.
71	64	10 Cash Account from 27th to 30th April 1767§ §11 Do from 1st to 6th May Do§ §12 Duplicate Do from 27th to 31st March Do§ §13 Do Do from 1 to 26 April Do§ §14 Ship Glattons Account§ §15 Earl of Middlesex's Do§ §16 Duplicate Ship Foxes Do§ §17 Do Ship Northumberlands Do§ §18 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Lioness and Duke of Kingston§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §1 Our last advices waited on your Honors the 6th§ §instant by your Ship Glatton§ §2 On the 8 of this Month arrived the Earl of Ashburnham§ §from China§ §3 The Reverend Mr John Thackeray takes his passage§ §for England upon the Ship Duke of Cumberland, we have continued§ §his Salary &ca to the time of his leaving the Island as was§ §done by his predecessor Mr Lee, the late Lieut Bridgwater§ §likewise proceeds to England upon the aforesaid Ship§ §4 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Ld Camden§ §which§	The packet list for the *Glatton* continued with these further items. 10: The cash account from 27 to 30 April 1767 11: The cash account from 1 to 6 May 1767 12: A duplicate cash account from 27 to 31 March 1767 13: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 26 April 1767 14: The account of the *Glatton* 15: The account of the *Earl of Middlesex* 16: A duplicate of the account of the *Fox* 17: A duplicate of the account of the *Northumberland* 18: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 19: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Lioness* and *Duke of Kingston* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous news went to the Court by the *Glatton* in a letter dated the 6th of that month. 2: The *Earl of Ashburnham* arrived from China on the 8th of that month. 3: The Reverend Mr John Thackeray took his passage for England in the *Duke of Cumberland*. The Council continued his salary and allowances up to the time he left the island, as was done for his predecessor, Mr Lee. The former Lieutenant Bridgwater also went to England in that ship. 4: The letter went to the Court by the *Lord Camden*. **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 settled a question of pay by precedent. Mr Thackeray gave notice on 4 May 1766 that he would leave the service at the first opportunity in April 1767, and his successor, Mr Bearcroft, was already provided for in the letter of 11 April 1767. The Council could have stopped the outgoing chaplain's salary from the date of his notice or from his successor's arrival. It paid him until he sailed and cited the treatment of Mr Lee, so that the Court could see the payment rested on an earlier case and not on favour. That care matched

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			the caution shown over the armourer's salary in the letter of 11 April 1767, after the Court's rebuke over John Robinson. Bridgwater's departure carried out the Court's orders reported in the letter of 11 April 1767, when he asked for time to settle his affairs. He was discharged by the general court martial of 10 July 1766 for cheating the soldiers at Sandy Bay of part of their arrack. The *Earl of Ashburnham* was the ship from which Captain Morrison parted on 6 March in latitude 14 degrees south, as the letter of 6 May 1767 recorded. Item 19 named the *Lioness* beside the *Duke of Kingston*, which identifies her as the ship that arrived with the *Duke of Kingston* from China on 3 May 1767. The account of the *Earl of Middlesex* at item 15 belonged to an outward ship, sent home with the China ships' papers as the account of the *Northumberland* was on 26 April 1767.
72	65	which sails from hence with the Duke of Cumberland and§ §Lioness§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §10th May 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena P§ §Ship Lord Camden dated 10th May 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 10th May 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 6th Do Do§ §3 Do Consultations from 27 April to 4th Do Do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Glatton§ §5 Second Do for Do P Ship Fox§ §6 Effective state of the Garrison§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Glatton§ §8 Cash Account from 7 to 10th May 1767§ §9 Duplicate Do from 27 to 30th April Do§ §10 Do Do from 1 to 6th May Do§ §11 Ship Lord Camdens Acct§ §12 Do Lioness's Do§ §13 Do Duke of Cumberlands Do§ §14 Duplicate Ship Glattons Do§ §15 Do Do Earl of Middlesexes Do§	The *Lord Camden* sailed from the island with the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Lioness*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 10 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 10 May 1767 and sent by the *Lord Camden*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 May 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 6 May 1767 3: A duplicate of the consultations from 27 April to 4 May 1767 4: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Glatton* 5: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Fox* 6: The effective state of the garrison 7: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Glatton* 8: The cash account from 7 to 10 May 1767 9: A duplicate cash account from 27 to 30 April 1767 10: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 6 May 1767 11: The account of the *Lord Camden* 12: The account of the *Lioness* 13: The account of the *Duke of Cumberland* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Glatton* 15: A duplicate of the account of the *Earl of Middlesex* **Interpretations** The packet held no new consultations, only the duplicate at item 3 of those sent by the *Glatton* on 6 May 1767. The Council evidently did not sit in the four days between the two sailings, so the letter of 10 May 1767 and the short cash account at item 8 were the only fresh record of that interval. The *Duke of Cumberland* arrived on 6 April 1767 and sailed more than a month later, well beyond the stay of the other China ships of that season. She carried home Mr Thackeray and the former Lieutenant Bridgwater, as the letter of 10 May 1767 reported.
73	66	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors last by the Lord Camden§ §which sailed from hence the 11 of this Month in Company with§ §your Ships Lioness and Duke of Cumberland§ §2 On the 11th instant arrived a swede Ship from China called§ §the Stockholm Slot Captn Ekeberg burthen about 900	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Lord Camden*. That ship sailed from the island on the 11th of that month in company with the Company's ships *Lioness* and *Duke of Cumberland*. 2: A Swedish ship from China called the *Stockholm Slott*, under Captain Ekeberg, arrived on the 11th of that month. She was of about 900 tons burthen and

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		Tons carry's§ §30 Guns and 160 Men loaden with Tea and China Ware bound§ §to Gottenbourg, The same Day arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia§ §called the [...] Capt [Hamlo] burthen about 700 Tons§ §Carry's 26 Guns and 100 Men loaden with Coffee Tea & Spice§ §bound to Amsterdam, The 13th instant arrived a Dutch Ship from§ §China called the Bartha Petronella Captn [Coopstad] burthen about§ §700 Tons Carry's 26 Guns and 100 Men loaden with Tea and China§ §Ware bound to Horn, The next Day arrived another dutch ship§ §from Batavia called the [Snoke] Capt Hendrick burthen about§ §700 Tons carry's 26 Guns and 100 Men loaden with Coffee§ §Tea and Spice bound to Zeland§ §3 On the 12th instant arrived your Honors Ship Plassey§ §last from Bencoolen§ §4 The Passengers on board the Plassey are Messrs§ §Idle and Nicholson§ §5 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One set to Captn Thos Kirkpatrick for £420.. payable§ §to Capt Richd Morrison, and one set to Mr Mattw Bazett§ §for £151.. payable to Capt Willm Larkins both drawn at§ §90§	carried 30 guns and 160 men. Her cargo was tea and chinaware, and she was bound for Gothenburg. A Dutch ship from Batavia called the *Hanswell* [...], under Captain Hamlo, came in the same day. She was of about 700 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 100 men. Her cargo was coffee, tea and spice, and she was bound for Amsterdam. Another Dutch ship, the *Bartha Petronella* under Captain Coopstad, arrived from China on the 13th. She was of about 700 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 100 men. Her cargo was tea and chinaware, and she was bound for Hoorn. A further Dutch ship from Batavia called the *Snoke*, under Captain Hendrick, arrived the next day. She was of about 700 tons burthen and carried 26 guns and 100 men. Her cargo was coffee, tea and spice, and she was bound for Zeeland. 3: The Company's ship *Plassey* arrived on the 12th of that month, last from Bencoolen. 4: The passengers on board the *Plassey* were Mr Idle and Mr Nicholson. 5: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight. One set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, payable to Captain Richard Morrison, £420 0s 0d One set to Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to Captain William Larkins, £151 0s 0d **Interpretations** Four foreign ships anchored within four days, three of them Dutch. The destinations named for the Dutch vessels, Amsterdam, Hoorn and Zeeland, were three of the regional chambers into which the Dutch company was divided, each of which fitted out and received its own ships. The same division explained why the spice ship from Ceylon reported on 26 April 1767 was bound for Middelburg. The *Bartha Petronella* was a second of the four Dutch ships counted at Canton in the letter of 26 March 1767, after the *Young Thomas*, and the *Stockholm Slott* was the single Swedish ship in that count. Coffee in the Batavia cargoes came from the plantations of Java, which competed in Europe with the Mocha coffee that the letter of 26 March 1767 reported as threatened by disturbances. The *Plassey* left Canton with the *Prince of Wales* on 19 December 1766 under orders to call at Bencoolen, as the letter of 26 March 1767 recorded. That detour for pepper explains her arrival some seven weeks behind her consort. She was the ship that carried the chest of treasure forwarded to Canton in April 1766. Both bills were payable to commanders already at sea. Captain Morrison and Captain Larkins arrived from China on 3 May 1767, and the money owed to them was paid into the treasury by a member of the Council and a resident after they left. The bills therefore settled purchases made from the two captains' private trade, as Mr Goodwin's bill in favour of Captain Tryon did on 4 May 1767.
74	67	90 Days sight and dated the 16th instant§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §17th May 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Duke of Kingston dated 17th May 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 17th May 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 10th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from 11th to 16th Do Do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Lord Camden§	The two bills of exchange granted in paragraph 5 were dated the 16th of that month. The letter was dated at St Helena on 17 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 17 May 1767 and sent by the *Duke of Kingston*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 May 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 May 1767 3: The consultations from 11 to 16 May 1767 4: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Camden*

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		§5 Second Do for Do P Ship Glatton§ §6 Effective state of the Garrison§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 17th May 1767§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Lord Camden§ §9 Cash Account from 11th to 17th May 1767§ §10 Duplicate Do from 7th to 10th Do Do§ §11 Ship Duke of Kingstons Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship Lord Camdens Do§ §13 Do Do Lioness Do§ §14 Do Do Duke of Cumberlands Do§ §15 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships El of Ashburnham & Plassey§ §16 Time of the arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§	5: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Glatton* 6: The effective state of the garrison 7: A list of officers and servants taken on 17 May 1767 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Lord Camden* 9: The cash account from 11 to 17 May 1767 10: A duplicate cash account from 7 to 10 May 1767 11: The account of the *Duke of Kingston* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Lord Camden* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Lioness* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Duke of Cumberland* 15: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Earl of Ashburnham* and *Plassey* 16: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's **Interpretations** The letter of 10 May 1767 gave the sailing of the *Lord Camden* as that day's conveyance, while the letter of 17 May 1767 placed her departure on the 11th. Her packet was therefore closed and dated a day before she left the road, as happened with the *Dutton* on 12 April 1766.
75	68	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to your Honors Yesterday by the Duke of§ §Kingston, but as that Ship did not sail, we take this§ §opportunity to acquaint you, that last Night about ten§ §o'Clock, arrived the Britannia's and Speakers Boats, the§ §officer of the Britannia informs Us that Lord Clive, General§ §Carnac Major Champion with several other Gentlemen were§ §on board and that his Lordship is in good health; Mr§ §Crommelin with some other Passengers are upon the Speaker§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt & humbe Servants.§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §18 May 1767§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Address waited on your Honors the 18th§ §instant§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. The Council wrote to the Court the day before by the *Duke of Kingston*. That ship did not sail, so a further report was added. The boats of the *Britannia* and the *Speaker* arrived about ten o'clock the night before. The officer of the *Britannia* reported that Lord Clive, General Carnac, Major Champion and several other gentlemen were on board, and that Lord Clive was in good health. Mr Crommelin and some other passengers travelled in the *Speaker*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 18 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter to the Court was dated the 18th of that month. **Interpretations** The *Duke of Kingston*'s packet was closed on 17 May 1767, and the Council could have left the news for the next ship. Her delay gave it the chance to add a short supplementary letter, as it did on 11 June 1766 when the *Kent*'s boat arrived after the *Grenville*'s packet was sealed. The news here was weightier. Lord Clive was the Governor of Bengal, and the letter of 26 March 1767 reported that he and General Carnac were to leave Bengal in the *Britannia* at the beginning of February. Word of his approach and of his health reached the Court by a ship sailing ahead of him, which gave the directors early notice of the return of the head of their largest presidency. The report came from the ships' boats and not from the ships themselves. A boat was sent ahead to Banks's to identify each vessel before she came into the road, so the Council learned the passengers' names from the officer in the boat some hours before the *Britannia* anchored.
76	69	instant, by the Duke of Kingston, when we informed you, of the§ §arrival of your Ships Britannia and Speaker, Captain Rous§ §acquaints us he left Bengal the 1st of February and your Ships§ §Nottingham, Duke of Albany, Pigot and Anson there,	The Council's letter of the 18th went by the *Duke of Kingston* and reported the arrival of the Company's ships *Britannia* and *Speaker*. Captain Rous reported leaving Bengal on 1 February, when the Company's ships *Nottingham*, *Duke of Albany*, *Pigot* and *Anson* lay there. The last two were to complete their cargoes at Madras. Captain Dewar reported sailing from Bombay

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		the§ §two latter were to fill up at Madrass, Captain Dewar informs§ §us he sailed from Bombay the 27 Jany and left your Ship§ §Calcutta there, he further acquaints us that he met with the§ §Devonshire the 7 February off Mangulore on the Coast of Malabar§ §all well on board, we are likewise told, that the Houghton and§ §Latham had been at the Cape and sailed from thence the 12th of§ §last Month§ §2 The Passengers on board the Britannia are§ §Lord Clive, General Carnac and Lady, Colonel Champion,§ §and Messrs Maskelyn, Strachey, Ingham and Captn Carnac§ §and on board the Speaker Mr Crommelin Captains Hamilton§ §and Duffield Mrs [Healing] Mrs Page and Miss [Evells]§ §3 Captn Thos Pearce applied to us to pay £500..§ §into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or§ §order 90 Days after sight dated ye 12 instant§ §4 On the 11 of this Month, we gave Captain Mitchell§ §an order to examine the Guns upon the saluting Curtain, and§ §make a report to us of their condition; In consequence of which,§ §he informs us he shall want for that Curtain 21 six Pounders,§ §as likewise 9 twenty four Pounders for the new Battery to be§ §constructed at Mundens Point, we think it necessary to give your§ §Honors this timely Notice that they may be provided accordingly§ §and refer you to Capn Mitchells Report to us in Consultation of§ §the 18 instant of the absolute necessity of that supply of§ §Artillery§ §5 John Bland formerly Master Mason and his§ §Family§	on 27 January and leaving the Company's ship *Calcutta* [...] there. He met the *Devonshire* on 7 February off Mangalore on the Malabar coast, with all well on board. The Council also heard that the *Houghton* and the *Latham* called at the Cape and sailed from there on the 12th of the previous month. 2: The passengers on board the *Britannia* were: Lord Clive General Carnac General Carnac's wife Colonel Champion Mr Maskelyne Mr Strachey Mr Ingham Captain Clarence [...] Those on board the *Speaker* were: Mr Crommelin Captain Hamilton Captain Duffield Mrs Healing Mrs Page Miss Cuells 3: Captain Thomas Pearce applied to pay £500 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, dated the 18th of that month. They were payable to himself or to his order 90 days after sight. 4: Captain Mitchell received an order on the 11th of that month to examine the guns on the saluting curtain and report on their condition. He then informed the Council that the curtain needed 21 six-pounders. A further 9 twenty-four-pounders were wanted for the new battery to be built at Munden's Point. The Council thought it necessary to give the Court early notice so that the guns could be provided. For the absolute necessity of that artillery, the Court was referred to Captain Mitchell's report in the consultation of the 18th of that month. 5: John Bland, formerly master mason, and his family were the subject of the next paragraph. **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 shows the Council's answer to the Court's criticism, recorded in the letter of 11 April 1767, that it merely forwarded the engineer's letters without judgement. Here the inspection began with the Council's own order of 11 May, and the request went home under the Council's name with the engineer's report as supporting evidence. The substance was nonetheless a fresh and larger demand for guns only weeks after the Court refused the 10 brass pieces. The letter of 11 April 1767 warned that, if brass was denied, the guns at Munden's Point would go to Sandy Bay and others would be ordered for that battery. The 9 twenty-four-pounders were that consequence, now attached to a new battery on the headland. The saluting curtain was the stretch of wall between bastions on the town's sea front from which salutes were fired to arriving and departing ships. A six-pounder threw a shot of six pounds and served for salutes and close defence. A twenty-four-pounder was a heavy gun able to reach ships in the anchorage, which is why it was wanted for Munden's Point, the position commanding the road. Lord Clive's party included General Carnac, who commanded the Bengal army, and Mr Strachey, his secretary. The fuller passenger list corrected the first report from the *Britannia*'s boat, sent on 18 May 1767, which gave Champion the rank of major. John Bland was the man accused on 2 April 1766 of buying up the private trade and lowering the value of the coin, and under a conditional order of removal confirmed in the letter of 11 April 1767. His description as a former master mason connects him with the dispute over John Robinson's salary, which the Council justified on 2 April 1766 by the small gap between Robinson's pay and the master mason's.

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77	70	Family at his request take their passage to England upon§ §the Ship Earl of Ashburnham, and we hope your Honors§ §will not suffer him to return again to this Island§ §6 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Earl of§ §Ashburnham which sails from hence with the Plassey,§ §and will be followed in a few Days by the Britannia§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humbe Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §20th May 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St§ §Helena P Ship El of Ashburnham dated 20th May 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 20th May 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 17th Do Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 18th Do Do§ §4 Consultation of the 18 Do Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from 11th to 16th May Do§ §6 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Duke of Kingston§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Lord Camden§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Duke of Kingston§	John Bland and his family took their passage to England in the *Earl of Ashburnham* at his own request. The Council hoped the Court would not allow him to come back to the island. 6: The letter went to the Court by the *Earl of Ashburnham*, which sailed from the island with the *Plassey*. The *Britannia* was to follow within a few days. The letter was dated at St Helena on 20 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 20 May 1767 and sent by the *Earl of Ashburnham*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 May 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 May 1767 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 May 1767 4: The consultation of 18 May 1767 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 11 to 16 May 1767 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Kingston* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Camden* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Duke of Kingston* **Interpretations** Bland's departure ended a dispute that ran through the whole correspondence. The letter of 2 April 1766 regretted that the Court let him return and accused him of buying up the private trade and lowering the value of the coin. The Court's conditional order for his removal, confirmed in the letter of 11 April 1767, required a further offence before the Council could deport him. No such offence was reported, and the Council did not claim to have used the order. He left of his own accord, which gave the Council the result it wanted without the need to prove a case. Its closing request asked the Court to make the departure permanent by refusing him the licence that any person needed to travel out in a Company ship and settle on the island. The appeal was pointed, since it was the Court's own earlier permission that brought him back. The consultation of 18 May 1767 at item 4 held Captain Mitchell's report on the guns for the saluting curtain and Munden's Point, to which the same letter referred the Court for the necessity of that artillery.
78	71	10 Cash Account from 18th to 20th May 1767§ §11 Duplicate Do from 11th to 17th Do Do§ §12 Ship Earl of Ashburnhams Account§ §13 Do Plasseys Do§ §14 Duplicate Ship Duke of Kingstons Do§ §15 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Britannia and Speaker§ §16 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We wrote to you the 20th instant by the Ship§ §Earl of Ashburnham which sailed from hence with the§ §Plassey, since the Dispatch of those Ships we have been§ §informed that Captain Rous met with your Ship Lord§ §Holland off the Cape the 13 April last all well on board§ §2 The Right Honoble Lord Clive having requested§ §of us that the two surviving Bramans sent here Prisoners§ §from Anjengo in the Year 1757 may be returned again	The packet list for the *Earl of Ashburnham* continued with these further items. 10: The cash account from 18 to 20 May 1767 11: A duplicate cash account from 11 to 17 May 1767 12: The account of the *Earl of Ashburnham* 13: The account of the *Plassey* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Duke of Kingston* 15: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Britannia* and *Speaker* 16: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council wrote to the Court on the 20th of that month by the *Earl of Ashburnham*, which sailed from the island with the *Plassey*. After those ships left, the Council learned that Captain Rous met the Company's ship *Lord Holland* off the Cape on 13 April, with all well on board.

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		to§ §their Native Country by the first opportunity that offers, and§ §his Lordship promises to be at all the expence attending it,§ §to which we acquainted his Lordship that we would inform§ §your Honors of his Request, & wait your directions thereon§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humb Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §22 May 1767§	2: Lord Clive asked the Council to return the two surviving Brahmins to their native country by the first available opportunity. They were sent to the island as prisoners from Anjengo in 1757. He promised to bear the whole cost of their return. The Council told him that his request would be reported to the Court and that the Court's directions would be awaited. The letter was dated at St Helena on 22 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 2 records a request from the most powerful of the Company's servants that the Council neither granted nor refused. Lord Clive was on the island in person, he was the returning Governor of Bengal and he offered to pay every expense, so compliance would have cost the Company nothing. The Council nevertheless declined to act on his word and referred the matter home. The two men were prisoners held under the Court's authority, and releasing them was not within the island government's power, whoever asked. The caution also fitted the Council's conduct after the rebukes answered in the letters of 2 April 1766 and 11 April 1767, when it undertook to apply first and wait over the armourer's salary. A referral meant a delay of a year or more before the men could sail. The passage shows the island used as a place of banishment for the Company's Indian settlements. Brahmins were members of the Hindu priestly caste. These men were sent from Anjengo, the Company's pepper settlement on the Malabar coast, and by 1767 were ten years in exile. The word surviving shows that more were sent than the two then living. Exile across the sea removed troublesome men of rank and influence from their own country without putting them to death, and for a Brahmin the sea voyage and life among strangers carried a loss of caste in addition to confinement. The *Lord Holland* was an outward ship, and her sighting off the Cape on 13 April told the Court she was safely past that point on her way east.
79	72	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St§ §Helena P Ship Britannia dated the 22 May 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 22d May 1767§ §2 Do and Do dated 22 Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 20th Do Do§ §4 Consultation of the 22 May Do§ §5 Duplicate Do of the 18th Do Do§ §6 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Duke of Kingston§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Cash Account from 21st to 22 May 1767§ §10 Duplicate Do from 18 to 20th Do Do§ §11 Ship Britannias Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship El of Ashburnhams Account§ §13 Do Plasseys Do§ §14 Proceedings of a Genl Quartr Sessions held on 29th April 1767§ §15 Certificate of Flour§ §16 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We did ourselves the pleasure of writing last to§ §your Honors the 22 instant by the Ship Britannia.§ §2 We have given Captn Dewar an order to receive§ §on board his Ship to compleat her Company Michael§ §[...]§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 22 May 1767 and sent by the *Britannia*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 22 May 1767 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 22 May 1767 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 May 1767 4: The consultation of 22 May 1767 5: A duplicate of the consultation of 18 May 1767 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Ashburnham* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Kingston* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: The cash account from 21 to 22 May 1767 10: A duplicate cash account from 18 to 20 May 1767 11: The account of the *Britannia* 12: A duplicate of the account of the *Earl of Ashburnham* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Plassey* 14: The proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 29 April 1767 15: The certificate for the flour 16: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Ashburnham* The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors.

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			1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 22nd of that month, sending that letter by the *Britannia*. 2: Captain Dewar received an order to take men on board his ship to make up her crew, the first of them named Michael [...]. **Interpretations** The sessions of 29 April 1767 at item 14 were the first quarterly sitting after John Pinchback's case could have been finally disposed of, and they fell a week before the letter of 6 May 1767 reported him leaving for England with the clerk of the peace's fees of £0 19s 2d unpaid. Those fees were therefore perhaps incurred at this sitting, and its proceedings gave the Court the record of how the charge over Captain Inglis's death ended. The law letter at item 2 again accompanied sessions papers, as in the packets of 23 April 1766, 25 July 1766 and 3 November 1766. Item 15 was the certificate promised in the letter of 11 April 1767, which undertook to send certificates home once all the flour brought by the outward ships was landed. Its presence showed that the unloading of the *Northumberland* and the *Earl of Middlesex* was complete.
80	73	Henley Seaman left here out of the Britannia§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §26th May 1767§ §List of the Honoble Compys Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Speaker dated the 26 May 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 26th May 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 22 Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 25th May Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of 22 Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Britannia§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Cash Account from 23 to 26th May 1767§ §9 Duplicate Do from 21st to 22d Do Do§ §10 Ship Speakers Account§ §11 Duplicate Ship Britannias Acct§ §12 Do Certificate of Flour§ §13 Do List of the Packet P Ship Britannia§	Captain Dewar's order was to take on board Michael Herley, a seaman left on the island out of the *Britannia*, to make up his ship's crew. The letter was dated at St Helena on 26 May 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 26 May 1767 and sent by the *Speaker*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 May 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 22 May 1767 3: The consultation of 25 May 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultation of 22 May 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Britannia* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Ashburnham* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: The cash account from 23 to 26 May 1767 9: A duplicate cash account from 21 to 22 May 1767 10: The account of the *Speaker* 11: A duplicate of the account of the *Britannia* 12: A duplicate of the certificate for the flour 13: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Britannia* **Interpretations** Herley was a seaman and not a discharged soldier, which set him apart from the men placed in homeward ships throughout 1766. He belonged to the *Britannia*, which sailed on 22 May 1767 and left him behind, perhaps through sickness or absence when she weighed. The Council moved him into the *Speaker*, the next ship to leave, as it did on 12 April 1766 with the two deserters from the *Plassey* who were put into the *Salisbury*. That course kept a stray seaman from becoming a charge on the island and gave Captain Dewar a hand.
81	74	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §On the 9th instant arrived a French Ship,§ §called the Ajax Captn St Martin, from Mauritius by§ §which opportunity we are informed that an English Ship§ §put into that Place, the Day they sailed, very much§ §distressed, having lost her Masts and Rudder & had six§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. A French ship from Mauritius called the *Ajax*, under Captain St Martin, arrived on the 9th of that month. She brought news that an English ship put into Mauritius in great distress on the day the *Ajax* sailed. The English vessel was without her masts and rudder and held six or seven feet of water in her hold. Neither the captain nor his passengers could name her. Several

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		§or seven feet water in her Hold, the Capn nor Passengers§ §could not tell Us the name of the Ship, but from several§ §Letters they delivered to Us, we are certain it must have§ §been the Neptune Captain Steward from China, In§ §consequence of having received those Letters, we have sorted§ §out a Packet Directed to your Honors, together with one§ §to the Husband of the Ship, another to your Secretary, &§ §three more which we imagine will give a full Account§ §of the situation of his Ship &ca and have wrote to§ §the Commander of Port L'Orient requesting that he§ §will dispatch the same by the speediest Conveyance§ §to your Honors, the other Letters we have returned to the§ §Captn to forward by the common Post, we have taken§ §this method by the French Ship of transmitting to§ §you this intelligence as the quickest dispatch having§	letters they handed over, however, left the Council certain that she was the *Neptune*, under Captain Steward, from China. Those letters were sorted on receipt. The Council picked out a packet addressed to the Court, one to the ship's husband, another to the Court's secretary and three more that seemed certain to give a full account of the ship's condition. A letter went to the commander of Port L'Orient, asking him to send that selection on to the Court by the fastest conveyance. The remaining letters went back to the captain to be forwarded by the ordinary post. The Council chose the French ship for passing on this news because she offered the quickest dispatch. **Interpretations** The passage records news of a Company ship entrusted to a rival nation's vessel and a foreign port official. The usual course was to hold such intelligence for the next homeward Company ship, as with every earlier report in this correspondence. The Council instead used the *Ajax* and gave speed as its reason. The homeward ships of the season were perhaps already gone, the *Speaker* having sailed on 26 May 1767, and the owners and insurers of a dismasted China ship needed early word in order to arrange repairs or a relief vessel. The step also answered the Court's complaint about thin intelligence, addressed in the letter of 2 April 1766. The sorting of the letters was a second deliberate choice. Only those addressed to the Court, its secretary and the ship's husband, with three others judged to describe the ship's state, were singled out for express forwarding. The rest were left to the ordinary post, which kept the request to the French commander small enough to be granted as a courtesy. The ship's husband was the managing owner, the man who fitted out the vessel, dealt with the Company on the owners' behalf and would have to act on news of her damage. Port L'Orient, on the coast of Brittany, was the home port of the French East India Company, where the *Ajax* would end her voyage. Mauritius was that company's base in the Indian Ocean, as the letter of 26 March 1767 showed when another French ship came from there. Captain Larkins saw the *Neptune* going into Princes Island on 23 February, as the letter of 6 May 1767 recorded. She was therefore disabled somewhere in the Indian Ocean after leaving the Sunda Strait and bore away for the nearest port able to refit her.
82	75	no English Ship in this Road§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humbe Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §MPurling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §11th June 1767§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on you the 11th instant by§ §the French Ship Ajax§ §2 On the 12th of this Month arrived your Ship§ §Hawke from China, and the 22 the Duke of Albany§ §from Bengal, Captn [Haldane] acquaints Us he left§ §that place 23 February & your Honors Ship Nottingham§ §there she was to sail for Europe about the middle of March§ §3 Charles [Dewolfe] & Josh [Deuilles] two Deserters§ §from the French Ship Ajax, we have given Capt Cotton§ §an order to receive on board his ship, and carry them	No English ship lay in the road when the news of the damaged vessel reached the island, which was why the Council sent it by the French ship. The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 June 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the French ship *Ajax* and was dated the 11th of that month. 2: The Company's ship *Hawke* arrived from China on the 12th of that month. The *Duke of Albany* came in from Bengal on the 22nd. Captain Haldane reported leaving that place on 23 February, when the Company's ship *Nottingham* still lay there. She was to sail for Europe about the middle of March. 3: Charles Dewolfe and Joseph Veuille were two deserters from the French ship *Ajax*. Captain Cotton received an order to take them on board his ship and carry them to England. The Council paid him £10 0s 0d for their passage. **Interpretations**

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		to§ §England, and have paid him £10.. for their Passage,§ §we§	Paragraph 3 records money spent to remove two foreign seamen. Stray men were ordinarily cleared from the island at no cost by placing them in a homeward ship as working hands, as with the two deserters from the *Plassey* on 12 April 1766 and Michael Herley on 26 May 1767. Here the Council paid £10 0s 0d, or £5 0s 0d a man, the same rate as for the six invalids sent home on 4 April 1766. The two Frenchmen therefore travelled as passengers and not as crew. The *Ajax* left them behind when she sailed, and the Council evidently preferred the expense to keeping two subjects of a rival power on a fortified island whose defences were then being rebuilt. The closing words of the letter of 11 June 1767 confirmed the reason for using the *Ajax*. With no English ship in the road, the choice lay between a French conveyance and waiting. The *Hawke* arrived the very next day, so the wait would have been short, but the Council could not know that when it wrote. The *Hawke* was the ship that Captain Larkins left at Canton on 5 February, due to sail about a week later, as the letter of 6 May 1767 recorded. The *Duke of Albany* and the *Nottingham* were both among the ships Captain Rous left in Bengal on 1 February, reported in the letter of 20 May 1767.
83	76	We have likewise put on board the Hawke Zedekiah§ §Saunderson a discharged Soldier, to compleat her Company§ §4 The Engineer making complaint to Us that§ §Thos Townsend assistant Mason, had refused to teach two of§ §your Honors Slave Boys his business, upon which we sent§ §for the said Townsend and asked him his reasons for denying§ §to instruct the two Boys who were put under him to learn§ §his Business, he replied he came here to do his own§ §business and nothing more and positively refused teaching§ §them, and otherwise behaved in a very insolent manner,§ §for which we would have immediately dismissed him your§ §service, but the necessity of having such a Man obliged Us§ §to keep him until next Year, we therefore request your§ §Honors will be pleased to send us by the Storeship an§ §assistant Mason in his room, versed in that branch of§ §Cutting and Squaring Stones, as we have no one upon§ §the Island but the said Townsend that understands it§ §properly, and such a person is absolutely necessary for§ §laying of Platforms; we will upon the arrl of the§ §other Mason discharge Townsend for his insolent behaviour§ §which merited immediate dismission, could we have§ §possibly done without him.§ §5. The measure your Honors have fallen upon§ §recommending to the Captains of your early Ships to touch§ §at the Cape in their homeward bound Passage for refreshments.§ §we find this Year of Utility to the Island, as their demands§ §have been proportionably lessened for Provisions here; we§ §hope you will be pleased to give Orders to six or seven of§ §the Captains of your early Ships to continue that practice for§ §another Year, and likewise to bring down about 40 head§ §of Cattle and 20 Head of Sheep P each Ship, as from§ §that§	The Council also put Zedekiah Saunderson, a discharged soldier, on board the *Hawke* to make up her crew. 4: The engineer complained that Thomas Townsend, the assistant mason, refused to teach his trade to two of the Company's slave boys. The Council sent for Townsend and asked why he would not instruct the boys placed under him for that purpose. He answered that he came to the island to do his own work and nothing more. He flatly refused to teach them and behaved with great insolence in other respects. The Council wanted to dismiss him from the Company's service at once. The need for such a workman forced it to keep him until the following year. The Court was therefore asked to send out by the store ship an assistant mason to replace him, skilled in cutting and squaring stone. Nobody on the island except Townsend understood that work properly, and such a man was essential for laying gun platforms. Once the other mason arrived, the Council intended to discharge Townsend for conduct that deserved instant dismissal, if the island could possibly have managed without him. 5: The Court recommended that the captains of its early ships call at the Cape for refreshment on their homeward passage. The Council found that measure useful to the island that year, since those ships' demands for provisions fell in proportion. It hoped the Court would order six or seven captains of the early ships to continue the practice for another year. Each ship was also asked to bring about 40 head of cattle and 20 head of sheep. **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 records a dismissal deferred. Townsend defied a direct instruction and insulted the Council to its face, and the ordinary answer was to discharge him on the spot. The Council kept him for a year because he alone could cut and square stone, the skill needed for the gun platforms of the new batteries. The same scarcity of craftsmen drove the Council's defence of John Robinson's salary on 2 April 1766 and its request for a carpenter's mate on 23 September 1766. Townsend's refusal also had its own logic. A slave trained as a stonecutter cost the Company nothing in wages and would in time make the hired mason unnecessary, so teaching the boys meant training his own replacements. The Council's plan to make slaves into skilled workmen was its long-term remedy for dependence on men sent from England, and one workman's refusal was enough to stall it. A

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			platform was the paved stone floor on which a gun stood and recoiled, which had to be level and closely jointed to bear the weight. Paragraph 5 settled the question left open in the letter of 11 April 1767, when the Council expected to judge within a couple of months whether the early ships still needed to call at the Cape. The verdict was to continue for another year. The request went further than relief from demand, since each ship was also to carry about 40 cattle and 20 sheep to the island. Six or seven ships on that footing would land some 240 to 280 cattle. That was the Council's answer to the disease among the breeding stock reported on 5 March 1767 and to the rationing of ships to a quarter of their charterparty beef. The *Asia*'s consignment from the Cape, worth £317 1s 0d, was the first such supply. Saunderson went as a working hand at no charge, unlike the two French deserters for whom £10 0s 0d was paid earlier in this letter.
84	77	that method we flatter ourselves shall be able to increase§ §considerably the Charterparty, likewise to sell some out§ §of that Number to the Planters, whose stocks have§ §suffered greatly from the disorder among the Cattle, we§ §further request that you will be pleased to give directions§ §that the Cattle they bring down, do not exceed two or two &§ §a half Years, as older Cattle do not thrive here, nor answer§ §the purpose so well as Young.§ §6 Agreeable to your Orders we directed the Accountt§ §and Storekeeper to collect out of their Books, an Account of the§ §Expence incurred for repairs to the Castle which were laid§ §before us, and Entered in Consultation of the 1st instant§ §together with our Minutes thereon to which Consultation we§ §beg leave to refer your Honors.§ §7 By this Ship we send two of your Honors old Clocks§ §both of which are out of repair, we request you will be pleased to§ §have them put into proper repair, the Watchmaker reporting to us§ §that several of the movements are entirely worn out and not fit for§ §service, and be pleased to return them by the first opportunity§ §together with new Cases, the old ones being unfit for use§ §8 We take this opportunity of transmitting your Honors§ §the List of remains &ca together with our Indents wanted for§ §the service of the Year 1768§ §9 As we find upon looking over the time of Service§ §of the Soldiers that upwards of sixty of your Military will§ §be intitled to their discharges the next Year, & being uncertain§ §what number of them will relist as 16 have demanded their§ §discharges out of the Recruits that arrived here in the Year§ §1762 and take their passage upon the Hawke & Duke of§ §Albany, we therefore desire you will be pleased to send us§ §fifty Recruits the next Year, to answer the deficiency that§ §may§	The Council trusted that cattle and sheep brought from the Cape by the early ships would allow a considerable increase in the charterparty allowance. Some of those animals could also be sold to the planters, whose herds suffered greatly from the disease among the cattle. The Court was further asked to direct that the cattle brought down should be no more than two or two and a half years old. Older animals did not thrive on the island and served the purpose less well than young ones. 6: The accountant and the storekeeper received directions, as the Court ordered, to draw from their books an account of the cost of repairs to the Castle. That account came before the Council and was entered in the consultation of the 1st of that month, together with the Council's minutes on it. The Court was referred to that consultation. 7: Two of the Company's old clocks went home by this ship, both out of repair. The watchmaker reported that several of the movements were entirely worn out and unfit for service. The Council asked for the clocks to be properly repaired and sent back at the first opportunity. New cases were requested with them, since the old ones were unfit for use. 8: The list of remains and other papers went home by this opportunity, together with the Council's orders for the supplies needed in 1768. 9: A review of the soldiers' terms of service showed that more than 60 of the garrison would be entitled to their discharges the following year. How many of them would enlist again was uncertain. Of the recruits who arrived in 1762, 16 demanded their discharges and took their passage in the *Hawke* and the *Duke of Albany*. The Council therefore asked the Court to send 50 recruits the following year to make good the shortfall. **Interpretations** Paragraph 9 shows how the garrison was held together. Soldiers enlisted for a fixed term, and the 16 men who arrived in 1762 claimed their discharges in 1767, which points to a term of five years. A man whose time was served could not be kept against his will, so the Council had to forecast each year's losses from the enlistment dates and order replacements a year ahead. The request for 50 recruits repeated the figure asked for in the letter of 5 June 1766, against which only 19 arrived, as the letter of 11 April 1767 recorded. With more than 60 discharges falling due and most of the soldiers employed on the fortifications, a second short draft would have left both the works and the guard undermanned. The cattle scheme went beyond feeding the ships. Selling Cape animals to the planters used the Company's shipping to rebuild private herds, on which the island's supply of fresh beef finally depended. The age limit reflected the difficulty of the passage and of

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			the change of pasture: young beasts adapted and could be bred from, while older ones lost condition and were fit only for slaughter. Paragraph 6 delivered the account promised in the letter of 11 April 1767, when the storekeeper was told to extract every article issued for repairs to the Castle. Entering the Council's own minutes beside the figures also met the Court's complaint, answered in that letter, that the island's government forwarded papers without comment. The list of remains and the orders for 1768 went home in late June, some three weeks later in the year than those for 1767, which were sent on 5 June 1766 with the warning that the stock count was made very early. The clocks were sent to England because the island's watchmaker could report on worn movements but could not make new parts for them.
85	78	may happen by that time.§ §10. We beg leave to observe to your Honors that Mr§ §Bridgwater late a Lieut in the third Company has been§ §sent home Agreeable to your Orders, but as you have not§ §taken notice in your last General Letter of filling up§ §that vacancy, we request that you will either send us out§ §an Officer in his room, or if you think proper to allow us§ §to take a Young Gentleman of the Island well recommended§ §who may in a little time be properly Qualified for that§ §station, as we think that from the present Establishment§ §of the Companies as well as the Duty of this Island, we§ §cannot have less than two Subalterns to each Company§ §and as Mr Greentree has expressed a desire to have his§ §Son in your service who is fifteen Years of Age, we have§ §appointed him a Cadet from this day, & hope he will§ §be qualified to fill that vacancy in case your Honors§ §approve of it§ §11 The Passengers on board the Hawke are Messrs§ §[Searl] and [Mackrell], & on board the Duke of Albany Mr &§ §Mrs Watts Captains Roche and Scott of the Sea and Messrs§ §[Mirtle] & Hamilton Free Merchants & [Verder] a Writer,§ §Military sent on board by the President & Council of Bengal§ §Captains [Scarlin] & Stainforth & Lieuts Engs Crawford and§ §[Margeroms]§ §12. We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt One Set to Danl Corneille Esqr for £192.7§ §payable to Robt Palk Esqr dated the 1st instant, One set§ §to Jno Skottowe Esqr for £52.11 payable to Messrs§ §[Gisly] & Woodhouse One set to Captn Archd Mitchell§ §for £300.. payable to Alexr Hume Esqr both dated§ §the 15th instant, One Set to Mr James Greentree for§ §[...]§	The 50 recruits were wanted to make good whatever shortfall arose in the garrison by the following year. 10: Mr Bridgwater, formerly a lieutenant in the third company, went home as the Court ordered. The Court's previous general letter said nothing about filling that vacancy. The Council therefore asked the Court either to send out an officer in his place or to let it take a well-recommended young gentleman of the island, who would be properly qualified for the post within a short time. Given the existing establishment of the companies and the duty of the island, the Council held that each company needed no fewer than two subalterns. Mr Greentree wished to have his son, who was 15 years old, in the Company's service. The Council appointed the boy a cadet from the day of the letter and hoped he would be qualified to fill the vacancy if the Court approved. 11: The passengers on board the *Hawke* were: Mr Searle Mr Mackrill Those on board the *Duke of Albany* were: Mr Watts Mrs Watts Captain Roche, sea captain Captain Scott, sea captain Mr Mirtle, free merchant Mr Hamilton, free merchant Mr Pinder, writer The president and council of Bengal also sent these military officers on board the *Duke of Albany*: Captain Scarlin Captain Stainforth Lieutenant [...] Lieutenant Margerom 12: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Daniel Corneille, payable to Robert Palk and dated the 1st of that month, £192 7s 0d One set to John Skottowe, payable to Messrs Gilly and Woodhouse, £52 11s 0d One set to Captain Archibald Mitchell, payable to Alexander Hume, £300 0s 0d The last two sets were both dated the 15th of that month. A further set was granted to Mr James Greentree. **Interpretations** Paragraph 10 shows the Council working within the limit the Court set and still securing its own candidate. A lieutenant's commission belonged to the Court, as the Council conceded on 2 April 1766 when it promised to observe orders on all vacancies after appointing Captain Mitchell without leave. It did not therefore commission anyone in Bridgwater's place. It instead offered the Court two courses, an officer from England or a young man of the island, and at once made Mr Greentree's son a cadet, a rank within its own gift. A cadet was a youth serving with a company to

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			learn an officer's duty before receiving a commission. The appointment committed the Court to nothing, yet it put a named local boy in training for the post before any answer could arrive. The Greentree family was among the island's wealthiest, a Mr Thomas Greentree having paid £1,578 16s 0d into the treasury on 14 July 1766. Bridgwater was discharged by the general court martial of 10 July 1766 and sailed in the *Duke of Cumberland*, as the letter of 10 May 1767 reported. The argument for two subalterns in each company rested partly on the works, since most soldiers were labouring on the fortifications and an officer was needed to live at Sandy Bay. A free merchant was a private trader licensed by the Company to live and trade in India outside its service. A writer was the junior grade of the Company's civil servants, employed as a clerk.
86	79	£570.. payable to Captn Jno Cotton, One set to Captn§ §Jno Howard for £176.. payable to Mrs Mary Hale§ §One set to Messrs Hy Bazett & Willm Wrangham for§ §£100.. payable to Jno Burdett Esqr, and one set§ §to Captn Jno Cotton for £200. payable to himself§ §dated the 22 instant and all drawn at 90 Days sight§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humbe Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §27th June 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Hawke dated the 27 June 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor & Councils Generl Letter dated 27th June 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 26th May Do§ §3 Do Do & Do dated 11th June Do§ §4 Do Do & Do dated 22d May Do relatg§ §to Law Matters§ §5 Consultations from 1st to the 22d June 1767§ §6 Duplicate Do of the 25 May Do§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Speaker§ §8 Second Do for Do P Ship Britannia§ §9 Effective state of the Garrison§	The bills granted in paragraph 12 were completed by four further sets, all dated the 22nd of that month, and every set was drawn at 90 days' sight. One set to Mr James Greentree, payable to Captain John Cotton, £570 0s 0d One set to Captain John Howard, payable to Mrs Mary Hale, £176 0s 0d One set to Mr Henry Bazett and Mr William Wrangham, payable to John Burdett, £100 0s 0d One set to Captain John Cotton, payable to himself, £200 0s 0d The letter was dated at St Helena on 27 June 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 27 June 1767 and sent by the *Hawke*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 27 June 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 May 1767 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 June 1767 4: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 22 May 1767 on law matters 5: The consultations from 1 to 22 June 1767 6: A duplicate of the consultation of 25 May 1767 7: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Speaker* 8: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Britannia* 9: The effective state of the garrison **Interpretations** The seven sets reported in this letter came to £1,590 18s 0d. The largest, £570 0s 0d, was paid in by Mr James Greentree in favour of Captain Cotton, the commander who also took £200 0s 0d on his own account and received £10 0s 0d for carrying the two French deserters. A resident's payment to a commander then in the road points to goods bought from the captain's private trade, as with the bills in favour of Captain Morrison and Captain Larkins on 16 May 1767. The Greentree name appeared three times in this correspondence within a year: the £1,578 16s 0d paid in on 14 July 1766, this bill and the cadetship given to Mr Greentree's son earlier in this letter. Mrs Mary Hale was also the payee of the £400 0s 0d set granted to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick on 7 April 1766, so she received remittances from the island in two successive years. Item 3 showed that the letter of 11 June 1767, first sent by the French ship *Ajax*, was repeated by the next Company ship. The Council therefore did not rely on the foreign conveyance alone for its news of the damaged *Neptune*.

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87	80	10 List of Stores remaining in the H Compys Ware Houses 15th Apl 1767§ §11 Do of Garrison Stores remaing the 15 April 1767§ §12 Do of Artillery Do from 1st Octr 1766 to 15 Apl Do§ §13 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Speaker§ §14 Indent of Stores wantg for the service of the Year 1768§ §15 Do of Medicines Do Do Do Do§ §16 Cash Account from 1st to 27th June 1767§ §17 Duplicate Do from 23 to 26th May Do§ §18 Ship Hawkes Account§ §19 Duplicate Ship Speakers Do§ §20 Do Proceedings of a General Quartr Sessions held on the 29th Apl§ §1767§ §21 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Hawke & Duke of Albany§ §22 Time of Ships Boats arrl at Banks's§ §23 Captain Cottons receipt for £10..§ §24 Do Do Do for two Clocks§ §25 Pattern of Lace for the Officers Regimentals§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We did ourselves the Pleasure of writing to you§ §the 27th of last Month by the Ship Hawke§ §2 We informed your Honors in that Letter of the§ §insolent behaviour of Thos Townsend Mason, he on the 29th of June§ §Petitioned to quit your service which we Granted having served§ §his contracted time but then told him, he should be sent§ §off the Island with his Wife the first opportunity, and we§ §hope your Honors will not permit him to return here as§ §an§	The packet list for the *Hawke* continued with these further items. 10: A list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 15 April 1767 11: A list of garrison stores remaining on 15 April 1767 12: A list of artillery stores from 1 October 1766 to 15 April 1767 13: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Speaker* 14: The order for stores needed in 1768 15: The order for medicines needed in 1768 16: The cash account from 1 to 27 June 1767 17: A duplicate cash account from 23 to 26 May 1767 18: The account of the *Hawke* 19: A duplicate of the account of the *Speaker* 20: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 29 April 1767 21: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Hawke* and *Duke of Albany* 22: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 23: Captain Cotton's receipt for £10 0s 0d 24: Captain Cotton's receipt for 2 clocks 25: A pattern of lace for the officers' regimentals The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 27th of the previous month, sending that letter by the *Hawke*. 2: That letter reported the insolent conduct of Thomas Townsend, the mason. He petitioned on 29 June to leave the Company's service. The Council granted the request because his contracted time was served. He was then told that he and his wife would be sent off the island at the first opportunity. The Council hoped the Court would not allow him to come back. **Interpretations** Paragraph 2 reversed a decision only two days old. The letter of 27 June 1767 explained that Townsend deserved instant dismissal but had to be kept for a year, because he alone could cut and square stone for the gun platforms. His petition removed the choice. His contract was expired, so the Council held no power to detain him, and the island lost its only stonecutter before any replacement could be requested, let alone sent. The Council answered by turning his departure into an expulsion. A man out of the Company's service needed its leave to stay on the island, and ordering him and his wife away denied him the chance to work privately for the planters at the higher earnings a free craftsman could command, which the letter of 2 April 1766 put at double a salaried man's pay. The closing request matched the one made about John Bland on 20 May 1767. The stock lists were dated 15 April 1767, a fortnight later than the count of 31 March 1766 sent in the previous year's packet of 5 June 1766. The Council then warned that an early count overstated what would be left at the year's end, and the later date went a small way to meet that difficulty. Items 23 and 24 were Captain Cotton's acknowledgements for the £10 0s 0d paid for the passage of the two French deserters and for the two worn clocks sent home for repair, both reported in the letter of 27 June 1767. The receipt for the clocks made him answerable for delivering them in London. The lace at item 25 was the metallic braid that trimmed an officer's uniform coat. A sample was sent so that braid ordered in England would match what the garrison's officers already wore, as the sword sent on 5 June 1766 served as a pattern for scabbards.

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88	81	an example to others, having left your service at a time he was§ §so much wanted, this obliges us to repeat our request for sending§ §another Mason the next Year in his room§ §3 Captn Haldane having agreed to take on board§ §his Ship the following discharged Soldiers vizt Jno Brown,§ §Thos Bott, Robt Davis, Wm Finch, Wm Fry, Abram [Renno]§ §Benjn Bennett, Jno Walters, Wm Mitchell, Patrick Ryley§ §John Thompson, Jno Dowde, John Taylor & Thomas Price§ §we gave him a permit to receive them on board§ §4 By the Duke of Albany we received 25 Casks§ §of salt provision as you will please to observe by the President§ §& Councils Letter to us from Bengal entered in Consultation of§ §the 29th of last Month, they likewise inform us they purpose§ §sending us the same quantity by the Nottingham. The Beef§ §is quite Rotten and unfit for use by the Surgeons Report§ §entered in our last Consultation; we therefore directed the§ §Storekeeper to have it thrown into the Sea & as the Pork is§ §but indifferent Meat, although sound, we shall while it§ §continues so, expend it in feeding your Slaves, and have ordered§ §the Casks to be filled up with fresh Pickle in hopes to preserve§ §it. For these reasons as well as the dearness of it amounting§ §upwards to £13.. P Cask prime Cost, we request you will be§ §pleased to forbid your President & Council of Fort William sending§ §us any more, and we shall take the first opportunity to inform§ §them as they desire P their Letter of the Condition of said§ §Provision and shall give it as our opinion that, that mode§ §of supply does not answer either in quality or price equal§ §to the provision your Honors furnishes us with from Europe§ §5 Mr Jno Irwin applied to us to pay £100..§ §into your Honors Cash which we have recd & given him Bills§ §for that Sum payable to Mr Thos Allenby dated the 29th June§ §&§	The Council wanted Thomas Townsend kept from the island as an example to others, since he left the Company's service when he was most needed. His going obliged the Council to repeat its request for another mason to be sent the following year in his place. 3: Captain Haldane agreed to take the following discharged soldiers on board his ship, and the Council gave him a permit to receive them. John Brown Thomas Bott Robert Davis William Black William Fry Abraham Renno Benjamin Bennett John Walker William Mitchell Patrick Ryley John Thompson John Dowde John Taylor Thomas Price 4: The *Duke of Albany* brought 25 casks of salt provisions. The letter from the president and council of Bengal, entered in the consultation of the 29th of the previous month, gave the particulars. They also proposed to send the same quantity by the *Nottingham*. The surgeon's report, entered in the Council's latest consultation, found the beef quite rotten and unfit for use. The storekeeper was therefore directed to have it thrown into the sea. The pork was sound but poor meat. While it remained sound, the Council intended to use it for feeding the Company's slaves, and the casks were ordered to be topped up with fresh pickle in the hope of preserving it. The provisions were also dear, at upwards of £13 0s 0d a cask prime cost. On all these grounds the Council asked the Court to forbid the president and council of Fort William to send any more. The Council would take the first opportunity to tell Bengal of the condition of the provisions, as their letter requested. Its opinion was that supply from that source matched neither the quality nor the price of the provisions the Court sent from Europe. 5: Mr John Irwin applied to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills for that sum, dated 29 June and payable to Mr Thomas Allenby. **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 records the rejection of a supply the Company's own government in Bengal arranged. The Council could have accepted the Bengal provisions as a useful second source, and a year earlier it welcomed just such meat: the letter of 10 June 1766 reported buying 20 casks from Captain Fenner of the *Grenville* at 2½d a pound because it came much cheaper than the English supply. The official consignment proved the opposite on both counts. The beef was condemned on the surgeon's written report, which gave the Court medical authority for destroying Company property, and the price of more than £13 0s 0d a cask was set against the European supply. Meat salted in Bengal's heat and carried through a four-month passage evidently did not keep as English-cured meat did. Pickle was the brine in which the meat lay, and refilling the casks was an attempt to stop the pork spoiling in turn. Prime cost was the purchase price at the place of supply, before freight and charges. Since a second 25 casks were already promised by the *Nottingham*, the Council asked the Court to stop the arrangement from London while also writing to Bengal itself. The 14 discharged soldiers were probably among the 16 men of the 1762 draft who claimed their discharges, as the letter of 27 June 1767 reported, Captain Haldane being the commander of the *Duke of Albany*. They went by permit and by the captain's

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			agreement, the form used for Jones and Hendry on 19 April 1767, and not by an order to make up the crew. So large a group exceeded any ship's need for hands. The Council first planned to keep Townsend for a year, as the letter of 27 June 1767 explained. His departure on the expiry of his contract turned the request for a replacement mason from a convenience into a necessity for the gun platforms.
89	82	and drawn at 90 Days sight§ §6 As the Quarters Accounts will not be laid before§ §Us until the 20th instant we cannot transmit you any other§ §Cash Account that the Duplicate of the last§ §7 Mr Britannicus Wright representing to us§ §that his Contracted time of five Years as a Writer expired on§ §the 1st instant, and requesting to be put upon the establishment§ §of a Factor we accordingly appointed him as such agreeable§ §to your Honors standing Orders§ §8 The Captain & Passengers of the Duke of§ §Albany bring us no other news from Bengal but that they§ §left the settlement in a state of Peace & tranquility§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §5th July 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St§ §Helena P Ship Duke of Albany dated 5th July 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 5th July 1767§ §2 Do & Do dated 27th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from 29th June to 4 July Do§	Mr Irwin's bills were drawn at 90 days' sight. 6: The quarter's accounts would not come before the Council until the 20th of that month. No cash account could therefore be sent except the duplicate of the earlier one. 7: Mr Britannicus Wright informed the Council that his contracted term of five years as a writer ran out on the 1st of that month. He asked to be placed on the establishment as a factor. The Council appointed him accordingly, as the Court's standing orders allowed. 8: The captain and passengers of the *Duke of Albany* brought no news from Bengal except that the settlement was peaceful and quiet when they left. The letter was dated at St Helena on 5 July 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 5 July 1767 and sent by the *Duke of Albany*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 July 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 27 June 1767 3: The consultations from 29 June to 4 July 1767 **Interpretations** Paragraph 7 shows a promotion the Council could make without asking leave. Writer was the lowest grade of the Company's civil service, entered under a covenant for five years, and factor was the next grade above it, carrying higher pay and standing. The Court's standing orders made the step automatic once the term was served, so the Council acted on Mr Wright's application at once and simply reported it. The contrast with other appointments in this correspondence is marked: the lieutenant's vacancy was referred home in the letter of 27 June 1767, and the armourer's pay was left to the Court in the letter of 11 April 1767. Where a rule existed the Council applied it, and where none did it waited. Paragraph 6 repeated the quarterly pattern seen on 2 April 1766, 7 July 1766 and 11 April 1767, when a ship sailing before the accounts were read carried only a copy of the earlier cash account.
90	83	4 Duplicate Consultations from 1st to 22d June 1767§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Hawke§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Speaker§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Muster Rolls of Do§ §9 List of Officers & Servants taken 5th July 1767§ §10 Do of 15 Discharged Soldiers§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Hawke§ §12 Do Do of Stores remaing in the H Company's§ §Ware Houses 15th Apl 1767.§ §13 Do Do of Garrison Stores remg 15 Apl 1767§ §14 Do Do of Artillery Do from 1st Octr 1766 to 15th April§ §1767§ §15 Do Indent of Stores wantg for the service of the Year 1768§ §16 Do Do of Medicines wantg for Do Do§ §17 Do Cash Account from 1st to 27th June 1767§ §18 Ship Duke of Albanys Account§ §19 Duplicate Ship Hawkes Do§	The packet list for the *Duke of Albany* continued with these further items. 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 1 to 22 June 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Hawke* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Speaker* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: The muster rolls of the garrison 9: A list of officers and servants taken on 5 July 1767 10: A list of 15 discharged soldiers 11: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Hawke* 12: A duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 15 April 1767 13: A duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 15 April 1767 14: A duplicate list of artillery stores from 1 October 1766 to 15 April 1767

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		§20 Do Captain Cottons receipt for £10..§ §21 Do Do Do for 2 Clocks§ §22 Do Pattern of Lace for the Officers Regimentals§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last address waited on your Honors under§ §date of the 5th July, by the Ship Duke of Albany§ §2 On the 29th of last Month, arrived your Snow Mercury§ §and the Nottingham, both from Bengal: and the day after§ §the§	15: A duplicate of the order for stores needed in 1768 16: A duplicate of the order for medicines needed in 1768 17: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 27 June 1767 18: The account of the *Duke of Albany* 19: A duplicate of the account of the *Hawke* 20: A duplicate of Captain Cotton's receipt for £10 0s 0d 21: A duplicate of Captain Cotton's receipt for 2 clocks 22: A duplicate pattern of lace for the officers' regimentals The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous letter went to the Court by the *Duke of Albany* and was dated 5 July. 2: The Company's snow *Mercury* and the *Nottingham* arrived on the 29th of the previous month, both from Bengal. **Interpretations** Item 10 counted 15 discharged soldiers, while the letter of 5 July 1767 named 14 men taken by Captain Haldane under permit. The fifteenth was perhaps Zedekiah Saunderson, placed in the *Hawke* on 27 June 1767, whose packet carried no such list. The letter of 27 June 1767 put the men of the 1762 draft claiming their discharges at 16, divided between those two ships. Items 12 to 16 repeated the stock lists and the orders for 1768 first sent by the *Hawke*, as the packet of 10 June 1766 did for the previous year's papers. A second lace sample at item 22 followed the same reasoning, since a lost pattern would have delayed the officers' braid by a full year. A snow was a small two-masted, square-rigged vessel, far below the size of the regular ships. The *Nottingham* was the ship by which the president and council of Bengal proposed to send a further 25 casks of salt provisions, the supply the Council asked the Court to stop in the letter of 5 July 1767.
91	84	the Anson from Madrass, which place she left the 24th of March§ §and the Pigot there, that ship it was imagined would sail for§ §Europe about the middle of April; Captn Lenox informs us he§ §spoke with your ship Vansittart, the 27th June, and the 30th§ §of the same Month, with the Earl of Chatham both off Cape§ §Lagullass, all well§ §3 On Balancing the Cash Account the Quarter§ §ending the 30th of June last, we find there will be Money§ §sufficient to answer the current expence of next Year, without§ §your Honors Consigning any to this Island, and in Case§ §your Cash should continue high until the arrival of your next§ §Store Ship, by additional Sums paid in for Bills, we beg§ §to know whether it would be a measure agreeable to your§ §Honors to forward any part we find can be spared, to your§ §President and Council of Fort Marlborough§ §4 Your Honors will please to observe in our Consultation§ §of the 20th of last Month, that Mr Philip Mahony Clerk of the§ §Peace Petitioned Us for an augmentation of his Salary, and§ §to be independent of the Garrison, we beg leave to	The *Anson* arrived from Madras the day after the *Mercury* and the *Nottingham*. She left that place on 24 March, when the *Pigot* still lay there and was expected to sail for Europe about the middle of April. Captain Lennox reported speaking with the Company's ship *Vansittart* on 27 June. He met the *Earl of Chatham* on the 30th of the same month, and both ships were off Cape Agulhas with all well. 3: The cash account for the quarter ending 30 June was balanced. It showed enough money in hand to meet the current expenses of the following year without any consignment from the Court. Further sums paid in for bills might keep the balance high until the next store ship arrived. The Council therefore asked whether the Court would approve of forwarding whatever could be spared to the president and council of Fort Marlborough. 4: The consultation of the 20th of the previous month recorded a petition from Mr Philip Mahony, the clerk of the peace. He asked for an increase in his salary and to be made independent of the garrison. The Council always thought it improper that his civil and military employments were joined. The salary of the civil post was far too small to live on, however, so he was necessarily kept in the military one. His care and diligence earned the Council's good opinion, and his abilities were equal to his office. The Court was accordingly recommended to allow him a salary adequate to that post alone. Considering the trouble of the office and the smallness of the fees, the Council judged that he could not maintain himself on less than £40 0s 0d a year. **Interpretations**

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		observe that we§ §have ever considered the impropriety of his Civil and Military§ §Vocations, being joined together; but as the Salary of the former§ §was by no means a sufficient maintenance, we were under the§ §necessity of continuing the latter, in order to enable him to§ §live, and as he has very much recommended himself to Us§ §by his Care and diligence in his duty, as well as his§ §capacity being equal to his office, we beg leave to recommend§ §to your Honors to allow him a Salary adequate to that§ §station; independent of any thing else, and considering§ §the trouble of his office, and the smallness of the Fees, we§ §are of opinion that he cannot maintain himself with less§ §than £40.. P Year.§	Paragraph 3 turned a yearly improvisation into a request for a standing rule. The Council sent the *Plassey*'s chest of treasure on to Canton in April 1766 and the *Earl of Middlesex*'s chest to Fort Marlborough in April 1767, each time on its own judgement that bill money would cover the island's costs. The balance of 30 June confirmed that judgement so fully that the Court was told to consign no treasure at all for the following year. The further question concerned the island's own accumulated cash, as distinct from a chest in transit. Shipping that out was a new step, and the Council asked first instead of acting and reporting afterwards. The receipts behind the surplus were recorded through the spring: £2,698 0s 0d on 24 March 1767, £1,650 0s 0d from Captain Mitford on 26 April 1767 and £1,590 18s 0d in the letter of 27 June 1767. Paragraph 4 concerned the officer who kept the records of the quarterly sessions. His fees were charges paid by those who came before the court, such as the £0 19s 2d owed by John Pinchback and advanced from the Company's cash on 6 May 1767. On a small island they yielded little, so Mr Mahony also drew pay in the garrison. The Council's objection was that an official of the civil court was at the same time under military command, which compromised his independence. It nevertheless raised nothing itself and only recommended a figure, the course it adopted for the armourer in the letter of 11 April 1767 after the Court's rebuke over John Robinson's salary. The *Anson* and the *Pigot* were the two ships that Captain Rous left in Bengal on 1 February, under orders to complete their cargoes at Madras, as the letter of 20 May 1767 reported. Cape Agulhas was the southernmost point of Africa, east of the Cape of Good Hope, so the *Vansittart* and the *Earl of Chatham* were outward ships just entering the Indian Ocean.
92	85	5 The Passengers on board the Nottingham are§ §Captains Bevan and Massey and Messrs Patten, [Shew], and§ §Huggins; Captain Dowe on board the Snow Mercury, and§ §Captains Campbell Clark and Myers, Mr Bean, and§ §Mrs Grant, on board of the Anson§ §6 We have Granted Mr William Wrangham two§ §sets of Bills of Exchange, One for £159.6. payable to§ §John Rutherford Esqr and the other for £160.. payable to§ §Andrew [Ritchie] Esqr both drawn at 90 Days sight, and§ §dated the 27th of last month§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §2d August 1767§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St§ §Helena P Snow Mercury dated 2 August 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter datd 2d August 1767§ §2 Do and Do dated 2d Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Governor and Councils Generl Letter dated 5th July Do§ §4 Consultations from 6th to the 27th July Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from 29 June to 4th July Do§	5: The passengers on board the *Nottingham* were: Captain Bevan Captain Massey Mr Patten Mr Chew Mr Huggins Captain Dowe travelled on board the snow *Mercury*. Those on board the *Anson* were: Captain Campbell Captain Clark Captain Myers Mr Bean Mrs Grant 6: The Council granted Mr William Wrangham two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the 27th of the previous month. One set payable to John Rutherford, £159 6s 0d One set payable to Andrew Ritchie, £160 0s 0d The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 August 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 2 August 1767 and sent by the snow *Mercury*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 August 1767 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 August 1767 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 July 1767 4: The consultations from 6 to 27 July 1767 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 29 June to 4 July 1767 **Interpretations**

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			The packet went by the snow *Mercury*, the smallest of the three vessels then in the road, although the *Nottingham* and the *Anson* were regular ships bound the same way. A snow was a light two-masted vessel that the Company used for carrying dispatches, so she was perhaps expected to reach England first. The law letter at item 2 followed the quarterly pattern seen in the packets of 23 April 1766, 25 July 1766, 3 November 1766 and 22 May 1767, each of which carried such a letter after a sitting of the sessions. The consultations at item 4 took in 20 July, the day on which the quarter's accounts were due before the Council, as the letter of 5 July 1767 stated. Mr Wrangham's two bills came to £319 6s 0d and added to the bill money on which the letter of 2 August 1767 based its report that the island needed no treasure for the following year. He was also joint holder of the £100 0s 0d set granted on 22 June 1767.
93	86	6 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Duke of Albany§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Hawke§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Duke of Albany§ §10 Cash Account from the 28th to 30th June 1767§ §11 Do for the Month of July Do§ §12 Snow Mercury's Account§ §13 Duplicate Ship Duke of Albany's Account§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Nottingham, Anson, and§ §Snow Mercury§ §15 Time of Ships Boats arrivl at Banks's§ §16 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions, held on the§ §15th July 1767§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We wrote to your Honors the 2d instant, by the§ §Snow Mercury§ §2 On the 3d of this Month arrived your Ship Pigot§ §from Madrass, which place she left the 18th April§ §3 Captain Howe applying to us for an Anchor§ §and Cable, we have supplied him with those Articles and§ §in obedience to your Honors Orders, give you this information§ §that you may replace them, as we have already acquainted§ §you of the necessity of having those things in Store, for the§ §use of your Shipping§ §4 We cannot transmit you an Abstract of§ §the§	The packet list for the snow *Mercury* continued with these further items. 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Albany* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Hawke* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Duke of Albany* 10: The cash account from 28 to 30 June 1767 11: The cash account for the month of July 1767 12: The account of the snow *Mercury* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Duke of Albany* 14: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Nottingham*, *Anson* and snow *Mercury* 15: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 16: The proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 15 July 1767 The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council wrote to the Court on the 2nd of that month by the snow *Mercury*. 2: The Company's ship *Pigot* arrived from Madras on the 3rd of that month, having left that place on 18 April. 3: Captain Howe applied to the Council for an anchor and a cable, and both were supplied to him. The Council reported the issue as the Court's orders required, so that the articles could be replaced. The Court already knew how necessary it was to keep such gear in store for the Company's shipping. 4: The Council was unable to send the Court an abstract of a cargo. **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 drew down a small reserve. The letter of 11 April 1767 counted the gear held for the Company's ships as two anchors, one cable and three topmasts, after a single cable went to the *Grenville*. The issue to Captain Howe therefore took the last cable and left one anchor, so the next ship to lose her ground tackle at the island could not be fully supplied. That is why the Council pressed for replacement at once. Under the terms set out in the letter of 2 April 1766, such articles were charged at 30 per cent above the invoice price. Items 10 and 11 closed the gap announced in the letter of 5 July 1767, when the quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 20 July. The earlier account ended on 27 June, so a three-day account completed the quarter, as was done on 25 July 1766 and 26 April 1767. The *Pigot* was the ship the *Anson* left at Madras on 24 March, expected to sail about the middle of April, as the letter of 2 August 1767 recorded. The sessions of

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			15 July 1767 at item 16 were the sitting on which the law letter in the same packet reported.
94	87	the Ship Pigots Cargoe, as Captain Richardson acquaints§ §Us he has no Copy of his Bill of Lading§ §5 The Governor hath paid £170.. into your§ §Cash for which we have given him Bills on your Honors§ §for that Sum payable to Robt Wood Esqr dated the 10th§ §instant, and drawn at 90 days sight§ §6 The Passengers on board the Pigot are Major§ §Kirkpatrick & Mr [Perero]§ §7 We have given Captn Richardson an order to§ §receive on board the Pigot, Thos Townsend Mason, and§ §carry him to England and have paid him £5.. for his§ §Passage which we were under a necessity of doing as he had§ §no Money to defray that expence, and we are determined§ §that he should not remain on the Island after he had§ §quitted your service; Captn Richardson's receipt for the§ §said £5.. goes enclosed, we have further to observe to§ §your Honors that when we sent for said Townsend to let§ §him know that he was to prepare himself to go on board§ §the Pigot, that he absolutely refused complying unless§ §forced, on which we Ordered him into Custody for twenty four§ §Hours untill he was put on board, but as his Wife has§ §Petitioned to stay as P Yesterday's Consultation, we agreed to§ §it for the reasons set forth in her said Petition, yet hope§ §that our indulgence to her as a Native of the Island, will not§ §be an inducement to your Honors to permit said Townsend§ §again to return, as it is with his Consent as well as hers,§ §that she stays behind him, and are persuaded at same time§ §that she will do better without him as he was a very bad§ §Husband, & his insolence at several times renders him a§ §very§	The abstract of the *Pigot*'s cargo could not be sent, because Captain Richardson told the Council that he held no copy of his bill of lading. 5: Governor Skottowe paid £70 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council gave him bills on the Court for that sum, dated the 10th of that month. They were payable to Robert Wood and drawn at 90 days' sight. 6: The passengers on board the *Pigot* were Major Kirkpatrick and Mr Perero. 7: Captain Richardson received an order to take Thomas Townsend, the mason, on board the *Pigot* and carry him to England. The Council paid the captain £5 0s 0d for the passage, and his receipt for that sum went enclosed with the letter. The payment was unavoidable, since Townsend held no money to meet the expense. The Council was determined that he would not stay on the island once out of the Company's service. When Townsend was sent for and told to get ready to go on board, he flatly refused to obey unless forced. The Council then ordered him into custody for twenty-four hours, until he was put on board. His wife petitioned to remain, as the consultation of the day before recorded, and the Council agreed for the reasons given in her petition. The Council hoped that this favour to her as a native of the island would not lead the Court to let Townsend come back. She stayed behind with his consent as well as her own. The Council was also convinced she would fare better without him, since he was a very bad husband and his repeated insolence made him a troublesome man. **Interpretations** Paragraph 7 records an expulsion carried out at the Company's cost and by force. The letter of 2 August 1767 announced that Townsend and his wife would both be sent away at the first opportunity. Two parts of that plan changed. The Council paid £5 0s 0d for a man who owed the Company nothing and whom it could have left to find his own passage, because waiting on his means would have kept him on the island. That was the rate paid for each invalid on 4 April 1766 and each French deserter on 27 June 1767. His confinement for twenty-four hours ensured he could not hide when the ship sailed. The wife's case was decided the other way. She was born on the island, so removing her meant exiling an islander for her husband's offence, and the Council let her stay. It saw the risk in that favour: a wife left behind gave Townsend a ground for asking the Court's leave to return, which is why the letter stressed his consent to the separation and his character as a husband. The *Pigot* was the latest ship to arrive without a copy of her bill of lading, after the Bombay ships of 1766 and the *Prince of Wales* on 26 March 1767. The Governor's bill was his fourth payable to Robert Wood, after £300 0s 0d on 9 April 1766, £205 4s 0d on 3 November 1766 and £400 0s 0d on 22 April 1767.
95	88	very unfit object of Compassion, flying in the face of all§ §Order and Authority§ §8 We beg that your Honors will please to inform§ §us whether any of your Artificers or Servants, that come§ §from England in your service here, and afterwards marry§ §on the Island, whether in that Case, if it is thought§ §necessary to dismiss such Artificers or Servants, for bad§ §behaviour, how far our Authority extends in sending§ §their Wives who are Natives of this Place along with§ §their Husband, if both the Husband and Wife are desirous§	The Council judged Thomas Townsend a man who deserved no compassion, since he defied all order and authority. 8: The Council asked the Court for a ruling on craftsmen and servants who came from England in the Company's service and afterwards married on the island. Such men were sometimes dismissed for bad conduct. The question was how far the Council's authority reached in sending away, along with the husband, a wife who was a native of the island. One case arose where husband and wife both wished to part by mutual consent, and the wife's friends were willing to support her and give security that she would not become a charge on the parish. The other arose where

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		§to part by mutual Consent, and the Wives friends willing§ §to support her and give security that she does not become§ §burthensome to the Parish; but in Case she cannot find§ §that security and yet desirous to stay how far than our§ §Authority can oblige her to leave the Island§ §9 We have given Captn Howe an order to receive§ §on board his Ship Heny [Ellerius] a discharged Soldier§ §towards compleating the Nottingham's Company, and§ §have also put on board the Ship Anson Robt Shaffer§ §another discharged Soldier towards compleating that§ §Ships Company§ §10 This waits on your Honors by the Ship Nottingham§ §which sails from hence with the Anson & Pigot§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humbe Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §16th August 1767§	she could find no such security and still wished to stay. The Council asked how far it could then compel her to leave the island. 9: Captain Howe received an order to take Henry [...], a discharged soldier, on board his ship towards making up the *Nottingham*'s crew. Robert Shaffer, another discharged soldier, went on board the *Anson* towards making up that ship's crew. 10: The letter went to the Court by the *Nottingham*, which sailed from the island with the *Anson* and the *Pigot*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 16 August 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 8 turned the Townsend case into a request for a general rule. The Council announced on 2 August 1767 that the mason and his wife would both be sent away, then let her remain on her own petition, as the earlier part of this letter recorded. Having decided one case by indulgence, it asked the Court what its powers were before another arose. The same course was taken on 5 June 1766, when the Council declined to try Captain Fenner's seaman and asked how far its jurisdiction extended over acts at sea. The doubt here was of a different kind. A servant sent out from England was on the island by the Company's licence and could be removed when it ended, but a woman born there held no such conditional footing, and marriage to a dismissed man was her only connection with his offence. The two cases the Council distinguished show what the island's government feared from such a wife. The concern was cost and not conduct. A woman left without a husband's wages might fall on the parish, the body that relieved the island's poor from local funds, as an English parish did. Security from her friends, a bond to maintain her, removed that risk, and the Council evidently felt on safe ground in letting her stay. Its real question was the harder case, where no one would stand surety and she still refused to go. The anchor and cable supplied to Captain Howe, reported earlier in this letter, went to the *Nottingham*, the ship he commanded.
96	89	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Nottingham dated 16th August 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 16th August 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dat. 2d Do Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dat. 2 Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from the 3d to the 15th Do Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 6th to the 27th July Do§ §6 First receipt for the Packet P Snow Mercury§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Duke of Albany§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Snow Mercury§ §10 Cash Account from the 1st to the 16th August 1767§ §11 Duplicate Do from the 28th to the 30th June Do§ §12 Do Do for the Month of July Do§ §13 Ship Nottinghams Account.§ §14 Do Pigots Do§ §15 Do Ansons Do§ §16 Duplicate Snow Mercury's Do§ §17 Time of the Pigots Boat arrival at Banks's§ §18 Captain Richardsons Receipt for £5..§ §19 Duplicate Proceedings of a General quarterly Sessions§ §held on the 15th July 1767§ §20 List of 2 Discharged Soldiers§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 16 August 1767 and sent by the *Nottingham*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 August 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 August 1767 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 August 1767 on law matters 4: The consultations from 3 to 15 August 1767 5: A duplicate of the consultations from 6 to 27 July 1767 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the snow *Mercury* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Albany* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the snow *Mercury* 10: The cash account from 1 to 16 August 1767 11: A duplicate cash account from 28 to 30 June 1767 12: A duplicate cash account for the month of July 1767 13: The account of the *Nottingham* 14: The account of the *Pigot* 15: The account of the *Anson* 16: A duplicate of the account of the snow *Mercury*

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			17: The time at which the boat of the *Pigot* arrived at Banks's 18: Captain Richardson's receipt for £5 0s 0d 19: A duplicate of the proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 15 July 1767 20: A list of 2 discharged soldiers **Interpretations** Item 18 was the receipt promised in the letter of 16 August 1767 for the £5 0s 0d paid to carry Thomas Townsend, the mason, to England in the *Pigot*. Sent as a separate numbered paper, it gave the Court proof of an outlay made for a man no longer in its service. Item 20 covered the two discharged soldiers placed in the *Nottingham* and the *Anson* by the same letter. The packet held no abstract of cargo. That of the *Nottingham* and *Anson* went by the snow *Mercury* on 2 August 1767, and Captain Richardson held no copy of his bill of lading for the *Pigot*, as the letter of 16 August 1767 explained.
97	90	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors the 16th of last Month§ §by the Nottingham which sailed from hence with the Pigot &§ §Anson§ §2 On the 29th of August arrived your Ship Devonshire§ §from Bombay which place Captn Mercer left the 20th May, the§ §7th instant arrived the Neptune last from Mauritius Captain§ §Steward informs Us that he met with a violent Gale of Wind in§ §the Latitude of 19..30 South in which he lost his Rudder &§ §was obliged to cut away his Topmasts and lower Yards to save§ §his lower Masts, he likewise cut away his small Bower Anchor,§ §& threw over board two nine Pounder Guns, and many parcels of§ §private Trade having six feet Water in the Hold; upon his§ §arrival at Mauritius he unloaded the Ship and repaired the§ §Damage, and found about 160 Chests of your Honors Bohea§ §Tea entirely spoiled which was condemned, Captain Steward§ §further informs us that he met with a very kind reception from§ §the Governor and Gentlemen at the Mauritius as well as every§ §other assistance the place could possibly afford§ §3 On the 4th instant Anchored to Leeward of South West§ §Point a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Elizabeth Dorothea§ §Captain Grove burthen about 500 Tons carrys 22 Guns and 105§ §Men loaden with Pepper and bound to Amsterdam, the reasons§ §for her not coming into the Road are assigned in our last§ §Consultation to which we beg leave to refer your Honors, she§ §sailed Yesterday for Holland§ §4 The Passengers on board the Devonshire are§ §Captain§	The Council addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 16th of the previous month. That letter went by the *Nottingham*, which sailed from the island with the *Pigot* and the *Anson*. 2: The Company's ship *Devonshire* arrived from Bombay on 29 August, and Captain Mercer reported leaving that place on 20 May. The *Neptune* came in on the 7th of that month, last from Mauritius. Captain Steward reported meeting a violent gale in latitude 19 degrees 30 minutes south. The ship lost her rudder in it, and he was forced to cut away his topmasts and lower yards to save the lower masts. He also cut away his small bower anchor and threw overboard two nine-pounder guns and many parcels of private trade, with six feet of water in the hold. On reaching Mauritius he unloaded the ship and repaired the damage. About 160 chests of the Company's Bohea tea proved entirely spoiled and were condemned. Captain Steward added that the governor and gentlemen at Mauritius received him very kindly and gave every other help the place could offer. 3: A Dutch ship from Batavia called the *Elizabeth Dorothea*, under Captain Grove, anchored to leeward of South West Point on the 4th of that month. She was of about 500 tons burthen and carried 22 guns and 105 men. Her cargo was pepper, and she was bound for Amsterdam. The reasons for her not coming into the road were set out in the Council's latest consultation, to which the Court was referred. She sailed for Holland the day before the letter. 4: The passengers on board the *Devonshire* were listed next. **Interpretations** Captain Steward's account confirmed the identification the Council made in the letter of 11 June 1767, when the French ship *Ajax* reported an unnamed English vessel at Mauritius without masts or rudder and with six or seven feet of water in her hold. The details were measures taken to keep a leaking ship afloat. Cutting away the topmasts and yards reduced the strain and top weight on a hull that could no longer be steered, and the anchor, guns and goods went overboard to lighten her. The private trade was the officers' own merchandise, so its loss fell on them and not on the Company. The bower anchors were the two main anchors carried at the bow, the small bower being the lighter of the pair. Bohea was the cheapest and most common grade of black tea shipped from Canton and made up the bulk of the Company's tea cargoes. Tea soaked by sea water was worthless, and the condemnation at Mauritius was the formal survey declaring the 160 chests unfit, which the owners and the Company needed in order to settle the loss. The friendly

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			treatment by the French authorities mattered to the Court, since Mauritius was the base of its chief European rival and the *Neptune* lay there for months with a China cargo on shore. The Dutch ship anchored off South West Point, on the far side of the island from the road and its batteries. The Council left its explanation to the consultation, so the page does not show why she stayed outside.
98	91	Captain Hassard and Messrs Johnstone and Hodson, and Mr§ §Dennis on board the Neptune§ §5 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One set to the Reverend Mr William Bearcroft for £60..§ §payable to Edward Bearcroft Esqr and one set to Captain John§ §Howard for £100.. payable to Captn John Oliver both drawn at§ §90 days sight and dated the 7 instant§ §6 We received by the Nottingham the remainder of the§ §Salt Provision the President and Council of Bengal wrote§ §Us by the Duke of Albany they purposed sending by that Ship,§ §five Casks of the Beef they informed us were of a better sort§ §and dearer, which upon inspection proved pretty good Meat the§ §other Beef but indifferent; as was likewise the Pork however§ §as it was sound we ordered both the Beef & Pork to be§ §Issued to your Slaves, and hope it will keep good until it is§ §all expended and we beg leave again to mention to your Honors§ §that you will be pleased to give orders to your Presidency of§ §Bengal to discontinue sending us any more Provision from that§ §place, as it does neither answer in price or quality§ §7 We have given Captain Mercer an Order to receive§ §on board the Devonshire to fill up her complement James McDonald§ §and Benjamin Burnett two deserters from the Ship Nottingham§ §William Troop & Anthony Dight from the Anson; and likewise permitted§ §Capt Mercer to receive on board his Ship Martin Steel another§ §deserter from the Ship Anson§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §10 Sept 1767§	The passengers on board the *Devonshire* were: Captain Hassard Mr Johnstone Mr Hodson Mr Downs travelled on board the *Neptune*. 5: The Council granted the following bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the 7th of that month. One set to the Reverend Mr William Bearcroft, payable to Edward Bearcroft, £60 0s 0d One set to Captain John Howard, payable to Captain John Oliver, £100 0s 0d 6: The *Nottingham* brought the rest of the salt provisions that the president and council of Bengal promised in their letter by the *Duke of Albany*. Five casks of the beef were described by Bengal as a better and dearer sort, and on inspection they proved fairly good meat. The other beef was only middling, and so was the pork. All of it was sound, however, so the Council ordered both the beef and the pork to be issued to the Company's slaves. It hoped the meat would keep until it was all used. The Court was again asked to order the presidency of Bengal to send no more provisions from that place, since they answered in neither price nor quality. 7: Captain Mercer received an order to take four deserters on board the *Devonshire* to fill up her complement. James McDonald, deserter from the Nottingham Benjamin Burnett, deserter from the Nottingham William Troop, deserter from the Anson Anthony Dight, deserter from the Anson The Council also allowed Captain Mercer to take Martin Steel, another deserter from the *Anson*, on board his ship. The letter was dated at St Helena on 10 September 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Paragraph 6 kept up a request that the second consignment did less to support than the first. The letter of 5 July 1767 reported the beef from the *Duke of Albany* as rotten and thrown into the sea, at more than £13 0s 0d a cask. The meat from the *Nottingham* was all sound, and five casks were fairly good. The Council could have softened its verdict on that evidence. It instead repeated the request to stop the supply, resting on price and on the middling quality of the bulk, and it issued the whole to the slaves instead of the garrison. Its preference for the European supply was therefore a settled judgement and not a reaction to one bad shipment. Five seamen deserted from the *Nottingham* and the *Anson* before those ships sailed on 16 August 1767. The same letter recorded that each of those ships took a discharged soldier towards making up her crew, so the soldiers perhaps replaced men already missing. The deserters could not be returned to ships that were gone, and the Council moved them into the next homeward vessel, as it did with the two men from the *Plassey* on 12 April 1766. Four went by order as part of the complement, and the fifth by permission, which

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			suggests the *Devonshire* needed only four hands and carried Steel as an extra man. Mr Bearcroft was the chaplain whose salary and £100 0s 0d bond were dealt with in the letter of 11 April 1767. His bill sent £60 0s 0d to a relative in England within months of his arrival.
99	92	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Devonshire dated 10th Sept 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 10th September 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 16th August Do§ §3 Consultations from the 17 August to 7th September Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 3 to the 15 August Do§ §5 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Nottingham§ §6 Second Do for Do P Snow Mercury§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 List of Officers & Servants taken 10th Sept 1767§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Nottingham§ §10 Cash Account from the 17th to the 31 August 1767§ §11 Do from the 1st to the 10th Septr Do§ §12 Duplicate Do from the 1st to 16 August Do§ §13 Ship Devonshire's Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Nottinghams Acct§ §15 Do Do Pigots Do§ §16 Do Do Ansons Do§ §17 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Devonshire & Anson§ §19 Capt Richardsons Receipt for £5..§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We did ourselves the Honor of writing to you the§ §10th instant by the Ship Devonshire§ §2 The Hats and Shoes received from each Ship this§ §Year, the Storekeeper reports to us are of equal goodness.§ §which§	A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 10 September 1767 and sent by the *Devonshire*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 September 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 August 1767 3: The consultations from 17 August to 7 September 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 3 to 15 August 1767 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Nottingham* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the snow *Mercury* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A list of officers and servants taken on 10 September 1767 9: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Nottingham* 10: The cash account from 17 to 31 August 1767 11: The cash account from 1 to 10 September 1767 12: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 16 August 1767 13: The account of the *Devonshire* 14: A duplicate of the account of the *Nottingham* 15: A duplicate of the account of the *Pigot* 16: A duplicate of the account of the *Anson* 17: The times at which ships' boats arrived at Banks's 18: An abstract of the cargoes of the *Devonshire* and *Anson* 19: Captain Richardson's receipt for £5 0s 0d The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 10th of that month, sending that letter by the *Devonshire*. 2: The storekeeper reported to the Council that the hats and shoes received from each ship that year were of equal quality. **Interpretations** Paragraph 2 delivered the verdict promised in the letter of 11 April 1767, when the Council undertook to report which tradesmen served the Company best once the soldiers' hats and shoes were tried in use. The Court evidently split the order between suppliers and sent each one's goods by a different ship, so that the island could compare them. The storekeeper's finding of no difference gave the Court no ground for preferring one tradesman on quality. The abstract at item 18 named the *Anson*, although an abstract of the cargoes of the *Nottingham*, *Anson* and snow *Mercury* went home on 2 August 1767. The *Neptune*, which arrived on 7 September 1767 after her repairs at Mauritius, had no abstract in the packet. Item 19 was perhaps a duplicate of the receipt for Thomas Townsend's passage, first sent by the *Nottingham* on 16 August 1767, though the clerk did not mark it as one.
100	93	which we could not ascertain, until we had experienced the§ §wear of them§ §3 Mr Edwin [Ulcot] applied to us to pay £700..§ §into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills§ §for that Sum payable to himself, drawn at 90 Days§ §sight & dated this Day§ §4 We have had a very good Season & your Honors§	The Council explained that the equal quality of the hats and shoes could not be established until they were tried in wear. 3: Mr Edwin Alcock applied to pay £700 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council received the money and gave him bills for that sum, dated the day of the letter. They were payable to himself and drawn at 90 days' sight.

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		§Pastures and plantation as well as the Island in general§ §is at present in a flourishing condition, but the disorder§ §among the Black Cattle continuing, in a great measure§ §prevents the encrease of the Stock of the Island§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humbe Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §14 Sept 1767§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §P Ship Neptune dated 14th September 1767 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 14th September 1767§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 10th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 14th Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 17th August to 7th Do Do§	4: The island enjoyed a very good season. The Company's pastures and plantations, and the island in general, were then in a flourishing condition. The disease among the black cattle still continued, however, and largely prevented any increase in the island's stock. The letter was dated at St Helena on 14 September 1767 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 14 September 1767 and sent by the *Neptune*. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 September 1767 2: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 September 1767 3: The consultation of 14 September 1767 4: A duplicate of the consultations from 17 August to 7 September 1767 **Interpretations** Paragraph 4 was the third report on the season in this correspondence, and it showed the cattle disease as a lasting problem. The letter of 23 April 1766 described flourishing pastures with no mention of sickness. The letter of 5 March 1767 reported the disease attacking the breeding animals, and six months later it was still checking the herds despite good grass. That persistence explained the measures the Council pressed in the letter of 27 June 1767: early ships calling at the Cape for another year, each bringing about 40 young cattle and 20 sheep, with some to be sold to the planters whose herds suffered most. Mr Alcock's £700 0s 0d added to a treasury already reported as full. The letter of 2 August 1767 told the Court that no treasure need be consigned for the following year and asked leave to forward spare cash to Fort Marlborough. The *Neptune* carried the packet home a week after arriving from Mauritius, where she was repaired after the gale described in the letter of 10 September 1767.
101	94	5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Devonshire§ §6 Second Do for Do P Ship Nottingham§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Devonshire§ §9 Cash Account from the 11th to 14th September 1767§ §10 Duplicate Do from the 17th to 31st August Do§ §11 Do Do from the 1st to 10th September Do§ §12 Ship Neptunes Account§ §13 Duplicate Ship Devonshires Account§ §14 Courts Martial from the 5 August 1766 to 31st August 1767§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices waited on your Honors by the§ §Neptune under date of the 14th September 1767§ §2 On the 12 instant arrived your Ship Lord Holland§ §from Bengal (last from the Cape) Captain Nairn acquaints§ §Us he left the Pilot the 15 of Octr & your Ships Norfolk, Egmont,§ §Calcutta & Europa at that place, the Hector he informs us§ §sailed for the Coast with Troops the 15th Sept last, the Northington§ §and Earl of Elgin sailed likewise, with Troops for Madrass the§ §30th of the same Month, with three or four Country Ships on the same§ §account, the Troops destined for that service were three Batalions§ §of Sea Poys; Captain Nairn also acquaints us that he heard your§	The packet list for the *Neptune* continued with these further items. 5: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Devonshire* 6: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Nottingham* 7: The effective state of the garrison 8: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Devonshire* 9: The cash account from 11 to 14 September 1767 10: A duplicate cash account from 17 to 31 August 1767 11: A duplicate cash account from 1 to 10 September 1767 12: The account of the *Neptune* 13: A duplicate of the account of the *Devonshire* 14: The courts martial from 5 August 1766 to 31 August 1767 The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council's previous news went to the Court by the *Neptune* in a letter dated 14 September 1767. 2: The Company's ship *Lord Holland* arrived from Bengal on the 12th of that month, last from the Cape. Captain Nairn reported parting with the pilot on 15 October, when the Company's ships *Norfolk*, *Egmont*, *Calcutta* and *Europe* lay in Bengal. The *Hector*, he said, sailed for the Coast with troops on 15 September. The *Northington* and the *Earl of Elgin* also sailed with troops for Madras on the 30th of the same month, and three or four country ships went on the

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		§Ship Worcester was arrived at Bombay, and the Latham, Triton, Earl of§ §Lincoln, Houghton, London, Earl of Chatham, Lord Mansfield &§ §[...] at the Coast, the Calcutta he tells us was run on Shore§ §at§	same service. The troops sent were three battalions of sepoys. Captain Nairn further heard that the Company's ship *Worcester* was at Bombay. The *Latham*, *Triton*, *Earl of Lincoln*, *Houghton*, *London*, *Earl of Chatham*, *Lord Mansfield* and [...] were at the Coast. The *Calcutta*, he added, ran aground. **Interpretations** The movement of three battalions of sepoys from Bengal to Madras, in Company ships and hired country vessels, was the weightiest news in the paragraph. It meant that the Madras presidency was at war and drawing on Bengal for men. The earlier letters traced the cause: Hyder Ali Khan defeated the Tellicherry detachment, as the letter of 4 August 1766 reported, and by the letter of 26 March 1767 he commanded 30,000 men and a fleet of 30 vessels while assuring Bombay that he meant no harm. Regular ships diverted to carry troops were also ships delayed in loading for Europe, which the Court needed to know. The Coast meant the Coromandel coast, the shore of south-east India on which Madras stood. Parting with the pilot marked a ship's true departure from Bengal. Vessels were taken down the Hooghly by a river pilot, who left them at the mouth, so the date fixed the start of the sea passage. The *Lord Holland* was the outward ship met off the Cape on 13 April 1767, as the letter of 22 May 1767 recorded, and she was then on her way home. Item 14 was the yearly return of the garrison's military trials. The previous one, sent on 4 August 1766, ended on that day, and this began on the next, so the series ran unbroken. It took in the general court martial of Captain Richard Beale on 23 March 1767, whose proceedings went separately by the *Speke* on 11 April 1767.
102	95	at the mouth of Bengal River, but got off & was about to§ §sail for Bombay to heave down, we are also told that Captain§ §Morris had spoke with Captn Palmer of the Vansittart at Sea,§ §who told him that his Ship had sprung a Leak, and that he§ §intended to put into the Mauritius§ §3 Captn Nairn further informs us that they had received§ §Accounts at Calcutta from the Coast, that Hyder Nagg had joined§ §the Nabob of Golconda, & marched with those united Troops, and§ §got between Madrass, & our Army, and cut off all communication,§ §but that the day he left the River, he met with a Country Ship§ §bound from Madrass, that further informed either him, or his Officer,§ §that our Army had come up with the Enemy, & had an engagement§ §& that Hyder Nagg was wounded, & the Communication again§ §open'd between the Settlement & the Army§ §4 By this opportunity we transmit your Honors General§ §Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30th of September last,§ §5 We have given Captain Nairn an Order to receive on§ §board his Ship towards compleating her Company Thos Chapman,§ §Corns [Shibeap] & Duncan [McPherson], three Seamen left here out§ §of the Ship Devonshire§ §6 John Drawwater your Cooper having Petitioned Us as§	The *Calcutta* ran aground at the mouth of the Bengal river but got off again. She was about to sail for Bombay to be hove down. The Council also heard that Captain Morris spoke at sea with Captain Palmer of the *Vansittart*. Captain Palmer told him that his ship was leaking and that he intended to put into Mauritius. 3: Captain Nairn further reported news that reached Calcutta from the Coast. Hyder Naig joined forces with the Nabob of Golconda, and their combined army marched between Madras and the Company's army and cut all communication. On the day Captain Nairn left the river, however, he met a country ship from Madras with later news, given either to him or to his officer. The Company's army came up with the enemy and fought an engagement in which Hyder Naig was wounded. Communication between the settlement and the army was open again. 4: The general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September of the previous year, went home by this opportunity. 5: Captain Nairn received an order to take three seamen on board his ship towards making up her crew. All three were left on the island out of the *Devonshire*. Thomas Chapman Cornelius [...] Duncan McPherson 6: John Drawwater, the Company's cooper, petitioned for an increase in his salary, as the consultation of 9 November of the previous year recorded. He was a very diligent and sober man, and his salary was only £36 0s 0d a year. The Council promised him to recommend his case to the Court, since it thought his allowance too small to live on. 7: Captain Nairn brought 20 cattle and 54 sheep from the Cape. The Council paid him £79 13s 0d for them, as shown by his bill entered in the consultation

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		§P Consultation of the 9th November last for an Augmentation of§ §his Salary, as the said Drawwater is a very diligent sober§ §Man & his Salary only £36.. P Year, we promised to§ §recommend the same to your Honors consideration, as we really§ §think his allowance too small for him to live upon§ §7 Captn Nairn brought us from the Cape 20 Cattle &§ §54 Sheep, for which we paid him £79.13 as P his Bill entered§ §in Consultation of the 16th instant, the Cattle he brought are§ §young§	of the 16th of that month. The cattle he brought were young. **Interpretations** Paragraph 3 explained the troop movements reported earlier in this letter. Hyder Naig, who told Bombay he meant the English no harm, as the letter of 26 March 1767 recorded, was by then in open war with Madras and allied with the Nabob of Golconda, the ruler of Hyderabad and the chief Muslim prince of southern India. An army placed between Madras and the Company's field force threatened the settlement itself, which is why three battalions of sepoys were shipped from Bengal. The Council took care to grade its sources. The alarming account was what Calcutta believed, while the report of a battle and of Hyder's wound came from a single country ship and perhaps reached Captain Nairn only through his officer. After the retractions of 8 June 1766 and 26 March 1767, the Council let the Court see how thin the good news was. Paragraph 6 followed the rule the Council adopted after the Court's rebuke over John Robinson's salary, answered on 2 April 1766. As with the armourer on 11 April 1767 and the clerk of the peace on 2 August 1767, it raised nothing itself and only recommended. A cooper made and repaired the casks in which the island's salt provisions, water and spirits were kept, so his work protected the stores. Paragraph 7 was the first return on the request made in the letter of 27 June 1767 for homeward ships to bring stock from the Cape. Captain Nairn carried half the 40 cattle asked of each ship and far more than the 20 sheep, and the animals were young, as the Council specified. The cost of £79 13s 0d was about a quarter of the £317 1s 0d paid for the *Asia*'s consignment, reported on 5 March 1767. To heave a ship down was to haul her over on her side so that the bottom could be examined and repaired, which the *Calcutta* needed after grounding and which Bombay's dockyard could do. The *Vansittart* was the outward ship met off Cape Agulhas on 27 June, as the letter of 2 August 1767 recorded. The general books closed the year to 30 September 1767, as those sent on 5 March 1767 did for the year before.
103	96	young and of a proper age for this place & answers better than§ §full grown Cattle§ §8 Captain Fasham Nairn applied to pay £100..§ §into your Honors Cash, we have granted him Bills for that§ §Sum, payable to himself (or Order) dated the 16th instant, and§ §drawn at 90 Days sight§ §9 We thought to have had the pleasure of transmitting§ §to your Honors by this Conveyance, a Plan of Sandy Bay§ §Fortification now compleated, as well as the expence arising§ §from that Work; but the Engineer from his other business, has§ §not been able as yet to finish the Plan, which he is at§ §present about, & will Compleat with all possible expedition,§ §which we shall send home as soon as finished with our§ §opinions thereupon§ §10 We beg leave to refer your Honors to our§ §Consultations of the 23d & 30th of Novemr 7th & 14th of Decemr last§ §with respect to the proposals the Engineer laid before us for§ §altering the situation & Construction of Mundens Battery, as§	The young cattle brought by Captain Nairn were of the right age for the island and did better there than full-grown animals. 8: Captain Fasham Nairn applied to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council granted him bills for that sum, dated the 16th of that month. They were payable to himself or to his order and drawn at 90 days' sight. 9: The Council expected to send home by this conveyance a plan of the Sandy Bay fortification, then finished, together with the cost of that work. The engineer's other business kept him from completing the plan. He was then at work on it and would finish it as quickly as possible. The Council promised to send it home, with its own opinions on it, as soon as it was ready. 10: The Court was referred to the consultations of 23 and 30 November and of 7 and 14 December of the previous year. They dealt with the engineer's proposals for altering the position and construction of Munden's battery. They also recorded the orders given to him on how to proceed in completing that work, with the Council's reasons in full. The Council ordered the works at Munden's and at Banks's upper battery to be carried on together. Doing so would speed the defences of the leeward coast, and the hands formerly employed at Sandy Bay were enough for both. 11: The passengers on board the *Lord Holland* were listed next.

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		§likewise the orders we have given him in what manner to proceed§ §towards compleating that Work, as fully explained, together with§ §our reasons for so acting in the beforementioned Consultations; &§ §have Ordered the Carrying on both the Works of Mundens, and§ §Banks's upper Battery, at the same time, as it will be a§ §means of expediting the Defences of the Leeward Coast,§ §and the Hands that were employed at Sandy Bay, sufficient§ §for both those Works§ §11 The Passengers on board the Lord Holland are§ §Mrs§	**Interpretations** Paragraph 10 shows the Council changing its manner towards the engineer after the Court's criticism, answered in the letter of 11 April 1767, that it merely forwarded his letters without comment. His proposals for Munden's battery were debated over four consultations in as many weeks, and the outcome was framed as the Council's orders to him, with its own reasons recorded. The promise in paragraph 9 to send the Sandy Bay plan with the Council's opinions made the same point. The substance still moved ahead of London, as it did when alterations at Sandy Bay were agreed on the spot and reported on 3 November 1766: the position and design of a battery were changed and work was ordered before the Court could answer. The decision to build two batteries at once was a choice about labour. Sandy Bay, begun in 1766 and given its own ledger head, as the letter of 2 April 1766 reported, was finished, and its workforce was free. The Council could have moved the men to one site and completed it before starting the next. It split them between Munden's, on the headland beside the anchorage, and the upper battery at Banks's, further along the same shore, so that both approaches to the road were strengthened together. The leeward coast was the north-western side of the island, sheltered from the prevailing south-east wind, where ships anchored and where a landing was most practicable. The plan and the cost of Sandy Bay were to go home together, which would give the Court its first completed account of a single work under the separate accounting promised on 2 April 1766.
104	97	Mrs Martin & Mrs Higgins and Messrs Sage, [Rodney] &§ §Shrimpton§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §18th Jany 1768§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St§ §Helena P Ship Lord Holland dated the 18th Jany 1768 vizt§ §No 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 18th Jany 1768§ §2 Do & Do dated the 18th Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 14th Sept 1767§ §4 Consultations from 17th Sept 1767 to the 16 Jany 1768§ §5 Duplicate Do of the 14th Do Do§ §6 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Neptune§ §7 Second Do for Do P Ship Devonshire§ §8 Effective state of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Rolls of Do§ §10 List of Officers & Servants taken 18th Jany 1768§	The passengers on board the *Lord Holland* were: Mrs Martin Mrs Higgins Mr Sage Mr [...] Mr Shrimpton The letter was dated at St Helena on 18 January 1768 and signed by: John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the Company's packet from St Helena, dated 18 January 1768 and sent by the *Lord Holland.* 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 January 1768 2: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 January 1768 on law matters 3: A duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 September 1767 4: The consultations from 17 September 1767 to 16 January 1768 5: A duplicate of the consultation of 14 September 1767 6: The first receipt for the packet sent by the *Neptune* 7: The second receipt for the packet sent by the *Devonshire* 8: The effective state of the garrison 9: The muster rolls of the garrison 10: A list of officers and servants taken on 18 January 1768 **Interpretations** The packet covered the dead season of the island's shipping, as the *Asia*'s did the year before. Item 4 held four months of consultations, from 17 September 1767 to 16 January 1768, against the stretch from 10 November 1766 to 2 March 1767 sent on 5 March 1767. No homeward Company ship left between the *Neptune* on 14 September 1767 and the *Lord Holland*, so the debates on Munden's battery

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			in November and December, to which the letter of 18 January 1768 referred the Court, waited weeks for a conveyance. The date of the letter fixed the events it reported. The *Lord Holland* arrived on 12 January 1768, some three months after parting with her pilot in Bengal on 15 October 1767, and Captain Nairn's bill for the Cape cattle and sheep was entered on 16 January 1768.
105	98	11 List of Family's taken 30th Sept 1767§ §12 Do of Rents taken 30th Do Do§ §13 Do of the Honoble Compys Slaves taken 30th Sept 1767§ §14 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Neptune§ §15 Cash Account from 15 to 30th Sept 1767§ §16 Do for the Month of October Do§ §17 Do for the Month of November Do§ §18 Do for the Month of December Do§ §19 Do from the 1st to 18th Jany 1768§ §20 Duplicate Do from 11th to 14th Sept 1767§ §21 Ship Lord Hollands Account§ §22 Duplicate Ship Neptunes Do§ §23 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Lord Holland§ §24 Time of the arrival of the Lord Hollands Boat at Banks's§ §25 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held the 7th Octr 1767§ §26 General Books of Accounts§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors last by the Ship§ §Lord Holland, under date of 18th Jany 1768§ §2 On the 11th instant, arrived your Ship Hector from§ §Madrass (last from the Cape) Capt Williams informs us he§ §left Fort St George the 6 Novemr and that your Ship Bute§ §had not been there, as Captn Nairn acquainted us he heard she§ §had, & we informed your Honors of in our last; we have the§ §satisfaction to acquaint you that we are told that your Army on§ §the§	The packet list for the *Lord Holland* continued with these further items. 11: A list of families taken on 30 September 1767 12: A list of rents taken on 30 September 1767 13: A list of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1767 14: A duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Neptune* 15: The cash account from 15 to 30 September 1767 16: The cash account for the month of October 1767 17: The cash account for the month of November 1767 18: The cash account for the month of December 1767 19: The cash account from 1 to 18 January 1768 20: A duplicate cash account from 11 to 14 September 1767 21: The account of the *Lord Holland* 22: A duplicate of the account of the *Neptune* 23: An abstract of the cargo of the *Lord Holland* 24: The time at which the boat of the *Lord Holland* arrived at Banks's 25: The proceedings of a general quarterly sessions held on 7 October 1767 26: The general books of accounts The Council then addressed a further letter to the Court of Directors. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Lord Holland*, in a letter dated 18 January 1768. 2: The Company's ship *Hector* arrived from Madras on the 11th of that month, last from the Cape. Captain Williams reported leaving Fort St George on 6 November. The Company's ship *Bute*, he said, was never there, although Captain Nairn heard that she was and the Council reported it in the previous letter. The Council was pleased to pass on news of the Company's army. **Interpretations** Paragraph 2 opened with another correction of intelligence, the third in this correspondence after those of 8 June 1766 and 26 March 1767. The letter of 18 January 1768 listed the ships Captain Nairn heard were at the Coast, and the *Bute* was among them. Captain Williams came from Madras itself and left three weeks after Captain Nairn parted with his pilot in Bengal, so his word displaced a report that reached Calcutta at second hand. A ship wrongly placed at Madras would mislead the Court's reckoning of when she was due home. Items 11 to 13 were the annual returns of households, land rents and the Company's slaves, taken on 30 September as in the previous year, when they went by the *Ponsborne* on 3 November 1766. In 1767 no ship sailed between mid-September and January, so the returns and the general books at item 26 waited more than three months. The cash accounts again shifted to calendar months through the gap in shipping, as they did between November 1766 and March 1767. The sessions of 7 October 1767 at item 25 were the sitting on which the law letter of 18 January 1768 reported.
106	99	the Coast had twice engaged Hyder Naig and defeated him each§	The Council reported news that the forces on the Coast fought Hyder Naig twice and beat him on

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		§time that in the last action, they had taken all their Baggage &§ §Cannon, & rendered him incapable (we hope) of giving any further§ §uneasy apprehensions§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to Danl. Corneille Esqr for £200.. payable to§ §Christr. Baron Esqr dated the 25 Jany. 1768, One set to the§ §Reverend Wm. Bearcroft for £100.. payable to Messrs. Thomas &§ §Willm. Chisim, One Set to Capt. Jno. Williams for £100..§ §payable to himself and One set to Mr. James Powell for £200.§ §payable to Capt. Jno. Williams, all drawn at 90 days sight,§ §& dated the 22 instant§ §The Passengers on board the Ship Hector are Mr. &§ §Mrs. Pybus & Messrs. Goring, Grey, & Monsell§ §The Ship Hector the day of her arrival, having met§ §with the misfortune of runing on Shore (we suppose by an Accident)§ §& having given her all the assistance that lay in our power by the§ §aid of all your Boats, as well as 100 of your Soldiers, she§ §providentially got off at high Water, and Capt. Williams§ §informs Us he apprehends, she has recd. no other damage than§ §losing her false Keel, and injuring her Rudder, which latter§ §he has repaired§ §Your Honours will please to observe by our Consultn.§ §of the 22 instant, that one of your Long Boats recd. so much§ §damage in assisting the Hector in her distress, that has rendered§ §her incapable of any further service, she has been in use§ §upwards of three Years and only valued by your Carpenter at§ §£10.. altho she stands upon your Books at £35 what she§ §first Cost, which valuation we inform your Honors of, as the nature§ §of the circumstance by which she was damaged, is such, that we have§	both occasions. The second battle cost him all his baggage and cannon, and the Council hoped this left him unable to cause any more alarm. 3: The Council issued four sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Christopher Baron Esquire, dated 25 January 1768, £200 0s 0d The Reverend William Bearcroft, payable to Messrs Thomas and William Chisim, dated 22 January 1768, £100 0s 0d Captain John Williams, payable to himself, dated 22 January 1768, £100 0s 0d Mr James Powell, payable to Captain John Williams, dated 22 January 1768, £200 0s 0d 4: The *Hector* carried as passengers Mr and Mrs Pybus and the Misses Goring, Grey and Monsell. 5: The *Hector* ran aground on the day she arrived, apparently by accident. The Council sent every Company boat and 100 of the garrison's soldiers to help, and the ship floated free at high water. Captain Williams believed the only harm was the loss of her false keel and an injury to her rudder. He mended the rudder himself. 6: The Council referred the Court to its consultation of 22 January 1768 concerning one of the Company's longboats. The boat suffered so badly while helping the *Hector* that she could never be used again. She was more than three years old, and the Company's carpenter put her worth at only £10 0s 0d. The books still carried her at £35 0s 0d, the price first paid for her. The Council explained that it reported this valuation because of the way the damage came about. **Interpretations** A false keel was a sacrificial length of timber fastened beneath the main keel. It took the wear of a grounding and could be torn away without opening the hull, which explains why Captain Williams treated its loss as minor. Bills of exchange let residents and ship's officers pay money into the island treasury and have the equivalent paid out in London by the Company. The 90 days' sight term meant the Court had three months after a bill was presented before payment fell due. The bills gave the island a supply of cash without coin being shipped out, and gave the payers a safe way of sending funds home. Captain Williams appeared both as a drawer in his own favour and as payee of Mr Powell's bill, so £300 0s 0d of the £600 0s 0d issued was to reach him in London. The Council chose to report the carpenter's figure of £10 0s 0d for the longboat instead of simply writing off the £35 0s 0d at which she stood in the books. Its stated reason was the manner in which she was damaged. Since the boat was lost in the service of a ship and not through ordinary wear, the lower valuation was probably put forward as the fair measure of the loss should the cost be charged to the *Hector*'s owners. The enemy named as Hyder Naig was Hyder Ali, ruler of Mysore, and the Coast was the Coromandel Coast, where the Madras presidency was then at war with him. The Council's hope that he could do no further harm was qualified in the letter itself, which shows that the report was passed on as welcome but unconfirmed news.
107	100	not charged her present valuation to the Captain, but refer it to§ §your Honors, and must take the first opportunity of purchasing§ §another Boat§ §By our last Letter we had the satisfaction of§ §informing your Honors of the completion of Sandy Bay§ §Fortification, and refered to the next opportunity	The Council did not bill Captain Williams for the longboat at the carpenter's figure and left that question for the Court to settle. A replacement boat had to be bought as soon as one could be found. 7: The previous letter announced that the fortification at Sandy Bay was finished. The Council then held back its opinion of the work and a plan of the defences, because the Engineer had not yet completed his drawing. Both now went home with

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		giving our opinion§ §thereon, as well as a plan of said defences, the Engineer not§ §having then compleated a draught of the same, which we have§ §the pleasure now of conveying to your Honours by this opportunity,§ §together, with an Estimate of the whole Expence, as we have§ §collected it under one general head in your Books for your further§ §satisfaction, and have reason to hope, considering the extent, &§ §solidity of so great a work, as will occur to your observations§ §on considering the plan, that we have had due regard to§ §Oeconomy as much as the nature, & labour of such buildings§ §will admit of, where attention is chiefly to be paid to§ §duration, & solidity, without which they become a continual§ §charge, that in the prosecution of that, the necessity we§ §found ourselves under in employing a number of the Garrison§ §Men, was an unavoidable circumstance, as your Slaves§ §are by no means sufficient either in number, & much less in§ §strength, & labour, for such an undertaking, and from the above§ §reasons must continue the same practice untill the whole of§ §the works are compleated, which we hope will meet with your§ §Honours approbation from the above, as well as other reasons§ §already assigned in former Letters§ §As on the receipt of this Letter your Honours will§ §have the Plan of that Work, together with its references before§ §You, we beg leave to observe some few deviations in its§ §present construction from that sent home in the Engineer§	this letter. An estimate of the whole cost accompanied them, gathered under a single heading in the Company's books so that the Court could see it at a glance. The Council hoped the Court would judge from the plan that money was spent carefully, given the scale and strength of the work. Buildings of this kind had to be durable above all, since weak ones became a permanent drain on funds. Employing a number of the garrison's men on the work could not be avoided. The Company's slaves were too few for such a project and fell even further short in strength and capacity for labour. For those reasons the Council intended to go on using soldiers until all the works were finished. It hoped the Court would approve, both on these grounds and on those given in earlier letters. 8: The Court would have the plan of the Sandy Bay work and its key to hand when this letter arrived. The Council therefore pointed out that the work as built departed in a few respects from the design sent home earlier. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the obvious course of charging the longboat to Captain Williams at once, although she was wrecked in rescuing the *Hector* and paragraph 6 took care to fix her value at £10 0s 0d against a book figure of £35 0s 0d. Referring the matter home left the Court to decide whether to claim against the ship's owners in London, where the Company settled its accounts with them. The low valuation was thus put on record without the Council committing itself to a demand on a commander who was about to sail. The defence of soldier labour answered an objection the Court had evidently raised before, as the appeal to reasons given in earlier letters shows. Garrison men put to building work were paid extra for it on top of their military pay, so the practice added a direct charge that slave labour would not have carried. The Council's argument rested on two separate shortfalls, the number of the Company's slaves and their physical fitness for heavy masonry, and it presented the continued use of soldiers as settled until the works were complete instead of asking leave. The "references" sent with the plan were the lettered or numbered key explaining the features marked on the drawing. Gathering the scattered charges for Sandy Bay under one head in the books turned a run of separate entries for labour, materials and stores into a single total that could be set beside the Engineer's plan.
108	101	general remarks and approved of by you; yet no ways§ §material in the addition of expence, & in our opinions§ §very essential both in Addition of strength and security§ §to the defence of said Works: And first, the Flank to§ §the left of the lesser Line for small Arms, which defends§ §all the revetment of that Line in case of a Landing;§ §Secondly, A small traverse of communication between the§ §two Lines defended by a Parapet, which will facilitate the§ §defence of both, which in the Plan sent home were totally§ §detatched by the intermediate Hill that lies between:§ §Thirdly, the Erasing the Old Battery, as it does not appear§ §in the present Plan, being intirely demolished and only serves§ §as a Landing Place for loading, an unloading Boats - And§ §fourthly a Breast Work on a point of the Hill East of	The Council explained that the Sandy Bay work differed in four ways from the design that went home with the Engineer's general remarks and won the Court's approval. None of the changes added much to the cost. All of them, in the Council's view, made the defences considerably stronger and safer. First: A flank for musketry was added to the left of the smaller line, covering the whole face of that line against a landing. Second: A short covered passage protected by a parapet was built between the two lines, making both easier to defend. The earlier plan left them cut off from each other by the hill lying between. Third: The old battery was removed from the drawing because it was completely pulled down. Its site served only as a landing place for loading and unloading boats. Fourth: A breastwork was raised on a point of the hill east of the bay for muskets, or more accurately wall pieces, which would badly harass boats. It also covered a gully opposite, marked K K and strongly walled up. The plan showed this gully

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		the§ §Bay for small Arms, or more properly Wall Pieces, which§ §will much Annoy Boats, and also defends an opposite§ §Gully Mark'd K K strongly Wall'd up, which you will§ §find per Plan forms a little Bay to the right of where the§ §old Battery stood§ §These are the chief observations which we think§ §it incumbent on us to make, that your Honours may have§ §as full and perfect a knowledge of said Works, as can be§ §given to those who are not on the Spot, and at the same§ §time we must not neglect doing justice to merit; as your§ §Engineer Capt. Mitchell has executed that Fortification with§ §Skill, diligence, and constant attendance to that, as well as§ §every other part of his duty, Co-operating with Us in§ §Oeconomy as much as the nature of so capital a Work would§ §admit of, doing justice to his imployers in the trust§ §reposed in him, and credit to his character in the§	forming a small bay to the right of the old battery's site. 9: The Council offered these as its main comments, so that the Court could understand the works as fully as anyone away from the island could. It also wished to give credit where credit was earned. Captain Mitchell, the Company's Engineer, carried out the fortification with skill, hard work and constant presence on site, as he did every other part of his duty. He worked with the Council to keep costs as low as so major a project allowed. His conduct did right by the Company that trusted him and reflected well on his own reputation. **Interpretations** Wall pieces were very heavy muskets, too large to fire from the shoulder, mounted on a swivel or rested on a parapet. They threw a larger ball further than an ordinary musket and suited a small post meant to trouble boats approaching a beach. The Council's correction of "small arms" to "wall pieces" shows the breastwork was designed for these fixed weapons and not simply for infantry. A breastwork was a low chest-high wall giving cover to men firing over it. A flank was a length of wall set at an angle so that its fire swept along the face of the neighbouring line, and the revetment was the stone facing of that line. A traverse of communication was a protected passage letting defenders move between two works without exposure. The Court approved one design and the Council built another. The obvious course was to build to the approved plan or seek leave before altering it, and the letter shows neither was done: the changes were reported only after the work was finished. The Council met the difficulty by stressing that the additions cost little and by tying each to a specific defensive gain. The second change in particular corrected a weakness in the approved design, where the hill left the two lines unable to support each other. Praise for Captain Mitchell followed directly on the admission of these departures and repeated the claim of economy made in paragraph 7. The commendation therefore served the Council's own case as well as the Engineer's, since the Court was being asked to accept both the cost of the works and the use of garrison labour on them.
109	102	imployment in which he has the honour of serving You.§ §We transmit your Honours by this conveyance the§ §Plan of Sandy Bay Fortification in a seperate Box§ §and have desired Capt. Williams to deliver it himself to§ §your Honors, his receipt for the same goes enclosed in the§ §Packet§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt. & humbl. Servants§ §signed§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §23 Feby. 1768§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St.§ §Helena P Ship Hector datd. the 23 Feby. 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 23d Feby. 1768§ §2 Do. and Do. dated the 23 Do. Do.§ §relatg. to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Governor & Councl. Genl. Letter dated the 18th Jany. Do.§	Captain Mitchell's conduct did credit to his standing in the post he held under the Company. 10: The plan of the Sandy Bay fortification went home by the *Hector* in a box of its own. The Council asked Captain Williams to hand it to the Court in person, and his receipt for it was enclosed in the packet. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 February 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Hector*, dated 23 February 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 23 February 1768 2: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 23 February 1768 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 18 January 1768 4: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 18 January 1768 5: Consultations from 18 January 1768 to 22 February 1768

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		§4 Do. & Do. dated the 18 Do. Do.§ §relatg. to Law Matters§ §5 Consultations from 18 Jany. to the 22d February 1768§ §6 Duplicate Do. from 17 Sept. 1767 to 16 Jany. Do.§ §7 First receipt for the Packet P Ship Lord Holland§	6: Duplicate of the consultations from 17 September 1767 to 16 January 1768 7: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Holland*. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the ordinary course of putting the plan in the packet with the other papers. It was boxed separately, entrusted to Captain Williams by name and covered by his signed receipt, which travelled in the packet as proof of what he took charge of. A large drawing would have suffered from folding, and a plan of the island's defences was a document whose loss or exposure mattered more than that of routine correspondence. The receipt fixed responsibility on the commander personally if the box failed to arrive. Duplicates of the letters and consultations already sent in January went again by the *Hector* as insurance against the loss of the earlier ship. The same reasoning lay behind item 7: a commander signed more than one receipt for a packet, and the first copy was sent home by a different vessel so that the Court could hold him to account for its delivery. Legal business was kept in a letter of its own, separate from the general letter, so that it could be passed directly to those in London who handled the Company's legal affairs.
110	103	8 Second Receipt for the Packet P Ship Neptune§ §9 Effective state of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Lord Holland§ §11 Do. Do. of Family's taken 30th Sept. 1767§ §12 Do. Do. of Rents taken 30th Do. Do.§ §13 Do. Do. of the Hoble Compys. Slaves taken 30th Sept. 1767§ §14 Cash Account from 19th to 31 Jany. 1768§ §15 Do. Do. from 1 to 23 Feby. Do.§ §16 Duplicate Do. from 15 to 30th Sept. 1767§ §17 Do. for the Month of October Do.§ §18 Do. for the Month of Novemr. Do.§ §19 Do. for the Month of Decemr. Do.§ §20 Do. from the 1st to 18th Jany. 1768§ §21 Ship Hectors Account§ §22 Duplicate Ship Lord Hollands Acct.§ §23 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Hector§ §24 Time of the Arrival of the Hectors Boat at Banks's§ §25 Proceedings of a General Quartr. Sessions held 18th Jany. 1768§ §26 Duplicate Do. Do. held 7 Octr. 1767§ §27 Estimate of the Expence of Sandy Bay Fortification§ §28 First Receipt for a Box contg. the Plan of Sandy Bay§ §Fortification§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honours the 23d of§ §February, by your Ship Hector§ §On the 5th instant arrived the Northumberland the 8th§	The list of the packet's contents continued with the remaining enclosures. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Neptune*. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Lord Holland*. 11: Duplicate list of families taken on 30 September 1767 12: Duplicate list of rents taken on 30 September 1767 13: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1767 14: Cash account from 19 January 1768 to 31 January 1768 15: Cash account from 1 February 1768 to 23 February 1768 16: Duplicate cash account from 15 September 1767 to 30 September 1767 17: Duplicate cash account for October 1767 18: Duplicate cash account for November 1767 19: Duplicate cash account for December 1767 20: Duplicate cash account from 1 January 1768 to 18 January 1768 21: Account of the *Hector*. 22: Duplicate account of the *Lord Holland*. 23: Summary of the cargo of the *Hector*. 24: Note of the time at which the *Hector*'s boat reached Banks's. 25: Proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 13 January 1768 26: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 7 October 1767 27: Estimate of the cost of the Sandy Bay fortification 28: First receipt for a box containing the plan of the Sandy Bay fortification A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 23 February 1768 by the *Hector*. 2: The *Northumberland* arrived on the fifth of the month in which the new letter was written. **Interpretations** Banks's was the battery and signal post on the coast north-east of the anchorage, the first Company station an approaching ship passed. A ship was expected to send her boat ahead to report there before coming in, so the time of the boat's arrival was logged. Sending that note home in the same packet as

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			the news of the *Hector*'s grounding, recorded in paragraph 5 of the letter of 23 February 1768, gave the Court a timed record of the ship's approach on the day she went ashore. The three lists taken on 30 September 1767 formed the island's yearly return: the free households, the rents owed to the Company for land and the slaves the Company owned. Together they let the Court measure the settlement's population, its revenue from tenants and its own labour force at a single date. The count of slaves had a direct bearing on paragraph 7 of the letter, where the Council argued that the Company's slaves were too few and too weak for the Sandy Bay works. Cash accounts were closed and sent in sections matching the departure of each ship, which explains the broken periods ending on 18 January 1768 and 23 February 1768. The Court thus received an unbroken run of accounts with duplicates following by the next vessel. The receipt for the boxed plan was called a first receipt, showing that Captain Williams signed more than one copy. One travelled with him in the packet and another was held back to follow by a later ship, as the second receipt for the *Neptune*'s packet at item 8 did for an earlier commander.
111	104	the Earl of Lincoln (both from China) and the 10th your Ship§ §Nofolk from Bengal, Capt. Mitford acquaints Us the Osterly§ §and Triton were dispatched from China with him and that§ §your Honours Ships Latham, Houghton, British King, &§ §Genl. Allart were to leave Canton about the middle of Jany.§ §he likewise informs us the London was not arrived when he§ §left that Place, he also tells Us there were 6 English Country§ §Ships 2 Danes 2 Swedes 4 Dutch & 3 French at China the§ §last Season. We are likewise told there had been a disturbance§ §at Canton Owing to a Sampan being burnt by Order of your§ §Supra Cargoes on Account of some of the Chinese filling§ §several of your Chests of Tea with Saw Dust & other things,§ §which occasioned all Trade to be Stoped for about 25 days,§ §but the Merchants called the Cohong had the affair settled &§ §the Trade opened as Usual, We are further informed there§ §had been a Rebellion in China last Year but productive§ §of no bad Consequence with respect to Trade. Capt.§ §Sandys Acquaints Us he left Bengal the 22 Decemr. &§ §your Ships Earl of Elgin, Northington, Calcutta, Admiral§ §Pocock, Europa & Egmont there, the latter was to fill up at§ §the Coast. He likewise informs Us he put into the Cape the§ §18th Feby. last were he found his Majestys Ship Dolphin§ §& that your Ship Admiral Watson had sailed from thence§ §3 or 4 Days before he Arrived, The Osterly he tells Us§ §put into that Place the 24th of last Month. Captn. Sandys§	The *Northumberland* reached St Helena on the fifth of the month and the *Earl of Lincoln* on the eighth, both from China. The *Norfolk* followed from Bengal on the tenth. Captain Milford reported that the *Osterly* and the *Triton* left China in company with him. Four more Company ships, the *Latham*, *Houghton*, *British King* and *Van Sittart*, were due to leave Canton about the middle of January 1768. The *London* was still absent when he sailed. He counted the foreign and private shipping at China during the previous season. English country ships, 6 Danish ships, 2 Swedish ships, 2 Dutch ships, 4 French ships, 3 News also came of trouble at Canton. Some Chinese suppliers packed several of the Company's tea chests with sawdust and other rubbish, and the supercargoes ordered a sampan burnt in reply. All trade then stopped for about 25 days. The merchants known as the Cohong settled the dispute and business resumed as normal. A rebellion broke out in China during 1767, but it did no damage to trade. Captain Sandys left Bengal on 22 December 1767. Six Company ships lay there at the time: the *Earl of Elgin*, *Northington*, *Calcutta*, *Admiral Pocock*, *Europa* and *Egmont*. The *Egmont* was to complete her cargo on the Coast. He called at the Cape on 18 February 1768 and found His Majesty's Ship *Dolphin* there. The *Admiral Watson* sailed from the Cape three or four days before he arrived. The *Osterly*, he added, put in there on the twenty-fourth of the previous month. Captain Riddel told him that Captain Maitland went to Brazil for water and that everyone aboard was well. 3: The *Norfolk* carried as passengers Messrs Kingstone, Shand, Nichols and Davis and Mr Lynch. **Interpretations** The Cohong was the guild of Chinese merchants licensed by the imperial authorities to deal with foreign traders at Canton. Its members stood surety for the ships and their crews and answered to the officials for the foreigners' behaviour. A quarrel between the Company and its suppliers therefore went to the Cohong for settlement, since direct appeal to Chinese officials was closed to Europeans. Supercargoes were the Company's commercial agents at Canton, who bought the tea and managed each

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		§likewise acquaints Us he heard from Captn. Riddel that§ §Captn. Maitland went to the Brazils for Water & were all§ §well on board§ §The Passengers on board the Nofolk are§ §Messrs. Kingstone, Shand, Nichols & Davis & Mr. Lynch§	season's trade. A sampan was a small flat-bottomed Chinese harbour boat. Country ships were privately owned vessels trading between ports in Asia under the Company's licence, as distinct from the Company's own ships sailing to and from Europe. The supercargoes faced a fraud in the tea supply and passed over the ordinary remedy of rejecting the chests or claiming against the merchant who supplied them. They had a boat destroyed instead, perhaps the one that delivered the bad tea. The cost of that choice appears in the same sentence: a stoppage of about 25 days in a trade that ran to a tight seasonal timetable. The Council relayed the affair as settled and offered no opinion on the supercargoes' judgement. St Helena served here as a clearing house for intelligence. Commanders arriving from China and Bengal within five days of one another supplied the positions of some 20 ships, the state of the Canton market and the strength of rival nations' trade there. The Council gathered these reports into a single paragraph so that the Court could learn of its homeward fleet weeks before the ships themselves reached England.
112	105	on board the Earl of Lincoln§ §We cannot transmit your Honours an Abstract§ §of the Earl of Lincolns Bill of Lading as Captain§ §Hardwicke tells Us he has no Copy of it§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to Captn. Jno. Mitford for £1200 payable§ §to Mr. Robt. Mitford, One Set to Captn. Jno. Sandys for§ §£100 Payable to himself & One Set to Mr. Robt. B[...]§ §for £371. 5s Payable to Mr. George Martin all drawn§ §at 90 Days sight & dated this day§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Earl of§ §Lincoln that Sails in Company with the Norfolk, and will§ §be followed in a few days by the Northumberland§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble§ §servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mathw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §14th March 1768§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Earl of Lincoln dated 14th March 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 14th March 1768§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 23 Do. Do.§	Mr Lynch travelled as a passenger aboard the *Earl of Lincoln*. 4: The Council could not send the Court a summary of the *Earl of Lincoln*'s bill of lading, because Captain Hardwicke reported that he held no copy of it. 5: The Council issued three sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 14 March 1768. Captain John Milford, payable to Mr Robert Milford, £200 0s 0d Captain John Sandys, payable to himself, £100 0s 0d Mr Robert Bandy, payable to Mr George Martin, £371 5s 0d 6: The letter went home by the *Earl of Lincoln*, which sailed in company with the *Norfolk*. The *Northumberland* was to follow within a few days. The letter was dated at St Helena on 14 March 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Earl of Lincoln*, dated 14 March 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 14 March 1768 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 23 February 1768 **Interpretations** A bill of lading was the signed list of cargo a commander acknowledged taking aboard, and it bound him to deliver those goods. The Council normally drew a summary from each ship's copy and sent it ahead, as it did for the *Hector* at item 23 of the packet list of 23 February 1768. That gave the Court early notice of what each cargo held and a check against what was later landed. Captain Hardwicke's lack of a copy left the Council with nothing to summarise, and it reported the gap to the Court instead of compiling a list from the ship's own account of her lading. The explanation was recorded as the captain's statement, which placed responsibility for the missing paper on him. The date of 14 March 1768 fixed the month left open in the letter's second paragraph. The *Northumberland* therefore arrived on 5 March 1768, the *Earl of Lincoln* on 8 March 1768 and the *Norfolk* on 10 March 1768. The *Osterly*'s call at the Cape on

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			the twenty-fourth of the previous month fell on 24 February 1768. Two of the three bills were taken by commanders then in the road. Captain Milford's was made payable to Mr Robert Milford, probably a relative in England, which shows the bills being used to send private funds home to family as well as to the drawers themselves.
113	106	3 Duplicate Govr. & Councils General Letter dated 23 Feby. 1768§ §relatg. to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from 29 Febry. to 14th March Do.§ §5 Duplicate Do. from 18th Jany. to 22 Febry. Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Hector§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Lord Holland§ §8 Do. Do. for a Box containg. the Plan of Sandy Bay Fortifn.§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 List of Officers & Servants taken 14th March 1768§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Hector§ §12 Cash Account from 24th to the 29th Febry. Do.§ §13 Do. Do. from 1st to the 14th March Do.§ §14 Duplicate Do. from 19th to 31st Jany. Do.§ §15 Do. Do. from 1 to 23 Febry. Do.§ §16 Ship Earl of Lincolns Account§ §17 Do. Norfolks Do.§ §18 Duplicate Ship Hectors Do.§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Northumberland & Norfolk§ §20 Time of Ships Boats Arrival at Banks's§ §21 Duplicate Proceedings of a General Quartr. Sessions held on the§ §18th Jany. 1768§ §22 Do. Estimate of the Expence of Sandy Bay Fortification§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors the 14th of this Month§ §by the Ship Earl of Lincoln§	The list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Lincoln* continued with the remaining enclosures. 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 23 February 1768 4: Consultations from 29 February 1768 to 14 March 1768 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 18 January 1768 to 22 February 1768 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Hector*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Holland*. 8: Second receipt for a box containing the plan of the Sandy Bay fortification 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: List of officers and servants taken on 14 March 1768 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Hector*. 12: Cash account from 24 February 1768 to 29 February 1768 13: Cash account from 1 March 1768 to 14 March 1768 14: Duplicate cash account from 19 January 1768 to 31 January 1768 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 February 1768 to 23 February 1768 16: Account of the *Earl of Lincoln*. 17: Account of the *Norfolk*. 18: Duplicate account of the *Hector*. 19: Summary of the cargoes of the *Northumberland* and the *Norfolk*. 20: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's 21: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 13 January 1768 22: Duplicate estimate of the cost of the Sandy Bay fortification A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 14 March 1768 by the *Earl of Lincoln*. **Interpretations** The cargo summary at item 19 covered the *Northumberland* and the *Norfolk* but left out the *Earl of Lincoln*, the ship carrying the packet. That gap matched paragraph 4 of the letter of 14 March 1768, where Captain Hardwicke reported that he held no copy of his bill of lading. The Council sent summaries for the two ships whose papers were available and let the omission stand in the list without a substitute. The receipts show the system of paired acknowledgements working across three ships. The first receipt for the *Lord Holland*'s packet went home by the *Hector* on 23 February 1768, and the second now followed by the *Earl of Lincoln*. Captain Williams's first receipt for the boxed plan of Sandy Bay travelled in his own packet, and the second copy went by this later vessel. The Court could therefore hold each commander to account even if one ship's papers were lost. The list of officers and servants was taken on the day the letter was signed. It set out the Company's civil and military establishment on the island at that date, alongside the return of the garrison's effective strength.

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114	107	On the 17th instant Arrived his Majesty's Ship§ §Dolphin from the Cape the next day she Sailed for§ §England. The 18th Arrived your Ship Osterly from China§ §(last from the Cape) Captain Vincent acquaints Us no§ §English Ship was there when he left that Place§ §We have given Captain Mitford a permission to§ §receive on board his Ship Richd. Moreton a discharged§ §Sergeant & carry him to England he having signed an§ §instrument that he will not demand any Wages for his§ §Passage home§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Osterly§ §which Sails in Company with the Northumberland§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §21st March 1768§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Osterly dated 21st March 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Gover. & Councils General Letter dated 21st March 1768§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 14th Do. Do.§ §3 Consultation of the 21st March. Do.§	2: His Majesty's Ship *Dolphin* arrived from the Cape on 17 March 1768 and sailed for England the following day. The *Osterly* came in from China on 18 March 1768, with the Cape as her last port of call. Captain Vincent reported that no English ship lay at the Cape when he left it. 3: The Council gave Captain Milford leave to take Richard Moreton, a discharged sergeant, aboard his ship and carry him to England. Moreton signed a written undertaking that he would claim no wages for the voyage home. 4: The letter went home by the *Osterly*, which sailed in company with the *Northumberland*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 21 March 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Osterly*, dated 21 March 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 21 March 1768 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 14 March 1768 3: Consultation of 21 March 1768 **Interpretations** Moreton's signed undertaking closed off a claim that would otherwise have arisen. A man carried home in a Company ship could be entered on her books and worked as one of the crew, which entitled him to pay at the end of the voyage. The Council passed over that ordinary arrangement and made the waiver a condition of the permit, so that Moreton travelled as a passenger at no cost in wages to the ship's owners or the Company. Recording the document in the general letter gave the Court proof against any later demand from him in London. The permit named Captain Milford, whose ship left China in company with the *Osterly* and the *Triton* according to the letter of 14 March 1768. The *Northumberland* was the vessel still in the road and due to sail with the *Osterly*, which points to her as Milford's ship and Moreton's passage home. The *Dolphin* was reported at the Cape by Captain Sandys on 18 February 1768 and reached St Helena a month later. She stayed a single day, and the Council recorded nothing of her beyond her arrival and departure. Captain Vincent's news that no English ship remained at the Cape told the Court that the homeward vessels reported there earlier were all at sea again.
115	108	4 Duplicate Consultations from 29th February to 14th March 1768§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Hector§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §9 Cash Account from 15th to 21 March 1768§ §10 Duplicate Do. from 24th to the 29th Febry. Do.§ §11 Do. Do. from 1st to 14th March Do.§ §12 Ship Osterlys Account§ §13 Do. Northumberlands Do.§ §14 Duplicate Ship Earl of Lincolns Account§ §15 Do. Do. Norfolks. Do.§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Osterly§ §17 Time of the Arrival of the Osterlys Boat at Banks's§ §18 Instrument in Writing from Rd. Moreton§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors§ §by the Ship Osterly which left this Place the 22d of§ §March in company with the Northumberland§	The list of the packet sent by the *Osterly* continued with the remaining enclosures. 4: Duplicate of the consultations from 29 February 1768 to 14 March 1768 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Lincoln*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Hector*. 7: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Lincoln*. 9: Cash account from 15 March 1768 to 21 March 1768 10: Duplicate cash account from 24 February 1768 to 29 February 1768 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 March 1768 to 14 March 1768 12: Account of the *Osterly*. 13: Account of the *Northumberland*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Earl of Lincoln*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Norfolk*. 16: Summary of the cargo of the *Osterly*.

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		§On the 24th of last Month arrived your§ §Ship Triton from China§ §We cannot transmit your Honors by this§ §Conveyance any other Cash Account than the Duplicate§ §of the last as the Quarters Accounts will not be laid before§ §Us until the 18th instant§	17: Note of the time at which the *Osterly*'s boat reached Banks's. 18: Written undertaking from Richard Moreton A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Osterly*, which left the island on 22 March 1768 in company with the *Northumberland*. 2: The *Triton* arrived from China on 24 March 1768. 3: No new cash account could go home with this letter, only a duplicate of the one sent before. The quarterly accounts were not due to come before the Council until 18 April 1768. **Interpretations** The Council broke its usual practice of closing a cash account to the day each ship sailed, as it did for the periods ending 23 February 1768, 14 March 1768 and 21 March 1768. The reason given was that the quarter's accounts were not yet presented. The financial quarter ended in late March, so the entries after 21 March 1768 belonged to books that were still being made up and examined. The Council preferred to send nothing new than to send figures drawn from accounts it had not yet seen and passed, and it told the Court the date on which they were expected. The reference to the eighteenth of the current month, together with the *Triton*'s arrival on the twenty-fourth of the previous month, placed the writing of this letter in April 1768, before the eighteenth. Moreton's waiver of wages, described in paragraph 3 of the letter of 21 March 1768, went home as item 18 in the same packet. The Court thus held the signed original and not merely the Council's report of it.
116	109	Captain Willm. Elphinstone having applied to§ §pay £100.. into your Cash we have received it & given§ §him Bills drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable§ §to himself (or Order) drawn at 90 days sight & dated the 31st§ §March 1768§ §We have given Captain Elphinstone a permit to§ §receive on board his Ship Thos. Wansell, Jno. Brooks,§ §Thos. Marshall & Edwd. Welch four discharged Soldiers &§ §carry them to England§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedt. & humb. Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §2d April 1768§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Triton dated 2d April 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 2d April 1768§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 21st March Do.§ §3 Consultations from 28th to 31st Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 21st Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Osterly§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken 2 April 1768§	4: Captain William Elphinstone asked to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills on the Court for the same amount, payable to himself or to anyone he named. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 31 March 1768. 5: The Council gave Captain Elphinstone a permit to take four discharged soldiers aboard his ship and carry them to England. Thomas Wansell John Brooks Thomas Marshall Edward Welch The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 April 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Triton*, dated 2 April 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 April 1768 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 21 March 1768 3: Consultations from 28 March 1768 to 31 March 1768 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 21 March 1768 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Osterly*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Lincoln*. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 2 April 1768 **Interpretations** The words "or order" made Captain Elphinstone's bill transferable. He could sign it over to a third party, who then collected the money from

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			the Court in his place. A bill in that form could settle a debt or be sold for cash before it fell due, which made it more useful to a commander than one payable to him alone. The four soldiers were sent home on a plain permit. The letter of 21 March 1768 recorded that Richard Moreton, a discharged sergeant, signed away any claim to wages before he was allowed a passage, and his undertaking went home in the packet. No such document was mentioned for Wansell, Brooks, Marshall and Welch, and none appeared among the enclosures listed here. The letter gave no reason for the difference. The date of 2 April 1768 corrected the inference drawn from the letter's opening paragraphs. The *Triton* therefore arrived on 24 March 1768 and the quarterly accounts were due before the Council on 18 April 1768, as already stated. The packet list bore this out, since it carried no new cash account. Captain Elphinstone, who took both the bills and the permit, was evidently the *Triton*'s commander.
117	110	9 Effective state of the Garrison§ §10 Muster Rolls of Do.§ §11 Duplicate Cash Account from 15th to 21st March 1768§ §12 Ship Tritons Account§ §13 Duplicate Ship Osterlys Do.§ §14 Do. Do. Northumberlands Do.§ §15 Time of the Arrival of the Tritons Boat at Banks's§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Triton§ §To the Honorable &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors the 2d instant by§ §the Ship Triton§ §The 13th of this Month, arrived your Honors Ship§ §Europa from Bengal, which Place Captn. Pelly acquaints Us§ §he left the 12 Janry., & your Ships Earl of Elgin, Northington§ §& Admiral Pocock there, the former was to Sail for Europe§ §about the middle of March. The Egmont he tells Us§ §sailed from Bengal for the Coast the latter end of Decembr.§ §On the 14 instant arrived the Earl of Middlesex from§ §Bencoolen (last from the Cape) Captain Hasell acquaints§ §Us your Ships Pacifick, and Valentine, were at that Place§ §when he left it§ §On the 6th instant arrived a Dane Ship from§ §China called the Queen Sophia Magdalena Captn. Dixon§ §burthen about eleven hundred Tons carrys 26 Guns & 140§ §Men Loaden with Tea, China Ware & Silk bound to§	The list of the packet sent by the *Triton* continued with the remaining enclosures. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Muster rolls of the garrison 11: Duplicate cash account from 15 March 1768 to 21 March 1768 12: Account of the *Triton*. 13: Duplicate account of the *Osterly*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Northumberland*. 15: Note of the time at which the *Triton*'s boat reached Banks's. 16: Summary of the cargo of the *Triton*. A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on the second of the month by the *Triton*. 2: The *Europa* arrived from Bengal on the thirteenth of the month. Captain Pelly left Bengal on 12 January 1768, when the *Earl of Elgin*, *Northington* and *Admiral Pocock* still lay there. The *Earl of Elgin* was to sail for Europe about the middle of March 1768. The *Egmont*, he added, left Bengal for the Coast towards the end of December 1767. The *Earl of Middlesex* arrived from Bencoolen on the [...] of the month, with the Cape as her last port of call. Captain Hasell reported that the *Pacifick* and the *Valentine* were at the Cape when he left it. 3: A Danish ship from China, the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, arrived on the sixth of the month under Captain Dixon. She measured about 1,100 tons and carried 26 guns and 140 men. Her cargo was tea, chinaware and silk. **Interpretations** The Council recorded the Danish ship's tonnage, guns, crew and cargo, details it never gave for the Company's own vessels. A foreign Indiaman was a commercial rival, and her lading of tea, chinaware and silk matched what the Company itself brought from Canton. The description gave the Court a measure of the Danish company's share of the China trade, adding to Captain Milford's count of two Danish ships at China in the letter of 14 March 1768. Bencoolen was the Company's settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, maintained chiefly for its pepper. Captain Pelly's news brought earlier intelligence up to date. Captain Sandys reported in the letter of 14 March 1768 that six ships lay at Bengal on 22 December 1767, the *Europa* among them, and that the *Egmont* was to complete her cargo on the Coast. Three weeks later only three remained, and the *Egmont* was confirmed as gone to the Coast. The muster rolls named every man of the garrison individually. They went home alongside the

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			return of effective strength, which gave only the totals fit for duty, so the Court could check the numbers claimed against the names on the pay lists.
118	111	Copenhagen, The 12th Arrived a Swede Ship from China§ §called the Lovisa Ulrica Captn. Holmers burthen 1200 Tons§ §carrys 26 Guns & 150 Men loaden with Tea, China Ware and§ §Silk bound to Gottenbourg, On the 14th Arrived a Dutch Ship§ §from Bengal called the Elizabeth Captn. Moorland burthen§ §about 800 Tons carrys 24 Guns, & 110 Men, loaden with Salt§ §Petre, & Pepper, bound to Holland, The next day Arrived§ §another Dutch Ship from China, called the Margaret Maria§ §Captn. [O]gerbout, burthen about 1000 Tons, carrys 28 Guns & 120§ §Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware, & Silk bound to Holland;§ §The 16th instant arrived a Dane Ship from China, called the§ §Prince Frederick, Captn. K[n]ie, burthen about 1300 Tons, carrys§ §30 Guns, & 170 Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware, & Silk§ §bound to Copenhagen; The same day arrived a Dutch Ship§ §from Bengal, called the Cor[n]atora Captn. Leaven, burthen§ §about 1000 Tons carrys 32 Guns, & 110 Men, loaden with Salt§ §Peter & pepper, bound to Holland§ §The Passengers on board the Europa are Mr. & Mrs.§ §Campbell, Mr. Court, & Captn. Grady, and Messrs. Carthy &§ §Mc. Quin on board the Earl of Middlesex§ §We have given Captn. Hasell an order to receive§ §on board his Ship to compleat her Company, Thos. Ransom,§ §David Davis, Robt. Saunders, Frans. Doane, Thos. Cheverley§ §& Thos. Lee, six discharged Soldiers, and have permitted Captn.§ §Pelly to receive on board the Europa, Thos. Clark, Lawe. Hall,§ §Danl. Tongue, Willm. Poulton, Jno. Pickering, Luke Vernon,§ §Fisher Gamble, & Richd. Linney eight discharged Men, they§ §have signed an instrument that they will not demand any§ §Wages from the Captain, or Owners for their passage home, which§ §goes herewith§ **Margin Notes:** §to§ §8§	The *Queen Sophia Magdalena* was bound for Copenhagen, and five more foreign ships followed her into the road during the same month. The *Lovisa Ulrica*, a Swedish ship from China under Captain Holmers, arrived on the twelfth: about 1,200 tons, 26 guns, 150 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk, bound for Gothenburg. The *Elizabeth*, a Dutch ship from Bengal under Captain Moorland, arrived on the fourteenth: about 800 tons, 24 guns, 110 men, laden with saltpetre and pepper, bound for Holland. The *Margaret Maria*, a Dutch ship from China under Captain [...], arrived on the fifteenth: about 1,000 tons, 28 guns, 120 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk, bound for Holland. The *Prince Frederick*, a Danish ship from China under Captain Hinie, arrived on the sixteenth: about 1,300 tons, 30 guns, 170 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk, bound for Copenhagen. The *Cornatona*, a Dutch ship from Bengal under Captain Leaven, arrived on the sixteenth: about 1,000 tons, 32 guns, 110 men, laden with saltpetre and pepper, bound for Holland. 4: The *Europa* carried as passengers Mr and Mrs Campbell, Mr Court and Captain Grady. The Misses Carthy and Mr Quin travelled aboard the *Earl of Middlesex*. 5: The Council ordered Captain Hasell to take six discharged soldiers aboard his ship to bring her crew up to strength. Thomas Ransom David Davis Robert Saunders Francis Doane Thomas Cheverley Thomas Lee Captain Pelly received leave to carry eight discharged men home in the *Europa*. Thomas Clark Laurence Hall Daniel Tongue William Poulton John Pickering Luke Vernon Fisher Gamble Richard Linney These eight signed a written undertaking to claim no wages from the captain or the owners for the voyage. The document went home with the letter. **Interpretations** The two groups of discharged men were sent home on opposite terms, and the letter shows why. Captain Hasell's ship was short of hands, so his six were entered as crew under an order and would earn seamen's pay. The *Europa* needed no men, so Captain Pelly's eight travelled as passengers and signed away any wage claim, as Richard Moreton did in the letter of 21 March 1768. The waiver was thus required only where a man's labour was not wanted, protecting the owners from paying for hands they never asked for. The four soldiers sent by the *Triton* on 2 April 1768 went on a bare permit with no waiver recorded. Saltpetre, the chief ingredient of gunpowder, came almost wholly from Bengal and was shipped as heavy ballast cargo beneath lighter goods. The two Dutch ships from Bengal carried it with pepper, while every China ship of whatever nation carried the same three goods: tea, chinaware and silk. Chinaware was porcelain, packed low in the hold because water could not harm it. Six foreign Indiamen called within eleven days, against two Company ships. The Council logged the

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			size, armament, crew and destination of each, continuing the practice begun with the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*. Captain Milford's count in the letter of 14 March 1768 gave two Danish, two Swedish and four Dutch ships at China in the previous season, and both Danish ships of that count now appeared at the island on their way home.
119	112	In Consultation of the 18th April, your Honors will§ §find the Invoyce of Provisions of Beef and Pork sent us from§ §Bengal, which practice we were in hopes they would not§ §have continued, as we mentioned to your Honors the badness§ §of the Beef & Pork of last Year, the former the better part§ §we were obliged to throw into the Sea, & the latter great part§ §now lying on our hands, which we have had changed into§ §fresh Pickle and taken every other precaution in hopes to§ §be able to expend them for the feeding of the Blacks, and§ §with respect to the provisions now brought by the Europa,§ §the Storekeeper has reported to us, that the Provisions are Sound§ §but the Meat very Lean, and fears that it will not keep,§ §so that we shall expend them as soon as possible, and hope§ §that your Honors will please to put a Stop to that measure,§ §as Provisions Salted from Bengal by no means answers§ §& have been a Considerable Loss and expence to your§ §Honors in the Course of last Year§ §One of your Honors Long Boats having been§ §lent to Captn. Hasell for the use of his Ship, & being§ §Staved while in her service by his People, and rendered§ §incapable of repair; We ordered your Honors Carpenter§ §together with the Carpenter of the Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §to examine and report to us her value, which they have§ §accordingly done, and estimated her at £4.. which we§ §transmit to your Honors, in order that you may receive§ §the proper satisfaction for the damage§ §We have purchased another Long Boat of§ §Captain Pelly, with Masts, Sails, Oars, Grapnal &ca.§ §for which we have paid him £35..§	6: The consultation of 18 April 1768 contained the invoice for salted beef and pork shipped to the island from Bengal. The Council had hoped that these shipments would stop, since it warned the Court earlier about the poor quality of the 1767 supply. Most of that beef went into the sea. Much of the pork remained in store, where it was repacked in fresh brine and given every other care, in the hope that it could be fed to the Company's slaves. The storekeeper examined the consignment brought by the *Europa* and found it sound. He judged the meat very lean, however, and feared it would spoil. The Council therefore planned to issue it as quickly as possible. It asked the Court to end the practice altogether, because meat salted in Bengal never served its purpose and cost the Company heavily in losses and charges during 1767. 7: One of the Company's longboats was lent to Captain Hasell for his ship's use. His crew stove her in while she was in their hands, and she was beyond repair. The Council ordered the Company's carpenter and the carpenter of the *Earl of Middlesex* to inspect her and report her worth. They valued her at £4 0s 0d. The Council sent this figure home so that the Court could recover proper compensation for the damage. 8: The Council bought a replacement longboat from Captain Pelly, complete with masts, sails, oars, grapnel and cask. He received £35 0s 0d for her. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the obvious course of holding the lean Bengal meat in store as a reserve, which was the whole purpose of salted provisions. It chose to issue the meat at once on the storekeeper's warning that it would not last. The experience of 1767 explained the choice: most of that year's beef was thrown away and the pork survived only after repacking. Meat cured in Bengal's heat from thin cattle took the salt badly, and the Council treated the new consignment as perishable from the day it landed. The salvaged pork was reserved for the Company's slaves, which shows that provisions judged unfit for the garrison were still counted as usable rations for them. Two carpenters valued the second longboat, one the Company's and one from the ship whose crew wrecked her. The first longboat, lost in helping the *Hector*, was valued by the Company's carpenter alone, as the letter of 23 February 1768 recorded. Adding the ship's own carpenter gave the *Earl of Middlesex* a voice in the figure and left her owners little room to dispute it in London. As with the *Hector*, the Council did not charge the commander on the spot and left the Court to claim from the owners. The figures for the boats sat oddly together. The wrecked boat was put at £4 0s 0d, and the one lost in February at £10 0s 0d against a book value of £35 0s 0d. The replacement from Captain Pelly cost £35 0s 0d, the same sum the earlier boat first cost, though that price included her full gear. The purchase fulfilled the intention stated in the letter of 23 February 1768 to buy another boat at the first chance, and by then the island was two longboats short. A grapnel was a small anchor with several hooked arms, used for mooring a boat.

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120	113	We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One set to Captn. Henry Pelly for £100..§ §payable to himself, and one Set to Captn. Jno. Hasell for§ §£155.. 15 payable to himself, both drawn at 90 days§ §sight, & dated this day§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Europa§ §which Sails in Company with the Earl of Middlesex§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §25th April 1768§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Europa dated 25 April 1768 vizt.§ §1 Governor & Councils Genl. Letter dated 25th April 1768§ §2 Do. Do. & Do. dated 25th Do. Do.§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 2d April 1768§ §4 Consultations from the 4 to 25th Do. Do.§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 28th to 31st March Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Triton§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Osterly§	9: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 25 April 1768. Captain Henry Pelly, payable to himself, £100 0s 0d Captain John Hasell, payable to himself, £155 15s 0d 10: The letter went home by the *Europa*, which sailed in company with the *Earl of Middlesex*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 25 April 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Europa*, dated 25 April 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 25 April 1768 2: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 25 April 1768 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 April 1768 4: Consultations from 4 April 1768 to 25 April 1768 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 28 March 1768 to 31 March 1768 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Triton*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Osterly*. **Interpretations** The date of 25 April 1768 fixed the month left open in the letter's earlier paragraphs. The previous letter therefore went by the *Triton* on 2 April 1768, and the *Europa* arrived on 13 April 1768. The foreign ships came in between 6 April 1768 and 16 April 1768. Captain Pelly received £35 0s 0d from the Council for his longboat under paragraph 8 and took a bill for £100 0s 0d in the same letter. The sale money thus perhaps returned to the treasury as part of the sum he paid in, leaving the Company to settle with him in London and the island's stock of coin undiminished. Captain Hasell took a bill for £155 15s 0d while the £4 0s 0d valuation of the longboat his crew wrecked went home unpaid. The Council kept the two matters apart, as it did with Captain Williams of the *Hector* on 23 February 1768, and left the claim for damage to the Court. A separate letter on legal business accompanied the general letter, as it did on 18 January 1768 and 23 February 1768. None was listed with the letters of 14 March 1768, 21 March 1768 or 2 April 1768, so such letters were written only when there was legal business to report.
121	114	8 List of 14 discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Triton§ §10 Effective state of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Account from the 22 to 31st March 1768§ §12 Do. Do. from the 1st to 25 April Do.§ §13 Ship Europa's Account§ §14 Do. Earl of Middlesex's Do.§ §15 Duplicate Ship Tritons Do.§ §16 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Europa & E. of Middlesex§ §18 Proceeding of a General Quartr. Sessions held on the 18th Apl. 1768§ §19 Do. of Jno. Skottowe, Danl. Corneille & Mattw. Purling Esqrs.§ §relative to Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick's not acting as a§ §Justice of the Peace§ §20 Instrument in Writing from 8 discharged Soldiers§	The list of the packet sent by the *Europa* continued with the remaining enclosures. 8: List of 14 discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Triton*. 10: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 11: Cash account from 22 March 1768 to 31 March 1768 12: Cash account from 1 April 1768 to 25 April 1768 13: Account of the *Europa*. 14: Account of the *Earl of Middlesex*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Triton*. 16: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's 17: Summary of the cargoes of the *Europa* and the *Earl of Middlesex*. 18: Proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 18 April 1768

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		§To the Honorable &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed your Honors the 25th of last Month§ §by the Ship Europa which sailed in Company with the Earl of§ §Middlesex§ §On the 27th of April arrived your Ship Latham, and§ §the next day the Houghton both from China, and the same day§ §your Honors Ship Worcester from Bombay (last from the Cape)§ §Captain Hall acquaints Us he left Bombay the 28 Decembr.§ §and the Pocock, Earl of Chatham and Lord Mansfield there,§ §The 5 Janry. he met with your Ship Bute bound to Mocha§	19: Proceedings of John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Purling Esquires concerning Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's not acting as a justice of the peace 20: Written undertaking from eight discharged soldiers A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 25 April 1768 by the *Europa*, which sailed in company with the *Earl of Middlesex*. 2: The *Latham* arrived on 27 April 1768 and the *Houghton* on 28 April 1768, both from China. The *Worcester* also came in on 28 April 1768 from Bombay, with the Cape as her last port of call. Captain Hall left Bombay on 28 December 1767, when the *Pocock*, *Earl of Chatham* and *Lord Mansfield* lay there. He met the *Bute* on 3 January 1768, bound for Mocha. **Interpretations** Item 19 recorded a division inside the Council. Three of its four members, Governor Skottowe among them, drew up formal proceedings about the fourth, Captain Kirkpatrick, who was not sitting as a justice of the peace. The councillors served as the island's magistrates, and the quarter sessions listed at item 18 were held on 18 April 1768, the same period the proceedings covered. The three passed over the ordinary course of noting the matter in the consultations and sent a separate document home in their own names. That placed the question before the Court as one for its decision. Captain Kirkpatrick nevertheless signed the general letter of 25 April 1768 with the others, so the dispute touched his judicial role and not his seat on the Council. The list gave no reason for his not acting. The 14 discharged soldiers at item 8 matched the two groups named in paragraph 5 of the letter of 25 April 1768: six entered in Captain Hasell's crew and eight carried as passengers by Captain Pelly. Only the eight signed the waiver of wages at item 20, which confirms that the six shipped as working hands kept their claim to pay. Cash accounts resumed with this packet. The letter of 2 April 1768 explained that none could be sent until the quarterly accounts came before the Council on 18 April 1768. The account now began on 22 March 1768, the day after the last one closed, so the run sent home stayed unbroken. Mocha was the Red Sea port in Yemen where the Company bought coffee. The *Latham* and the *Houghton* were two of the four ships that Captain Milford, in the letter of 14 March 1768, reported as due to leave Canton about the middle of January 1768.
122	115	and the 7th of the same Month saw the Calcutta at Tillicherry§ §it was reported she was Leaky and going to Bombay to Dock,§ §Captn. Hall further informs Us he spoke with the Captain§ §of a Portoguese Vessel who saw Captn. Motley of the London§ §at Malacca§ §Upon looking over the Consultations, we observed in§ §Captn. Hasells Bill for the Cattle he brought from the Cape§ §that they had cast it £4 more than it should have been§ §which Error escaped our observation at that time through§ §hurry of business consequently the Money paid him according§ §to the Bill, We take this opportunity of informing	Captain Hall saw the *Calcutta* at Tellicherry on 7 January 1768, where she was reported leaky and on her way to Bombay to dock. He also spoke with the captain of a Portuguese vessel who saw Captain Motley of the *London* at Malacca. 3: A review of the consultations showed that Captain Hasell's bill for the cattle he brought from the Cape was added up £4 0s 0d too high. The error went unnoticed at the time under pressure of business, and he was paid the full amount of the bill. The Council reported the mistake so that the Court could recover the sum from Captain Hasell. 4: The Council could not send a summary of the *Worcester*'s bill of lading, because Captain Hall reported that he held no copy of it. 5: The previous letter described the provisions from Bengal, which the storekeeper found sound but extremely lean. Issuing the meat since then gave the Council a better measure of its quality. Each piece shrank to less than half its size once taken out of the

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		your,§ §Honors of this mistake that you may be repaid that Sum§ §by Captn. Hasell§ §We cannot transmit your Honors the Abstract of§ §the Worcester's Bill of Lading as Captain Hall acquaints Us§ §he has no Copy of it§ §In our last we mentioned the Provisions brought Us§ §from Bengal and reported to us by the Storekeeper as sound§ §but excessively lean, since then we have had an opportunity§ §by the Issue of said Provisions to be a better judge of their§ §quality and find on inspection that each Piece reduces and§ §shrinks to less than half the Quantity when Issued from the§ §Pickle for which reason we have stoped delivering it to the§ §Garrison and Issued it to the Blacks making an addition to§ §the allowance of each Man ten pounds instead of six Pounds,§ §We are further to observe to your Honors that upon the first§ §Issue of four Casks that they weighed only 613 lb each and§ §according to the Invoice of the whole 30 Casks sent us the§ §Weight amounted to 42,225 which divided by thirty each§ §Cask should be 1407 lb consequently we find a deficiency in§	brine. The Council therefore stopped serving it to the garrison and gave it to the Company's slaves, raising each man's allowance from six pounds to ten pounds. The weights were also short. The first four casks issued held only 613 pounds each. The invoice put the whole consignment of 30 casks at 42,225 pounds, which worked out at 1,407½ pounds a cask. The Council accordingly found a shortfall in every cask. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the plan it announced on 25 April 1768, which was to issue the Bengal meat to the garrison as fast as possible before it spoiled. Trial showed that a soldier's ration of this meat yielded less than half its nominal weight in food, so continuing would have meant either short-feeding the garrison or doubling the issue. The meat went to the Company's slaves instead, with the allowance raised from six pounds to ten pounds to offset the shrinkage. That increase still fell short of making good a loss of more than half, so the slaves received less real food than their former ration supplied. The letter of 25 April 1768 recorded the same use for the salvaged pork of 1767. The weighing of the casks turned a complaint about quality into a claim about quantity. Four casks at 613 pounds each stood against an invoiced average of 1,407½ pounds, less than half the weight charged. By setting the invoice figure beside the weighed figure, the Council gave the Court grounds to dispute the charge with Bengal and strengthened its request that the shipments cease. The £4 0s 0d overpaid to Captain Hasell could not be recovered on the island, since he sailed with the *Earl of Middlesex* on 25 April 1768. The Council therefore sent the matter home, where the Court could deduct the sum in settling with him. The same figure of £4 0s 0d was the valuation of the longboat his crew wrecked, so two separate claims of that amount now stood against him and his ship in London. Captain Hall was the second commander that season to report holding no copy of his bill of lading, after Captain Hardwicke of the *Earl of Lincoln* on 14 March 1768. The Council again reported the gap in the captain's own words and sent no substitute. Tellicherry was the Company's trading post on the Malabar coast of India, a source of pepper. Bombay had the Company's dockyard, the nearest place where a leaking ship could be taken out of the water for repair. Malacca was the Dutch-held port on the strait between the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, on the route to China. The sighting there accounted for the *London*, which Captain Milford reported on 14 March 1768 as still absent from Canton when he sailed.
123	116	each Cask of the above Issue of 794 lb, for these reasons as§ §well as others in former Letters with respect to the badness§ §of the Provisions, we hope your Honors will take the§ §earliest opportunity of putting a Stop to this measure, as§ §it enhances the Expence of this Settlement without any§ §advantage to Us§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to Jno. Skottowe Esqr for £400.. payable§ §to Robt. Wood Esqr and one Set to Mr. M Purling for§ §£250.. payable to Jno. Purling Esqr both drawn§ §at 90 days sight and dated the 2 instant§ §The Passengers on board the Worcester are Mr.§ §and Mrs. Wrench Mr. Matcham, Captn. Skottowe and§	The Council found each of the four casks issued short by 794 pounds. On these grounds and on those given in earlier letters about the poor quality of the meat, it asked the Court to end the Bengal shipments at the first chance. The practice raised the cost of the settlement and brought the island no benefit. 6: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 2 May 1768. John Skottowe Esquire, payable to Robert Wood Esquire, £400 0s 0d Mr M Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £250 0s 0d 7: The *Worcester* carried as passengers Mr and Mrs Wrench, Mr Matcham and Captain Skottowe. The Misses Collenson, Torin and Gab and Mr Todd travelled aboard the *Latham*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 5 May 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe

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		§Messrs. Collinson, Torin and Gab and Mr. Todd on board§ §the Latham§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §5 May 1768§ §List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Worcester dated 5 May 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 5th May 1768§	Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Worcester*, dated 5 May 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 5 May 1768 **Interpretations** The shortfall of 794 pounds a cask came from setting the weighed 613 pounds against the invoiced average of 1,407½ pounds, both given in the preceding part of the paragraph. The difference between those two figures was 794½ pounds, so the Council's sum held. More than half of every cask charged to the island was therefore missing before the shrinkage of the meat in cooking was counted. The Council rested its request on cost alone: the settlement was debited with the full invoice while receiving under half the weight, and that meat was fit only for the Company's slaves. Both bills in this letter were taken by members of the Council itself, Governor Skottowe for £400 0s 0d and Mr Purling for £250 0s 0d. The councillors used the same channel as the ships' commanders to move private money to England, and here they signed the letter that reported their own drafts. Mr Purling's bill was payable to John Purling Esquire, probably a relative in London. The two bills together came to £650 0s 0d, more than the £600 0s 0d issued to four parties on 23 February 1768. A Captain Skottowe sailed as a passenger in the *Worcester*. He shared the Governor's surname, and the letter did not state the connection between them.
124	117	2 Duplicate Governor and Councils General Letter dated 25th April 1768§ §3 Do. Do. and Do. dated 25th Do. Do.§ §relating to Law Matters§ §4 Consultation of the 2d May 1768§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 4 to 25 April 1768§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Europa§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Triton§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Europa§ §9 Effective state of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 26th to 30th April 1768§ §11 Do. from the 1st to 5th May Do.§ §12 Duplicate Do. from 22 to 31st March Do.§ §13 Do. Do. from 1st to 25th April Do.§ §14 Ship Worcester's Account§ §15 Duplicate Ship Europa's Acct.§ §16 Do. Ship Earl of Middlesex's Do.§ §17 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoe's of Ships Latham & Houghton§ §19 Duplicate Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions§ §held on the 18th April 1768§ §20 Do. Do. of Jno. Skottowe, Danl. Corneille &§ §Mattw. Purling Esqrs. relative to Captain§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick's not acting as a Justice§ §of the Peace§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We did ourselves the Honor of writing last to§ §you the 5th instant by the Ship Worcester§	The list of the packet sent by the *Worcester* continued with the remaining enclosures. 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 25 April 1768 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 25 April 1768 4: Consultation of 2 May 1768 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 4 April 1768 to 25 April 1768 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Europa*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Triton*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Europa*. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Cash account from 26 April 1768 to 30 April 1768 11: Cash account from 1 May 1768 to 5 May 1768 12: Duplicate cash account from 22 March 1768 to 31 March 1768 13: Duplicate cash account from 1 April 1768 to 25 April 1768 14: Account of the *Worcester*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Europa*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Earl of Middlesex*. 17: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's 18: Summary of the cargoes of the *Latham* and the *Houghton*. 19: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 18 April 1768 20: Duplicate proceedings of John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Purling Esquires concerning Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's not acting as a justice of the peace A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 5 May 1768 by the *Worcester*. **Interpretations**

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			The cargo summary at item 18 covered the *Latham* and the *Houghton* but not the *Worcester*, the ship carrying the packet. Paragraph 4 of the letter of 5 May 1768 gave the reason: Captain Hall held no copy of his bill of lading. The same gap appeared in the packet of 14 March 1768, which lacked a summary for the *Earl of Lincoln* after Captain Hardwicke made the same report. The proceedings of the three councillors about Captain Kirkpatrick went home a second time, as a duplicate of item 19 in the *Europa*'s packet of 25 April 1768. The document was thus treated like any other record needing the protection of a second ship. Captain Kirkpatrick again signed the general letter that carried it.
125	118	Yesterday arrived your Ship Tilbury by which§ §opportunity we had the pleasure of receiving a Packet from§ §your Honors, which we opened and read your Orders and§ §instructions to us, but as these Ships are to be dispatched§ §to day, we have not time at present to make any other§ §answer to your Letter than assuring you that all your Honors§ §Orders shall be duly observed and Obeyed§ §The Governor acknowledges to have received a Letter§ §from the Honble the Secret Committee and shall pay due§ §regard to all their orders§ §On the 6th instant alarm was given for a Ship, and§ §the next day arrived a Boat from a Dutch Ship, but the§ §Weather being calm she could not get in but passed the Road§ §the 9th of this Month; This day arrived a Dutch Ship from§ §Batavia, the Gentlemen inform us they met your Honors Ship§ §Sea Horse off the Cape the 6th of last Month§ §We have given Captain Smith an order to receive§ §on board his Ship Rd. G[...] a discharged Soldier towards§ §compleating her Company§ §Agreeable to our Resolution in Consultation of the§ §9th instant, we are determined to send Saml. Black your§ §Gardener off the Island by some of the latter Ships, and§ §request your Honors will be pleased to send us another§ §Gardener the next Year in his stead§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Latham§	2: The *Tilbury* arrived the day before the letter was written and brought a packet from the Court. The Council opened it and read the orders and instructions it contained. The ships in the road were due to leave that same day, which left no time for a proper reply. The Council could only promise that every order would be carried out. 3: Governor Skottowe confirmed that a letter from the Secret Committee reached him. He undertook to follow all its orders. 4: An alarm was raised for a ship on the sixth of the month, and a boat from a Dutch ship came in the next day. The weather was calm and the ship herself could not get in, so she went past the road on the ninth. A Dutch ship from Batavia arrived on the day the letter was written. Her officers reported meeting the Company's ship *Sea Horse* off the Cape on the sixth of the previous month. 5: The Council ordered Captain Smith to take Richard Greeas, a discharged soldier, aboard his ship to help bring her crew up to strength. 6: The Council resolved in its consultation of the ninth of the month to send Samuel Black, the Company's gardener, off the island by one of the later ships. It asked the Court to send out another gardener the following year to replace him. 7: The letter went home by the *Latham*. **Interpretations** The Secret Committee was the small inner body of directors that handled confidential business, chiefly the safety of shipping and matters of war and defence. Its letter came addressed to the Governor alone and not to the Council. He acknowledged receiving it and promised obedience without disclosing anything of its contents, even in a letter signed by his fellow councillors. The general letter thus recorded only the fact of the correspondence, keeping the substance out of papers that passed through many hands. The Council passed over the ordinary course of holding the ships until it could answer the Court's newly arrived orders. It let them sail on the appointed day with a bare promise of compliance, leaving the full reply for a later vessel. Detaining loaded homeward ships cost their owners and the Company money, and the Council evidently judged a considered answer worth less than a prompt departure. Dismissing the gardener left the Company's gardens without a trained man for a year or more, since a replacement could only come out from England. The Council accepted that gap in preference to keeping Black, and it referred the Court to the consultation of the ninth for its reasons, giving none in the letter. Sending him by a later ship and not by the *Latham* suggests the decision was too recent for his passage to be arranged. Greeas was shipped under an order to make up Captain Smith's crew, the same footing as the six men entered with Captain Hasell on 25 April 1768. No

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			waiver of wages was mentioned, in keeping with the pattern that only men carried as passengers signed one. Batavia, on Java, was the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Asia. The alarm of the sixth was the island's signal that an unidentified sail was in sight, raised before a ship's nationality could be known.
126	119	that sails in Company with the Houghton§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §13th May 1768§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Latham dated 13th May 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 13th May 1768§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 5th Do. Do.§ §3 Consultations from the 9th to 12th Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 2d Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Worcester§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Europa§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 13th May Do.§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Worcester§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 6th to 13th May 1768§ §11 Duplicate Do. from the 26th to 30th April Do.§ §12 Do. Do. from the 1st to 5th May Do.§	The *Latham* sailed in company with the *Houghton*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 13 May 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Latham*, dated 13 May 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 May 1768 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 5 May 1768 3: Consultations from 9 May 1768 to 12 May 1768 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 2 May 1768 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Worcester*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Europa*. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 13 May 1768 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Worcester*. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Cash account from 6 May 1768 to 13 May 1768 11: Duplicate cash account from 26 April 1768 to 30 April 1768 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 May 1768 to 5 May 1768 **Interpretations** The date of 13 May 1768 fixed the days left open in the letter's earlier paragraphs. The *Tilbury* therefore arrived on 12 May 1768 with the Court's packet, and the Dutch ship from Batavia came in on 13 May 1768. The alarm for a sail was raised on 6 May 1768, the Dutch boat landed on 7 May 1768 and her ship passed the road on 9 May 1768. The resolution to send Samuel Black off the island was taken in the consultation of 9 May 1768, which went home as part of item 3. The Dutch officers met the *Sea Horse* off the Cape on 6 April 1768. The consultations enclosed ran to 12 May 1768, the day the *Tilbury* arrived, while the letter and the cash account were both closed on 13 May 1768. No consultation of the thirteenth was listed, which agreed with the Council's statement that the ships' departure left no time to deliberate on the Court's new orders.
127	120	13 Ship Lathams Account§ §14 Do. Houghtons Do.§ §15 Duplicate Ship Worcesters Do.§ §16 Letter from Captn. Kirkpatrick to Jno. Skottowe, Danl. Corneille§ §and Mattw. Purling§ §17 Governor & Councils General Letter datd. 13th May 1768 relating§ §to Law Matters§ §To the Honorable &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went by the Ship§ §Latham which sailed from hence the 14th May in company§ §with the Houghton§	The list of the packet sent by the *Latham* continued with the remaining enclosures. 13: Account of the *Latham*. 14: Account of the *Houghton*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Worcester*. 16: Letter from Captain Kirkpatrick to John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Purling 17: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 13 May 1768 A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Latham*, which left the island on 14 May 1768 in company with the *Houghton*.

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		§It gives us very great pleasure to hear all your Honors§ §Ships of last Season arrived safe, the like success we hope will§ §attend those of this Year§ §All orders received from the Gentlemen of the Secret§ §Committee, or any three of them, shall be duly obeyed and§ §complied with§ §Your Honors will please to observe by our Consultation§ §of the 23d of last Month, that we dispatched the Tilbury upon§ §the expiration of the ten working Days, and you may depend§ §upon our doing the same by the Duke of Richmond§ §The Ships you have taken into your service this Year§ §for carrying on your Commerce, we sincerely hope, will be§ §returned to your Honors in safety, and with the desired§ §success§	2: News that every Company ship of the previous season reached home safely gave the Council great pleasure. It hoped the ships of the current year would fare as well. 3: The Council promised to carry out every order received from the Secret Committee, or from any three of its members. 4: The consultation of the twenty-fifth of the previous month showed that the *Tilbury* was sent on her way once her ten working days ran out. The Court could count on the same treatment for the *Duke of Richmond*. 5: The Council sincerely hoped that the ships taken into the Company's service that year would come home safely and with the success the Court wanted. **Interpretations** Captain Kirkpatrick answered his three colleagues in writing. Their proceedings about his not acting as a justice of the peace went home on 25 April 1768 and again on 5 May 1768, and his letter to them now followed as item 16. The dispute was thus conducted on paper between members of the same small Council, with each side's document sent to the Court. Captain Kirkpatrick's reply went by a later ship than the proceedings against him, so the Court first received only the majority's account. A letter on legal business accompanied it at item 17, the first since 25 April 1768. The ten working days were the period a ship was allowed at the island for landing stores and taking in water and provisions. The Court evidently fixed or reaffirmed the limit in the orders brought by the *Tilbury* on 12 May 1768, since the Council reported its compliance ship by ship. Counting working days only left Sundays out of the reckoning. The *Tilbury* arrived on 12 May 1768 and was released under a consultation of the twenty-fifth, which agreed with that count. A fixed limit curbed the delays that ran up charges for the owners and the Company. The phrase "or any three of them" set the number of Secret Committee members whose signatures made an order binding. The Council's acknowledgement recorded that rule back to the Court, extending to the whole Council the obedience that the Governor alone promised on 13 May 1768. The reference to the twenty-fifth of the previous month placed the writing of this letter in June 1768.
128	121	We wish prosperity to your Honors Affairs in China§ §under the management of the Gentlemen you have been pleased to§ §constitute your Council there, we have found it necessary to§ §make some small Alterations in our Indents to Canton this§ §Year, agreeable to your permission§ §We are much pleased you have continued your Orders§ §to the Captains of your returning Ships, for supplying themselves§ §with Stores &ca. in India, as will serve for their Voyage Home,§ §we will apply to the Commanders for what Salt Provision they§ §can spare, and will either pay them for it here, or leave the same§ §to be adjusted by your Honors, as we find it convenient, what§ §we have purchased from Captains Cooke, and Hoare, we have§ §paid them for here at the usual price§ §The supplies you have been pleased to send us this Year,§ §we flatter ourselves will answer all demands, except the article§	6: The Council wished the Company's business in China every success under the men the Court appointed as its council there. Some small changes to the year's orders on Canton proved necessary, and the Council made them under the leave the Court gave. 7: The Court renewed its orders that commanders of returning ships should stock up in India with enough food and stores for the voyage home. The Council welcomed this. It intended to ask each commander for whatever salted provisions he could spare. Payment would be made on the island or left for the Court to settle, whichever suited best. Purchases from Captains Cooke and Hoare were paid for on the island at the customary price. 8: The Council expected the supplies sent out that year to meet every need except coal. The quantity shipped fell 20 chaldrons short of the amount requested. The Council felt sure that this shortage would cause the same difficulty the island suffered in 1767. 9: The Council promised to keep reporting which suppliers of hats and shoes it judged the best. 10: The Court also renewed its orders to the commanders of that year's outward ships to call at the Cape on the way home, restock their provisions and bring cattle and sheep to the island. The Council

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		§of Coals which falls short of our Indent twenty Chaldron, the want§ §of which, we are certain will put us to the like inconveniency that§ §we experienced last Year§ §We shall not fail continuing to inform you which of the§ §Persons we think have the preference, that supply the Hats, and§ §Shoes§ §We are glad you have continued your orders to the Captns.§ §of the Ships going out this Year, to touch at the Cape in their§ §homeward bound Passage to recruit their Victualling Stores, and to§ §bring us Cattle, and Sheep, the former we beg you will recommend to§ §the respective Captains to purchase from one Year to eighteen months§ §Old, as we find by experience, that full half of the old & large§ §Cattle, Dye soon after their arrival, Your Honors may depend§ §upon our advising you of what we shall receive, together with§ §their Price and quality, and will if required pay the Captains§	welcomed this too. It asked the Court to advise the commanders to buy cattle between a year and 18 months old, since experience showed that fully half of the old, large animals died soon after landing. The Council undertook to report what it received, with the price and quality of the animals. **Interpretations** Indents were the island's formal written orders for goods, sent to the place of supply. St Helena drew some stores directly from Canton by the homeward China ships, and the Council's wording shows that it could vary those orders only with the Court's leave. The council at Canton mentioned here was a new arrangement for managing the China trade, replacing direction by the supercargoes of individual ships, whose burning of a sampan was reported in the letter of 14 March 1768. A chaldron was the measure by which coal was sold, a volume and not a weight, equal in London to 36 heaped bushels and weighing well over a ton. A shortfall of 20 chaldrons was therefore a substantial quantity of fuel. The island had little timber, and coal from England served the forge and other Company works. The Council reported the gap as soon as the consignment was known, so that the Court could not later treat the year's supply as complete. The request for young cattle passed over the natural choice of a commander buying at the Cape, which was the largest beast for his money. Half of the big, old animals died shortly after arrival, so the heavier purchase yielded less meat in the end. Animals of a year to 18 months stood the passage and the change of pasture better and could be fattened on the island. The Council asked the Court to make the recommendation because the commanders bought on the Company's account under the Court's orders, not the Council's. Buying salted provisions from the homeward ships gave the island an alternative to the meat sent from Bengal, which the letters of 25 April 1768 and 5 May 1768 condemned as lean, short in weight and fit only for the Company's slaves. Ships stocked in India for the whole voyage reached St Helena with a surplus, and the Council paid the customary price for meat it could inspect before buying. The choice between paying on the island and leaving the account to London let it spare the treasury's coin when that was scarce.
129	122	for them here, or refer the same to you, as you are pleased to§ §direct§ §It is with pleasure we observe you have forbid your§ §Presidencies in India sending us any more Salt Provisions, we§ §beg leave to refer you to our Letters of the 25th April & 5th May§ §1768 with respect to the quality, price, weight &ca. of that§ §we received by the Europa, what came by the Earl of Elgin§ §is much the same sort of meat very lean, but sound§ §The permission you have given us for allowing your§ §homeward bound Ships to touch at Ascension for Turtle, we are§ §of opinion may be attended with advantages and shall use§ §it discretionally when we think it of Utility to the Island,§ §until you are pleased to revoke it§ §We have the pleasure to inform you, that we have had§ §a very fine Season, and that the Island in General is in as§ §flourishing a situation as can be wished, we are much obliged§	The Council offered to pay the commanders for the Cape livestock on the island if asked, or to refer the account to the Court, as the Court chose to direct. 11: The Court forbade its presidencies in India to send the island any more salted provisions, and the Council welcomed the news. It referred the Court to the letters of 25 April 1768 and 5 May 1768 for the quality, price and weight of the consignment brought by the *Europa*. The meat that came by the *Earl of Elgin* was much the same, very lean but sound. 12: The Court gave leave for homeward ships to call at Ascension for turtle. The Council thought this could bring benefits. It intended to use the permission at its own discretion, whenever a call seemed useful to the island, until the Court withdrew it. 13: The island enjoyed a very good season and was in general as prosperous as anyone could wish. The Council thanked the Court for its concern at hearing that the sickness among the cattle persisted. The disease was less severe in recent months than before. No cure was yet found, although every remedy that could be thought of was tried. 14: The Council promised to go on commenting on the Engineer's quarterly letters. It also undertook to give him all possible help by sending whatever

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		§to your Honors for the kind concern you are pleased to express on§ §hearing the disorder among the Cattle continued; we have the§ §satisfaction to acquaint you, that it has not raged so much for§ §some Months past as it did, but we have not yet been able§ §to find out any cure for them, notwithstanding every method§ §that could be thought of, have been pursued for their recovery§ §We shall continue our observations on the Engineers§ §Quarterly Letters, and to give him all the Assistance we§ §possibly can, by sending what Soldiers can be spared from the§ §Duty of the Garrison, to assist at the Fortifications, your§ §Honors will please to observe by our Consultation of the 23d§ §of last Month, that Captn. Mitchell wrote to us for the§ §Addition of 30 Soldiers for about two Months, upon which§	soldiers could be spared from garrison duty to work on the fortifications. The consultation of the twenty-third of the previous month recorded that Captain Mitchell wrote to the Council asking for 30 more soldiers for about two months. **Interpretations** The Court's ban on salted provisions from India was issued before the Council's complaints of 25 April 1768 and 5 May 1768 could reach London, since it came out in the packet the *Tilbury* delivered on 12 May 1768. It therefore answered the earlier warnings about the 1767 supply, most of whose beef was thrown into the sea. The *Earl of Elgin*'s consignment was already on its way when the order was made, so one more lean cargo arrived after the practice was condemned on both sides. Ascension, an uninhabited island some 700 miles north-west of St Helena, was a breeding ground of green turtles. Ships took them alive from the beaches, and the animals survived for weeks on deck, which made them a source of fresh meat at sea. The Court's leave was framed as a permission for the Council to grant, and the Council kept it that way. It passed over a standing instruction to every homeward ship and reserved the call for occasions when the island stood to gain, presumably when ships could bring turtle back or when St Helena's own fresh provisions were short. A detour to Ascension lengthened a voyage the Court otherwise wanted kept brief, as the ten working days allowed at St Helena showed. The cattle disease explained the weight the Council placed on livestock from the Cape in paragraph 10. With the island's herds reduced by a sickness that no treatment checked, imported animals were the main means of restocking, and the loss of half the old cattle soon after landing was felt the more sharply. The use of soldiers on the works had moved from something the Council defended to something the Court accepted. On 23 February 1768 the Council argued that the Company's slaves were too few and too weak for the Sandy Bay fortification and announced that it would keep employing garrison men. The promise here to send every soldier who could be spared answered an instruction from the Court to support the Engineer. Captain Mitchell's request for 30 men for two months shows that work on the defences continued after Sandy Bay was reported complete.
130	123	we ordered the 26 Recruits that came by the Ship Tilbury to§ §the Works, as they were not fit for the duty of the Garrison§ §We have given the Gentlemen Copys of the several§ §Allegations of Jno. Bland and allowed them a time for§ §answering them, which when laid before us, shall give you a§ §full Answer to the Paragraphs from the thirtieth to thirty six§ §of your last General Letter§ §We have acquainted Mr. Philp. Mahony with the§ §appointment you have been pleased to make, and have struck§ §him off the Military Roll§ §The two Bramins have been acquainted with your§ §orders relative to them, and shall wait your further directions§ §thereupon§ §Jno. [St]ebley Matross was acquainted with what§ §Lord Sandys informed you, he tells us, that he has appointed§ §a proper Attorney to transact that business§ §Agreeable to your Directions we shall forward by§ §the Duke of Richmond, what Cash we have to spare	The Council answered Captain Mitchell's request by sending the 26 recruits who came by the *Tilbury* to the works, since they were not yet fit for garrison duty. 15: The Council gave the gentlemen concerned copies of the various accusations made by John Bland and allowed them time to reply. Once those replies came in, the Council intended to answer in full paragraphs 30 to 36 of the Court's latest general letter. 16: Mr Philip Mahony was told of the appointment the Court made, and his name was struck off the military roll. 17: The two Bramins were told of the Court's orders about them. The Council awaited further directions on the matter. 18: John Stebley, a matross, was told what Lord Sandys reported to the Court. He replied that he had appointed a suitable attorney to handle that business. 19: The Council undertook to follow the Court's directions by sending whatever cash it could spare to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough by the *Duke of Richmond*. 20: Certificates in duplicate were to go home, as the Court ordered, once all the flour from the

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		to§ §your President & Council of Fort Marlborough§ §When all the Flour by the Storeships is landed, we§ §shall transmit you Certificates in Duplicate as you are§ §pleased to order, and shall send your Honors a report of§ §its quality when we have experienced it§ §We return your Honors thanks for the Library you§ §have been pleased to send for the use of your Chaplain, and§ §principal servants, and shall dispose of the small tracts to§ §the Garrison, and Inhabitants, as you direct§ §Mr. Bearcroft begs leave to return his sincere thanks to§ §your Honors for your kind compliance with his humble request§	storeships was landed. A report on its quality was to follow when the flour was tried in use. 21: The Council thanked the Court for the library sent out for the chaplain and the senior servants. It promised to hand out the small tracts to the garrison and the inhabitants as directed. 22: Mr Bearcroft sent his sincere thanks to the Court for kindly granting his request. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the ordinary course of putting newly landed recruits into training for the garrison. Captain Mitchell asked for 30 soldiers for about two months, and the 26 untrained men from the *Tilbury* were sent to him instead. The choice met most of his demand without weakening the guard, since men not yet able to do duty were no loss to the garrison's effective strength. It also left him four short of his request and gave him raw labour in place of seasoned soldiers. Bland's accusations reached the Council from London, not from the island: the Court raised them in seven paragraphs of its general letter, and the Council was required to answer. It held back its reply until the accused men responded in writing, giving each a copy of the charges first. The Court was thus promised an answer built on the accused men's own statements, at the cost of a delay until a later ship. The letter named neither the men nor the substance of the charges. A matross was a gunner's assistant, the lowest rank in the artillery, who helped load, fire and sponge the guns. Stebley's business evidently lay in England, since word of it came through Lord Sandys and the Court, and it required an attorney to act for him there. The letter did not state what it was. Fort Marlborough was the Company's headquarters at Bencoolen on Sumatra, the settlement from which the *Earl of Middlesex* arrived in April 1768. St Helena took in coin from commanders and residents in exchange for bills on London, as the letters of 23 February 1768 to 5 May 1768 recorded, and the Court now directed its surplus to a settlement short of money. The *Duke of Richmond* was therefore an outward-bound ship, which also explains the Council's promise in paragraph 4 to release her within ten working days. Mahony's removal from the military roll followed an appointment by the Court, which shows that he moved from the garrison into another branch of the Company's service. The Bramins were recorded only by that name, and the letter gave no account of who they were or what the Court ordered. Mr Bearcroft was the Reverend William Bearcroft, who took a bill of exchange for £100 0s 0d on 23 February 1768.
131	124	last Year in relation to a Library; and hopes the Books expected§ §to be received on the arrival of the Duke of Richmond and designed§ §to form one for the principal Servants here, will be of real, and§ §lasting use§ §He is likewise very happy, that his other request with§ §regard to the sending of small tracts to be dispersed among the§ §poorer sort, met with approbation, as he is convinced that§ §whatever tends to fix the duties of Morality, enforced upon§ §true christian principles in the breasts of Individuals, must§ §always conduce much, not only to private happiness, but to§ §the advantage of Government, and the good of society, these§ §means of doing this, as they are ever, he believes	Mr Bearcroft's request of 1767 concerned a library. He hoped that the books expected by the *Duke of Richmond*, intended as a collection for the senior servants on the island, would prove of real and lasting value. 23: Mr Bearcroft was equally pleased that the Court approved his other request, for small tracts to be handed out among the poorer people. He believed that anything which planted moral duty in individual minds on sound Christian grounds added greatly to private happiness, to the strength of government and to the good of society. Tracts, in his view, did this better than spoken and general teaching. They were especially needed on the island, where most people came to public worship very seldom. He put this down partly to the nature of the place and partly to other causes, which he hoped would soon end. 24: The Council told the storekeeper to describe very exactly the condition of any package in which goods arrived damaged or short. He was also to

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		more useful§ §than Verbal and general instruction, are peculiarly§ §necessary here, as partly from the circumstances of the Place§ §itself, and partly from other causes, which he hopes will§ §sooner cease, the attendance of much the greater number on§ §the publick worship of God is very unfrequent§ §We have directed the Storekeeper to be very particular§ §in describing the state and condition of the Packages wherein§ §any Goods are damaged, or short delivered and to mention§ §the number of Coils of Cordage with their weight & to see§ §that they agree with the Invoices§ §When Jno. Preston Mason arrives, he shall be§ §paid the Salary you are pleased to order§ §Mr. Corneille begs leave to return the Honble the§ §Court of Directors his sincere acknowledgments, for their§ §polite manner in which they desire his stay another Year§ §at St. Helena, to which he most Chearfully complys with,§ §at same time assuring their Honors that he will always§ §endeavour to suit his Conveniency to their Wills and satisfaction§	record the number of coils of cordage with their weight and to check that they matched the invoices. 25: John Preston, a mason, was to receive the salary the Court ordered once he arrived. 26: Mr Corneille sent the Court of Directors his sincere thanks for the courteous terms in which it asked him to stay another year at St Helena. He agreed most willingly. He also assured the Court that he would always try to fit his own convenience to its wishes. **Interpretations** Mr Bearcroft's reasoning set printed tracts above preaching, a notable position for the island's chaplain to take. The explanation lay in his own admission that most of the population rarely attended church. Sermons reached only those who came, whereas a tract could be put into the hands of a soldier or a poor inhabitant who stayed away. His argument was also framed for the Court's interests: he presented religious instruction as a support to government and social order, not only as a spiritual good. The "other causes" of poor attendance, which he hoped would soon end, were left unnamed. The two requests served different ranks. The letter of the same date recorded in paragraph 21 that the library was for the chaplain and senior servants, while the tracts went to the garrison and inhabitants. The books for the library were still expected by the *Duke of Richmond*, so the Council's thanks in paragraph 21 were given for a consignment not yet landed. The instruction to the storekeeper answered a demand from the Court for better evidence. A bare report that goods came short or damaged gave the Court nothing to claim on in London. A description of each package's condition showed whether loss arose from bad packing, damage at sea or pilfering, and so whether the supplier, the ship's owners or no one was liable. Cordage was singled out because rope was invoiced by weight, and counting the coils as well as weighing them exposed a shortfall that either measure alone could miss. Mr Corneille, second in the Council and a signatory of every letter since 23 February 1768, had evidently asked or been expected to leave. The Court requested another year instead of ordering it, and his reply was sent in his own name within the general letter. Preston's engagement as a mason from England bore on the fortification works, for which the Council reported on 23 February 1768 that the Company's slaves were too few and too weak.
132	125	in preference of his own§ §On the 19th of last Month arrived your Ship British§ §King from China, and the Earl of Elgin from Bengal, Captn.§ §Hoare acquaints us, he left Canton the 1st Feby. and that§ §the [C]ansillard was to sail about ten days after, Captn.§ §Cooke left the Pilot the 16 Feby. and informs us he§ §heard the Northington was to be dispatched about three§ §Weeks after he left Calcutta§ §The Passengers on board the Earl of Elgin are§ §Messrs. Playdell, and Holwell, Lady Hope, and Mrs.§ §Plomer, and Messrs. Spelman and Keys on board the§ §British King§ §Captn. Hoare applying to us for an Anchor and§ §Cable, we have supplyed him with those Articles, and give§ §you this information agreeable to your Orders§ §We have given Captn. Cooke an order to receive on§ §board the Earl of Elgin Edmd. Leech, Adam Creighton, John§ §Simcox, Josh. Jordan, Wm. Greenough, James Hodge,	Mr Corneille undertook to put the Court's wishes ahead of his own. 27: The *British King* arrived from China on the nineteenth of the previous month, and the *Earl of Elgin* came in from Bengal. Captain Hoare left Canton on 1 February 1768, and the *Van Sittart* was to sail about ten days after him. Captain Cooke parted with the pilot on 16 February 1768. He heard that the *Northington* was to be sent off about three weeks after he left Calcutta. 28: The *Earl of Elgin* carried as passengers Messrs Playdell and Holwell, Lady Hope and Mrs Bloomer. Messrs Spelman and Keys travelled aboard the *British King*. 29: Captain Hoare asked the Council for an anchor and cable, and both were supplied to him. The Council reported the issue as the Court's orders required. 30: The Council ordered Captain Cooke to take eight discharged soldiers aboard the *Earl of Elgin*. Edmund Leech Adam Creighton John Simcox Joseph Jordan

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		Barnard§ §Millard, and Benjn. Stranger, Eight discharged Soldiers, and have§ §likewise ordered on board the British King John Martin &§ §Saml. Card, two other discharged Men, towards compleating those§ §Ships Companys§ §We beg leave to observe respecting Mr. Phillip Mahonys§ §appointment, that as his Views is bounded, having no prospect of§ §rising to any higher station, and living here extremely dear§ §together with his being a useful Man as Clerk of the Peace,§ §we think he deserves, & hope you will put him at least upon the§ §footing of a Subaltern Officer the Salary you have been pleased§ §to allow him is only £14, addition to what he before enjoyed§ §Sergeants pay, Cloathing, and Salary as Clerk of the Peace§	William Greenaigh James Hodge Barnard Millard Benjamin Stranger Two more discharged men were ordered aboard the *British King*. John Martin Samuel Curd All ten were shipped to help bring the crews of the two vessels up to strength. 31: The Council raised the matter of Mr Philip Mahony's appointment. His prospects were limited, since he had no hope of rising to any higher post, and living on the island was extremely expensive. He was also a useful man as clerk of the peace. The Council thought he deserved to be placed at least on the level of a subaltern officer and hoped the Court would agree. The salary the Court granted him came to only £14 0s 0d more than he received before in sergeant's pay, clothing and his salary as clerk of the peace. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the ordinary course of simply putting the Court's appointment into effect, which paragraph 16 of the same letter reported as done. It went on to argue that the terms were too low. Mahony was a sergeant who also served as clerk of the peace, the officer who kept the records of the island's quarter sessions. Striking him off the military roll cost him his sergeant's pay and clothing, so the new salary left him only £14 0s 0d better off. The Council's case rested on three points visible in the paragraph: the post led nowhere, the island was costly to live in and his court work had real value. A subaltern was a commissioned officer below the rank of captain, so the request sought to lift a former sergeant to an officer's standing in pay. All ten discharged men went as working hands under orders, and no waiver of wages was mentioned. That matched the practice recorded on 25 April 1768, when six men entered in Captain Hasell's crew kept their claim to pay while eight passengers in the *Europa* signed it away. An anchor and cable from the Company's stores were costly items chargeable to the ship's owners. The Court required such issues to be reported so that it could recover the value in London, as with the longboats valued on 23 February 1768 and 25 April 1768. Captain Sandys reported on 14 March 1768 that the *Earl of Elgin* and the *Northington* lay at Bengal on 22 December 1767, and Captain Pelly on 25 April 1768 expected the former to sail about the middle of March 1768. She left a month sooner than that. The *British King* and the *Van Sittart* were two of the four ships Captain Milford expected to leave Canton about the middle of January 1768, and both were later than he forecast. Captains Cooke and Hoare were the commanders from whom the Council bought salted provisions under paragraph 7.
133	126	The 26 of last Month arrived a French Ship from§ §Bengal, called the Marquis De [Sancy] Captn. [Delalonde]§ §burthen 500 Tons, carrys 14 Guns, & 130 Men loaden with§ §Bengal Goods bound to L'orient, on the 29th of May arrived a§ §Dutch Ship from Ceylon, called the Schoon[sight] Captn.§ §Rokhart, burthen 700 Tons, carrys 22 Guns, & 110 Men§ §loaden with Coffee, & Spice, bound to Holland§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to Danl. Corneille Esqr for £427.. 2. 9§ §payable to Mr. John Parslow, dated the 16 May, one§ §Set to Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick (on Account of the	32: Two foreign ships called at the island during May 1768. The *Marquis De Sancé*, a French ship from Bengal under Captain Delalande, arrived on 26 May 1768: 500 tons, 14 guns, 130 men, laden with Bengal goods, bound for Lorient. The *Schoonzicht*, a Dutch ship from Ceylon under Captain Kehkert, arrived on 29 May 1768: 700 tons, 22 guns, 110 men, laden with coffee and spice, bound for Holland. 33: The Council issued four sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Mr John Paslow, dated 16 May 1768, £427 2s 9d

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		late§ §Captn. Cornelius Inglis) for £1034.. 15 payable to§ §Luke Scrafton Esqr, one Set to Mr. John J[owin] for £100..§ §payable to Mr. Robt. J[owin] dated the 23 May, and one§ §Set to Captn. Archd. Mitchell for £400 payable to§ §Alexr. Hume Esqr dated the 30 May all drawn at 90§ §Days sight§ §You will please to observe by our Consultation§ §of the 1st June that Captn. Cooke wrote to us requesting he§ §might be permitted to touch at Ascension to get Turtle we§ §granted his request for the reasons assigned in his aforesaid§ §Letter, to which we beg leave to refer your Honors§ §This waits on you by the Ship Earl of Elgin which§	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, on account of the late Captain Cornelius Inglis, payable to Luke Scrafton Esquire, £1,034 15s 0d Mr John Irwin, payable to Mr Robert Irwin, dated 23 May 1768, £100 0s 0d Captain Archibald Mitchell, payable to Alexander Hume Esquire, dated 30 May 1768, £400 0s 0d 34: The consultation of 1 June 1768 recorded a letter from Captain Cooke asking leave to call at Ascension for turtle. The Council agreed for the reasons he gave and referred the Court to his letter for them. 35: The letter went home by the *Earl of Elgin*. **Interpretations** Paragraph 12 of the same letter reserved the Ascension permission for occasions when a call served the island. The first use of it, however, came at a commander's own request and on his own reasons, which the Council adopted without restating them. Sending the Court to Captain Cooke's letter placed the justification for the detour on him, should the longer voyage be questioned in London. Captain Kirkpatrick's bill was drawn on account of a dead man, Captain Cornelius Inglis. He therefore acted for the estate, paying its money into the treasury so that £1,034 15s 0d could be collected in London by Luke Scrafton. A bill was the only safe means of turning property left on the island into funds in England. The sum was the largest single bill recorded in these letters since 23 February 1768. The four bills together came to £1,961 17s 9d, about three times the £650 0s 0d drawn on 2 May 1768. Captain Mitchell, the Engineer praised on 23 February 1768, sent home £400 0s 0d. Mr Corneille took his second bill of the year, after one for £200 0s 0d on 25 January 1768. The naming of May for both foreign arrivals confirmed that the letter was written in June 1768. The *British King* and the *Earl of Elgin* therefore arrived on 19 May 1768, and the consultations about the *Tilbury* and Captain Mitchell's request were those of 25 May 1768 and 23 May 1768. Lorient was the Breton port that served as the home base of the French East India trade. Ceylon was then held along its coasts by the Dutch, who drew cinnamon and other spices from it. "Bengal goods" meant chiefly cotton and silk textiles.
134	127	sails in Company with the British King§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obt. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §2d June 1768§ §List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Earl of Elgin dated 2d June 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 2d June 1768§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 13th May Do.§ §3 Do. Do. & Do. dated 13th Do. Do. relating§ §to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from the 16th May to the 1st June 1768§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 9th to the 12th May Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Latham§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Worcester§ §8 List of ten Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Latham§ §10 Effective state of the Garrison§	The *Earl of Elgin* sailed in company with the *British King*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 June 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Earl of Elgin*, dated 2 June 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 June 1768 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 May 1768 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 13 May 1768 4: Consultations from 16 May 1768 to 1 June 1768 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 9 May 1768 to 12 May 1768 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Latham*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Worcester*. 8: List of ten discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Latham*.

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		§11 Cash Account from the 14th to the 31st May 1768§ §12 Duplicate Do. from the 6th to 13 Do. Do.§	10: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 11: Cash account from 14 May 1768 to 31 May 1768 12: Duplicate cash account from 6 May 1768 to 13 May 1768 **Interpretations** The date of 2 June 1768 settled the month of writing, which the letter's references to the previous month left to inference. The consultation of 1 June 1768 granting Captain Cooke leave to call at Ascension was the last in the run enclosed at item 4, taken the day before the ships sailed. The ten discharged soldiers at item 8 were the eight entered in the *Earl of Elgin* and the two in the *British King* under paragraph 30. No written undertaking about wages was listed with them at this point, in keeping with their shipment as working hands.
135	128	13 Ship Earl of Elgins Account§ §14 Do. British Kings Do.§ §15 Duplicate Ship Lathams Account§ §16 Do. Ship Houghtons Do.§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Earl of Elgin & British King§ §18 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed you last the 2d instant, by the§ §Ship Earl of Elgin, which sailed from hence with the§ §British King§ §On the 5th instant, arrived your Ship Northington§ §from Bengal, Captn. Sealy informs us he left that Place§ §the 1st of March, & your Ship Adml. Pocock there, she was§ §to Sail about a Month after, The same Day arrived your§ §Ship Duke of Richmond from England, when we had the§ §pleasure of receiving two Letters from your Honors, under date§ §of 5th & 16th Feby. last, The 6th of this Month arrived the§ §[C]ansillart from China§ §We are glad you did not permit Jonathan Lake§ §to return hither as he deserted from the Island, his Wife§ §is no expence to your Honors, but maintained by her Relations§ §Peter Merrit who you have entertained as§ §Carpenters Mate, shall be paid the Salary you have been§ §pleased to Order§ §We do not find there are any Persons here properly§ §qualifyed for making Astronomical observations upon the§	The list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin* continued with the remaining enclosures. 13: Account of the *Earl of Elgin*. 14: Account of the *British King*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Latham*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Houghton*. 17: Summary of the cargoes of the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King*. 18: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 2 June 1768 by the *Earl of Elgin*, which left the island with the *British King*. 2: The *Northington* arrived from Bengal on 3 June 1768. Captain Sealy left Bengal on 1 March 1768, when the *Admiral Pocock* still lay there and was to sail about a month later. The *Duke of Richmond* came in from England on the same day and brought two letters from the Court, dated 5 February 1768 and 16 February 1768. The *Van Sittart* arrived from China on 6 June 1768. 3: The Council welcomed the Court's refusal to let Jonathan Lake come back to the island, since he deserted from it. His wife cost the Company nothing, because her relations supported her. 4: Peter Morrit, engaged by the Court as carpenter's mate, was to receive the salary the Court ordered. 5: The Council found nobody on the island properly qualified to make astronomical observations. **Interpretations** Lake evidently applied in London for leave to return, and the Court refused before asking the island's view. The Council's remark about his wife answered the one argument that might have favoured him: a deserter's family left behind could become a charge on the Company, and readmitting the man would have removed that burden. Her relations kept her, so no such cost arose and the refusal carried no penalty for the Company. The Council thus endorsed the exclusion of a deserter over the reunion of a household, and showed why it could afford to. The *Duke of Richmond* was the outward ship the Council promised on 2 June 1768 to release within ten working days. She was also to carry the island's spare cash to Fort Marlborough and was expected to bring the books for the library requested by Mr Bearcroft. The arrivals closed out earlier forecasts. Captain Cooke heard that the *Northington* was to leave about three weeks after his own departure in mid-February 1768, and Captain Sealy's sailing date of 1 March 1768 bore that out. The *Van Sittart* was the last of the four ships that Captain Milford, in the letter of 14

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			March 1768, reported as due to leave Canton about the middle of January 1768. The *Admiral Pocock* was by then the only ship of the six listed at Bengal on 22 December 1767 still to sail. Morrit's engagement in England as carpenter's mate, like that of the mason John Preston reported on 2 June 1768, added a skilled tradesman to the Company's small establishment of craftsmen on the island.
136	129	Transit of Venus, that is expected to happen next Year,§ §neither have we any Instruments fit for that purpose, as§ §mentioned in Mr. Matys Letter, but will acquaint the§ §Gentlemen of the Shipping that may be here, either before§ §or at that time, with what you have recommended upon that§ §subject§ §We observe by the Invoices of the Ships Tilbury§ §& Duke of Richmond, that your Honors have not sent us§ §any Deals, Oil, Pitch, Tar, Rozin, or Turpentine; these§ §are such essential things both for the use of the Island &§ §your Ships, that we are greatly distressed, and shall be under§ §the necessity of cutting up the Rigo Timber into boards,§ §also of purchasing of Masts or what else we can get from§ §the Ships for carrying on your Fortifications, and other§ §necessary uses of the Island; as we have not a single Deal§ §remaining in Store, nor could we buy any out of the StoreShips,§ §the difficulties we shall labour under as to Pitch, Tar, Rozin§ §&ca. for the use of your Boats, as well as the Shipping we fear§ §may be attended with the worst of Consequences, as we cannot§ §tell how far it may retard the carrying on your Fortifications,§ §as the constant use of your Long Boats in conveying Materials§ §to the several Works render such articles absolutely necessary§ §for them, as well as the homeward bound Ships being always§ §in demand, and likewise the Boats belonging to the Island§ §for supplying the Inhabitants with Fish; Your Garrison will§ §also be greatly distressed from the want of Oil, These being the§ §most essential Articles we have particularized them, Yet there§ §being many others both for the use of the Fortifications, and§ §Inhabitants, which are short of our last Years Indent, the particulars§	The astronomical observations in question concerned the transit of Venus expected in 1769. The island also held no instruments suited to the purpose, such as those described in Mr Maty's letter. The Council promised to pass the Court's recommendations on the subject to the officers of any ships at the island before or during the event. 6: The invoices of the *Tilbury* and the *Duke of Richmond* showed that the Court sent none of the following stores. Deals Oil Pitch Tar Rosin Turpentine These goods were vital both to the island and to the Company's ships, and their absence left the Council in serious difficulty. Not one deal remained in store, and none could be bought from the storeships. The Council therefore expected to saw the [...] timber into boards. It also expected to buy masts or anything else the ships could supply, both for the fortifications and for the island's other needs. The lack of pitch, tar and rosin for the Company's boats and for the shipping threatened the gravest results. Nobody could tell how far it would hold back the fortifications, because the longboats were in constant use carrying materials to the various works and could not be kept afloat without these stores. Homeward ships always wanted them too, as did the island boats that supplied the inhabitants with fish. The garrison stood to suffer badly from the lack of oil. The Council named these items as the most pressing, although many other goods for the fortifications and the inhabitants also fell short of the previous year's order. **Interpretations** Deals were sawn planks of fir or pine, imported from the Baltic through England and used for flooring, scaffolding, gun platforms and general carpentry. Pitch and tar were distilled from pine wood. Tar preserved rope and timber, and pitch, the thicker product, sealed the seams of a hull after they were packed with fibre. Rosin was the hard residue left when turpentine was distilled from pine resin, and it was mixed with tar and tallow as a coating for ships' bottoms. Turpentine thinned paint and tar. All of these were products of northern pine forests, and St Helena had no means of making any of them. The oil was probably lamp oil, since its loss fell on the garrison, whose guardrooms and barracks needed light. The Council passed over the ordinary course of waiting for the next storeship and set out two costly substitutes. Sawing heavy timber into boards consumed labour and wasted wood meant for larger uses. Buying masts from passing ships meant paying a commander's price for spars that were then cut up as building material. Both measures were reported in advance, which placed the extra expense on record as a result of the Court's omission and not of the Council's management. The argument tied the missing stores to the project the Court most wanted advanced. Materials reached the works by sea in the longboats, so

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			unsealed boats meant stalled fortifications. The island was already short of boats: one was wrecked helping the *Hector* in February 1768 and another by the crew of the *Earl of Middlesex* in April 1768, with a single replacement bought from Captain Pelly for £35 0s 0d. The same letter of 2 June 1768 reported the year's coal as 20 chaldrons short, so this was the second complaint that the supplies fell below what was ordered. Mr Maty's letter came out with the Court's orders by the *Duke of Richmond*, and the Council's reply shows that the Court asked whether the transit of Venus could be observed from the island. The Council declined on two separate grounds, the want of a qualified observer and the want of instruments. It offered only to brief ships' officers who happened to be present, which left any observation to chance.
137	130	are mentioned in a seperate List, which we herewith enclose§ §you, and fear shall be greatly distressed from the want of those§ §several articles§ §We have given Captain Palmer an order to receive on§ §board the Vansittart James G[an]dy a discharged Soldier,§ §towards compleating that Ships Company§ §The Passengers on board the Northington are Major§ §Sibbert and his Wife, Mrs. Williamson Mr. Hare and his§ §two Daughters, and Messrs. Thwaite & Padman§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. one Set to Danl. Corneille Esqr for £41.. 16 payable to§ §Mr. Robt. Carr, and one set to Captn. Henry Bazett for§ §£60 payable to Jno. Purling Esqr, both drawn at ninety§ §days sight, & dated the 13th instant§ §Captains Sealy, and Palmer, applying to us for leave§ §to touch at Ascension to get Turtle, we have permitted them to§ §call there for that purpose§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Northington§ §which Sails in Company with the Vansittart§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obt. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §13 June 1768§	The Council set out the other missing goods in a separate list enclosed with the letter. It feared that the lack of them would cause the island serious hardship. 7: The Council ordered Captain Palmer to take James Gaudy, a discharged soldier, aboard the *Van Sittart* to help bring her crew up to strength. 8: The *Northington* carried as passengers Major Sibbert and his wife, Mrs Williamson, Mr Hare and his two daughters and Messrs Thwaite and Padman. 9: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 13 June 1768. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Mr Robert Carr, £41 16s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to John Purling Esquire, £60 0s 0d 10: Captains Sealy and Palmer asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle, and the Council allowed both to do so. 11: The letter went home by the *Northington*, which sailed in company with the *Van Sittart*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 15 June 1768 and signed by four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Ascension permission was by now granted to every commander who asked. On 2 June 1768 the Council told the Court it would use the leave at its own discretion, when a call served the island. Captain Cooke's request was allowed on 1 June 1768 with a reference to his written reasons. Captains Sealy and Palmer received the same leave two weeks later with no reasons recorded at all, and nothing in the paragraph tied their detour to any benefit for St Helena. The test the Council announced was therefore not visibly applied, and the permission worked in practice as a favour to homeward commanders wanting fresh meat for their crews. The separate list of missing goods turned the complaint of paragraph 6 into a document the Court could check against the island's order of 1767. Deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine were named in the letter as the most urgent, and the list carried the remainder. Gaudy was shipped as a working hand under an order, on the same footing as the ten men sent by the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King* on 2 June 1768. No waiver of wages was mentioned. Mr Corneille took his third bill of the year, after £200 0s 0d on 25 January 1768 and £427 2s 9d on 16 May 1768. Captain Bazett's bill was payable to John Purling Esquire, the same payee named in Mr Purling's own bill for £250 0s 0d on 2 May 1768. John Purling thus received island money in London for more than one drawer, which suggests that he

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			acted as an agent there for people on St Helena. The two bills came to £101 16s 0d, a small sum beside the £1,961 17s 9d drawn in the letter of 2 June 1768.
138	131	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Northington dated 13th June 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated 13th June 1768§ §2 Duplicate Do. and Do. dated 2d Do. Do.§ §3 Consultations from the 6th to 13th Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. from 16 May to 1st. Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Earl of Elgin§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Latham§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 13th June 1768§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Earl of Elgin§ §9 Effective state of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 1st to 13 June 1768§ §11 Duplicate Do. from 14 to 31st May Do.§ §12 Ship Northingtons Account§ §13 Do. Vansittarts Do.§ §14 Duplicate Ship Earl of Elgins Do.§ §15 Do. Do. British Kings Do.§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Northington & Vansittart§ §17 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §18 List of sundry Stores deficient of the last Years Indent§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on your Honors by the Ship§ §Northington that Sailed from hence the 15th June in Company with your Ship§ §Vansittart§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Northington*, dated 15 June 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 15 June 1768 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 June 1768 3: Consultations from 6 June 1768 to 13 June 1768 4: Duplicate of the consultations from 16 May 1768 to 1 June 1768 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Latham*. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 15 June 1768 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin*. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Cash account from 1 June 1768 to 15 June 1768 11: Duplicate cash account from 14 May 1768 to 31 May 1768 12: Account of the *Northington*. 13: Account of the *Van Sittart*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Earl of Elgin*. 15: Duplicate account of the *British King*. 16: Summary of the cargoes of the *Northington* and the *Van Sittart*. 17: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's 18: List of various stores missing from the order of 1767 A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Northington*, which left the island on 15 June 1768 in company with the *Van Sittart*. **Interpretations** Item 18 was the separate list promised in paragraph 6 of the letter of 15 June 1768, where the Council named deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine as the most urgent of the goods the Court failed to send. Entering it among the numbered enclosures made the shortfall a formal part of the record, which the Court could set against the island's order of 1767. No duplicate of the letter on legal business dated 13 May 1768 appeared in this packet, and no new one was listed. Its duplicate went by the *Earl of Elgin* on 2 June 1768, so both copies were by then on their way home.
139	132	On the 30th of last Month arrived the Admiral Pocock from§ §Bengal, Captn. Riddell acquaints Us he left the Pilot the 7th of April§ §last, He also informs Us he heard Peace was made with the Nizam &§ §that a Marine Expedition was Equiping at Bombay supposed against§ §Hyder Ally's Ports, that Colonel Peach was returning out of the Decan§ §and it is imagined will be Ordered to reduce a petty Rajah to the Southward§ §of Musulipatam§ §As the Business in your Honors Stores have Multiplied§ §Considerably lately by the Constant Issues required on Account of carrying on§ §the Works at the Fortifications, and there being a	2: The *Admiral Pocock* arrived from Bengal on the thirtieth of the previous month. Captain Riddell parted with the pilot on 7 April 1768. He heard that peace was made with the Nizam and that a naval expedition was fitting out at Bombay, supposedly against Hyder Ali's ports. Colonel Peach was returning from the Deccan and was expected to receive orders to subdue a minor rajah south of Masulipatam. 3: Work in the Company's stores grew considerably, because building the fortifications demanded constant issues of materials. The Secretary's office was also one writer short from the time Mr Francis Wrangham died. The Council therefore found it necessary to appoint Mr George Bazett as a writer in the Company's service, so that business could be kept up to date. He served for some time as an assistant in the stores and was a very

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		writer less in the Secretary's§ §Office ever since the Death of Mr. Francis Wrangham, we in Order to keep§ §your business regularly up were under the necessity to appoint Mr. George§ §Bazett a writer in your Service, who has served for some time as an§ §Assistant in your Stores, and is a very Sober deligent Young Man &§ §well qualified for that employ, We have directed him to assist§ §Occasionally either in the Stores Secretary's Office or in any other Office§ §as the Urgency of Business may require his attendance, & we hope§ §your Honors will be pleased to approve of and confirm this appointment§ §The several Gentlemen charged by John Bland in his Paper of§ §Observations, laid before the Governor & Council their Respective Answers§ §to the Said Charges on the 20th of June last, and upon examining each &§ §every answer seperately, it clearly appeared to Us, that all the Gentlemen§ §Accused have very fully disproved the Said Blands Allegations, & they§ §stand in our opinions exculpated from all and every part of the Charges§ §and accusations preferred against them, neither Can we find upon the§ §Strictest investigation into the circumstances of that affair, that the§ §Company, the Inhabitants, or the Garrison, have been the least§ §injured in any respect whatsoever, the whole charge being intirely§ §false and groundless, proceeding from a Malevolent disposition, and§	steady, hard-working young man, well suited to the post. The Council directed him to help in the stores, the Secretary's office or any other office as pressure of work required. It hoped the Court would approve and confirm the appointment. 4: The gentlemen accused by John Bland in his paper of observations put their answers before Governor Skottowe and the Council on 20 June 1768. The Council examined each answer separately. It concluded that all of them fully refuted Bland's claims and stood cleared of every part of the accusations. The closest inquiry into the affair showed no harm of any kind to the Company, the inhabitants or the garrison. The Council judged the whole accusation false and baseless, the product of a spiteful temper. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the ordinary course of asking the Court to fill the writer's vacancy and waiting for a man from England. It made the appointment itself and sought confirmation afterwards, since writers were normally named by the Court. The paragraph supplied the grounds: stores business swollen by the fortification works, a post empty through death, and a candidate already trained in the stores. Giving Mr Bazett a roving duty across offices let one new salary cover two shortfalls. A writer was the junior grade of the Company's civil service, a clerk who kept books and copied correspondence. Mr Bazett shared a surname with Captain Henry Bazett, who took a bill for £60 0s 0d on 13 June 1768, and the letter did not state the connection. The inquiry into Bland's accusations fulfilled the promise made in paragraph 15 of the letter of 2 June 1768, where the accused were given copies and time to reply. The body that judged the answers was the Governor and Council, and the letter still did not name the accused or say whether any sat on the Council. The verdict went beyond acquittal to an attack on Bland's motives, which told the Court that the Council wanted his paper dismissed entirely and not merely answered. The finding that neither Company, inhabitants nor garrison suffered indicates that the charges alleged misconduct damaging to all three, probably in the management of stores or public business. The Nizam was the ruler of Hyderabad, who fought alongside Hyder Ali against the Company before making a separate peace. That peace left Hyder Ali isolated, and the expedition from Bombay against his ports on the Malabar coast opened a second front against him. The news followed the report in the letter of 23 February 1768 that he was twice beaten on the Coast. The Deccan was the plateau of central southern India, and Masulipatam a Company port on the Coromandel Coast. Captain Riddell's arrival accounted for the last of the six ships that Captain Sandys reported at Bengal on 22 December 1767. Captain Sealy stated on 15 June 1768 that the *Admiral Pocock* was to sail about a month after 1 March 1768, and her departure on 7 April 1768 was close to that forecast. The reference to the previous month and to June as past placed the writing of this letter in July 1768, so she arrived on 30 June 1768.
140	133	actuated by the most inviterate Malice, conformable to the whole tenor§ §of his litigeous and troublesome Conduct while he resided upon the Island,§ §The whole proceedings of this affair with our opinions thereon we transmit§ §in a seperate Paper in the Packet, which we beg leave to refer you to, &§ §hope it will meet with your Honors approbation§	The Council attributed Bland's accusations to deep-seated spite, in keeping with his quarrelsome and disruptive behaviour throughout his time on the island. A separate paper in the packet set out the whole inquiry and the Council's opinions on it. The Council referred the Court to that paper and hoped for its approval. 5: The accusation that the Company's servants bought up goods in bulk and sold them on at retail

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		§As the Charge against your servants of engrossing and§ §retailing, have been fully confuted, and has not the least Foundation§ §We entreat that your Honors will be pleased to take into Consideration§ §the Restriction you have laid on your Servants Civil & Military in the§ §32d Paragraph of your General Letter P Tilbury and if they shall appear§ §to you from the above representation not to have Merited that restraint, you§ §will be favourably pleased to take it off, and to grant them such indulgences§ §which in your great goodness you may think their faithful services renders§ §them deserving of in a Place where little or nothing can be got, and where§ §their appointments will scarce yield them a poor livelyhood§ §We further beg leave to observe to your Honors that the indiscriminate§ §retail you have given in the 33d Paragh. of your Said General Letter may be§ §attended with bad consequences and will effectually destroy the wholesome§ §regulations we have lately made respecting the retailing spirituous Liquors§ §for if all sorts & conditions of People have a free intercourse with the Ships§ §that touch here, large quantitys of Liquors will be introduced into the Island,§ §and the several Purchasers will in order to get rid of the same again follow§ §the abominable practice of retailing, which may escape our notice§ §with all the watchfullness we can make use of, consequently§ §Drunkenness will thereby be encouraged both in Soldiers and Blacks,§ §the real cause of the predominancy of this vice has been owing to Arrack§ §being sold Cheap from the Ships for some Years past which have given§ §opportunitys for many persons to purchase much more than for their§ §real Consumption, & to get rid of it again have fallen on the pernicious§ §Practice of retailing & improperly vending the same§	was fully refuted and had no basis at all. The Council therefore asked the Court to reconsider the restriction placed on its civil and military servants in paragraph 32 of the general letter sent by the *Tilbury*. If the Court judged from this account that they did not deserve the restraint, the Council asked that it be lifted. It also asked the Court to grant them whatever favours their loyal service earned. Little or nothing could be gained on the island, and their salaries scarcely gave them a bare living. 6: The Council warned that the unrestricted retail trade allowed by paragraph 33 of the same general letter could do harm. It threatened to undo the sound rules recently made on the island about the retail sale of spirits. If people of every rank dealt freely with the ships that called, large quantities of liquor would come ashore. The buyers would then sell it off in small amounts to be rid of it, and some of that selling would escape even the closest watch. Drunkenness would spread among both soldiers and slaves. The Council traced the prevalence of that vice to arrack sold cheaply from the ships over several years. Many people bought far more than they could drink and turned to retailing it improperly to dispose of the surplus. **Interpretations** Engrossing meant buying up the whole available supply of a commodity in order to resell it at a higher price. On an island where almost all goods came from visiting ships, a few servants with ready money and first access to a ship's officers could corner a cargo and set their own retail price. This was the substance of Bland's charge, which the letters of 2 June 1768 and the earlier part of this paragraph left unstated. It explains the Council's finding that neither the Company, the inhabitants nor the garrison suffered, since all three were the supposed victims of inflated prices. The Court acted on Bland's paper before hearing the island's reply. Paragraph 32 of its letter by the *Tilbury*, which arrived on 12 May 1768, restricted the servants' private trade, and paragraph 33 opened retail dealing with the ships to everyone. The two orders together attacked the alleged monopoly by removing the servants from the trade and widening access to it. The Council passed over simple compliance, which it promised in general terms on 13 May 1768, and contested both orders. It used the acquittal as the ground for lifting the first, and it opposed the second on a wholly different ground, public order. The argument about liquor served the servants' interest as well as the island's. Open dealing with the ships ended the advantage the servants held, yet the Council objected to it only as a cause of drunkenness. Its reasoning was specific, however: buyers took more arrack than they needed because it was cheap, then sold the surplus in small quantities to soldiers and slaves, beyond the reach of the island's licensing rules. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia from palm sap, rice or molasses, carried in quantity by ships from Batavia, India and China. The plea of poverty supported the request for private trade. Salaries in the Company's service were low by design, and servants were expected to supplement them by trading on their own account. The Council made the same point about Mr Mahony on 2 June 1768, when it described living on the island as extremely expensive.
141	134	Agreeable to your Orders we in Consultation of the 11th of June§ §reduced the Punch Houses from ten to five, & then Constituted several§ §regulations for the better conducting the retailing of Spirituous Liquors§	7: The Council followed the Court's orders in its consultation of 11 June 1768 and cut the number of punch houses from ten to five. It then drew up rules for the better management of spirit sales in those houses. Every publican was to obey them strictly, so that drunkenness and disorder could be put down.

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		§in those Houses to which we are determined to inforce a strict§ §obedience by every Publican, in Order to suppress drunkenness &§ §irregularitys, and have inserted Clauses in their new Licences§ §lately granted consonant to the Said Rules & Regulations, a Copy§ §of the present Licences with the additional new Clauses together§ §with a Copy of the Old, we transmit in the Packet for your inspection,§ §on comparing the same you will perceive, that we have pursued every§ §Method we could suggest to lay the Publicans under proper Rules &§ §restrictions to the End that due order and decorum may be kept§ §in their Houses, and prevent inordinate & excess of drinking therein,§ §And as we apprehend that drunkenness have been promoted greatly by§ §Clandestine retailing of Spirituous Liquors both in Town and§ §Country, we shall make it our principal care and attention to§ §discover such pernicious practices, and to punish the Offenders§ §by exacting the Penalty on Every offence proved against them§ §In forming the aforesaid Regulations we judged it§ §higly improper that women should Occupy Publick Houses, they§ §being very unfit to keep that order & decorum necessary to be§ §observed in those Houses, and as five of them who held those Licences§ §were women, we for the above reasons revoked their several Licences§ §two of the said Women Mrs. Beale, & Mrs. Kennedy are Widows of§ §the late Captn. Beale and Kennedy, who had served the Company§ §many Years, dying and leaving each a Wife and several Young§ §Children in very poor distressed Circumstances, on that Consideration§ §had a Licence Granted to each of them for Keeping a Publick House§ §as a means for supporting their Family's, but it was impossible§	New clauses matching the rules were written into the licences recently granted. A copy of the current licence with its added clauses went home in the packet, together with a copy of the old one, for the Court to compare. The comparison would show that the Council used every means it could devise to bind the publicans to proper rules, keep their houses orderly and prevent heavy drinking in them. The Council believed that secret retailing of spirits in both town and country did much to spread drunkenness. It promised to make the detection of that trade its chief concern and to exact the penalty for every offence proved. 8: In framing the rules, the Council judged it highly unsuitable for women to keep public houses, since it thought them quite unable to maintain the order such houses needed. Five of the licence holders were women, and the Council withdrew all five licences on those grounds. Two of the women, Mrs Beale and Mrs Kennedy, were widows of Captains Beale and Kennedy, who served the Company for many years. Each man died leaving a wife and several young children in great poverty. A licence to keep a public house was granted to each widow for that reason, as a means of supporting her family. **Interpretations** Punch houses were the island's licensed drinking houses, named after the mixed drink of spirits, water, sugar and citrus that was their staple. They served the garrison and the crews of visiting ships. A licence was a privilege granted by the Council, and it could be made conditional or withdrawn, which gave the Council its hold over the trade. The Court ordered the houses halved, and the order left open which five were to close. The Council passed over any test of conduct, such as shutting the worst-kept houses, and chose by the sex of the holder. Five licences belonged to women and five closures were needed, so a general principle about women's fitness delivered the exact reduction required. No complaint against any of the five houses was recorded. The paragraph itself showed the cost of the choice: two licences were originally given as a form of relief to officers' widows with young children, in place of any pension, and the Council's own rule removed that support. The copies of the old and new licences were sent as evidence of zeal. The Council was at the same time resisting paragraph 33 of the Court's letter, which opened retail dealing with the ships to everyone. Strict rules for the licensed houses and a promise to hunt down secret selling supported its argument that drunkenness came from cheap arrack bought off the ships and resold unlicensed, not from any failing in its own regulation.
142	135	under the present Regulations to continue the Licence any longer to§ §those two Women & as the Widows Fund lately Established for the§ §Benefit of the Widows of decd. Company's Servants cannot extend to§ §them, as their Husbands died before the same was formed and carried§ §into Execution, the distressd circumstances those poor Women & their§ §Family's are in obliges Us to recommend them in the strongest terms§ §to your Honors benevolence, as real objects of Charity, and hope you§ §will be pleased to take their case into Consideration, and allow them§ §a Yearly Pension, whatever allowance you shall think fitt to§ §make these Women cannot be made a precedent of in future as§	The new rules made it impossible to let Mrs Beale and Mrs Kennedy keep their licences any longer. The Widows' Fund, lately set up for the widows of dead Company servants, could not help them either, because their husbands died before it was formed and put into effect. The poverty of both women and their families led the Council to commend them to the Court's generosity in the strongest terms, as true cases for charity. It asked the Court to consider granting each a yearly pension. Any such allowance could not serve as a precedent, the Council argued. The fund gave the widow of every dead Company servant £30 0s 0d a year, and that sum could rise as the fund grew. 9: The settlement had no means of obtaining Madeira wine. The Council asked, as a very great favour, that one pipe be sent on the Company's account by each Company ship calling at Madeira. 10: Captain Kirkpatrick laid an accusation against Mr Corneille on 11 July 1768, alleging that he took

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		§the Widows Fund now Established entitles the Widows of all deceased§ §Company's Servants to thirty pounds a Year, and may be augmented§ §as the Said Fund Encreases§ §Having no opportunity of getting Madera Wine for the use§ §of this Settlement we shall esteem it a very great favour, your Honors§ §will be pleased to Order a pipe to be sent here on your Account upon§ §each of your Ships that touch at that Island§ §On the 11th July Captn. Kirkpatrick prefered a Charge against§ §Mr. Corneille for having appropriated part of the Company's property to his own§ §use, And on the 18th of the same Month Mr. Corneille delivered to the Board§ §his defence after which, The Governor and Mr. Purling Sat, to take a review§ §of the whole proceedings & gave it as their opinion that Capt. Kirkpatrick§ §had not proved any part of the Charge Exhibited against Mr. Corneille and§ §therefore entirely acquitted him from all Charges and accusations prefered§ §by Captn. Kirkpatrick deeming his Actions therein, not to proceed from§ §a principle of Justice to serve the Company, but actuated meerly from§ §prejudice, as he had declined making known the supposed Frauds, untill§ §some altercations happening between him and Mr. Corneille, And farther§ §join in Sentiments that this extraordinary Conduct of Captn. Kirkpatrick§	part of the Company's property for his own use. Mr Corneille handed the board his defence on 19 July 1768. Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling then sat to review the whole inquiry. They held that Captain Kirkpatrick proved no part of his accusation, and they cleared Mr Corneille entirely. In their judgement Captain Kirkpatrick did not act from a sense of justice or a wish to serve the Company. He was moved by ill will alone, since he kept silent about the supposed frauds until he and Mr Corneille quarrelled. The Governor and Mr Purling also agreed in their view of Captain Kirkpatrick's remarkable behaviour. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the simplest way of sparing the two widows, which was to exempt them from its own rule against women licence holders. It held the rule to be absolute and asked the Court to pay pensions instead. The effect was to move the cost of supporting two officers' families from the profits of a punch house, which cost the Company nothing, to the Company's own funds. The Council foresaw the objection that this would invite further claims and answered it in advance: the Widows' Fund covered every later case, so only widows whose husbands died before it began could ever ask. The fund's fixed £30 0s 0d a year also gave the Court a measure for what the two women might be allowed. The quarrel inside the Council reached its sharpest point here. The proceedings of 25 April 1768 recorded that Captain Kirkpatrick was not acting as a justice of the peace, and his written reply to his three colleagues went home on 13 May 1768. He now accused the second member of the Council of misusing Company property. With accuser and accused both members of a board of four, only the Governor and Mr Purling remained to judge, and the acquittal rested on those two voices. Their reasoning turned on timing: an honest informant would have reported the frauds when he learned of them, whereas Captain Kirkpatrick spoke only after a personal dispute. That argument discredited his motive without itself answering the substance, for which the letter relied on Mr Corneille's defence. A pipe was a large cask holding roughly 100 gallons or more. Madeira was the usual wine of the Company's settlements because it kept and even improved in heat and on long voyages, and outward ships commonly called at the island to load it. St Helena lay off the outward track of most ships and had no direct trade with Madeira, so the Council asked that the wine come on the Company's account by any ship that called there.
143	136	merited the highest Censure but refered the final determination thereof§ §to your Honors judgments Upon which on the 21st July Mr. Corneille§ §thought proper to resign your Service, Alledging he could not reconcile§ §it to himself to Set in Council or any ways act in Station with§ §Captn. Kirkpatrick after meeting with such ill treatment from him,§ §& he accordingly proceeds to England on the Admiral Pocock. For a§ §full and Circumstancial Account of this affair, we beg leave to refer§ §you to our Consultations of the 11th. 18th. 20th. & 21st. of July where the§ §whole proceedings are entered§ §You will please to observe that we have this Year Indented§ §for only 30 Casks of Salt Provisions, our reasons for asking for so§ §small a quantity are that we have now in store as much as will§	Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling held that Captain Kirkpatrick's behaviour deserved the severest blame, but they left the final decision on it to the Court. Mr Corneille then chose to resign from the Company's service on 21 July 1768. He explained that he could not bring himself to sit in Council or act in any post beside Captain Kirkpatrick after such ill treatment from him. He accordingly took passage for England in the *Admiral Pocock*. The consultations of 11 July 1768, 19 July 1768, 20 July 1768 and 21 July 1768 contained the whole inquiry and gave a full and detailed account of the affair. 11: The island's order for the year asked for only 30 casks of salted provisions. The quantity was small because the stores already held enough to feed the island for more than two years. Frequent chances also arose to buy from homeward ships, and that meat cost much less than the supply from England. The Council therefore preferred buying from the ships to ordering a large quantity from Europe. 12: The list of remaining stores went home with this letter, together with the orders for goods needed in 1769. They were late that year for two reasons. The

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		§answer the Consumption of the Island for upwards of two Years, &§ §as we frequently meet with opportunity's of buying out of your§ §homeward bound Ships, which meat comes much Cheaper than what§ §we receive from England makes us prefer supplying ourselves by this§ §means to that of Indenting for a large quantity from Europe§ §By this opportunity we transmit you the List of Remains§ §&ca. together with our Indents wanted for the Service of the Year 1769§ §the reason of their being sent so late this Year was owing to our not§ §receiving an Abstract of the Duke of Richmonds Cargo by the Tilbury§ §we were on that Account at a loss to know what to indent for & the§ §Storekeeper being so fully employed in receiving the Stores when the§ §Duke of Richmond Arrived, rendered it impossible to transmit the§ §Indents by the last Conveyance§ §By the Ship Duke of Richmond we consigned £2000.§ §to your President & Council of Fort Marlborough being what Cash§ §we found we could spare, & hope by the help of Money that may be§ §Offered for Bills to provide for the Current Expences of this Year, as well§	*Tilbury* brought no summary of the *Duke of Richmond*'s cargo, which left the Council unsure what to ask for. The storekeeper was then so busy receiving stores when the *Duke of Richmond* arrived that the orders could not go by the previous ship. 13: The Council sent £2,000 0s 0d by the *Duke of Richmond* to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough, the whole of the cash it found it could spare. It hoped to meet the current year's running costs with the help of money paid in for bills. **Interpretations** The acquittal of Mr Corneille ended with the cleared man leaving and his accuser remaining. The Governor and Mr Purling condemned Captain Kirkpatrick in the strongest terms yet took no step against him, passing over suspension from the Council in favour of a reference home. Two members could hardly remove a third on their own authority, and a decision by the Court carried a weight theirs lacked. Mr Corneille's resignation was the visible cost: the Council lost its second member, the man whom the Court asked only weeks earlier to stay another year, as the letter of 2 June 1768 recorded. His bills of exchange that year, for £200 0s 0d on 25 January 1768, £427 2s 9d on 16 May 1768 and £41 16s 0d on 13 June 1768, show him already moving funds to England. By sailing in the *Admiral Pocock* he also reached London with the papers and could put his own case to the Court in person. The small order for salted provisions rested on the practice set out in paragraph 7 of the letter of 2 June 1768, where the Council undertook to buy whatever homeward commanders could spare. It passed over the usual security of a large yearly supply from England because meat from the ships was cheaper and could be inspected before purchase. The two-year stock in hand included the lean Bengal meat condemned on 25 April 1768 and 5 May 1768, so the figure measured quantity and not quality. The list of remains was the yearly statement of what the stores still held, and the island's orders were calculated from it together with what was known to be on its way. Without a summary of the *Duke of Richmond*'s cargo, the Council risked ordering goods already at sea or omitting goods that were not. The same letter of 15 June 1768 that reported her arrival complained that she and the *Tilbury* brought no deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin or turpentine. The remittance of £2,000 0s 0d carried out the undertaking given on 2 June 1768 to send spare cash to Fort Marlborough. It left the treasury dependent on future payments for bills, the mechanism by which commanders and residents handed over coin in return for drafts on London. The bills recorded from 23 February 1768 to 13 June 1768 show how uneven that income was, ranging from £100 0s 0d in one letter to £1,961 17s 9d in another.
144	137	as for the Year 1769, so that we presume [...] your Honors will have no§ §Occasion to consign to Us any Cash by the next Storeships§ §The Soldiers Shoes and Hats received this Year are all equally§ §good, but the Storekeeper acquaints Us that the Names of the Persons§ §who supplied them were not marked on the Packages as you are pleased to§ §mention in your last General Letter§ §The Coats & Breeches sent this Year for the Garrison are good§ §but their Shirts, which are charged at the Usual price are of an§ §inferior quality, & the worst we ever received§ §As the gold Lace for the Officers Uniforms Indented for last Year§	The Council expected money paid in for bills to cover the costs of 1769 as well. It therefore assumed that the Court need send no cash by the next storeships. 14: The soldiers' shoes and hats received that year were all equally good. The storekeeper reported, however, that the suppliers' names were not marked on the packages, although the Court's latest general letter said they would be. 15: The coats and breeches sent for the garrison that year were good. The shirts were charged at the customary price but were of poor quality, the worst ever received. 16: The gold lace ordered in 1767 for the officers' uniforms did not come that season. The officers received their cloth and other materials but could not have their regimentals made up. They intended to keep the cloth until the next storeship

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		§was not sent this season, they have not been able to make up their§ §Regimentals tho' the Cloth &ca. were delivered to them which they will§ §keep untill the Arrival of the next Storeship, and we hope your Honors§ §will send the Lace according to the Patern sent in this Packet that their§ §Uniforms may be compleated as Usual§ §Agreeable to your Orders we transmit you the Certificate of§ §Flour landed here this Year and beg leave to acquaint you that it is§ §so musty & extremely bad that the bread made of it is scarce Eatable§ §The Reverend Mr. Bearcroft represents to Us that it will be§ §necessary to have a Marble Font for the new Church which may§ §be placed on a Stone or Wooden Pedestal to be made here, and as we§ §propose taking the first opportunity after the Works of the Fortifications§ §are Compleated to Erect the Church, we request you will be pleased to§ §send the Font by the next Store Ships§ §In Consultation of the 8th instant Captn. Mitchell addressed§ §a Letter to the Governor and Council, representing that after the§ §Completion of the Works now carrying on at Mundens, and the Additional§ §Defences intended at Lemon Valley, which he hopes will be perfected by§ §May or June next, there will then be none of his Plans remain§	arrived. The Council hoped the Court would send lace matching the pattern enclosed in the packet, so that the uniforms could be finished in the customary style. 17: The certificate of the flour landed that year went home as the Court ordered. The flour was so musty and so extremely bad that bread made from it was scarcely fit to eat. 18: The Reverend Mr Bearcroft advised the Council that the new church needed a marble font, which could stand on a stone or wooden pedestal made on the island. The Council planned to build the church at the first chance after the fortification works were finished. It asked the Court to send the font by the next storeships. 19: Captain Mitchell wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council, and his letter came before the consultation of the eighth of the month. He reported on the works then in progress at Munden's and the further defences planned at Lemon Valley, which he hoped to finish by May or June 1769. Once those were done, none of his plans would remain to be carried out. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the ordinary safeguard of a yearly consignment of coin from England and told the Court to send none. It had just shipped £2,000 0s 0d to Fort Marlborough by the *Duke of Richmond*, and it now relied wholly on money paid in for bills to fund two years' expenses. The bills recorded between 23 February 1768 and 13 June 1768 ranged from £100 0s 0d in one letter to £1,961 17s 9d in another, so the income was real but uneven. The choice spared the Company the risk and cost of carrying specie to the island, and it rested on the steady demand of commanders and residents for drafts on London. The unmarked packages defeated an arrangement the Council itself supported. On 2 June 1768 it promised to keep reporting which suppliers of hats and shoes it thought best, and that judgement depended on knowing whose goods were in which package. With no names on them, the storekeeper could report only that all were equally good, which gave the Court nothing to choose between its contractors. The flour was the consignment for which the letter of 2 June 1768 promised certificates and a report on quality once it was tried. The verdict joined a run of complaints about that year's supplies: coal 20 chaldrons short, no deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin or turpentine, and now the worst shirts ever received at the full price. The remark on price mattered because the garrison's clothing was charged to the men, so poor shirts at the customary rate were a loss to the soldiers themselves. Regimentals were an officer's full dress uniform, and gold lace was the metallic braid sewn on as trimming, which marked rank and could not be made on the island. Sending a pattern fixed the width and design, so that lace from London would match what the officers already wore. The church was placed behind the fortifications in the order of work. Labour was the limit: the Council argued on 23 February 1768 that the Company's slaves were too few for the defences and that soldiers had to be used, and on 2 June 1768 it sent 26 recruits to the works. The font was ordered early because marble had to come from England, while the pedestal could be made locally. Munden's was the battery on the point at the eastern side of the anchorage, and Lemon Valley a landing place on the coast to the west. Captain Mitchell's letter showed the programme of defences moving on from Sandy Bay to the approaches of the main anchorage, with an end in sight by the middle of 1769.

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145	138	unfinished except the rebuilding, with some alterations in the§ §present form, the two Demi Bastions which form the Flanks of§ §the interior Line in James's Valley, and walling up a few inconsiderable§ §Gullies in different parts of the Island which being Works he esteems§ §of no difficulty in the Execution may be easily constructed without§ §the immediate Superintendance of an Engineer and on that Account§ §will render his stay here longer than the above period unnecessary,§ §On duly considering the Contents of the Engineers Said Letter we are fully§ §of opinion that when the works at Mundens and Lemon Valley are§ §accomplished he may with great propriety be permitted to proceed to§ §England in the Year 1769, as the Works that May then remain§ §unfinished will be so inconsiderable that they may be Executed§ §with Facility without his inspection or attendance, consequently§ §his continuing here longer will be of no importance to the Company's§ §Service, but rather a disservice as it will be keeping a Gentleman§ §of Abilitys & Judgment from Rendering his employers more§ §Considerable Services in one of their Principal Settlements, And here§ §we cannot avoid, in Justice to the Merits of Captn. Mitchell to§ §represent to your Honors that every part of the Works already§ §Compleated are Executed in as Masterly a manner as they were§ §Planned, and Constantly prosecuted with Deligence and§ §application, with due attention to Oeconomy and with as little§ §Expence as the nature of such Works would admit of§ §In consequence of Captn. Mitchells quitting his Employs in§ §your Service here next Year, the Captn. Commission of the Artillery§ §Company will be vacant, and not having any Person on the§ §Island properly Qualified to Command the Artillery, we request§ §you will be pleased to send a Gentleman from England by the next§ §Storeships who has served in the Train, capable of Commanding that§	Captain Mitchell listed the only works that would then be left. The two demi-bastions forming the flanks of the inner line in James's Valley needed rebuilding with some changes to their shape, and a few minor gullies in different parts of the island needed walling up. He thought these jobs easy enough to be built without an engineer directly in charge, so his staying beyond May or June 1769 would serve no purpose. The Council weighed his letter carefully and agreed in full. It judged that he could very properly be allowed to leave for England in 1769, once the works at Munden's and Lemon Valley were done. The remaining tasks would be slight enough to carry out without his inspection or presence. Keeping him longer would bring the Company no benefit and would in fact harm it, by holding back an able man of sound judgement from more valuable work at one of the principal settlements. The Council also felt bound to record Captain Mitchell's merits. Every part of the works already finished was built as skilfully as it was designed. He pressed the work on steadily and with close application, watched the cost and spent as little as defences of that kind allowed. 20: Captain Mitchell's departure in 1769 would leave the captain's commission in the artillery company vacant. Nobody on the island was properly qualified to command the artillery. The Council therefore asked the Court to send out by the next storeships a gentleman who had served in the train and was able to command that company. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the cautious course of keeping its Engineer until every planned work was complete. It backed his release with two rebuilt demi-bastions and several gully walls still to do, and the paragraph gave the reasoning: the leftover jobs were simple masonry that needed no designer on site, and a skilled officer idle at St Helena was a loss to the larger settlements. The request originated with Captain Mitchell himself, and the Council adopted his own assessment of the remaining work without any second opinion, since no one else on the island could give one. His bill for £400 0s 0d, dated 30 May 1768, shows him already sending money home. The praise repeated the commendation in the letter of 23 February 1768, again stressing economy. That emphasis answered the Court's standing concern over the cost of the works and the use of garrison labour on them, and it supported the case for his release by presenting him as a servant who had earned it. Captain Mitchell held two posts at once, Engineer and captain of the artillery company, so his going opened a gap the first argument did not cover. The fortifications could be finished without him, but the guns mounted on them needed a trained commander. The train was the artillery train, the body of gunners, guns and equipment that formed the artillery arm of an army. The Council wanted an officer with that professional service, since gunnery was a technical skill not learned in the infantry of the garrison. A demi-bastion was half a bastion, a projecting work with one face and one flank, set at the end of a line so that its guns could sweep the ground in front of the wall. The inner line in James's Valley was the second line of defence behind the sea front of the island's town and main landing place. Walling up gullies closed the narrow ravines by which a landing party could climb from the shore, as was done with the gully marked K K at Sandy Bay.
146	139	Company and instructing the Men belonging to it in the knowledge of the§	The officer sent out was also to train the men of the artillery company in the drill and handling of the

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		§Discipline & Exercise of the Artillery, on which the Defence of the Island§ §if Attacked will Chiefly depend§ §From the experience Captn. Mitchell has had of the Assiduity &§ §Capacity of Lieut. Thos. Bazett, who has superintended the Works under§ §him upwards of two Years past; he is recommended by that Gentleman§ §particularly to Us from which as well as from our own knowledge of§ §his Merits Deligence, and application in acquiring some skill in the§ §Engineering Branch & improvement in drawing, We beg leave to§ §recommend him to your Honors as a Person very fit to take charge§ §of & to prosecute the Works that may be unfinished when Captn. Mitchell§ §leaves the Island, and also to superintend the repairs your several§ §Fortifications and other buildings may from time to time require &§ §as the same will occasion much attendance we flatter ourselves that§ §you will not think a hundred pounds a Year too great a Compensation§ §for such Service therefore request you will be pleased to appoint the Sd.§ §Lieut. Thos. Bazett to that Office at the beforementioned Saly. of one§ §hundred pounds a Year, In Justice to the Company we cannot think§ §from the many miscarriages, Blunders & Superficial repairs given§ §to your several Works and buildings by John Bland the late Master§ §Mason, to put Works of Consequence in future under the inspection of any of§ §that Profession, as their Knowledge Extends no further than meer§ §Opperators, who must be well looked after or it is certain that their§ §Business will be both slighted & neglected§ §As there are now two Vacant Commissions (the last Occasioned§ §by the death of Lieut. De Laune on the 8 Instant) Exclusive of Lt. Bazett§ §who is superintendant of the Works, there consequently remains only§ §five Lieutents. for the whole Garrison Duty (besides the two Artillery§ §Lts. who have seperate dutys assigned them) which renders it very hard§	guns, on which the defence of the island and its outposts would mainly rest. 21: Captain Mitchell particularly commended Lieutenant Thomas Bazett to the Council. The lieutenant supervised the works under him for more than two years and showed steady application and ability throughout. The Council knew his worth at first hand as well, including the effort he gave to learning something of engineering and improving his drawing. It therefore put him forward to the Court as very well suited to take over and carry on whatever works stood unfinished when Captain Mitchell left. He was also to oversee the repairs that the fortifications and other buildings needed from time to time. That duty demanded a great deal of his time, and the Council trusted that the Court would not think £100 0s 0d a year too much for it. It asked the Court to appoint Lieutenant Bazett to the post at that salary. The Council added that it could not, in fairness to the Company, place important works in future under any master mason. John Bland, the former master mason, left the Company's works and buildings with many failures, blunders and shallow repairs. Men of that trade knew no more than how to do the manual work, and they needed close watching or their tasks were certain to be skimped and ignored. 22: Two commissions stood vacant, the second through the death of Lieutenant De Launé on the eighth of the month. Leaving aside Lieutenant Bazett as superintendent of the works, only five lieutenants remained for the whole duty of the garrison. The two artillery lieutenants were not counted among them, since they had separate duties of their own. **Interpretations** John Bland was identified here for the first time as the Company's former master mason. His paper of accusations, which the Court took up in its letter by the *Tilbury* and the Council dismissed in July 1768 as spiteful, therefore came from a man who had held charge of the island's building work and left it. The Council used the recommendation of Lieutenant Bazett to strike at him a second time, on the separate ground of bad workmanship. That attack served its case against his charges, since it presented him to the Court as an incompetent tradesman as well as a malicious one. The Council passed over the ordinary arrangement of putting building work under a master mason, the post Bland held, and asked for a garrison officer to superintend it at £100 0s 0d a year. The paragraph gave the reason: a mason was treated as a mere workman who needed supervision himself, while an officer with some drawing and engineering could direct others. The choice also kept the post within the circle of the Company's commissioned servants. Lieutenant Bazett learned his engineering on the job under Captain Mitchell and had no formal training, a limit the Council's own wording, "some skill", conceded. The Council had earlier agreed that the remaining works were simple enough to need no engineer, which made that limit acceptable. Thomas Bazett was the third of that surname in these letters. Captain Henry Bazett took a bill for £60 0s 0d on 13 June 1768, and Mr George Bazett was appointed a writer in paragraph 3 of the same letter that recommended the lieutenant. The letter stated no relationship among them. The count of lieutenants showed how thinly the garrison was officered. Detaching one lieutenant to the works and losing two commissions left five men to share the routine of guards and duty, and the Council set out the figures as the ground for a request about the vacancies. The mason John Preston, whose engagement in England was reported on 2 June 1768, was expected as a workman and not as a successor to Bland's charge of the works.

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147	140	on the said five Officers therefore we have thought it most adviseable to§ §fill up one of the Vacant Commissions by the Cadet Mr. James§ §Greentree, who we recommended last Year to your Honors, as a§ §very deserving Young Man, and in every respect well qualified for§ §a Commission in Your Service which Said appointment we hope§ §your honors will please to confirm, and also Order the other§ §Vacant Commission to be filled up§ §The Passengers on board this Ship are Mr. & Mrs. Jephson§ §We have given Captn. Riddell a Permission to§ §receive on board his Ship Danl. Corneille Esqr. and his Servant§ §Also an Order to take on board the Admiral Pocock George§ §Freeman & William Bannister Sergeants, Thos. Mc.Farling§ §Gunner & Joseph Fellows Matross four discharged Men to§ §Compleat her Company§ §As fifty of the Soldiers Contracted times will expire in March next &§ §being uncertain how many of them will relist again we apprehend§ §we shall want at least fifty Recruits the next Year to Compleat§ §the several Company's making allowance for Deaths & Discharges§ §we therefore request you will be pleased to send Us that Number by§ §the Storeships§ §Mr. Richd. Wright has Executed his Bond which is§ §returned to your Honors in this Packet§ §The Govr. Yesterday acquainted Captn. Kirkpatrick that we§ §were to meet that day at ten O'Clock to sign the Consultations & other§ §Papers to be transmitted by this Conveyance, to which he returned answer§ §he would attend if Possible, but not appearing either Yesterday or to day§ §we agreed to send the Consultations which he was present at to his House§ §for him to sign them, but as he has not attended for sometime past we§ §judged it was unadviseable to send any other Papers to his House therefore§	The shortage of lieutenants bore very heavily on the five officers who remained. The Council therefore thought it best to fill one of the vacant commissions with the cadet Mr James Greentree. It recommended him to the Court in 1767 as a very deserving young man, fully qualified in every respect for a commission in the Company's service. The Council hoped the Court would confirm his appointment and order the other vacancy to be filled as well. 23: The *Admiral Pocock* carried as passengers Mr and Mrs Jephson. 24: The Council gave Captain Riddell leave to take Daniel Corneille Esquire and his servant aboard his ship. It also ordered him to take four discharged men into the *Admiral Pocock* to bring her crew up to strength. George Trueman, sergeant William Bannister, sergeant Thomas McFarling, gunner Joseph Fellows, matross 25: The contracted terms of 50 soldiers were due to run out in March 1769, and nobody could tell how many of them would enlist again. Allowing for deaths and discharges as well, the Council expected to need at least 50 recruits in 1769 to fill the several companies. It asked the Court to send that number by the storeships. 26: Mr Richard Wright signed his bond, which went back to the Court in the packet. 27: Governor Skottowe told Captain Kirkpatrick on the day before the letter was written that the Council was to meet at ten o'clock that day. The purpose was to sign the consultations and other papers going home by the ship. Captain Kirkpatrick replied that he would come if he could. He appeared neither that day nor the next. The Council then agreed to send the consultations at which he was present to his house for signature. He had stayed away for some time, however, and the Council judged it unwise to send any other papers there. **Interpretations** The Council filled one vacant commission itself and left the other to the Court, where the ordinary course was to refer both home. The paragraph showed the reason for acting on one: five lieutenants could not carry the garrison's duty for the year or more a reply from London took. Mr Greentree was a safe choice because the Court already held the Council's recommendation of him from 1767, so the appointment anticipated a decision the Court had been asked to make. A cadet was a young man serving in the garrison without a commission while he waited for one. Leaving the second vacancy open kept the Court's right of patronage intact. Captain Kirkpatrick's absence by then extended from the bench to the Council table itself. The proceedings of 25 April 1768 recorded that he was not acting as a justice of the peace, and after his accusation against Mr Corneille failed in July 1768 he stopped attending altogether. The Council drew a careful line in dealing with it. Consultations of meetings he attended went to his house, since his signature properly belonged on them. Other papers were withheld, on the stated ground of his long absence, which kept current business out of the hands of a member the Governor and Mr Purling had just censured. With Mr Corneille resigned and sailing in the *Admiral Pocock*, the working Council was reduced to those two men, and the paragraph put on record why the papers might reach London without a third signature. The four discharged men sent by the *Admiral Pocock* included two sergeants and two artillerymen, shipped as working hands with no waiver of wages

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			mentioned. The loss of a gunner and a matross fell on the artillery company, whose command the Council expected to be vacant in 1769. Soldiers enlisted with the Company for a fixed term of years, and a man whose time ran out could claim his discharge and a passage home. The request for 50 recruits therefore assumed the worst case, that none of the 50 would sign on again. The 26 recruits who came by the *Tilbury* in May 1768 showed the scale of a normal year's draft, so the Council was asking for about twice that number. A bond was the signed undertaking, backed by a money penalty, that a Company servant gave for the faithful performance of his duties. The letter did not state Mr Wright's post.
148	141	all other Papers relative to the Compys. affairs are transmitted in the Packet§ §without his Subscribing them§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt. One§ §set to Mr. Robt. Wigram for £200.. payable to Mr. Willm. Ca[w]den, One§ §set to Capt. Thos. Hindman for £150.. payble. to Andrew Moffatt Esqr.§ §both dated the 20th June, One Set to Danl. Corneille Esqr. for £36.. 6 payble.§ §to Messrs. Rainforth & G[y]borne dated the 25th. May, One set to Capt. Henry§ §Bazett for £139, 1. 7 payable to Mr. Mathias Brightwell dated the 1st.§ §August, One Set to Danl. Corneille Esqr. for £400 payable to himself§ §One set to Mr. Mattw. Purling for £450.. payable to John Purling Esqr.§ §One Set to Mr. Jonathan Doveton for £487, 14.. payable to Capt. Richard§ §Doveton, One Set to Hugh Jones (Mr. Corneilles Servant for £363, 12. 6§ §payable to himself, and one set to Captn. Thos. Riddell for £250.. payble.§ §to Sr. John Riddell & Thos. Heatfield Esqrs. dated the 8th. Instant, and all§ §drawn at ninety Days sight§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §signed§ §John Skottowe§ §M. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §13th. August 1768§ §List of the Honble Compys. Packet from St. Helena P Ship Admiral§ §Pocock dated the 13th. August 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Gove[...] & Council Genl. Letter dated the 13th. August 1768§ §2 Do. & Do. dated the 13th. Do. Do. relatg. to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 15th. June Do.§	Every other paper on the Company's business therefore went home in the packet without Captain Kirkpatrick's signature. 28: The Council issued nine sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight. Mr Robert Wigram, payable to Mr William Cawden, dated 20 June 1768, £200 0s 0d Captain Thomas Hindman, payable to Andrew Moffatt Esquire, dated 20 June 1768, £150 0s 0d Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Messrs Stainforth and Gyborne, dated 25 May 1768, £36 0s 6d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Mr Mathias Brightwell, dated 1 August 1768, £139 1s 7d Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to himself, dated 8 August 1768, £400 0s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, dated 8 August 1768, £450 0s 0d Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Captain Richard Doveton, dated 8 August 1768, £487 14s 0d Hugh Jones, servant to Mr Corneille, payable to himself, dated 8 August 1768, £363 12s 6d Captain Thomas Riddell, payable to Sir John Riddell and Thomas Heathfield Esquires, dated 8 August 1768, £250 0s 0d The letter was dated at St Helena on 13 August 1768 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Admiral Pocock*, dated 13 August 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 August 1768 2: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 13 August 1768 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 15 June 1768 **Interpretations** Only two signatures stood under this letter, where every general letter from 23 February 1768 to 15 June 1768 carried four. Mr Corneille resigned on 21 July 1768 and Captain Kirkpatrick stayed away, so Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling alone answered for the island's government. The Council passed over the usual course of collecting every member's signature and sent the papers without Captain Kirkpatrick's, having sent to his house only the consultations of meetings he attended. Paragraph 27 put the reason on record in advance, so that the Court could not read the missing name as dissent from the contents. The same two men had judged his accusation against Mr Corneille, and the letter condemning his conduct thus reached London signed only by those who condemned him. The bills showed Mr Corneille winding up his affairs. He drew £400 0s 0d payable to himself on 8 August 1768, and his servant Hugh Jones, who sailed with him, drew £363 12s 6d on the same day. With the bill of £36 0s 6d dated 25 May 1768 and those

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			reported earlier, for £200 0s 0d on 25 January 1768, £427 2s 9d on 16 May 1768 and £41 16s 0d on 13 June 1768, his drafts for the year came to £1,104 19s 3d. The size of the servant's bill was striking beside the £30 0s 0d a year that the Widows' Fund paid, and the letter gave no account of how a servant came by such a sum. The nine bills together amounted to £2,476 8s 1d, the largest total in any letter of the year and more than the £2,000 0s 0d shipped to Fort Marlborough by the *Duke of Richmond*. The Council's plan to run the island on money paid in for bills, with no coin sent from England, was therefore borne out in the same letter that proposed it. The date of 13 August 1768 also fixed the month of writing: the *Admiral Pocock* arrived on 30 July 1768, Captain Mitchell's letter came before the consultation of 8 August 1768, and Lieutenant De Launé died on 8 August 1768. The inquiry of 20 June 1768 into Bland's accusations accordingly fell in the month before the previous one, described in the letter simply as June past. John Purling Esquire was again the payee of island money, receiving Mr Purling's £450 0s 0d after his £250 0s 0d of 2 May 1768 and Captain Bazett's £60 0s 0d of 13 June 1768. Captain Riddell's bill was payable to Sir John Riddell, and Mr Doveton's to Captain Richard Doveton, which shows the bills serving once more to pass funds to relatives in England.
149	142	4 Consultations from the 17th. June to the 10th. Augst. 1768§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 6th. to the 13th. June Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Northington§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Earl of Elgin§ §8 List of Stores remaining in the Honble. Compys. Ware Houses 30th. April 1768§ §9 Do. of Garrison Stores remg. Do. Do. Do.§ §10 Do. of Artillery Stores from the 1st. Octr. 1767 to Do. Do. Do.§ §11 Do. of four Discharged Soldiers§ §12 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Northington§ §13 Do. Do. of Sundry Stores deficient of Last Years Indent§ §14 Indent of Stores wantd. for the Service of the Year 1769§ §15 Do. of Medicines Do. Do. Do.§ §16 Effective state of the Garrison§ §17 Muster Rolls of Do.§ §18 Cash Acct. from the 16th. to the 30th. June 1768§ §19 Do. for the Month of July Do.§ §20 Do. from the 1st. to the 13th. August Do.§ §21 Duplicate Do. from the 1st. to the 15th. June Do.§ §22 Ship Admrl. Pocock's Account§ §23 Do. Duke of Richmonds Do.§ §24 Duplicate Ship Northingtons Do.§ §25 Do. Vansittarts Do.§ §26 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Admiral Pocock§ §27 Time of the Arrival of the Admiral Pocock's Boat at Banks's§ §28 Copy of the several Gentlemans Answers to John Blands Paper intitled§ §his Observations &ca. together wth. the Govr. & Councils opinions on the same§ §29 Patern of Lace for the Officers Regimentals§ §30 Certificate of Flour§ §31 Courts Martial from the 17th. Septr. 1767 to the 8th. August 1768§ §32 Copy of a New Licence§ §33 Do. of an Old Do.§	The list of the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock* continued with the remaining enclosures. 4: Consultations from 17 June 1768 to 10 August 1768 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 6 June 1768 to 13 June 1768 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Northington*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin*. 8: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 April 1768 9: List of garrison stores remaining on 30 April 1768 10: List of artillery stores from 1 October 1767 to 30 April 1768 11: List of four discharged soldiers 12: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Northington*. 13: Duplicate list of various stores missing from the order of 1767 14: Order for stores needed in 1769 15: Order for medicines needed in 1769 16: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 17: Muster rolls of the garrison 18: Cash account from 16 June 1768 to 30 June 1768 19: Cash account for July 1768 20: Cash account from 1 August 1768 to 13 August 1768 21: Duplicate cash account from 1 June 1768 to 15 June 1768 22: Account of the *Admiral Pocock*. 23: Account of the *Duke of Richmond*. 24: Duplicate account of the *Northington*. 25: Duplicate account of the *Van Sittart*. 26: Summary of the cargo of the *Admiral Pocock*. 27: Note of the time at which the *Admiral Pocock*'s boat reached Banks's. 28: Copy of the answers of the several gentlemen to John Bland's paper of observations, with the opinions of the Governor and Council on them 29: Pattern of lace for the officers' regimentals 30: Certificate of flour

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			31: Courts martial from 17 September 1767 to 8 August 1768 32: Copy of a new licence 33: Copy of an old licence **Interpretations** The packet gathered the evidence for nearly every argument in the letter of 13 August 1768. Item 28 was the separate paper promised in paragraph 4, carrying the accused men's replies to Bland and the Council's verdict. Items 32 and 33 were the two punch house licences sent for comparison under paragraph 7. The lace pattern, the flour certificate and the orders for 1769 answered paragraphs 16, 17 and 12. The Court thus received the documents themselves and not only the Council's account of them. The lists of remaining stores were struck on 30 April 1768, more than three months before they went home. Paragraph 12 explained the delay: the storekeeper was fully occupied receiving the *Duke of Richmond*'s cargo in June 1768, and the orders built on those lists could not be finished for the *Northington*. The list of goods missing from the 1767 order went a second time as item 13, keeping the complaint about deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine before the Court. The record of courts martial covered almost eleven months, from 17 September 1767 to 8 August 1768. It began on the same date as the duplicate consultations sent by the *Hector* on 23 February 1768, which suggests that such proceedings were sent home once a year in a single run and not ship by ship.
150	143	34 Mr. Richd. Wright's Bond§ §35 Proceedings of a general Quartr. Sessions held on the 18th. July 1768§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors under date of the 13th August by§ §the Ship Admiral Pocock§ §On the 22d. of last Month arrived your Ship Greenwich from§ §Bombay which place Captn. Hooke acquaints Us he left 22d. April &§ §your Ship Calcutta there she was to sail in a few days after for§ §Batavia, he likewise informs Us he left Tillichery the 5th. May & that§ §the Earl of Chatham was at Onore and going to Bombay and§ §supposes will be dispatched for England this Year. Captn. Hooke also tells§ §Us that Hyder Ally had retaken Mangulore and that all our Troops§ §were returned to Tillichery two day's before he left that place; and that§ §he spoke with your Ship Greenville the 19th. July eight degrees to the§ §Eastward of Cape Lagullas all well. The 1st. Instant arrived the Egmont§ §from Madrass which place Captn. Mears acquaints Us he left the 15th.§ §May, that your Honors Ship Adl. Watson Arrived there, few days before he Sailed,§ §he likewise tells Us he touched at Mauritius to repair a Leak§ §Agreeable to what we acquainted your Honors in our§ §Letter under date 13th. of May last, we have dismissed James Black§ §Gardener and have given Captn. Hooke an Order to receive him onboard§ §his Ship and have paid him £5.. for his Passage his Receipt for§ §the same goes herewith We request your Honors will	The list of the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock* closed with two further enclosures. 34: Mr Richard Wright's bond 35: Proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 18 July 1768 A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter was dated 13 August 1768 and went home by the *Admiral Pocock*. 2: The *Greenwich* arrived from Bombay on the twenty-second of the previous month. Captain Hooke left Bombay on 22 April 1768, when the *Calcutta* lay there and was to sail a few days later for Batavia. He left Tellicherry on 3 May 1768. The *Earl of Chatham* was then at Onore on her way to Bombay, and he supposed that she would be sent to England that year. Captain Hooke also reported that Hyder Ali retook Mangalore and that all the Company's troops got back to Tellicherry two days before he left that place. He spoke with the *Grenville* on 19 July 1768, eight degrees east of Cape Agulhas, with all well aboard. The *Egmont* arrived from Madras on the first of the month. Captain Mears left Madras on 13 May 1768, and the *Admiral Watson* arrived there a few days before he sailed. He put in at Mauritius to repair a leak. 3: The Council dismissed James Black, the gardener, as it told the Court it would in the letter of 13 May 1768. It ordered Captain Hooke to take him aboard his ship and paid the captain £5 0s 0d for the passage. Captain Hooke's receipt for that sum went home with the letter. The Council asked the Court to send a properly qualified man for the post by the next storeship. A soldier looked after the garden until one could arrive from England. **Interpretations** The Council paid for the gardener's passage, where every discharged soldier sent home that year either worked his way as one of the crew or signed away his wages as a passenger. Black was being removed by the Council's own decision and not at his request, so the ordinary terms did not fit: he could not be made to work the ship, and a commander had

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		be pleased to§ §send Us a Man properly qualified for that Employ by the next§ §Storeship, we have got a Soldier to look after the Garden until one§ §Arrives from England§	no reason to carry him free. The payment of £5 0s 0d secured his departure, and the receipt gave the Court proof of the charge. The letter of 13 May 1768 named the gardener as Samuel Black and this one as James Black. The dismissal was the same in both, and the later reading, tied to the passage money and receipt, was probably the correct one. The news of Mangalore reversed the hopeful reports of earlier letters. On 23 February 1768 the Council relayed that Hyder Ali was twice beaten on the Coast, and on 13 August 1768 that an expedition was fitting out at Bombay against his ports. Mangalore was the chief of those ports, on the Malabar coast, and its recapture with the troops' withdrawal to Tellicherry meant that the expedition took the place and then lost it again. Onore was a smaller port on the same coast, north of Mangalore. Mauritius was then the main French base in the Indian Ocean, so the *Egmont* repaired her leak in a foreign harbour. Captain Sandys reported on 14 March 1768 that she was to complete her cargo on the Coast, and her sailing from Madras bore that out. The *Calcutta* was seen leaky at Tellicherry on 7 January 1768, bound for Bombay to dock, and was now reported there and ready for sea. Cape Agulhas was the southernmost point of Africa, east of the Cape of Good Hope. The reference to the first of the current month and the twenty-second of the previous one, following a letter of 13 August 1768, placed the writing of this letter in September 1768. The *Greenwich* therefore arrived on 22 August 1768 and the *Egmont* on 1 September 1768.
151	144	The Passengers on board the Egmont are Mrs. Tayler &§ §Messrs. Sp[rat] Deaveux, Tudman, & Drought and Messrs. Winsley§ §Farmer and Macpherson on board the Greenwich§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt.§ §One set to Mr. Colvill Mure for £500.. payable to Messrs. Mure, Son &§ §Atkinson dated the 13th. August, One Set to Mr. James Powell for§ §£350.. payable to Captn. John Williams, One set to Mr. Matthew§ §Bazett for £300.. payable to Captn. Thomas Riddell, One set to§ §Captn. John Howard for £215. 10 payable to Mrs. Mary Hall§ §One set to Mr. Robert Barclay for £30.. payable to Mr. Robt. Dallas§ §and one set to Mr. William Wrangham for £120.. payable to John§ §Purling Esqr. dated the 5th. instant, and all drawn at 90 days sight§ §We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honors that the upper§ §Battery at Banks's is quite finished On the 1st. of this Month we went &§ §viewed it, and every part thereof appeared to Us extremely well Executed§ §It is greatly enlarged, and the Merlons are now Constructed on the§ §following Plan cased with Stones laid with Lime Mortar in the§ §Front and Back & filled in with a Composition made with Lime§ §Sand and Dirt which cohere and cement so closely together that it§ §becomes perfectly hard and Condensed, and will doubtless endure the§ §weather and be very lasting as well as of infinite security to the Men§ §in Defending the Battery, effectually preventing their	4: The *Egmont* carried as passengers Mr Tayler and Messrs Sprat, Deaveaux, Tudman and Drought. The Misses Winsley, Farmer and Macpherson travelled aboard the *Greenwich*. 5: The Council issued six sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight. Mr Colvill Mure, payable to Messrs Mure and Atkinson, dated 13 August 1768, £500 0s 0d Mr James Powell, payable to Captain John Williams, dated 5 September 1768, £350 0s 0d Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to Captain Thomas Riddell, dated 5 September 1768, £300 0s 0d Captain John Howard, payable to Mrs Mary Hall, dated 5 September 1768, £215 10s 0d Mr Robert Barclay, payable to Mr Robert Dallas, dated 5 September 1768, £30 0s 0d Mr William Wrangham, payable to John Purling Esquire, dated 5 September 1768, £120 0s 0d 6: The upper battery at Banks's was completely finished. The Council went to inspect it on 1 September 1768 and found every part extremely well built. The battery was much enlarged, and its merlons followed a new design. Each was faced front and back with stone set in lime mortar and filled with a mixture of lime, sand and earth. That filling bound so tightly that it set perfectly hard and dense. The Council expected it to stand up to the weather and last a long time. It also gave the men defending the battery far greater safety, since it stopped them being hurt by flying fragments of stone. In all the Company's other fortifications the defenders were badly exposed to that danger, because the parapets were solid stone and mortar right through and the embrasures were formed of the same materials. The Council thought the new method a very great improvement. It asked the Court to consider whether every parapet open to bombardment from ships ought to be rebuilt in the same way. **Interpretations** A merlon was the solid section of a parapet between two embrasures, the openings through which the guns fired. A cannonball striking solid

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		being hurt by§ §Splinters from Stones, which in all your other Fortifications they will§ §be greatly exposed to as the Parapets are laid quite through with solid§ §Stone and Mortar, the Embrasures being formed with the same Materials,§ §This new Contrivance of constructing the Merlons we think a very great§ §improvement, and beg leave to Offer it to your Consideration whether§ §it would not be a proper measure to rebuild all the Parapets of your§ §Fortifications, which may be cannonaded by Ships, and to construct§ §them in the like Manner, apprehending that the defenders of a Battery§	masonry shattered the stone and sent sharp fragments among the gun crews, often doing more harm than the shot itself. An earth-based core absorbed the blow instead, while the thin stone skin kept the filling in place and protected it from rain. The mixture of lime, sand and earth was in effect a rammed lime concrete, made from materials found on the island. The ordinary method, used in every other work on the island, was solid stone and mortar throughout. The Engineer departed from it at Banks's, and the Council reported the change only once the battery was finished, as it did with the altered design at Sandy Bay on 23 February 1768. It stopped short of rebuilding the other parapets on its own authority and put the question to the Court, limiting the proposal to works that ships could bombard. That restriction kept the cost down, since batteries facing only a landing party stood in no danger from heavy shot. The proposal sat awkwardly beside the letter of 13 August 1768, which told the Court that hardly any work would remain after the middle of 1769 and that Captain Mitchell could go home. Banks's was the station where arriving ships' boats reported, as the packet lists recorded throughout the year. Strengthening its upper battery carried the programme of defences to the first post an approaching vessel passed. The date of 5 September 1768 on the bills confirmed that the letter was written in September 1768. Mr Powell again drew in favour of Captain John Williams of the *Hector*, as he did for £200 0s 0d on 22 January 1768. Mr Matthew Bazett was the fourth of that surname to appear in the year's letters, and his bill was payable to Captain Riddell of the *Admiral Pocock*, who sailed three weeks earlier. Mr William Wrangham shared a surname with Mr Francis Wrangham, the writer whose death was reported on 13 August 1768, and his bill went to John Purling Esquire, by then the payee of four island drafts.
152	145	will be more exposed to danger by Splinters from Stones worked in the§ §Merlons than from the Enemy's Shot, which upon striking a Parapet on§ §the above construction will deaden the Shot and greatly prevent its doing Execution,§ §The Plan of the two Batterys at Banks's we transmit by this Conveyance§ §under the Charge of Captn. Mears. The Commanding Situation of the§ §upper Battery (now called Purlings Battery) will be clearly Seen upon§ §inspecting the Plan. All Ships approaching that intend for the Road in§ §James's Valley must come near Butter[my] point, and obliged to luff§ §up close to the above Battery where they are generally taken a Back§ §on opening Banks's Valley, consequently much exposed to the Fire§ §from both the upper and lower Batterys, which in our opinions§ §are of the utmost importance to the defence of the Island§ §By this opportunity we cannot send your Honors an§ §Account of the Expence that has occurred in rebuilding that Battery§ §not being able to ascertain the same untill the present Quarters§ §Accounts of disbursments are laid before Us, by the first conveyance§ §after which we shall transmit an Abstract of the Charges And now§ §beg leave to assure you that the Engineer has	The Council reasoned that the defenders of a battery faced more danger from fragments of the stone built into the merlons than from the enemy's shot itself. A ball striking a parapet of the new kind would be deadened and do far less harm. The plan of the two batteries at Banks's went home in the care of Captain Mears. It showed plainly how the upper battery, by then named Purling's Battery, dominated the approach. Every ship making for the road at James's Valley had to come close to Buttermilk Point and work up near the battery. The wind generally took such ships aback as Banks's Valley opened, leaving them heavily exposed to the fire of both the upper and lower batteries. The Council rated those batteries as of the highest importance to the island's defence. 7: No account of the cost of building the battery could go home with this letter. The figure could not be established until the current quarter's accounts of spending came before the Council, and a summary of the charges was to follow by the first ship after that. The Council assured the Court that the Engineer worked with it to keep the strictest watch on cost and avoid all needless spending. He carried the work through with his customary energy and care. The works at Munden's were going forward as fast as their nature allowed, and a start was made at Lemon Valley. The fortification lately built at Sandy Bay was by then called Mitchell's Line. 8: Captains Mears and Hooke asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle to restore their crews. Captain Hooke's men were very sickly, which kept his ship at the island somewhat longer than usual. **Interpretations**

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		cooperated with Us§ §in paying the strictest attention to Oeconomy avoiding every§ §unnecessary Expence and prosecuting this Work in all respects with§ §his Usual diligence & application The Works at Mundens are now§ §carrying on with as great Expedition as the Nature of the same will§ §admit of & have already made a beginning at Lemon Valley, The§ §Fortification lately Erected at Sandy Bay is now called Mitchells§ §Line§ §Captains Mears & Hooke requesting that we would§ §permit them to touch at Assension to get Turtle for the refreshment§ §of their Peoples, Captn. Hookes Ships Company having been very§ §Sickly which has occasioned his stay here Rather longer on that§ §Account and notwithstanding all the supplies we could afford to§	A sailing ship was taken aback when a sudden shift of wind struck the front of her sails and stopped her or drove her astern. The valley mouth at Banks's funnelled gusts off the land, so a ship rounding the point lost her way at the very spot the guns covered. The Council's case for the batteries rested on that local fact: an enemy vessel would lie almost helpless under fire from two levels, and the splinter-proof merlons described earlier in the paragraph protected the gunners during the exchange. The new works were named after the men who governed and built them. The upper battery at Banks's took the name of Mr Purling, by then the only councillor still acting beside Governor Skottowe, and the Sandy Bay work took that of Captain Mitchell, the Engineer. The letter reported both names as settled facts and did not ask the Court's approval. Naming a battery after a sitting member of a two-man Council, in a letter signed by that member, was a mark of honour the Council conferred on itself. The cost of the battery was held back for the same reason given on 2 April 1768, when no cash account could be sent before the quarterly accounts were presented. The Council again preferred a later, examined figure to an estimate, and it filled the gap with a renewed assurance of the Engineer's economy, as it did on 23 February 1768 and 13 August 1768. The requests for Ascension differed from those of June 1768 in giving a reason. Captains Sealy and Palmer received leave on 15 June 1768 with none recorded, whereas sickness in Captain Hooke's crew supplied a clear ground here, since fresh turtle meat was valued as a remedy for men worn down by a long passage on salted food. His ship, the *Greenwich*, arrived on 22 August 1768 and was still at the island in September, well beyond the ten working days normally allowed.
153	146	give him they are yet not thoroughly recovered. & Captn. Mears§ §representing to Us that his getting turtle would be of great service§ §to his Ships Company in their Passage home, we for the above§ §reasons have given them liberty to call there for that purpose§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §10th. Septr. 1768§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena P§ §Ship Egmont dated the 10th. Septr. 1768 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 10th. September 1768§ §2 Do. Do. & Do. dated the 10th. Do. Do.§ §relating to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Do. Do. & Do. dated the 13th. August Do.§ §4 Do. Do. Do. & Do. dated the 13th. Do. Do.§ §relating to Law matters§ §5 Consultations from the 15th. August to the 5th. Septr. 1768§ §6 Duplicate Do. from the 17th. June to 10th. Augst. Do.§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Adl. Pocock§ §8 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Northington§ §9 List of Officers & Servts. taken 10th. Septr. 1768§ §10 Duplicate List of Stores remg. in the Honble Compys.§ §Ware Houses 30th. April 1768.§	Captain Hooke's men were still not fully recovered, despite all the supplies the island could give them. Captain Mears advised the Council that turtle would greatly benefit his crew on the voyage home. The Council accepted both cases and allowed the two commanders to call at Ascension. The letter was dated at St Helena on 10 September 1768 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Egmont*, dated 10 September 1768. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 September 1768 2: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 10 September 1768 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 August 1768 4: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 13 August 1768 5: Consultations from 15 August 1768 to 5 September 1768 6: Duplicate of the consultations from 17 June 1768 to 10 August 1768 7: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Northington*. 9: List of officers and servants taken on 10 September 1768 10: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 April 1768 **Interpretations** The two grounds for the Ascension leave were of different weight. Captain Hooke's rested on a sick

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			crew that the island's own supplies failed to restore, a need the Council could see for itself. Captain Mears offered only the general benefit of fresh meat on the passage, the same reason any commander could give. The Council granted both together, so the test announced on 2 June 1768, that a call should serve the island, was again not applied. Neither request brought St Helena anything. Two signatures again stood under the letter, as on 13 August 1768. Captain Kirkpatrick's name was still absent a month after the Council reported his refusal to attend, and no successor to Mr Corneille sat. Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling therefore continued as the whole acting government, and the battery named after Mr Purling was reported in a letter that only he and the Governor signed.
154	147	No. 11 Duplicate List of Garrison Stores remg. 30th Apl. 1768§ §12 Do. Do. of Artillery Do. from 1st Octr. 1767 to 30th Apl. Do.§ §13 Do. Do. of the Packet P Ship Admiral Pocock§ §14 Do. Indent of Stores wanted for ye Service of the Year 1769§ §15 Do. Do. of Medicines wanted for Do.§ §16 Effective State of the Garrison§ §17 Cash Act. from 14th to 31st Augst. 1768§ §18 Do. from 1st to 10th Sepr. Do.§ §19 Duplicate Do. from 16th to 30th June Do.§ §20 Do. Do. for the Month July Do.§ §21 Do. Do. from the 1st to 13th Augst. Do.§ §22 Ship Egmonts Account§ §23 Do. Greenwichs Do.§ §24 Duplicate Ship Admiral Pococks Account§ §25 Do. Do. Duke of Richmonds Do.§ §26 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §27 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Greenwich & Egmont§ §28 Duplicate of the several Gentlemens Answers§ §to John Blands Paper entitled his Observations§ §&ca.§ §29 Do. Certificate of Flour§ §30 Do. Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions§ §held on 18th July 1768.§ §31 Capt. Hookes first Receipt for £5.§ §32 Capt. Mears Do. for a Box containing a§ §Plan of Banks's Batterys§	The list of the packet sent by the *Egmont* continued with the remaining enclosures. 11: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 30 April 1768 12: Duplicate list of artillery stores from 1 October 1767 to 30 April 1768 13: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock*. 14: Duplicate order for stores needed in 1769 15: Duplicate order for medicines needed in 1769 16: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 17: Cash account from 14 August 1768 to 31 August 1768 18: Cash account from 1 September 1768 to 10 September 1768 19: Duplicate cash account from 16 June 1768 to 30 June 1768 20: Duplicate cash account for July 1768 21: Duplicate cash account from 1 August 1768 to 13 August 1768 22: Account of the *Egmont*. 23: Account of the *Greenwich*. 24: Duplicate account of the *Admiral Pocock*. 25: Duplicate account of the *Duke of Richmond*. 26: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's. 27: Summary of the cargoes of the *Greenwich* and the *Egmont*. 28: Duplicate of the answers of the several gentlemen to John Bland's paper of observations 29: Duplicate certificate of flour 30: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 18 July 1768 31: Captain Hooke's first receipt for £5 0s 0d 32: Captain Mears's first receipt for a box containing a plan of the batteries at Banks's **Interpretations** The plan of the batteries at Banks's travelled as the Sandy Bay plan did on 23 February 1768: boxed apart from the packet, entrusted to a named commander and covered by his signed receipt. Captain Williams of the *Hector* gave a first and second receipt for the earlier box, and Captain Mears's was likewise called a first receipt, so a second copy was held back for a later ship. The Council thus treated drawings of the island's defences as a class of document needing personal responsibility for delivery. Captain Hooke's receipt for £5 0s 0d was the voucher for the gardener's passage money reported in paragraph 3 of the letter of 10 September 1768. Sending it as a numbered enclosure let the Court pass the charge in the island's accounts. The duplicates of the 1769 orders for stores and medicines followed the originals sent by the *Admiral Pocock* on 13 August 1768. Those orders governed the next year's whole supply, and the loss of both copies

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			would have left the island unprovided for, which explains their prompt repetition by the very next ship.
155	148	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed your Honors last under date of the 10th§ §Sept. 1768 by your Ship Egmont which Sailed from hence with the§ §Greenwich§ §On the 21st. instant Arrived his Majesty's Sloop§ §Swallow from the Cape, Captn. Carteret acquaints Us that your§ §Ships Calcutta and Harcourt were at Batavia last Year the former§ §on a Country Voyage, the latter Sailed for China in August, he likewise§ §informs Us that none of your Ships had been at the Cape when he§ §left it§ §We have had a very good Winter Season & the§ §Island is at present in a flourishing situation, The Planters§ §have returned fifty Cattle more for slaughter this Year than§ §they did the last, but as we expect more Ships this season, we§ §shall not be able to exceed the Allowance in Number of last Year§ §though the Cattle in general will weigh heavier and the meat§ §be much better§ §As Captn. Carterets stay here is so short we§ §cannot possibly send your Honors the Consultations and other§ §usual Papers by this Conveyance, but those with the Books of§ §Accounts for the Year past shall be transmitted you by the next§ §opportunity§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servts.§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Mattw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §23d. Janry 1769§	1: The Council's previous letter was dated 10 September 1768 and went home by the *Egmont*, which left the island with the *Greenwich*. 2: His Majesty's Sloop *Swallow* arrived from the Cape on 21 January 1769. Captain Carteret reported that the *Calcutta* and the *Harcourt* were at Batavia during 1768. The *Calcutta* was on a country voyage, and the *Harcourt* sailed for China in August 1768. He added that no Company ship called at the Cape before he left it. 3: The island enjoyed a very good winter season and was in a prosperous state. The planters put forward 50 more cattle for slaughter than in 1768. More ships were expected that season, however, so the number allowed to each could not rise above the 1768 level. The cattle were in general heavier, and the meat promised to be much better. 4: Captain Carteret's stay was too short for the consultations and other customary papers to be made ready. The Council promised to send them, with the books of accounts for the past year, by the next ship. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 January 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Captain Kirkpatrick's signature stood under a general letter again, for the first time since 15 June 1768. The letters of 13 August 1768 and 10 September 1768 carried only two names, and the first of them reported that he stayed away from the Council and that his conduct deserved the severest blame. This letter said nothing of how the breach was mended. No fourth name appeared, so Mr Corneille's seat remained empty six months after his resignation on 21 July 1768. The Council passed over the ordinary course of sending the full packet and let the *Swallow* carry a bare letter. A King's ship was not under the Council's orders and could not be held for the ten working days allowed to a Company vessel, so the papers had to wait. The gap in the record was also long: more than four months separated this letter from the last, the months in which no homeward shipping called. The planters' return was the yearly declaration of how many cattle each could spare for slaughter, from which the Council fixed the fresh meat each visiting ship might buy. Fifty extra animals did not raise the ration, because the total had to be shared among a larger fleet. The increase also marked a recovery from the cattle sickness reported on 2 June 1768, when no cure was found. The good winter fell in the middle months of 1768, the island's cool and wet season, which brought on the pastures. A country voyage was a trading passage between Asian ports, undertaken by a Company ship before she loaded for Europe. The *Calcutta* was reported on 10 September 1768 as about to leave Bombay for Batavia, and Captain Carteret's news confirmed that she arrived there.
156	149	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on your Honors by his Majestys§ §Sloop Swallow under date of the 23d. January 1769§ §On the 8 instant arrived your Ship Valentine from§ §Bengall, which Place Captn. Purvis acquaints Us he left the 7th. October last§ §and your Honors Ships Verelst, Talbot, Salisbury, An[...], Queen, Dutton§ §and Kent there, the Verelst he tells Us was to be	1: The Council's previous letter was dated 23 January 1769 and went home by His Majesty's Sloop *Swallow*. 2: The *Valentine* arrived from Bengal on the third of the month. Captain Purvis left Bengal on 7 October 1768, when six Company ships lay there: the *Verelst*, *Talbot*, *Salisbury*, *Anson*, *Queen* and *Kent*, with the *Duke of [...]* perhaps among them. The *Verelst* was to be sent to Europe about a month after his departure. He heard that the *Earl of Chatham* was to leave Madras for England on 15 September 1768.

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		dispatched for Europe about a§ §Month after he left Bengal, he likewise acquaints Us he heard the Earl of§ §Chatham was to be dispatched from Madrass for England the 15th. Sept. last§ §he further informs Us he heard at the Cape that the French had Collected§ §a great Number of Europeans at the Mauritius§ §In Consultation of the 12th. December last, Sergeant Thos.§ §Payne who has been employed as Clerk of the Works prefered a Charge against§ §Captn. Mitchell Accusing him of Male practices in Misapplying the§ §Compys. Workmen & Materials in a Building in which he & Captn. Bazett§ §was jointly concerned in Erecting a Billiard Room &ca. This Affair had§ §already been investigated in consequence of John Blands Allegations§ §against Captns. Mitchell & Bazett, and the whole then appearing from the§ §Testimonys of the several Workmen employed on the said Building to be§ §groundless and Malicious: But notwithstanding, as this matter was§ §again revived, We determined to give the Accuser a full and impartial§ §hearing, and accordingly proceeded in examining upon Oath the several§ §Evidences produced by Payne in support of his Charge and from their§ §depositions it Manifestly appeared that the whole charge was altogether§ §false and without Foundation; proceeding from a Malevolent disposition§ §and actuated by the most Inviterate Malice In Order therefore to suppress§ §all such false Accusations as well as to prevent the innocent from suffering§ §by the intrigues and designs of Bad Men, we judged it our indispensible§	News at the Cape was that the French gathered a great number of Europeans at Mauritius. 3: Sergeant Thomas Payne, who served as clerk of the works, laid an accusation against Captain Mitchell in the consultation of 12 December 1768. He alleged that the Engineer diverted the Company's workmen and materials to a private building, a billiard room and other premises, in which he and Captain Bazett were partners. The same matter was examined before, after John Bland made his claims against Captains Mitchell and Bazett. The evidence of the workmen employed on the building then showed the story to be baseless and spiteful. The Council nevertheless resolved to give Payne a full and fair hearing once the matter was raised again. It questioned his witnesses on oath, and their statements showed plainly that the whole accusation was false and unfounded, the product of ill will and deep-rooted spite. The Council wished to put a stop to all such false accusations and to protect innocent men from the schemes of bad ones. **Interpretations** Bland's accusations were given a substance here that the letters of 2 June 1768 and 13 August 1768 withheld. Besides the charge of buying up goods for resale, he alleged that Company labour and materials went into a private building owned jointly by the Engineer and Captain Bazett. Those two officers were therefore among the unnamed "gentlemen" cleared on 20 June 1768. The Council praised Captain Mitchell's economy on 23 February 1768, 13 August 1768 and 10 September 1768, and it recommended his release to England, so its own repeated testimony was at stake in the second inquiry. The Council passed over the easy course of dismissing Payne's charge as already decided. It heard his witnesses on oath, and the passage gave the reason: the matter was revived by a new accuser, and a refusal to hear him would have looked like concealment when the papers reached London. Payne was a more awkward accuser than Bland. As clerk of the works he kept the daily record of men and materials, so he spoke from inside the Engineer's own department, whereas Bland was a dismissed master mason writing from England. The finding nonetheless repeated the language used of Bland almost word for word, attributing the charge to malice. The judges were not disinterested. Captain Henry Bazett drew bills on 13 June 1768 and 1 August 1768, one of them payable to John Purling Esquire, the London payee of Mr Purling's own drafts, and the upper battery at Banks's was named after Mr Purling while Captain Mitchell built it. The gathering of Europeans at Mauritius was intelligence of possible French preparations in the Indian Ocean, relevant to an island then spending heavily on its defences. The reference to the third of the current month, after a letter of 23 January 1769, placed this letter in February 1769 or later.
157	150	duty to dismiss the Said Payne from your Honors service & have sent§ §him to England on the Ship Valentine, a person of his disposition§ §we think very improper to be continued on the Island, as such sort of§ §Accusations shews a spirit of Licentiousness & must be very disgusting§ §and discouraging to Gentlemen in your Service to have their Characters§ §thus injuriously traduced when it is obvious from the whole Tenor§ §of their Conduct in the Service that their Fidelity & Integrity to§ §the Company have been unquestionably	The Council judged it an unavoidable duty to dismiss Sergeant Payne from the Company's service and sent him to England in the *Valentine*. It thought a man of his temper quite unfit to stay on the island. Accusations of that kind showed a lawless spirit, and they were bound to disgust and dishearten the Company's officers. Their whole record of service proved their loyalty and honesty to the Company beyond question, yet their reputations were attacked. The Council ordered Captain Purvis to take Payne aboard as a charter-party passenger and paid the captain £5 0s 0d for the passage. Captain Purvis's receipt for that sum went home with the letter. 4: Lieutenant Nathan Sample of the artillery company presented a memorial to the board in the

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		irreproachable, we have§ §given an Order to Captn. Purvis to receive the said Payne on board his§ §Ship as a Charterparty Passenger and have paid him £5.. for his§ §Passage his receipt for the same goes herewith§ §Lieut. Nathan Sample of the Artillery Compy.§ §Addressed a Memorial to the Board in Consultation of the 14th. Novr. last§ §representing from his age & infirmitys he was rendered incapable of§ §discharging his duty as an Artillery Officer and requesting to be allowed§ §to retire on a Pension, As we have it not in our power to fix§ §Pensions to any of your Servants, we could only for the present permit§ §him to retire on his half pay, untill your Honors pleasure is known,§ §having appointed Corporal Robert Gi[b]son to do the duty in the mean§ §time upon the other half pay, And beg leave to recommend the said§ §Lt. Sample to you in consideration of his long Services & good Conduct§ §in the Garrison as an Officer well deserving a Pension in his present§ §worn out Condition, We have also appointed Sergt. John Shirtley to§ §do the duty and receive the pay of a Lieut. in that Company in the Room§ §of Lt. Thomas Leech suspended on the 8th. Novr. last for six Months§ §by a General Court Martial for Neglect of Duty, As Sergt. Jno. Shirtley§ §and Corporal Robt. Gi[b]son were Strongly recommended by Captn. Mitchell§ §as Sober diligent and well Qualified NonCommissioned Officers We§ §propose if it meets with your Honors Approbation to continue those two§ §Lieuts. in the Artillery Company & when Lieut. Leeches Suspension is§ §expired we intend to appoint him to one of the other Compys., were he§	consultation of 14 November 1768. He explained that age and infirmity left him unable to do his duty as an artillery officer, and he asked leave to retire on a pension. The Council had no power to fix pensions for any of the Company's servants. It could only let him retire on half pay for the time being, until the Court's decision was known. Corporal Robert Gilson was appointed to do the duty meanwhile on the other half of the pay. The Council commended Lieutenant Sample to the Court as an officer whose long service and good conduct in the garrison earned him a pension in his worn-out state. Sergeant John Shirley was also appointed to do the duty and draw the pay of a lieutenant in the artillery company. He replaced Lieutenant Thomas Leech, whom a general court martial suspended for six months on 8 November 1768 for neglect of duty. Captain Mitchell strongly recommended both Sergeant Shirley and Corporal Gilson as steady, hard-working and well-qualified non-commissioned officers. The Council proposed, if the Court approved, to keep the two men on as lieutenants in the artillery company. It intended to appoint Lieutenant Leech to one of the other companies once his suspension ran out. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the ordinary outcome of a failed accusation, which was simply to record the acquittal. It dismissed the accuser and shipped him off the island at the Company's cost, and the passage gave its reason: such charges had to be suppressed for the sake of the officers' morale. Payne's witnesses were heard on oath, yet the penalty fell on him for bringing the charge at all. Bland made the same allegation from England and was beyond reach, whereas Payne was a serving sergeant whom the Council could remove. The Court would therefore meet in London a second man with inside knowledge of the works, sent home by the body whose favoured officers he accused. A charter-party passenger was one carried under the terms of the contract by which the Company hired the ship from her owners. That contract obliged the commander to take passengers ordered aboard by the Company's officers at a fixed rate. The £5 0s 0d matched the sum paid to Captain Hooke on 10 September 1768 for the dismissed gardener, so it was evidently the standard charge for a man removed by the Council's decision. Lieutenant Sample's retirement was arranged without cost to the Company. His pay was split in two, half to him and half to the corporal who did his work, which gave the old officer an income the Council had no authority to grant as a pension. The device also left the Court free to refuse. Both artillery lieutenancies fell vacant within a week in November 1768, one through infirmity and one through a court martial. The Council reported on 13 August 1768 that nobody on the island was qualified to command the artillery and that the two artillery lieutenants had duties of their own. It now filled both posts from the ranks, on the recommendation of Captain Mitchell, who commanded the company and was himself due to leave in 1769. Moving Lieutenant Leech to an infantry company after his suspension kept Shirley and Gilson in place and removed from the guns an officer convicted of neglecting them. Promotion of a sergeant and a corporal to do officers' duty was unusual, and the Council sought the Court's approval before treating it as permanent.
158	151	served many Years before he was transfered to the Artillery, this Appointment§ §will compleat the Number of Officers in the Garrison according to the present§	Lieutenant Leech served for many years in one of the other companies before his transfer to the artillery. His appointment there would bring the

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		§Establishment§ §Since the death of late Adjutant Jacobs, the Sergt. Major§ §Willm. Roberts has been Ordered to do the duty and received the pay as acting§ §Adjutant untill ordered to the Contrary, But as the Governor is very sensible§ §that there is not any NonCommissioned Officer, at present in this Garrison§ §properly capacitated or qualified, for that Commission which requires a§ §very active intelligent Person, Wherefore the Governor begs leave to Offer it§ §as his Opinion that they are many Sober deligent Men that are§ §NonCommissioned Officers in the three Regiments of Foot Guards some one§ §of whom would be glad to accept of the Adjutants Commission of this Island§ §and may be very Assisting and useful towards establishing that Military§ §discipline & good Order so essentially necessary in this Garrison§ §We have given an Order to Captn. Purvis to receive on§ §board his Ship to Compleat her Compy. Peter Merit Carpenters Mate & Jno.§ §Fish Centinel, The former having been charged before us in Consultation,§ §the 30th. Sept. last of Stealing a Door Lock from Plantation House and§ §converting it to his own use and also having had frequent Complaints§ §of his Neglect of Duty and being a Worthless Drunken Person; John§ §Fish having been tried at the Quarterly Sessions Held on the 3d. Octr. last§ §and found Guilty of an Attempt to commit that heinous & detestable§ §Crime of Sodomy, we for these reasons deem them very improper men to§ §remain on the Island§ §The Passengers on board the Valentine are Mr. & Mrs. D[...]§ §Mr. [K]enderley, Mrs. Owen & Messrs. Kier & Pritchard§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt.§ §One set to Captn. Archibd. Mitchell for £800.. payable to Alexr. Hume§ §Esqr. And one set to Mr. Wm. Wrangham for £37.. 15. 3. payable to§ §Hutchinson Mure Esqr. both drawn at ninety days sight and dated the 13§ §Instant§	garrison's officers up to the full number allowed by the current establishment. 5: Sergeant Major William Roberts did the duty of adjutant from the death of Adjutant Jacobs and drew the pay as acting adjutant until further orders. Governor Skottowe was well aware, however, that no non-commissioned officer then in the garrison was properly fitted for that commission, which called for a very active and intelligent man. The Governor therefore offered his opinion that the three regiments of Foot Guards held many steady and hard-working non-commissioned officers. One of them would gladly accept the adjutant's commission on the island. Such a man could do much to establish the military discipline and good order that the garrison so badly needed. 6: The Council ordered Captain Purvis to take two men aboard his ship to bring her crew up to strength. Peter Morrit, carpenter's mate John Fish, sentinel Morrit was accused before the Council in the consultation of 30 September 1768 of stealing a door lock from Plantation House and keeping it for himself. Frequent complaints were also made of his neglect of duty, and he was described as a worthless drunkard. Fish was tried at the quarter sessions held on 3 October 1768 and found guilty of attempted sodomy. The Council judged both men quite unfit to stay on the island for those reasons. 7: The *Valentine* carried as passengers Mr and Mrs Dobbs, Mrs Fendersley, Mrs Owen and Messrs Kier and Pritchard. 8: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the thirteenth of the month. Captain Archibald Mitchell, payable to Alexander Hume Esquire, £800 0s 0d Mr William Wrangham, payable to Hutchinson Mure Esquire, £37 15s 3d **Interpretations** The Governor passed over the man already doing the adjutant's work and asked for a stranger from England. The ordinary course was to confirm the acting holder, as the Council proposed for Sergeant Shirley and Corporal Gilson in the artillery in the preceding paragraph. The stated reason was that nobody in the garrison had the energy and ability the post demanded, a judgement that covered Sergeant Major Roberts himself. The adjutant was the officer responsible for drill, the daily roster of duties and the garrison's discipline. The Foot Guards, the King's household infantry in London, set the standard of drill for the army, so a sergeant from those regiments could bring current practice to a garrison of Company soldiers. The opinion was offered in the Governor's name alone and not the Council's, and its closing remark amounted to an admission that discipline on the island was poor. Morrit and Fish were removed by a cheaper route than Sergeant Payne or the gardener, for each of whom the Council paid £5 0s 0d in passage money. Captain Purvis needed hands, so the two went under an order as working crew at no charge to the Company. The Council thus used the ship's shortage of men to rid the island of a thief and a convicted offender, and the paragraph recorded their offences to justify the removal. Fish's conviction was for an attempt, and banishment by this means followed it; the letter mentioned no other sentence. A sentinel was a private soldier of the garrison. Morrit lasted less than a year. The letter of 15 June 1768 reported his engagement by the Court as carpenter's mate, and by 30 September 1768 he stood accused of theft from Plantation House, the Governor's country residence. The island was

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			therefore again short of a skilled tradesman sent out at the Company's expense. Captain Mitchell's bill for £800 0s 0d went to Alexander Hume Esquire, the payee of his £400 0s 0d bill of 30 May 1768. The Engineer was due to leave during 1769, and the larger sum showed him sending his money ahead. It was drawn in the same letter that cleared him of using the Company's workmen and materials on a private building.
159	152	By this Conveyance we transmit your Honors§ §General Books of Acct. Balanced to the 30th. Sept. last as likewise§ §an Abstract of the Expence of Banks's upper Battery§ §The Fortification at Lemon Valley being compleated§ §We shall transmit a Plan thereof as soon as the Engineer lays it§ §before Us, & have given him directions to carry on the Work on the Demi§ §Bastions of the interior Line in James's Valley together with the Works§ §yet unfinished at Mundens Battery§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & Humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §13th. February 1769§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship§ §Valentine Dated the 13th. February 1769§ §1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 13th. February 1769§ §2 Do. & Do. Do. dated 13th. Do. Do. relatg. to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do. & Do. Do. dated 10th. Septr. 1768§ §4 Do. Do. & Do. Do. dated 23d. January 1769§ §5 Do. Do. & Do. Do. dated 10th. Septr. 1768 relatg. to Law Matters§ §6 Consultations from the 12th. Septr. 1768 to the 13th. Febry. 1769§ §7 Duplicate Do. from the 15th. Augst. to the 5th. Septr. 1768§ §8 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Egmont§ §9 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Adml. Pocock§ §10 Do. Do. Captn. Hooke for £5..§ §11 Do. Do. Captn. Mears for a Box containg. a Plan of Banks's Batterys§	9: The general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September 1768, went home with this letter. A summary of the cost of the upper battery at Banks's accompanied them. 10: The fortification at Lemon Valley was finished. The Council promised to send a plan of it as soon as the Engineer presented one. It directed him to press on with the demi-bastions of the inner line in James's Valley and with the work still unfinished at Munden's battery. The letter was dated at St Helena on 13 February 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Valentine*, dated 13 February 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 February 1769 2: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 13 February 1769 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 September 1768 4: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 23 January 1769 5: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 10 September 1768 6: Consultations from 12 September 1768 to 13 February 1769 7: Duplicate of the consultations from 15 August 1768 to 5 September 1768 8: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Egmont*. 9: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Admiral Pocock*. 10: Second receipt from Captain Hooke for £5 0s 0d 11: Second receipt from Captain Mears for a box containing a plan of the batteries at Banks's **Interpretations** The order of work changed from the programme set out on 13 August 1768. Captain Mitchell then expected to finish Munden's and Lemon Valley by May or June 1769 and described the demi-bastions in James's Valley as a minor job that could be left to others after he sailed. Lemon Valley was now complete some months early, Munden's was not, and the Council set the Engineer to the demi-bastions himself. It thus passed over the plan of leaving them for Lieutenant Bazett and used the time gained to have the designer build them while he was still on the island. The summary of the cost of the upper battery fulfilled the promise of 10 September 1768, when the figure was held back until the quarter's accounts were examined. The books were balanced to 30 September 1768, which marked the close of the island's accounting year, the same date on which the lists of families, rents and slaves were taken in 1767. The date of 13 February 1769 fixed the days left open in the letter. The *Valentine* arrived on 3 February 1769, and the bills for Captain Mitchell and Mr Wrangham were dated 13 February 1769. The consultations enclosed ran unbroken for five months from 12 September 1768, covering the whole gap in

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			homeward shipping and the hearings on Sergeant Payne, Lieutenant Sample, Morrit and Fish.
160	153	12 Captn. Purvis's first Receipt for £5..§ §13 Effective State of the Garrison§ §14 Muster Rolls of Do.§ §15 List of Officers and Servants taken the 13th. February 1769§ §16 Do. of Familys taken 30th. Septr. 1768§ §17 Do. of Rents taken 30 Do. Do.§ §18 Do. of the Honble Compys. Slaves taken 30th. Do. Do.§ §19 Duplicate Do. of the Packet P Ship Egmont§ §20 Cash Account from the 11th to the 30th. Septr. 1768§ §21 Do. for the Month of October Do.§ §22 Do. for the Month of Novr. Do.§ §23 Do. for the Month of Decr. Do.§ §24 Do. for the Month of Janry. 1769§ §25 Do. from the 1st. to the 13th. Febry. Do.§ §26 Duplicate Do. from the 14th. to the 31st. Augt. 1768§ §27 Do. Do. from the 1st. to the 10th. Septr. Do.§ §28 Ship Valentine's Acct.§ §29 Duplicate Ship Egmonts Do.§ §30 Do. Do. Greenwich's Do.§ §31 Time of the Arrival of the Valentines Boat at Banks's§ §32 Abstract of the Valentines Cargoe§ §33 Proceedgs. of a General Quarter Sessions held on the 3d. Octr. 1768§ §34 Do. Do. held on the 11th Janry. 1769§ §35 Abstract of the Expence of Banks's upper Battery§ §36 General Books of Accounts§	The list of the packet sent by the *Valentine* continued with the remaining enclosures. 12: Captain Purvis's first receipt for £5 0s 0d 13: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 14: Muster rolls of the garrison 15: List of officers and servants taken on 13 February 1769 16: List of families taken on 30 September 1768 17: List of rents taken on 30 September 1768 18: List of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1768 19: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Egmont*. 20: Cash account from 11 September 1768 to 30 September 1768 21: Cash account for October 1768 22: Cash account for November 1768 23: Cash account for December 1768 24: Cash account for January 1769 25: Cash account from 1 February 1769 to 13 February 1769 26: Duplicate cash account from 14 August 1768 to 31 August 1768 27: Duplicate cash account from 1 September 1768 to 10 September 1768 28: Account of the *Valentine*. 29: Duplicate account of the *Egmont*. 30: Duplicate account of the *Greenwich*. 31: Note of the time at which the *Valentine*'s boat reached Banks's. 32: Summary of the cargo of the *Valentine*. 33: Proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 3 October 1768 34: Proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 11 January 1769 35: Summary of the cost of the upper battery at Banks's 36: General books of accounts **Interpretations** Captain Purvis's receipt was the voucher for Sergeant Payne's passage money, reported in paragraph 3 of the letter of 13 February 1769. It stood in the list beside the second copy of Captain Hooke's receipt for the gardener, so the Court held proof of both sums of £5 0s 0d spent on removing men from the island. The lists of families, rents and the Company's slaves were taken on 30 September 1768, a year to the day after those sent by the *Hector* on 23 February 1768. They went home with the general books balanced to the same date, giving the Court the island's population, revenue and labour force alongside its accounts at the close of the year. The slave list bore on the Council's argument of 23 February 1768 that the Company's slaves were too few for the fortification works. The quarter sessions of 3 October 1768 were those at which John Fish was convicted, as paragraph 6 of the letter recorded. The Court therefore received the trial record in the same packet as the news that he was shipped off in the *Valentine*.
161	154	To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors by the Ship Valentine which§ §sailed from hence the 14th. February 1769§ §On the 21st. of last Month arrived your Ship Bute from Bombay§ §the 5th. Instant arrived the Royal Captain (last from Anjengo) the 9th.§ §Arrived the Kent, and the 10th. the Verelst from	1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Valentine*, which left the island on 14 February 1769. 2: The *Bute* arrived from Bombay on the twenty-fifth of the previous month. The *Royal Captain* came in on the fifth of the month, with Anjengo as her last port of call. The *Kent* followed on the ninth and the *Verelst* on the tenth, both from Bengal. Captain [...] left Bombay on 8 December 1768, when the *Calcutta* and the *York* lay there. He added that the *Essex* and

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		Bengal Captain [Maitland]§ §acquaints Us he left Bombay the 8th. December last and your Honors§ §Ships Calcutta and York there, he further tells Us the Essex & Grenville§ §were arrived upon the Malabar Coast, The Verelst and Kent left§ §Bengal the 5th. December and your Ships Dutton, Queen, Salisbury§ §Talbot, and Ankerwyke at that Place, the Dutton we are told is to§ §fill up at Madrass the Queen and Salisbury were to be dispatched§ §for England in January and the Talbot in February, the Ankerwyke§ §is to go to Bombay to repair the Damage she received in Bengal§ §River, at present she is out of your Honors Service§ §We have given Captn. Tanner an Order to receive on board§ §his Ship James Burne an Invalid Soldier and have paid him £5..§ §for his Passage, Captn. Tanners Receipt together with the Surgeons§ §Certificate goes herewith§ §The Passengers on Board the Bute are Major Gowen &§ §his Wife Captn. Scott, and his Wife and Captn. Barr & Lieut. Boles§ §on board the Royal Captain, Mr. D[ixon] on board the Kent and Mrs.§ §Grant and her Sister, Captn. Lewis and his Wife Mr. Hewit & Captn.§ §Knot on board the Verelst§ §On the 7th. Instant we went to Examine Lemon Valley§ §Battery along with the Engineer, and had the pleasure to find the Sd.§ §Battery extremely well Compleated, according to the Plan approved§ §of by your Honors, and which to the best of our judgements is sufficiently§ §strong to oppose an Enemy's Landing by Boats and Consequently§ §for the Defence of that Valley, We are likewise of opinion that the Sd.§	the *Grenville* were on the Malabar coast. The *Verelst* and the *Kent* left Bengal on 5 December 1768, when five Company ships remained there: the *Dutton*, *Queen*, *Salisbury*, *Talbot* and *Ankerwyke*. The *Dutton* was to complete her cargo at Madras. The *Queen* and the *Salisbury* were to be sent to England in January 1769 and the *Talbot* in February 1769. The *Ankerwyke* was to go to Bombay to repair damage she suffered in the Bengal river, and she was for the time being out of the Company's service. 3: The Council ordered Captain Tanner to take James Burne, an invalid soldier, aboard his ship and paid the captain £5 0s 0d for the passage. Captain Tanner's receipt and the surgeon's certificate went home with the letter. 4: The *Bute* carried as passengers Major Gowan and his wife, Captain Scott and his wife and Captain Barr. Lieutenant Boles travelled aboard the *Royal Captain* and Mr Dixon aboard the *Kent*. The *Verelst* carried Mrs Grant and her sister, Captain Lewis and his wife, Mr Hewit and Captain Knot. 5: The Council went with the Engineer on the seventh of the month to inspect the battery at Lemon Valley. It found the work extremely well finished and built to the plan the Court approved. The Council judged the battery strong enough to oppose an enemy landing from boats and so to defend that valley. **Interpretations** Burne's passage was paid for, like those of the gardener on 10 September 1768 and Sergeant Payne on 13 February 1769, but on different grounds. He was sent home as unfit, not removed for misconduct. An invalid could not work his way as one of the crew, so the usual free passage for a discharged soldier shipped as a hand was closed to him. The surgeon's certificate travelled with the receipt as proof that his condition was genuine, which justified both the discharge and the £5 0s 0d charged to the Company. The Council stressed that Lemon Valley was built to the approved plan. That point had weight after Sandy Bay, where the letter of 23 February 1768 admitted four departures from the Court's design, and Banks's, where a new form of merlon was reported on 10 September 1768 only once built. The inspection also came soon after Sergeant Payne accused the Engineer of misusing the Company's workmen and materials, and the favourable report added to the Council's record of confidence in him. Captain Purvis reported on 13 February 1769 that the *Verelst* was to leave Bengal about a month after 7 October 1768. She sailed a month later than that. The *Duke* doubtfully read in his list was shown here to be the *Dutton*. The *Bute* was last reported on 3 January 1768, bound for Mocha. Anjengo was a small Company trading post on the Malabar coast, in the far south of India, kept for pepper and cloth. The dates placed the writing of this letter in March 1769, so the *Bute* arrived on 25 February 1769.
162	155	Battery has been constructed sooner, than could reasonably have been§ §expected, The Plan of this Battery we transmit your Honors in a seperate§ §Box under the charge of Captn. Tanner & shall send you an Abstract of§ §the Expence of that Battery when the Platforms are laid which cannot§ §be done untill we receive stones for that purpose from England§ §Captns. Maitland, and Tanner requesting leave to touch at§ §Assension for Turtle, the former on Account of his People being very§ §Sickly notwithstanding he has had all the	The Council also held that the Lemon Valley battery was built sooner than anyone could reasonably expect. Its plan went home in a separate box in the care of Captain Tanner. A summary of the cost was to follow once the gun platforms were laid, which could not be done until stones for them arrived from England. 6: Captains Maitland and Tanner asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle. Captain Maitland's crew was very sickly and, by his account, still not well enough recovered despite all the fresh supplies the island could give. Captain Tanner feared that his men would fall ill on the passage to England, as they did on his previous voyage. The Council accepted these

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		refreshments we have§ §been able to supply him with, he represents they are not§ §sufficiently recovered. The latter being apprehensive that his Ships§ §Company may prove unhealthy as they did the last Voyage in§ §his passage from hence to England, We for these reasons gave each§ §of them a permission to touch at Assension accordingly§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §13th. March 1769§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St. Helena P Ship Royal§ §Captain dated the 13th. March 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 13th. March 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. Do. dated the 13th. February Do.§ §3 Do. Do. & Do. Do. dated the 13th. Do. Do. relatg. to Law matters§ §4 Consultations from the 20th. Febry. to the 13th. March Do.§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 12th. September 1768 to the 13th. Febry. Do.§	reasons and gave each commander permission to call there. The letter was dated at St Helena on 13 March 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Royal Captain*, dated 13 March 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 March 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 February 1769 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 13 February 1769 4: Consultations from 20 February 1769 to 13 March 1769 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 12 September 1768 to 13 February 1769 **Interpretations** The battery was reported complete while its gun platforms were still unlaid. Platforms were the paved floors on which the guns stood and recoiled, and without them the work could not be fully armed. The Council passed over the island's own stone, used for every wall and merlon, and waited for stone from England. The letter gave no reason, but platforms needed large, flat, hard-wearing slabs able to bear the weight and shock of heavy guns, which the local rock evidently did not supply. The cost summary was held back on the same ground, so the Court received praise for speed and the plan before it could see the final charge. The plan travelled as the earlier ones did, boxed separately and entrusted to a named commander. Captain Williams carried the Sandy Bay plan on 23 February 1768 and Captain Mears that of Banks's on 10 September 1768. Captain Tanner's ground for the Ascension leave was a fear and not a fact: his crew was healthy, and he cited sickness on an earlier voyage. Captain Maitland's rested on men actually ill, as Captain Hooke's did on 10 September 1768. Both were granted together, and neither call served the island, the test the Council set itself on 2 June 1768. By this date no recorded request for the leave was refused. The date of 13 March 1769 confirmed the days left open in the letter. The *Royal Captain* arrived on 5 March 1769, the *Kent* on 9 March 1769 and the *Verelst* on 10 March 1769, and the inspection of Lemon Valley took place on 7 March 1769.
163	156	No. 6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Valentine§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Egmont§ §8 Do. Do. Captn. Purvis's for £5..§ §9 Captn. Tanners First Receipt for a Box containing a Plan of Lemon Valley Battery§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Valentine§ §12 Do. Do. of Family's taken the 30th. September 1768§ §13 Do. Do. of Rents taken the 30th. Do. Do.§ §14 Do. Do. of the Honble. Companys Slaves taken 30th. Do. Do.§ §15 Cash Account from the 14th. to the 28th. February 1769§ §16 Do. Do. from the 1st to the 13th. March Do.§ §17 Duplicate Do. from the 11th. to the 30th Septr. 1768§ §18 Do. Do. for the Month of October Do.§ §19 Do. Do. for the Month of November Do.§ §20 Do. Do. for the Month of December Do.§ §21 Do. Do. for the Month of January 1769§ §22 Do. Do. from the 1st. to the 13th. Febry. Do.§	The list of the packet sent by the *Royal Captain* continued with the remaining enclosures. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Valentine*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Egmont*. 8: Second receipt from Captain Purvis for £5 0s 0d 9: Captain Tanner's first receipt for a box containing a plan of the Lemon Valley battery 10: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Valentine*. 12: Duplicate list of families taken on 30 September 1768 13: Duplicate list of rents taken on 30 September 1768 14: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1768 15: Cash account from 14 February 1769 to 28 February 1769

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		§23 Ship Royal Captain's Acct.§ §24 Do. Bute's Do.§ §25 Duplicate Ship Valentines Do.§ §26 Time of Ships Boats Arrival at Banks's§ §27 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Royal Captain, Bute, Verelst, & Kent§ §28 Duplicate Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on ye. 3d. October 1768§ §29 Do. Do. Do. held on ye. 11th. January 1769§ §30 Captn. Tanners First Receipt for £5..§ §31 Surgeons Certificate of James Burne an Invalid§ §32 Duplicate Abstract of the Expence of Banks's upper Battery§	16: Cash account from 1 March 1769 to 13 March 1769 17: Duplicate cash account from 11 September 1768 to 30 September 1768 18: Duplicate cash account for October 1768 19: Duplicate cash account for November 1768 20: Duplicate cash account for December 1768 21: Duplicate cash account for January 1769 22: Duplicate cash account from 1 February 1769 to 13 February 1769 23: Account of the *Royal Captain*. 24: Account of the *Bute*. 25: Duplicate account of the *Valentine*. 26: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's. 27: Summary of the cargoes of the *Royal Captain*, *Bute*, *Verelst* and *Kent*. 28: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 3 October 1768 29: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 11 January 1769 30: Captain Tanner's first receipt for £5 0s 0d 31: Surgeon's certificate for James Burne, an invalid 32: Duplicate summary of the cost of the upper battery at Banks's **Interpretations** Captain Tanner gave two separate receipts, one for the boxed plan of the Lemon Valley battery and one for the £5 0s 0d paid for James Burne's passage. Both were called first receipts, so second copies were held back for a later ship, as with Captain Mears's receipt for the Banks's plan and Captain Hooke's for the gardener's passage money. The surgeon's certificate at item 31 supported the payment by showing that Burne was discharged as unfit, as paragraph 3 of the letter of 13 March 1769 reported. The packet listed accounts for the *Royal Captain* and the *Bute* only, although the cargo summary at item 27 covered four ships. The *Verelst* and the *Kent* arrived on 10 March 1769 and 9 March 1769, a few days before the packet closed, and their accounts were evidently left for a later ship.
164	157	To the Honble§ §Honoble Sirs§ §By the Ship Royal Captain which Sailed from hence the 13th.§ §instant in Company with the Bute we did ourselves the Honor of§ §writing last to you§ §Captn. Mills brought Us from the Cape 60 Sheep and Captn.§ §Baddison 20 amounting in the whole to £60.. as P their Bills§ §entered in this days Consultation they not chusing to receive the Money§ §here we have given them Certificates for the same & refered the payment§ §to your Honors, the Sheep were all good, and answers much better at this§ §Island than the Black Cattle§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your Most Obedt. humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Mattw. Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §17th. March 1769§	1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Royal Captain*, which left the island on 13 March 1769 in company with the *Bute*. 2: Two commanders brought sheep from the Cape. Captain Mills, 60 sheep Captain Baddison, 20 sheep Total cost of the 80 sheep as shown by the commanders' bills, £60 0s 0d Their bills were entered in the consultation of 17 March 1769. Neither commander wished to take the money on the island, so the Council gave them certificates for the amounts and left the Court to pay. The sheep were all good, and the Council found that sheep did much better on the island than black cattle. The letter was dated at St Helena on 17 March 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Black cattle was the ordinary term of the period for oxen, bulls and cows of any colour, as distinct from sheep and other small stock. The Council's letter of 2 June 1768 offered commanders a choice between payment on the island and a reference to the Court for livestock brought from the Cape. Both men here passed over ready cash and took certificates, the written acknowledgements of the debt that the Court honoured in London. The choice worked as a bill of exchange did, sparing a commander the risk of

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			carrying coin home, and it left the island's treasury untouched at a time when the Council was relying on money paid in for bills to meet its running costs, as the letter of 13 August 1768 explained. The remark on sheep carried the argument of 2 June 1768 a step further. The Council then asked that only young cattle be bought at the Cape, since fully half of the old, large animals died soon after landing. It now reported that all 80 sheep arrived in good condition, at an average of £0 15s 0d a head, and set them above cattle as the better purchase. The comparison pointed the Court towards ordering sheep in preference, though the letter stopped short of asking for it. Captains Mills and Baddison were evidently the commanders of the *Kent* and the *Verelst*, the two ships that arrived from Bengal on 9 March 1769 and 10 March 1769 and remained after the *Royal Captain* and the *Bute* sailed. The letter did not say which man commanded which ship.
165	158	List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship Verelst dated the 17th. March 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated the 17th. March 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. Do. dated the 13th. Do. Do.§ §3 Consultations of the 17th. March 1769§ §4 Duplicate Do. from the 20th. Febry to the 13th March 1769§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Royal Captain§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Valentine§ §7 Do. Do. Captn. Tanners for a Box containing a Plan of Lemon Valley Batty.§ §8 Do. Do. Do. for £5..§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Royal Captain§ §11 Cash Acct. from the 14th. to the 17th. March 1769§ §12 Duplicate Do. from the 14 to the 28th. February Do.§ §13 Do. Do. from the 1st. to the 13th. March Do.§ §14 Ship Verelst Account§ §15 Do. Kents Do.§ §16 Duplicate Ship Royal Captain's Do.§ §17 Do. Do. Butes Do.§ §18 Duplicate Surgeons Certificate of James Burne Invalid§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went by the Ship Verelst§ §that Sailed from hence the 17th. Inst. in Company with the Kent§ §On the 19th. of this Month Arrived your Ship Grosvenor the§ §20th. Duke of Gloucester the 21st. Lord Mansfield & the 24th. the Harcourt all§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Verelst*, dated 17 March 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 17 March 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 March 1769 3: Consultation of 17 March 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultations from 20 February 1769 to 13 March 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Royal Captain*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Valentine*. 7: Second receipt from Captain Tanner for a box containing a plan of the Lemon Valley battery 8: Second receipt from Captain Tanner for £5 0s 0d 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Royal Captain*. 11: Cash account from 14 March 1769 to 17 March 1769 12: Duplicate cash account from 14 February 1769 to 28 February 1769 13: Duplicate cash account from 1 March 1769 to 13 March 1769 14: Account of the *Verelst*. 15: Account of the *Kent*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Royal Captain*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Bute*. 18: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for James Burne, an invalid A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Verelst*, which left the island on 17 March 1769 in company with the *Kent*. 2: Four Company ships arrived within six days: the *Grosvenor* on 19 March 1769, the *Duke of Gloucester* on 20 March 1769, the *Lord Mansfield* on 21 March 1769 and the *Harcourt* on 24 March 1769. **Interpretations** The accounts of the *Verelst* and the *Kent*, missing from the *Royal Captain*'s packet of 13 March 1769, went home here at items 14 and 15. The two ships sailed four days after the others, which gave time for their accounts to be made up. Captain Tanner's second receipts for the boxed plan of Lemon Valley and for James Burne's passage money followed the first copies sent on 13 March 1769. The surgeon's certificate was duplicated with them, so the Court held the full voucher for the £5 0s 0d by two ships.

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166	159	from China, The above four Ships with the London left that Place the§ §27th. December last, we are informed that there were at Canton this Season§ §twelve of your Honors Ships vizt. the Clive, Hor[sen]don, True Briton, Sea§ §Horse, Tilbury, Asia, & Pacifick with the abovementioned five Ships,§ §three Country, one Dane, one Swede, four Dutch, and four French; we§ §are likewise told that your Ships Ponsborne, and Granby were not§ §Arrived, but that they were both at Batavia and Intended going the§ §Eastern Passage, we also hear that Captn. Jackson died at that Place,§ §Captn. Roddam who touched at the Cape, tells Us, that a French Snow§ §Arrived there from Europe full of Officers bound to Mauritius where§ §it is said they have near 4000 well disciplined Troops to be ready upon§ §any emergency, This day Arrived the Duke of Richmond from Bencoolen§ §We have given Captn. Saunders an Order to receive on board§ §the Grosvenor, John Weston, Robert Davis, & Richard Vincent three§ §Discharged Soldiers, towards compleating that Ships Company§ §Captn. Macleod representing that the fresh Provisions we§ §have been Able to supply him with is not a sufficient refreshment for§ §his Ships Company, requested to call at Ascension to get Turtle which§ §we have complied with§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Lord Mansfield,§ §which Sails in Company with the Grosvenor, & Duke of Gloucester§ §We are§ §Honorble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servts.§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Matt Purling§ §Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena§ §29th. March 1769§	The four ships that arrived between 19 March 1769 and 24 March 1769 all came from China, and they left Canton with the *London* on 27 December 1768. Twelve Company ships were at Canton that season. Seven were named, the *Clive*, *Hector*, *True Briton*, *Sea Horse*, *Tilbury*, *Asia* and *Pacifick*, and the remaining five were the four new arrivals and the *London*. The foreign and private shipping there was also counted. Country ships, 3 Danish ships, 1 Swedish ships, 1 Dutch ships, 4 French ships, 4 The *Ponsborne* and the *Granby* were still absent from Canton. Both lay at Batavia and meant to take the eastern passage. Captain Jackson died at Batavia. Captain Roddam, who called at the Cape, reported that a French snow arrived there from Europe full of officers bound for Mauritius. The French were reported to hold nearly 4,000 well-disciplined troops on that island, ready for any emergency. The *Duke of Richmond* arrived from Bencoolen on 29 March 1769. 3: The Council ordered Captain Saunders to take three discharged soldiers aboard the *Grosvenor* to help bring her crew up to strength. John Weaver Robert Davis Richard Vincent 4: Captain Macleod advised the Council that the fresh provisions the island could supply were not enough to restore his crew. He asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle, and the Council agreed. 5: The letter went home by the *Lord Mansfield*, which sailed in company with the *Grosvenor* and the *Duke of Gloucester*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 29 March 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The report from Mauritius gave a figure to the rumour relayed on 13 February 1769, when Captain Purvis heard at the Cape that the French gathered a great number of Europeans there. Nearly 4,000 trained troops, with a shipload of officers on the way to lead them, was a force far larger than St Helena's garrison, and Mauritius lay on the same homeward route. The Council passed the news on without comment, but it bore directly on the batteries at Banks's, Lemon Valley and Munden's and on the request of 13 August 1768 for 50 recruits and a trained artillery officer. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel, square-rigged on both masts, with a small extra mast set close behind the mainmast to carry a fore-and-aft sail. The eastern passage was the route to China through the islands east of Java and Borneo and into the Pacific, used by ships that reached the East Indies too late in the season to sail up the China Sea against the monsoon. The *Ponsborne* and the *Granby* were therefore late ships, expected at Canton only after the rest of the fleet left. The count of shipping at Canton could be set against Captain Milford's for the previous season, sent on 14 March 1768. Country ships fell from six to three, Danish ships from two to one and Swedish ships from two to one. Dutch ships held at four and French ships rose from three to four. The Company's own fleet of twelve, with two more expected, far outnumbered any single rival. Captain Macleod's ground for the Ascension leave was that the island's fresh provisions were

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			insufficient for his crew. That reason again concerned the ship's needs and not the island's, the test set on 2 June 1768, and the leave was granted as on every earlier request. The *Duke of Richmond* returned from Bencoolen nine months after she carried £2,000 0s 0d out to Fort Marlborough in June 1768. The *Hector*, *Tilbury* and *Sea Horse*, all named in the letters of 1768, were by then on their next voyages to China.
167	160	List of the Honble Compys. Packet from St. Helena P§ §Ship Lord Mansfield dated the 29th. March 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated the 29th. March 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 17th. Do. Do.§ §3 Consultations from the 20th. to the 27th. Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 17th. Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Verelst§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Royal Captain§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken the 29th. March 1769§ §9 Do. of 3 discharged Soldiers§ §10 Duplicate List of Packet P Ship Verelst§ §11 Cash Account from 18th. to the 29th. March 1769§ §12 Duplicate Do. from the 14th. to the 17th. Do. Do.§ §13 Ship Lord Mansfields Acct.§ §14 Do. Grosvenor Do.§ §15 Do. Duke of Gloucesters Do.§ §16 Duplicate Ship Verelst Do.§ §17 Do. Ship Kents Do.§ §18 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Grosvenor, Duke of Gloucester, Lord§ §Mansfield & Harcourt§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Lord Mansfield*, dated 29 March 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 29 March 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 17 March 1769 3: Consultations from 20 March 1769 to 27 March 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 17 March 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Verelst*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Royal Captain*. 7: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 8: List of officers and servants taken on 29 March 1769 9: List of 3 discharged soldiers 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Verelst*. 11: Cash account from 18 March 1769 to 29 March 1769 12: Duplicate cash account from 14 March 1769 to 17 March 1769 13: Account of the *Lord Mansfield*. 14: Account of the *Grosvenor*. 15: Account of the *Duke of Gloucester*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Verelst*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Kent*. 18: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's. 19: Summary of the cargoes of the *Grosvenor*, *Duke of Gloucester*, *Lord Mansfield* and *Harcourt*. **Interpretations** The cargo summary at item 19 covered four ships, but accounts were enclosed for three only. The *Harcourt* arrived on 24 March 1769, later than the others, and the letter of 29 March 1769 did not name her among the ships sailing with the *Lord Mansfield*. Her account was evidently left for the packet she herself carried, as happened with the *Verelst* and the *Kent* on 17 March 1769. The three discharged soldiers at item 9 were John Weaver, Robert Davis and Richard Vincent, entered in the *Grosvenor*'s crew under paragraph 3 of the letter. No written undertaking about wages accompanied the list, in keeping with their shipment as working hands.
168	161	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to your Honors Yesterday by the Lord Mansfield, this§ §day arrived your Ship Clive from China, which place Capt. Allen§ §Acquaints Us he left the 5th. January in Company with the Pacifick and§ §Asia the former he left in the Streights of Sunda where he saw the London§ §the Asia he parted with off the Cape about three Weeks Ago§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§	The Council wrote to the Court on 29 March 1769 by the *Lord Mansfield*, and the *Clive* arrived from China the following day. Captain Allen left China on 3 January 1769 in company with the *Pacifick* and the *Asia*. He parted from the *Pacifick* in the Straits of Sunda, where he also saw the *London*. The *Asia* separated from him off the Cape about three weeks before he reached the island. The letter was dated at St Helena on 30 March 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below. 1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Lord Mansfield*, which left the island on 30 March

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		§Matthew Purling§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§ §St. Helena,§ §30 March 1769§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We addressed you last by the Lord Mansfield which sailed§ §from hence the 30th. of March in company with your Ships Grosvenor,§ §and Duke of Gloucester§ §On the 1st. Instant arrived your Ship Duke of Albany that§ §brought Us a Packet from your Honors which we immediately opened &§ §read your Instructions to Us, Captn. Kirkpatrick being indisposed and not§ §able to attend Council we directed the Secretary to acquaint him with your§ §Orders relative to him, and at the same time required he would be as§	1769 in company with the *Grosvenor* and the *Duke of Gloucester*. The *Duke of Albany* arrived on the first of the month and brought a packet from the Court. The Council opened it at once and read the instructions it contained. Captain Kirkpatrick was unwell and unable to attend, so the Council directed the Secretary to tell him of the Court's orders concerning him. The Secretary was also to press him for a prompt response. **Interpretations** The short letter of 30 March 1769 was written a day after the full one and carried a single piece of shipping news. The *Lord Mansfield* was still in the road, since the next letter recorded her sailing on 30 March 1769, and the Council chose to add a separate note instead of reopening a letter already signed and listed in the packet. The note accounted for three of the seven ships named at Canton on 29 March 1769 and placed the *London*, which left Canton on 27 December 1768, in the Straits of Sunda. Those straits, between Java and Sumatra, were the usual gateway from the China Sea into the Indian Ocean. The Court's packet by the *Duke of Albany* contained orders about Captain Kirkpatrick personally. They were the first reply from London to the quarrel reported on 13 August 1768, when Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling cleared Mr Corneille, condemned his accuser's conduct and referred the final decision home. Captain Kirkpatrick was absent again when the orders were read, this time on the ground of illness, and the Council passed over waiting for his recovery. It sent the Secretary to his house with the orders, which put the communication on an official footing and gave the Council a witness that he received them. The page did not state what the Court decided. The reference to the first of the current month, following a letter of 30 March 1769, placed the *Duke of Albany*'s arrival on 1 April 1769.
169	162	expeditious as possible in making up and rendering Us an Account of his§ §Disbursements for the Quarter ending the 31st of last Month, As the Ship§ §Harcourt Sails so soon after the arrival of your Orders, we have not§ §time to answer the General Letter by this opportunity, but will do it as§ §soon as possible, and beg leave to assure you we shall strictly comply§ §and pay due attention to all your Orders§ §The same day Arrived the Asia from China last from the§ §Cape, Captn. Preston tells Us your Ship Lyoness was coming out of§ §that Place as he was going in but did not speak with her§ §Yesterday arrived the True Briton from China, which Place Captn.§ §Johnson tells Us he left the 16th. Janry last, in company with the§ §Tilbury, and that he spoke with your Ship London the 22d Febry in§ §the Latitude of 23o South§ §We cannot transmit your Honors any other Cash Acct. by§ §this opportunity than the Duplicate of our last, as the Quarters Accounts§ §will not be laid before Us untill the 17 Instant§ §Notwithstanding the Orders you were pleased to signify to Us in§ §the 30th. Paragraph of your General Letter of the 23d Decr. 1757 that you had§ §given to your several Presidencies forbiding their transporting§	The Secretary was to ask Captain Kirkpatrick to make up and hand in, as quickly as he could, an account of his spending for the quarter that closed on 31 March 1769. The *Harcourt* sailed so soon after the Court's orders arrived that no reply to the general letter could go by her. The Council promised an answer as soon as possible and gave its assurance that every order would be strictly carried out. 3: The *Asia* arrived from China on 1 April 1769, with the Cape as her last port of call. Captain Preston saw the *Lioness* coming out of the Cape as he went in, but he did not speak with her. The *True Briton* came in from China on the day before the letter was written. Captain Johnson left China on 16 January 1769 in company with the *Tilbury*. He spoke with the *London* on 22 February 1769 in latitude 23 degrees south. 4: No new cash account could go home with this letter, only a duplicate of the one sent before. The quarter's accounts were not due to come before the Council until 17 April 1769. 5: The Court's general letter of 23 December 1757 stated in its thirtieth paragraph that the presidencies were forbidden to transport criminals and people of bad character from India to the island. The Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough nevertheless sent one such man by the *Duke of Richmond*. He was Mass Pangue, a Malay and a leading figure in his own country. Their stated reason was that he caused great trouble to the Company's business in the districts of Manna. The pepper investment there could have suffered badly if he stayed any longer on the West Coast. Fort Marlborough reported that he was equal in rank to Nockquedah Boccolum. The Council therefore agreed to give him the same allowance until the Court

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		§Malefactors and dissolute Persons from India to this Island, the§ §Govr. & Council of Fort Marlborough have thought Proper to send Us§ §by the Ship Duke of Richmond, one Mass [P]angue Malay a leading§ §Man in his Country, urging their reasons for so doing that he was a§ §very troublesome Man to the Company's Affairs in the Districts of§ §Manna with respect to the Pepper Investment which might have§ §suffered much had he been allowed to have continued longer on the§ §West Coast, As they acquaint Us that this Man was upon a footing in§ §point of Rank with Nockquedah P[occolum] we agreed to make him the§ §same allowance untill we receive your Honors directions concerning§ §him, and beg leave to observe that the same reasons and evil tendency§ §of having these kind of People here still prevail, as was represented to you§	sent directions about him. It also pointed out that the old objections to keeping people of this kind on the island still held good. **Interpretations** Captain Kirkpatrick evidently held a post that handled the Company's money, since he owed the Council a quarterly account of his spending. The demand for that account came in the same message as the Court's orders about him, and the Council asked for speed. The page still did not state what the Court decided, but the pairing suggests that the orders touched his office and that his books had to be closed before they could take effect. The Council passed over the obvious course of refusing the exile or sending him back by the same ship. Fort Marlborough broke a standing order more than eleven years old, yet the man was landed and maintained. The Council had little real choice once he arrived, since returning him meant undoing a political decision made by another settlement for the sake of its pepper supply. It therefore accepted him provisionally, quoted the Court's own paragraph to show where the breach lay and left the decision to London. The *Duke of Richmond*, which carried £2,000 0s 0d to Fort Marlborough in June 1768, thus brought back a prisoner in return. Mass Pangue was a political exile, not a common criminal. Manna was one of the pepper districts on the coast south of Bencoolen, and the "West Coast" meant the west coast of Sumatra. The investment was the Company's yearly purchase of pepper, which depended on local chiefs obliging their people to grow and deliver it, so a chief who obstructed that system threatened the settlement's whole purpose. Nockquedah Boccolum was plainly an earlier exile of rank already kept on the island at the Company's cost. "Nockquedah" was a form of nakhoda, a Malay and Persian title for the master or owner of a trading vessel. Matching the newcomer's allowance to his settled the question of expense by precedent, without the Council fixing a new rate on its own authority. The dates placed this letter in April 1769, before the seventeenth. The withholding of a cash account repeated the practice of 2 April 1768, when the Council likewise sent nothing new until the quarter's accounts were examined.
170	163	by the Governor and Council of this Place in their Letter dated the 21§ §June 1757 and of all others we should chuse to have the least to do with§ §Malays as we find Nocquedah P[occolum] a very dissatisfied and§ §troublesome Person, we therefore request your Honors will be pleased to§ §forbid this Practice, and to Order them to be sent from this Settlement§ §The Govr. & Council of Fort Marlborough have likewise sent§ §Us by the Ship Duke of Richmond one of the Company's Coffree Men§ §Slaves and his Wife for making a Practice of runing up into the§ §Country and living upon Plunder, the Labour of these Slaves may be§ §of use to you here, but the Malays are only a dead charge & from their§ §vindictive dispositions are very disagreeable and Consequently bad§ §People to remain upon this Island§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M. Purling§	The objections to keeping such exiles were first put to the Court by the island's Governor and Council in a letter of 21 June 1757. The Council wished to have less to do with Malays than with any other people, since Nockquedah Boccolum proved a very discontented and difficult man. It asked the Court to forbid the practice and to order the exiles removed from the settlement. 6: The Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough also sent by the *Duke of Richmond* one of the Company's Coffree slaves and his wife. The man made a habit of running off into the country and living by robbery. The Council allowed that the labour of these two slaves could be of use on the island. The Malays, by contrast, were a pure expense, and their vengeful temper made them unpleasant and therefore unsuitable people to keep there. The letter was dated at St Helena on 3 April 1769 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Harcourt*, dated 3 April 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 April 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 29 March 1769

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		§St. Helena§ §3d April 1769§ §List of the Honble Compys. Packet from St. Helena P Ship§ §Harcourt dated the 3d April 1769 vizt.§ §1 Govr. & Councils general Letter dated the 3d. April 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 29th. March Do.§ §3 Do. Do. & Do. dated the 30th. Do. Do.§ §4 Consultations from the 1st. to the 3d. April Do.§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 20th. to the 27th. March Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Lord Mansfield§ §7 Do. Do. for a Paper Do. P Ship Do.§ §8 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Verelst§	3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 30 March 1769 4: Consultations from 1 April 1769 to 3 April 1769 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 20 March 1769 to 27 March 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 7: First receipt for a paper packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Verelst*. **Interpretations** Coffree was the term used in the Company's eastern settlements for African slaves, most of them brought from Madagascar and the East African coast. Fort Marlborough kept a body of them as Company labourers. The man sent here was a runaway who lived by plunder in the Sumatran interior, and shipping him to a small island with no hinterland to escape into was a way of ending that. The Council drew a sharp line between the two kinds of unwanted arrival, and the test was labour. Both the slave couple and the Malay exile reached the island in breach of the Court's order of 23 December 1757. The Council passed over a consistent objection to all three and protested only against the exiles. A slave with a record of flight and robbery was accepted because he and his wife could be put to work, at a time when the Council held the Company's slaves too few for its needs, as it argued on 23 February 1768. A chief of rank could not be made to work and had to be paid an allowance, so he was all cost. The request that the Malays be "sent from this settlement" covered Nockquedah Boccolum as well as Mass Pangue. Only Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling signed, where the letters from 23 January 1769 to 30 March 1769 carried three names. Captain Kirkpatrick was reported unwell on 1 April 1769, and the Court's orders about him were delivered by the Secretary on the same occasion. The letter gave no further reason for the missing signature. The date of 3 April 1769 fixed the days left open in the letter. The *True Briton* arrived on 2 April 1769, and the quarter's accounts were due before the Council on 17 April 1769. The *Harcourt* sailed after only ten days at the island, within the limit of ten working days reported on 2 June 1768.
171	164	9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Muster Rolls of Do.§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Lord Mansfield§ §12 Do. Cash Acct. from 18th. to the 29th. March 1769§ §13 Ship Harcourts Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Lord Mansfields Acct.§ §15 Do. Ship Grosvenors Do.§ §16 Do. Ship Duke of Gloucesters Do.§ §17 Time of Ships Boats Arrival at Banks's§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Duke of Richmond & True Briton§ §19 Govrs. Letter to the Secret Committee§ §To The Honoble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors by the Ship Harcourt§ §which Sailed from hence the 4th. instant§ §The Passengers upon the Ship Duke of Richmond are Messrs.§ §Blankern, Botham, and Demeretz§ §Captn. Preston applied to Us for Liberty to touch at Assension§ §to get Turtle to refresh his Ships Company, We accordingly complied§	The list of the packet sent by the *Harcourt* continued with the remaining enclosures. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Muster rolls of the garrison 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 12: Duplicate cash account from 18 March 1769 to 29 March 1769 13: Account of the *Harcourt*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Lord Mansfield*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Grosvenor*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Duke of Gloucester*. 17: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's. 18: Summary of the cargoes of the *Duke of Richmond* and the *True Briton*. 19: Letter from the Governor to the Secret Committee A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Harcourt*, which left the island on 4 April 1769. 2: The *Duke of Richmond* carried as passengers Messrs Blankern, Botham and Demeretz.

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		§with his request§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §8th. April 1769§	3: Captain Preston asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle to restore his crew, and the Council agreed. The letter was dated at St Helena on 8 April 1769 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling **Interpretations** Governor Skottowe wrote to the Secret Committee in his own name, and the letter travelled as a numbered enclosure whose contents the list did not describe. The Committee's correspondence ran to the Governor alone, as the letter of 13 May 1768 showed when he acknowledged its orders without disclosing them. His reply here followed two reports of French strength at Mauritius, the gathering of Europeans relayed on 13 February 1769 and the figure of nearly 4,000 troops sent on 29 March 1769. The Committee dealt with war and the safety of shipping, so the letter perhaps concerned that intelligence, though the list gave no subject. The packet carried no new cash account, only the duplicate at item 12. That agreed with paragraph 4 of the letter of 3 April 1769, which held the next account back until the quarter's books came before the Council on 17 April 1769. Captain Preston commanded the *Asia*, which arrived on 1 April 1769. His request gave only the general ground of refreshing his crew, with no sickness alleged, and it was granted like every earlier one. The test set on 2 June 1768, that a call should serve the island, again went unapplied. Captain Kirkpatrick's name was missing for a second letter running. The letter of 3 April 1769 reported him unwell on 1 April 1769, when the Secretary took him the Court's orders, and this one gave no further explanation.
172	165	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship§ §Asia, dated the 8th. April 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated the 8th. April 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 3d. Do. Do.§ §3 Consultation of the 8th. April 1769§ §4 Duplicate Do. from the 1st. to the 3d Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Harcourt§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Lord Mansfield§ §7 Do. Do. for a Paper Do. P Ship Do.§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Harcourt§ §10 Ship Asia's Account§ §11 Duplicate Ship Harcourts Do.§ §12 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Clive and Asia§ §13 Governor's Letter to the Secret Committee§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on you the 8th instant by the Ship Asia§ §We are extremely glad to hear all your Honors Ships of last§ §Season arrived safe, and wish the like success may attend those you have taken§ §up for carrying on your Commerce this Year§ §The Orders received from the Gentlemen of the Secret committee, or§ §any three of them, shall be duly observed and complied with§ §We shall as usual dispatch the Duke of Albany, and Speke, within§ §the time limitted by Charter Party, to avoid any expence of Demorage to the§ §Company§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Asia*, dated 8 April 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 8 April 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 April 1769 3: Consultation of 8 April 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultations from 1 April 1769 to 3 April 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Harcourt*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 7: Second receipt for a paper packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 8: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Harcourt*. 10: Account of the *Asia*. 11: Duplicate account of the *Harcourt*. 12: Summary of the cargoes of the *Clive* and the *Asia*. 13: Letter from the Governor to the Secret Committee A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 8 April 1769 by the *Asia*. 2: News that every Company ship of the previous season reached home safely delighted the Council. It hoped for the same good fortune for the ships engaged to carry on the Company's trade that year. 3: The Council promised to carry out every order received from the Secret Committee, or from any three of its members.

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			4: The *Duke of Albany* and the *Speke* were to be sent on their way within the period fixed by charter-party, as was the Council's practice. That would spare the Company any charge for demurrage. **Interpretations** Demurrage was the daily payment the Company owed a ship's owners when it kept her beyond the time the hiring contract allowed. The charter-party was that contract, and it fixed the stay at each port. The letter of 2 June 1768 described the same limit as ten working days and reported the *Tilbury* released when they ran out. This paragraph supplied the reason the limit mattered: every extra day at the island was a direct money cost to the Company, not merely a delay. The *Duke of Albany* arrived on 1 April 1769, so the letter was written while her allowance was still running or just ending. Governor Skottowe sent a second letter to the Secret Committee, five days after the one enclosed in the *Harcourt*'s packet of 3 April 1769. The list did not call it a duplicate, although every other repeated paper was so marked, which suggests a fresh letter and not a copy. Its subject was again left unstated. The packet held no cash account of any kind, new or duplicate. The quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 17 April 1769, as the letter of 3 April 1769 explained, and the duplicate of the last account already went by the *Harcourt*. The opening paragraphs repeated almost exactly those of the letter of 2 June 1768, which answered the Court's orders brought by the *Tilbury*. The Council was therefore beginning its promised reply to the general letter that the *Duke of Albany* delivered on 1 April 1769, taking the Court's paragraphs in order.
173	166	We wish Prosperity to your affairs in China, under the§ §management of the Gentlemen you have constituted your Council there,§ §should we find it necessary to make any Alteration in our Indent to§ §China, we shall inform the Gentlemen Supra Cargoes of it, by the Ship§ §Speke§ §The Orders you have given your several Commanders for§ §supplying themselves with Stock in India for their homeward bound§ §passage, are very salutary for the welfare of this Island, and we§ §request you will be pleased to continue that measure, We have this§ §Year received only Sheep from the Cape, which we find by experience§ §answers much better than Black Cattle, many of those we received§ §last Year, though Young, died, and them that remain Thrive so§ §indifferently that they are not yet fit for Slaughter but the Sheep§ §we find for present expending of great Service, in supplying the§ §Market and Hospital. The encreased Number of your Ships for carrying§ §on your Trade which must annually call here, renders it impossible§ §for us (from the returns we have from the Planters) to supply§ §the Commanders with their full demands of Provision, although§ §we restrain all the Ships which touch at the Cape to only one Beast§ §exclusive of Charter Party, and therefore hope you will be pleased§ §to continue Ordering your early Ships to touch at the Cape that we§ §may be enabled to supply the rest in a more ample	5: The Council wished the Company's business in China every success under the men the Court appointed as its council there. Any change needed in the island's orders on China was to be passed to the supercargoes by the *Speke*. 6: The Court's orders that commanders should stock up in India for the voyage home greatly benefited the island, and the Council asked for them to continue. Only sheep came from the Cape that year, and experience showed that they did much better than black cattle. Many of the cattle received in 1768 died although they arrived healthy. The survivors throve so poorly that they were still not ready for slaughter. The sheep, by contrast, were of great use at once in supplying the market and the hospital. More Company ships now had to call at the island each year, and the planters' returns showed that the commanders could not be given all the provisions they asked for. That held even though every ship calling at the Cape was limited to a single beast beyond the charter-party allowance. The Council therefore hoped the Court would keep ordering its early ships to call at the Cape, so that the remainder could be supplied more generously. Garden seeds from the Cape also did much better than those from England. The Council asked the Court to repeat its orders to commanders calling there to bring some. None did so that year, and the seeds received from England in 1768 proved so extremely bad that the island was very short of every kind of vegetable. 7: The Council sent no letter by His Majesty's Ship *Dolphin*, because the *Earl of Lincoln* left the island only four days before her. That ship carried a full account of everything of importance. **Interpretations** The preference for sheep, hinted at on 17 March 1769 when 80 arrived in good condition for £60 0s 0d, was here stated as settled experience. It went further than the request of 2 June 1768, which asked only that cattle bought at the Cape be young because half the old, large animals died soon after landing.

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		manner, As§ §we find the Garden Seeds from the Cape answers much better than§ §those from England, we request you will repeat your Orders to the§ §Commanders that call there to bring Us some Garden Seeds, none§ §of them this Year have brought Us any, and those we received last§ §Year from England turned out so extremely bad, that we have been§ §in great want of all manner of Vegetables§ §We did not address your Honors by his Majesty's Ship§ §Dolphin, because the Earl of Lincoln left this Place but three days§ §before, when we fully informed you of every thing material, & your§	The Council now reported that even sound cattle died or failed to fatten, while sheep could be killed for use straight away. Supplying the hospital mattered because fresh meat was the chief remedy offered to sick seamen and soldiers. The rationing of fresh meat showed the island's limits. Each ship was entitled under her charter-party to a fixed supply, and the Council allowed ships that had already called at the Cape only one animal beyond it. The planters' yearly returns of cattle for slaughter, 50 higher in the report of 23 January 1769, still could not keep pace with a growing fleet. The Council passed over raising the island's own output as the remedy and asked instead that early ships refresh at the Cape, shifting part of the demand to another port and leaving the island's stock for the later ships. Seeds from the Cape succeeded where English ones failed, perhaps because they came from a similar southern climate and spent weeks, not months, at sea. English seed lost its power to germinate on the long, warm outward passage. The failure of a single year's seed left the island short of vegetables, which shows that it could not reliably save its own seed and depended on fresh imports. The explanation about the *Dolphin* answered a reproach from the Court. She called on 17 March 1768 and sailed the next day, as the letter of 21 March 1768 recorded, and the Court evidently noticed that a King's ship reached England with no letter from the island. The Council's defence rested on the letter of 14 March 1768 sent by the *Earl of Lincoln*.
174	167	Ships Osterly & Northumberland, were to be dispatched in a few days§ §after the Dolphin, & Captn. Wallace being in a very great hurry staying§ §here but one day, and having nothing extraordinary to inform you of,§ §were our reasons for not writing to you by that opportunity, We§ §shall as near as we possibly can, comply with sending you a Copy of§ §our Letters by every Ship that sails, with her that has charge of our§ §Packet, but when many of your Ships go together, we are put to§ §great difficulties to get the Current Business ready to transmit to§ §you, having but few Assistants in the several departments, this§ §increase of Business, together with the additional Number of§ §Packets that must consequently be sent you, from having so many§ §more Ships now to dispatch then formerly, as well as the extraordi-§ §nary business that will Occur from the augmentation of your§ §Garrison, we for the above reasons shall certainly find it impracticable to Conduct your§ §affairs with that precision we could wish without the addition of§ §two or three more Writers, which we hope you will be pleased to§ §allow us to entertain§ §We Laboured under great inconveniencys in the course of last§ §Year from the want of pitch, Oil, Coals, & many other material &§ §usefull Articles, which inconvenience will be fully Obviated from the§ §ample supply your are pleased to signify, will be sent Us this Year, We§ §shall in future be careful to send you our indents earlier, than we did the§ §last Year, The twenty Horsemens Tents were	The Council gave further reasons for sending nothing by the *Dolphin*. The *Osterly* and the *Northumberland* were due to leave within a few days of her. Captain Wallace was in a very great hurry and stayed only one day, and nothing out of the ordinary needed reporting. The Council undertook to come as near as it could to sending a copy of its letters by every ship that sailed with the one carrying the packet. Preparing current business for dispatch was very hard when many ships left together, because the various departments had few assistants. More ships than before now had to be sent off, which meant more packets, and the enlargement of the garrison was bound to add exceptional work. The Council felt certain that the Company's business could not be handled as exactly as it wished without two or three more writers. It hoped the Court would allow them to be taken on. 8: The island suffered great difficulty during 1768 from the lack of pitch, oil, coal and many other important and useful goods. The generous supply that the Court announced for the current year promised to remove that difficulty entirely. The Council undertook to send its orders home earlier in future than it did in 1768. The Engineer ordered 20 horsemen's tents in 1768 for the workmen who were to wall up a considerable number of gullies in different parts of the island, so that an enemy could not climb them. Several of those gullies lay far from any house and had no link with the main fort. A number of huts would otherwise be needed in each to house the men. The tents were meant to save the trouble and cost of building those huts by giving the workmen shelter. **Interpretations** The Council met a reproach with a request. The Court evidently complained that the *Dolphin* reached England in 1768 with no letter, and it asked for copies by every ship. The Council passed over a plain promise to comply and qualified its undertaking with "as near as possible", then used the same paragraph to argue that the office was too small for the work. It had already appointed Mr George Bazett a writer on its own authority, as the letter of 13 August 1768

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		Indented for last Year by the§ §Engineer and were intended for the Workmen who are to be employed in§ §Walling up a Considerable Number of Gullies, in different Parts of the§ §Island in Order to render them inaccessible to an Enemy. And that§ §several of these Gullies being remote from any Houses & having no§ §communication with the principal Fort, a Number of Hutts would be§ §wanted in each of them, in Order to accommodate the Workmen. The§ §Intention therefore of these Tents are to save the Trouble & Expence of§ §Erecting those Hutts, as by their Means the Workmen will be covered§	reported, and it now sought leave for two or three more. The grounds were specific: the homeward fleet was larger, each sailing required its own packet with duplicates, and a bigger garrison meant more musters, pay lists and stores issues. The mention of an augmented garrison shows that the Court's letter by the *Duke of Albany* announced an increase in the island's troops, which followed the Council's request of 13 August 1768 for 50 recruits and the reports of French strength at Mauritius. The Court's promise of ample stores answered the complaints of 2 June 1768 and 15 June 1768, when coal came 20 chaldrons short and no deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin or turpentine arrived at all. The Council's undertaking to send orders earlier conceded part of the fault. Its orders for 1769 went home only on 13 August 1768, a delay it then put down to a missing cargo summary and a busy storekeeper. A horseman's tent was the larger pattern of army tent issued to cavalry, roomy enough to hold a trooper's saddle and gear as well as the men. The Court evidently queried why an island without cavalry wanted 20 of them. The explanation tied the tents to the gully walls that Captain Mitchell described on 13 August 1768 as the last minor works, and it rested on economy: tents could be moved from one remote ravine to the next, whereas huts had to be built afresh at each site. Captain Wallace commanded the *Dolphin*, whose single day at the island on 17 March 1768 and 18 March 1768 was recorded in the letter of 21 March 1768.
175	168	from the Inclemencies of the Weather, and they can without any Trouble§ §be removed from One Gully to another, wherever the Workmen are to§ §be employed§ §We have received thirty eight Recruits by the Duke of Albany§ §who appear to be good Men, and are pleased to hear your Honors§ §purpose sending us a further supply of eighty more by the Ship Speke§ §Finding that we have a prospect of receiving Money for Bills§ §the present state of the Cash will enable Us to Consign £1000.. to§ §your Settlement of Fort Marlborough, by the Ship Duke of Albany§ §When we receive the three Pipes of Madeira Wine you have§ §been pleased to Order for this Settlement, it shall be charged to your§ §Servants here at the price it may be Invoiced at, and distributed§ §as you have directed§ §When all the Flour is recd. we shall transmit Certificates§ §of the same in Duplicate, as we did the last Year§ §Your Honors will please to observe by our Consultation§ §of the 14th. Novr. last (to which we beg leave to refer) that we came§ §to a resolution not to Lease any of the barren Commons that have§ §been improved by the Publick as we think it would be a great§ §piece of Injustice to the Persons who contribute their Labour to such§ §improvements by giving it to particular people, neither do we think§ §it would tend to the Utility of the Island, but on the Contrary, be a§ §discouragement to the improvements that are now Yearly made on§	The tents kept the workmen out of bad weather and could be moved without difficulty from one gully to the next, wherever the men were needed. 9: The *Duke of Albany* brought 38 recruits, who seemed to be good men. The Council welcomed the news that the Court meant to send 80 more by the *Speke*. 10: The Council expected money to be paid in for bills. The state of the treasury therefore allowed it to send £1,000 0s 0d to the settlement of Fort Marlborough by the *Duke of Albany*. 11: The Court ordered three pipes of Madeira wine for the settlement. Once the wine arrived, it was to be charged to the Company's servants at the invoice price and shared out as the Court directed. 12: Certificates in duplicate were to go home once all the flour was received, as in 1768. 13: The consultation of 14 November 1768 recorded a resolution to lease none of the barren commons that the public had improved. The Council thought that handing such land to particular individuals would be a great injustice to the people whose labour went into improving it. Nor would leasing serve the island. It would instead discourage the improvements then being made on those lands every year. 14: Messrs James Greentree, George Bazett and Philip Mahony were told of the Court's orders about each of them. They sent the Court their sincere thanks for the favours shown. 15: The widows Beale and Kennedy were likewise told that the Court settled an annuity of £30 0s 0d a year on each of them. They sent their most sincere thanks for this mark of generosity. **Interpretations** The Council passed over a source of revenue. Leasing improved common land to individual tenants would have added to the rents the Company drew from the island, the income listed each year on 30 September, and the wording suggests that the Court or some applicants proposed it. The Council refused on a ground of fairness tied to how the land came to be worth leasing: the inhabitants improved it by their

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		§the aforesaid Lands§ §We acquainted Messrs. James Greentree, Geo. Bazett &§ §Philip Mahoney with your Orders relative to each of them for§ §which favours they beg to return your Honors their sincere thanks§ §The Widows Beale and Kennedy being likewise acquainted§ §with your Honors having been pleased to Settle an Annuity on them of§ §£30.. P Year, they beg leave to return your Honors their most sincere§ §acknowledgements for this mark of your benevolence§	shared labour, and a lease gave the benefit of that work to one holder. It added a practical point, that people would stop improving commons if the result was to lose them. The commons were the unenclosed waste on which inhabitants held shared rights, chiefly of grazing, and the resolution kept the improved ground open to all who worked on it. The Court granted every personal request the Council made on 13 August 1768 and 2 June 1768. The two widows who lost their punch house licences received £30 0s 0d a year each, the exact sum the Widows' Fund paid, which the Council quoted when it argued that their case could set no precedent. Mr Greentree's commission and Mr Bazett's post as writer, both filled by the Council on its own authority, were evidently confirmed, and Mr Mahony's terms were improved after the plea that his new salary left him only £14 0s 0d better off. The request for Madeira was met as well, with three pipes ordered where the Council asked for one by each ship calling there. Charging the wine at invoice price meant that the servants paid cost and the Company took no profit. The 38 recruits already landed and the 80 promised made 118, more than twice the 50 the Council requested on 13 August 1768. That scale explained the reference to an enlarged garrison in paragraph 7 and matched the reports of French troops gathering at Mauritius. The second remittance to Fort Marlborough was half the £2,000 0s 0d sent in June 1768, and it again rested on expected payments for bills, the method of funding the island that the Council set out on 13 August 1768.
176	169	John Drawwater Cooper shall be paid the additional Salary as§ §you are pleased to direct§ §What John Blands Exr. acquainted your Honors with, in regard to§ §our refusing his Exr. here taking the Sum of £700.. into your Cash is a§ §palpable falsity, as he never applied to Us on that Account, Agreeable to§ §your directions we shall receive that Sum, when application is made to Us§ §for the same§ §Your Honors Orders relative to Captn. Kirkpatrick have been duly§ §Executed, and before he leaves the Island, we shall make a particular,§ §inquiry whether he has in his Possession any Plans of your Fortifications§ §and if we find that he has shall oblige him to deliver them up to Us, and§ §shall be always careful that no person shall take or procure Plans of§ §your Works except the Engineer, and he only in the manner, you have§ §prescribed, When we were duly acquainted with Captn. Kirkpatricks§ §imposing on Us a fictitious advance to the Commanding Officers of the several§ §Company's in the Military, we immediately took effectual Methods to prevent§ §any such imposition afterwards & also rectified from time to time every§ §mistake as to relisting Soldiers &ca. which appeared in his Accounts of§ §Paymaster and cannot charge him with any farther impositions in that§ §Department, we shall strictly examine his Accounts of Disbursements for§ §the last Quarter before we pass the same, and if any thing appears therein§ §wrong, we shall make him accountable§ §The several Paragraphs in your General Letter relative	16: John Drawwater, a cooper, was to receive the additional salary the Court directed. 17: John Bland's executors told the Court that the Council refused to let his executors on the island pay £700 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council called this a plain falsehood, since no such request was ever made to it. It undertook to follow the Court's directions and accept the sum whenever it was offered. 18: The Court's orders about Captain Kirkpatrick were carried out. Before he left the island, the Council intended to make a careful inquiry into whether he held any plans of the Company's fortifications. Any that were found would have to be handed over. The Council also promised to make sure that nobody took or obtained plans of the works except the Engineer, and he only in the way the Court laid down. Captain Kirkpatrick had earlier passed off on the Council a fictitious advance to the commanding officers of the several military companies. Once the Council learned of this, it took firm steps at once to prevent any repetition. It also corrected from time to time every error over re-enlisting soldiers and similar matters that appeared in his accounts as paymaster. No further deception in that department could be laid to his charge. The Council undertook to examine his account of spending for the quarter just ended strictly before passing it, and to hold him answerable for anything found wrong. 19: The Court's general letter contained several paragraphs on the holding of courts of justice, with its opinions for the Council's guidance. The Council promised to follow them in every case of the kinds described there. 20: The Council directed the Engineer to set out in writing his views on whether the changes to the merlons mentioned earlier ought to be made. His paper was to go home for the Court's approval once finished. The Council then turned to the case of any gentleman arriving from India who had served there as an engineer.

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		to holding§ §Courts of Justice &ca. & your opinions thereon for our Guidance, shall be duly§ §observed and complied with in all Cases under the Circumstances therein§ §mentioned§ §We have directed the Engineer to lay before Us in writing his§ §Sentiments with respect to the Propriety of making the alterations in§ §the Merlons we before mentioned, which when he has finished shall be§ §Laid before You for Your approbation, and if any Gentlemen should§ §Arrive here from India who has acted in the Capacity of Engineer in§	**Interpretations** Paragraph 18 showed what the Court decided about Captain Kirkpatrick: he was to leave the island. The orders were described as already carried out while his departure still lay ahead, so they removed him from his posts and required him to go home. He was thus the island's paymaster, which explains the demand on 3 April 1769 for his account of the quarter ending 31 March 1769 and the absence of his signature from the letters of 3 April 1769 and 8 April 1769. The Court ruled for Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling, who condemned his conduct on 13 August 1768 and referred the decision to London. The Council's account of his paymastership sat awkwardly with its earlier silence. A fictitious advance to the company commanders and errors over re-enlistment were faults in the handling of the garrison's pay, yet none was reported in the letters of 1768, even when the Council censured him for accusing Mr Corneille. The paragraph was framed as a defence: the Council stressed that it acted at once when it learned of the deception and that nothing further could be charged. The Court had evidently asked why such practices were allowed, and the Council answered by promising a strict audit of his last account before passing it. The order about plans treated drawings of the defences as secrets. A dismissed councillor returning to Europe with copies could have sold or shown them, at a time when nearly 4,000 French troops were reported at Mauritius on 29 March 1769. The Council's own practice already pointed the same way, since the plans of Sandy Bay, Banks's and Lemon Valley each went home boxed, in a named commander's charge and against his receipt. Bland was dead by this date, since executors acted for him both in England and on the island. Those on the island wished to pay £700 0s 0d into the treasury for a bill on London, the ordinary means of sending an estate home, as with the late Captain Inglis on 2 June 1768. The complaint of refusal continued the quarrel between Bland and the Council beyond his death, and the Court's direction to accept the money shows that it took the complaint seriously enough to rule on it. The Council's denial rested on a single fact, that nobody applied. The Court declined to order the island's parapets rebuilt on the Council's word alone. The proposal of 10 September 1768, to give every parapet exposed to ships the earth-filled merlons used at Banks's, came back with a demand for the Engineer's written opinion. A cooper made and repaired the casks in which the island's provisions, water and spirits were stored.
177	170	your Service we shall desire them to give their Sentiments on this subject in§ §Order to be transmitted to you§ §We have discharged John [W]ebbley Matross agreeable to your§ §directions, he takes his Passage for England upon the Duke of Richmond§ §Mr. Corneille on his arrival shall take his Station which he§ §enjoyed before his resignation, and the Command of the Company he shall§ §chuse agreeable to your directions§ §We have given Captn. Hindman a permission to receive on board§ §his Ship Thomas Pearce & William Rowlands Sergeants Martin Newman§ §Matross Thomas Woffington, & Andrew Conner Centinels§ §Yesterday Arrived the Pacifick from China Captn. Barkley§ §acquaints Us he spoke with your Ship Pigot in the	The Council undertook to ask any such officer for his opinion on the merlons, so that it could be sent home to the Court. 21: John Webbley, a matross, was discharged as the Court directed and took his passage for England in the *Duke of Richmond*. 22: Mr Corneille was to resume on his arrival the post he held before his resignation. He was also to take command of whichever company he chose, as the Court directed. 23: The Council gave Captain Hindman leave to take five men aboard his ship. Thomas Pearce, sergeant William Rowlands, sergeant Martin Newman, matross Thomas Woffington, sentinel Andrew Conner, sentinel 24: The *Pacifick* arrived from China on 10 April 1769. Captain Barkley spoke with the *Pigot* in latitude 35 degrees south, with all well aboard.

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		Latitude of 35o§ §South, all well§ §Captns. Allen, Hindman, and Johnson representing that§ §the fresh Provisions they got here were not sufficient for the refreshment§ §of their Ships Compys. requested leave to touch at Assension to get Turtle§ §We have accordingly permitted them to Call at that place for the above§ §purpose§ §As three of your Ships Sail together it renders it impossible§ §from the Multiplicity of business we are ingaged in, for Us to have a§ §Letter ready for each of them, as you are pleased to Order in your last§ §General Letter, but have given Captn. Hindman Charge of a Copy of§ §our General Letter, P Ship Clive§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Clive, which Sails§ §from hence with the Duke of Richmond and True Briton§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §11th. April 1769§	25: Captains Allen, Hindman and Johnson advised the Council that the fresh provisions obtained at the island were not enough to restore their crews. They asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle, and the Council allowed all three to do so. 26: Three Company ships sailed together, and the press of business made it impossible to prepare a letter for each, as the Court's latest general letter ordered. Captain Hindman instead took charge of a copy of the general letter sent by the *Clive*. 27: The letter went home by the *Clive*, which sailed with the *Duke of Richmond* and the *True Briton*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 April 1769 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling **Interpretations** The Court reversed the outcome of the quarrel reported on 13 August 1768. Mr Corneille resigned on 21 July 1768 and sailed in the *Admiral Pocock*, while his accuser stayed. The orders brought by the *Duke of Albany* on 1 April 1769 removed Captain Kirkpatrick and sent Mr Corneille back to his former seat, with the choice of a company to command added as a mark of favour. His decision to go home and put his case in person therefore succeeded. Until he arrived, the Governor and Mr Purling remained the whole Council, as the two signatures showed. The Council passed over full obedience to a fresh order within days of receiving it. The Court required a letter by every ship, a point pressed after the *Dolphin* carried none in March 1768. Three ships left together and the Council produced one letter and one copy, leaving the third ship with nothing. It gave the same reason it used in paragraph 7 when asking for two or three more writers, so the shortfall served as immediate evidence for that request. The opinion sought from engineers arriving from India answered the Court's caution over the merlons. The Court wanted more than the word of the island's own Engineer before rebuilding parapets, and the Council offered a second professional view from any qualified officer who happened to pass through. The five men sent with Captain Hindman went on a permit, the term used for passengers, where men shipped as crew went under an order. No waiver of wages was mentioned, although eight passengers signed one on 25 April 1768. Webbley's discharge came by the Court's direction and not the Council's choice. The earlier reading of a matross named John Stebley on 2 June 1768, whose business in England involved Lord Sandys, perhaps referred to the same man. The Ascension leave was by now requested by three commanders at once in identical terms and granted to all. Captain Allen commanded the *Clive* and Captain Johnson the *True Briton*. Captain Hindman, who took a bill for £150 0s 0d on 20 June 1768 as commander of the outward *Duke of Richmond*, was thus on his way home in her.
178	171	List of the Honoble Compys. Packet from St. Helena P Ship Clive dated§ §the 11th April 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 11th April 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 8th. Do. Do.§ §3 Consultation of the 10th. Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 8 Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Asia's§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Harcourt§ §7 Effective state of the Garrison§ §8 List of 6 Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Asia§ §10 Ship Clives Acct.§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Clive*, dated 11 April 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 11 April 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 8 April 1769 3: Consultation of 10 April 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 8 April 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Asia*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Harcourt*. 7: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 8: List of 6 discharged soldiers

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		§11 Do. Duke of Richmonds Do.§ §12 Do. True Britons Do.§ §13 Duplicate Ship Asia's Do.§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We addressed your Honors the 11th Instant by the Ship Clive§ §which sailed from hence with the Duke of Richmond & True Briton§ §We dispatched the Duke of Albany the 14th Instant & by that§ §opportunity consigned £1000 to your Settlement of Fort Marlborough§ §We gave Captn. Barkley a permit to receive on Board the Pacifick§ §Wm. Luke a Discharged Soldier, he having signed an Instrument that he§ §will not demand any Wages for his Passage home, which goes Inclosed§ §Captn. Stewart in Consultation of the 14th Instant, offering to§ §take any old unserviceable Guns belonging to the Compy. as [Ballast] &§	9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Asia*. 10: Account of the *Clive*. 11: Account of the *Duke of Richmond*. 12: Account of the *True Briton*. 13: Duplicate account of the *Asia*. A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 11 April 1769 by the *Clive*, which left the island with the *Duke of Richmond* and the *True Briton*. 2: The *Duke of Albany* was sent on her way on the fourteenth of the month. She carried £1,000 0s 0d consigned to the settlement of Fort Marlborough. 3: The Council gave Captain Barkley a permit to take William Luke, a discharged soldier, aboard the *Pacifick*. Luke signed a written undertaking to claim no wages for the voyage home, and the document went with the letter. 4: Captain Stewart made an offer in the consultation of the fourteenth of the month. He proposed to take any old, unserviceable guns belonging to the Company as kentledge. **Interpretations** Kentledge was permanent iron ballast, usually pig iron or condemned cannon, laid along the bottom of a ship's hold to keep her stable. Worn-out guns were of no use to the island, which had no means of recasting them, and their weight made them worth carrying home as ballast and scrap. The six discharged soldiers at item 8 were the five men sent with Captain Hindman and the matross John Webbley, all named in the letter of 11 April 1769. Webbley sailed in the *Duke of Richmond*, which was Captain Hindman's ship. Luke went as a passenger and signed away his wages, as Richard Moreton did on 21 March 1768 and eight men in the *Europa* did on 25 April 1768. The five men carried by Captain Hindman also went on a permit, yet no waiver was recorded for them in the letter or among the enclosures listed here. The letter gave no reason for the difference. The *Duke of Albany* arrived on 1 April 1769 and left on 14 April 1769, within the charter-party time the Council promised to keep. The remittance to Fort Marlborough carried out the intention stated in paragraph 10 of the letter of 11 April 1769. The reference to the fourteenth placed this letter in April 1769, on or after that day.
179	172	to carry them Fraught Free to England, we judged it a good opportunity§ §to transmit them thither, and accordingly put on board the Duke of§ §Albany 31 of different Calibers for which we have taken Receipts of§ §Captn. Stewart, Obligating himself and Owners to deliver them to the§ §Company on the Terms he has proposed upon the Arrival of the Ship§ §Duke of Albany in the River of Thames, and herewith transmit§ §his receipt and Obligation for that purpose, Besides the abovementiond.§ §31 Guns there remains 15 of Different Calibers which the Captn. of§ §Artillery acquaints Us are unserviceable, but deeming it improper§ §to leave the Works without Guns, thought it most adviseable to§ §detain them untill we receive those Indented for from England§ §after which we propose if it meets with your approbation of taking§ §the first opportunity to send them freight Free§ §As the last Quarters Accts. were but Yesterday laid before Us, and the§	Captain Stewart offered to carry the old guns to England free of freight, and the Council judged this a good chance to send them home. It put 31 guns of various calibres aboard the *Duke of Albany* and took the captain's receipt for them. That document bound him and the ship's owners to deliver the guns to the Company on the terms he proposed, once the ship reached the River Thames, and it went home with the letter. Another 15 guns of various calibres remained on the island, and the captain of artillery reported them unserviceable as well. The Council thought it wrong to leave the works without guns and kept those 15 until the replacements ordered from England arrived. It proposed, if the Court approved, to send them home free of freight at the first chance after that. 5: The accounts for the quarter just ended came before the Council only on 17 April 1769. The business arising from them made the consultation too long to be copied in time for this ship. The letter was dated at St Helena on 18 April 1769 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Pacifick*, dated 18 April 1769.

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		§business occuring rendered the Consultation too long to have it transmitted to you by§ §this Conveyance. We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §18th. April 1769§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship§ §Pacifick dated the 18th. April 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated the 18th April 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 11th Do. Do.§ §3 Consultation of the 14th. Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 10th Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Clive§ §6 Do. Do. for a Paper Do. P Ship Duke of Richmond§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Asia§	1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 18 April 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 11 April 1769 3: Consultation of 14 April 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 10 April 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Clive*. 6: First receipt for a paper packet sent by the *Duke of Richmond*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Asia*. **Interpretations** The Council passed over the tidy course of clearing all 46 condemned guns at once, although free carriage was on offer for as many as the ship could take. It sent 31 and held back 15 that its own artillery officer declared just as useless. The reason given was appearance and precaution: a battery with a worn gun was thought better than an empty one, at a time when nearly 4,000 French troops were reported at Mauritius on 29 March 1769. The 15 were to follow only when new guns from England stood in their place, and the Council asked approval for that second shipment instead of assuming it. The *Duke of Albany* was an outward ship bound for Fort Marlborough, to which she carried £1,000 0s 0d. The guns therefore travelled out to Sumatra and back before reaching London, serving as ballast for the whole voyage. That explains the form of the receipt, which bound the owners as well as the captain and fixed delivery at the ship's arrival in the Thames, perhaps a year or more away. The captain gained ballast he would otherwise have had to buy, and the Company gained free carriage of scrap iron. The consultation of 17 April 1769 was held back because of its length, and the business it contained arose from the quarter's accounts. Those accounts included Captain Kirkpatrick's last statement as paymaster, which the Council promised on 11 April 1769 to examine strictly before passing. The Court thus received notice that the examination took place, with the record of it left for a later ship.
180	173	[Small hole in the upper centre of the page.] 8 List of Officers and Servants taken the 18th April 1769§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Clive§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Ship Pacificks Account§ §12 Do. Duke of Alban[...] Do.§ §13 Duplicate Ship Clives Do.§ §14 Do. Do. Duke of Richmonds Do.§ §15 Do. Do. True Britons Do.§ §16 Cash Account from the 30th to the 31st March 1769§ §17 Do. from the 1st to the 18th April Do.§ §18 Abstract of the Pacificks Cargoe§ §19 Time of the Arrival of the Pacifick's Boat at Banks's§ §20 Instrument in writing from William Luke Soldier§ §21 Captn. Stewarts First Receipt for 31 Iron Guns§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors the 18th instant, by the Pacifick§ §On the 22d of this Month Arrived your Ship London from China,§ §the 23 the Queen from Bengal (last from the Cape) the 26th the Tilbury from§ §China, and the 28th the Calcutta from Bombay (last from the Cape) Captn.§ §Motley Acquaints Us he spoke with your Ship Plassey the 25 of Last Month§ §off the Cape, all well, we are likewise informed that the Nottingham,§ §Tryton, & Havannah, had touched at the Cape of good hope for refreshments,§	The list of the packet sent by the *Pacifick* continued with the remaining enclosures. 8: List of officers and servants taken on 18 April 1769 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Clive*. 10: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 11: Account of the *Pacifick*. 12: Account of the *Duke of Albany*. 13: Duplicate account of the *Clive*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Duke of Richmond*. 15: Duplicate account of the *True Briton*. 16: Cash account from 30 March 1769 to 31 March 1769 17: Cash account from 1 April 1769 to 18 April 1769 18: Summary of the cargo of the *Pacifick*. 19: Note of the time at which the *Pacifick*'s boat reached Banks's. 20: Written undertaking from William Luke, soldier 21: Captain Stewart's first receipt for 31 iron guns A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 18 April 1769 by the *Pacifick*. 2: Four Company ships arrived within a week. The *London* came in from China on 22 April 1769 and the *Queen* from Bengal on 23 April 1769, with the Cape as her last port of call. The *Tilbury* followed from China on 26 April 1769. The *Calcutta* arrived from Bombay on 28 April 1769, also by way of the Cape. Captain Motley spoke with the *Salisbury* off the

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		§We are also told that the Gentlemen who were sent from the President and§ §Council of Bengall upon a Deputation to Sujah Dowlah were returning to§ §Calcutta & we hear every thing has been amicably adjusted with him &§ §that the Country was in profound peace when the Queen left Bengall§	Cape on 23 March 1769, with all well aboard. The *Nottingham*, *Tryton* and *Havannah* were reported to have called at the Cape of Good Hope for fresh supplies. News also came that the gentlemen sent by the President and Council of Bengal on a mission to Sujah Dowlah were on their way back to Calcutta. Everything was reported settled with him on friendly terms, and the country was in complete peace when the *Queen* left Bengal. **Interpretations** Sujah Dowlah was Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, whose territory lay on the north-western border of the Company's possessions in Bengal. A friendly settlement with him secured that frontier. The news of peace in Bengal stood in contrast to the war with Hyder Ali in the south, where the letter of 10 September 1768 reported the loss of Mangalore. Cash accounts resumed with this packet, after none was sent on 3 April 1769, 8 April 1769 or 11 April 1769. The quarter's accounts came before the Council on 17 April 1769, as the letter of 18 April 1769 recorded. The new run began on 30 March 1769, the day after the last account closed, so the series sent home stayed unbroken. The same practice was followed on 25 April 1768. Captain Stewart's receipt for the 31 guns was called a first receipt and described them as iron. A second copy was therefore held back for a later ship, a sensible precaution for an obligation that fell due only when the *Duke of Albany* returned to the Thames from Sumatra. Luke's waiver of wages went home as item 20, as Richard Moreton's did on 21 March 1768. The *London* was the last of the ships that left Canton on 27 December 1768 to reach the island. She was seen in the Straits of Sunda by Captain Allen and spoken with on 22 February 1769 by Captain Johnson, and Captain Motley was named as her commander on 5 May 1768. The *Calcutta* was reported at Bombay on 8 December 1768, and the *Queen* and the *Salisbury* were due to leave Bengal in January 1769.
181	174	On the 24th instant arrived a Dane Ship from China called the§ §Fredericksborg, Captn. Swane burthen 1300 Tons, carry's 28 Guns and§ §170 Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware & Silk, bound to Copenhagen§ §Agreeable to your Orders in the 42d. Paragh. in your last General§ §Letter and our directions to the Engineer thereupon he laid before Us in Consultation§ §of the 17th instant his Sentiments respecting rebuilding the Parapets of§ §the several Fortifications upon the Island, in the same manner as§ §Banks's upper Battery and Mundens are Constructed, to which we beg§ §leave to refer your Honors§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt. two Sets§ §to John Skottowe Esqr. One for £600.. payable to Robt. Wood Esqr.§ §And one for £67.. 6 payable to Mr. [...] Dobson, One set to Mr. Mattw.§ §Purling for £760.. payable to John Purling Esqr. two Sets to§ §Mr. Matthew Bazett one for £324.. 7 payable to Captn. Thos. Riddell§ §and one for £100.. payable to Miss Mary Bazett, One set to§ §Captn. Henry Bazett for £100.. payable to John Purling Esqr. One§ §set to Captn. Richard Beale for £42.. payable to the Reverend§ §Mr. Wm. Lee, One set to Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick for	3: A Danish ship from China arrived on 24 April 1769. The *Fredericksborg*, under Captain Swane: 1,300 tons, 28 guns, 170 men, laden with tea, chinaware and silk, bound for Copenhagen. 4: The Court's latest general letter called in its forty-second paragraph for the Engineer's opinion, and the Council directed him accordingly. He presented his views in the consultation of 17 April 1769 on rebuilding the parapets of the island's various fortifications in the manner used at the upper battery at Banks's and at Munden's. The Council referred the Court to that paper. 5: The Council issued nine sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 29 April 1769. John Skottowe Esquire, payable to Robert Wood Esquire, £600 0s 0d John Skottowe Esquire, payable to Mr Archibald Dobson, £67 6s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £760 0s 0d Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to Captain Thomas Riddell, £324 0s 7d Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to Miss Mary Bazett, £100 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to John Purling Esquire, £100 0s 0d Captain Richard Beale, payable to the Reverend Mr William Lee, £42 0s 0d Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick, payable to Mr Allen Auld, £400 0s 0d Captain George Stainforth, payable to George Stainforth Esquire, £112 10s 0d

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		£400.. payble.§ §to Mr. Allen [Auld], and one set to Captn. George Stainforth for§ §£112. 10.. payable to Geo. Stainforth Esqr. all drawn at§ §ninety day's sight, & dated the 29th. Instant§ §The Passengers on board the Queen are Francis Sykes Esqr.§ §Mr. Sample & Captn. Douglass§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §30th April 1769§	6: The *Queen* carried as passengers Francis Sykes Esquire, Mr Sample and Captain Douglas. The letter was dated at St Helena on 30 April 1769 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe M Purling **Interpretations** The Engineer's paper answered the Court's demand, reported on 11 April 1769, for a written opinion before any parapets were rebuilt with the earth-filled merlons first described on 10 September 1768. The paragraph showed that Munden's was by then built in the same manner as Banks's, so the new method was already used on a second work while the Court's approval for extending it was still awaited. The Council sent the paper without adding a view of its own, leaving the Engineer's reasoning to stand before the Court. Captain Kirkpatrick appeared among the drawers as plain Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick, without his military rank. The Court's orders removing him were reported as carried out on 11 April 1769, and the change of style agreed with the loss of his commission. His bill for £400 0s 0d showed him sending his money home before leaving the island, as Mr Corneille did in August 1768. The two acting councillors drew the largest sums. Governor Skottowe's two bills came to £667 6s 0d and Mr Purling's to £760 0s 0d, against £400 0s 0d and £250 0s 0d on 2 May 1768. John Purling Esquire received a further £860 0s 0d from two drawers. The treasury's reliance on such payments, set out on 13 August 1768, was what allowed £1,000 0s 0d to go to Fort Marlborough on 14 April 1769. The *Fredericksborg* was the single Danish ship counted at Canton in the report of 29 March 1769. Mr Sample, a passenger in the *Queen*, was perhaps Lieutenant Nathan Sample, whose retirement on half pay through age and infirmity was reported on 13 February 1769.
182	175	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship§ §Queen dated the 30th April 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated the 30th Apl. 1769§ §2 Do. Do. & Do. dated the 30th. Do. Do. relatg. to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 18th Do. Do.§ §4 Consultations from the 17th. to the 29th. Do. Do.§ §5 Duplicate Do. of the 14th Do. Do.§ §6 First Receipt of the Packet P Ship Pacifick§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Clive§ §8 Do. Do. for a Paper Do. P Ship Duke of Richmond§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Pacifick§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Acct. from the 19th to the 30th. April 1769§ §12 Duplicate Do. from the 30th to the 31st March Do.§ §13 Do. Do. from the 1st to the 18th April Do.§ §14 Ship Queens Account§ §15 Duplicate Ship Pacificks Do.§ §16 Ship Duke of Albany's Do.§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships, Queen, London, Tilbury, & Calcutta§ §18 Time of the arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §19 Captn. Stewarts Second Receipt for 31 Iron Guns§ §20 Proceedgs. of a General Quarterly Sessions held on ye 3d April 1769§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on you by the Ship Queen under date of§ §the 30th April 1769§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Queen*, dated 30 April 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 30 April 1769 2: General letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 30 April 1769 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 18 April 1769 4: Consultations from 17 April 1769 to 29 April 1769 5: Duplicate of the consultation of 14 April 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Pacifick*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Clive*. 8: Second receipt for a paper packet sent by the *Duke of Richmond*. 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Pacifick*. 10: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 11: Cash account from 19 April 1769 to 30 April 1769 12: Duplicate cash account from 30 March 1769 to 31 March 1769 13: Duplicate cash account from 1 April 1769 to 18 April 1769 14: Account of the *Queen*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Pacifick*. 16: Account of the *Duke of Albany*. 17: Summary of the cargoes of the *Queen*, *London*, *Tilbury* and *Calcutta*. 18: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's 19: Captain Stewart's second receipt for 31 iron guns

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		§Yesterday arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the§	20: Proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 3 April 1769 A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter was dated 30 April 1769 and went home by the *Queen*. 2: A Dutch ship from Batavia arrived on the day before the letter was written. **Interpretations** The consultation of 17 April 1769, held back from the *Pacifick*'s packet because of its length, went home here within item 4. It carried both the business arising from the quarter's accounts, including the examination of Captain Kirkpatrick's last statement as paymaster promised on 11 April 1769, and the Engineer's paper on rebuilding the parapets. The Court therefore received the record itself twelve days after being told that it existed. A letter on legal business accompanied the general letter for the first time since 13 February 1769. Such letters were written only when there was legal business to report, and this one followed the quarter sessions of 3 April 1769 at item 20. Captain Stewart's second receipt for the 31 guns followed the first copy sent on 18 April 1769, so the owners' obligation to deliver them in the Thames was on record by two ships.
183	176	[...] Leer, Captn. William [K]elbar, burthen 300 Tons carry's 24 Guns§ §and 100 Men Loaden with Pepper, bound to Rotterdam§ §Captn. Thomson representing to Us that notwithstanding§ §the refreshments, he got at the Cape, & this Place, his Ships Company§ §are still sickly requested Liberty to touch at Ascension for Turtle§ §we accordingly gave him leave to call there for that purpose§ §We are§ §Sir§ §Your humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §2d May 1769§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship§ §Calcutta dated the 2d May 1769§ §No. 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 2d May 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 30th April Do.§ §3 Do. Do. & Do. dated the 30 Do. Do. relatg. to Law matters§ §4 Consultation of the 1st May 1769§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 17th to 29 April Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Queen§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Pacifick§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Queen§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Acct. from the 1st to the 2d May 1769§ §11 Duplicate Do. from the 19th to the 30th Apl. Do.§ §12 Ship Calcutta's Acct.§ §13 Duplicate Ship Queens Do.§ §14 Do. Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on the 3d Apl. 1769§	The Dutch ship from Batavia that arrived on 1 May 1769 was described in the same form as the earlier foreign arrivals. The *Silver Le[...]*, under Captain William Kibbers: 300 tons, 24 guns, 100 men, laden with pepper, bound for Rotterdam. 3: Captain Thomson advised the Council that his crew remained sickly despite the fresh supplies obtained at the Cape and at the island. He asked leave to call at Ascension for turtle, and the Council allowed it. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 May 1769 and signed by two members of the Council. John Skottowe Matthew Purling A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Calcutta*, dated 2 May 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 May 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 30 April 1769 3: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council on legal business dated 30 April 1769 4: Consultation of 1 May 1769 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 17 April 1769 to 29 April 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Queen*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Pacifick*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Queen*. 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Cash account from 1 May 1769 to 2 May 1769 11: Duplicate cash account from 19 April 1769 to 30 April 1769 12: Account of the *Calcutta*. 13: Duplicate account of the *Queen*. 14: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarter sessions held on 3 April 1769 **Interpretations** Captain Thomson's request rested on a crew still sick after two ports of refreshment, the same ground as Captain Hooke's on 10 September 1768 and Captain Maitland's on 13 March 1769. He was evidently the commander of the *Calcutta*, which arrived from Bombay by way of the Cape on 28 April

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			1769 and carried this packet. The leave was granted as on every earlier request, and the call again served the ship and not the island, the test the Council set on 2 June 1768. The letter closed with an address to a single "Sir" and the plain form "humble servants", where every earlier general letter was addressed to the Court as a body. The page gave no reason for the change. The duplicates of the consultations of 17 April 1769 to 29 April 1769 went home two days after the originals. They contained the Engineer's paper on rebuilding the parapets and the business arising from the quarter's accounts, so both reached the Court by two ships. The date of 2 May 1769 fixed the Dutch ship's arrival, given in the letter only as the day before it was written, at 1 May 1769.
184	177	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed your Honors the 2d instant by the Ship Calcutta§ §We are sorry to acquaint you that a most violent Surf has lately§ §happened at Sandy Bay which has damaged part of the Glacis of Mitchells§ §Line & carried away a Wall built to enclose a Gully at some distance from§ §said Lines, We immediately set about repairing the Damage, & hope it will§ §not be attended with any great Expence§ §We have given Captn. Motley an Order to receive on board his Ship§ §John Osborne and David Derrick two Discharged Soldiers towards§ §Compleating her Company§ §Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick applied to Us to pay £1018, 3..§ §into your Cash, which we have received and given him Bills drawn on§ §your Honors for that Sum payable to Mr. Allen Auld or Order, dated the 5th instant &§ §drawn at ninety day's sight§ §Last night arrived your Ship Speke and this morning came on§ §shore Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor, who took his Seat at the board§ §when we opened your Packet and read your Honors Orders &§ §Instructions to Us which shall be punctually complied with & shall§ §answer your Letter as soon as we possibly can§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §7th May 1769§	1: The Council's previous letter went home on 2 May 1769 by the *Calcutta*. 2: A very violent surf struck Sandy Bay shortly before the letter was written. It damaged part of the glacis of Mitchell's Line and swept away a wall built to close a gully some distance from that line. The Council set about repairing the damage at once and hoped that the cost would not be great. 3: The Council ordered Captain Motley to take two discharged soldiers aboard his ship to help bring her crew up to strength. John Osborne David Derrick 4: Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick asked to pay £168 3s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills on the Court for that sum, payable to Mr Allen Auld or to anyone he named. The bills were dated 5 May 1769 and drawn at 90 days' sight. 5: The *Speke* arrived on the night of 6 May 1769. Daniel Corneille Esquire, Lieutenant Governor, came ashore the next morning and took his seat at the board. The Council then opened the Court's packet and read its orders and instructions. It promised to carry them out exactly and to answer the Court's letter as soon as it possibly could. The letter was dated at St Helena on 7 May 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** Mr Corneille came back with a higher title than he left with. He resigned as second in Council on 21 July 1768 after Captain Kirkpatrick accused him, and the letter of 11 April 1769 reported only that he was to resume his former post. He landed as Lieutenant Governor, the formal deputy to Governor Skottowe, and signed the letter on the day he arrived. The order of events in the paragraph was deliberate: he took his seat first, and the packet was opened afterwards, so the Court's new orders were read by a board of three. The man who accused him was at the same time winding up his affairs. Captain Kirkpatrick's bill for £168 3s 0d followed one for £400 0s 0d on 29 April 1769, both payable to Mr Allen Auld, and the two together moved £568 3s 0d home ahead of his departure. A glacis was the long, gentle bank of earth sloping away from the front of a fortification. It hid the base of the wall from an attacker's guns and left men advancing up it exposed to fire from the parapet. At Sandy Bay it lay close enough to the beach for heavy seas to reach it. The surf also destroyed a gully wall, one of the works meant to stop a landing party climbing inland, like the walled gully marked K K described on 23 February 1768.

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			The damage fell on a work the Council had repeatedly praised. It reported Sandy Bay complete in early 1768, stressed its solidity and durability on 23 February 1768 and named it after the Engineer on 10 September 1768. The sea breached part of it little more than a year later. The Council met the awkwardness by reporting the repair as already begun and the cost as probably small, and it offered no comment on whether the siting or construction was at fault. Osborne and Derrick were shipped as working hands under an order, with no waiver of wages mentioned, as with every earlier group entered to complete a crew. Captain Motley commanded the *London*, which arrived from China on 22 April 1769. The *Speke* was the ship by which the Court promised 80 more recruits, as the letter of 11 April 1769 recorded.
185	178	List of the Honoble Compys. Packet from St. Helena§ §P Ship London dated the 7th May 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 7th May 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. and Do. dated the 2d Do. Do.§ §3 Consultation of the 5th Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 1st Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Calcutta§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Queen§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Calcutta§ §8 List of 2 Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 3d to the 7th March 1769§ §11 Duplicate Do. from the 1st. to 2d Do. Do.§ §12 Ship Londons Account§ §13 Duplicate Ship Calcutta's Do.§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §On the 7th instant we did ourselves the Honor of addressing you§ §by the Ship London§ §Captn. Kirkpatrick & his Family take their Passage for England§ §on the Ship Tilbury§ §We Granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt. One set to§ §Captn. Wm. Hunt for £300.. payable to Mr. Wm. Downes, One Set to§ §Captn. John Howard for £25.. payable to Mrs. Mary Hall, One set to§ §Mr. George Sibley for £350.. payable to himself [...]§ §[...] And one set to Captn. Willem K[olbar] of the Dutch§ §Ship [...] Leer for £1206.. payl. to himself, all drawn at 90 days sight & dated ye 9 instant§ §Captn. Hunt requested we would permit him to touch at Assension§ §for a further refreshment to his People, which request we have complied with§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena 11th May 1769§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *London*, dated 7 May 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 7 May 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 May 1769 3: Consultation of 5 May 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 1 May 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Calcutta*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Queen*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Calcutta*. 8: List of 2 discharged soldiers 9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Cash account from 3 May 1769 to 7 May 1769 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 May 1769 to 2 May 1769 12: Account of the *London*. 13: Duplicate account of the *Calcutta*. A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter went home on 7 May 1769 by the *London*. 2: Captain Kirkpatrick and his family took their passage for England in the *Tilbury*. 3: The Council issued four sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 9 May 1769. Captain William Hunt, payable to Mr William Downes, £300 0s 0d Captain John Howard, payable to Mrs Mary Hall, £25 0s 0d Mr George Sibley, payable to himself, £350 0s 0d **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** Captain William Kibbers of the Dutch ship *Silver Le[...]*, payable to himself, £1,200 0s 0d. 4: Captain Hunt asked leave to call at Ascension to give his crew some further fresh food, and the Council agreed. The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 May 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling **Interpretations** A foreign commander used the Company's treasury to send money to Europe. Captain Kibbers, whose ship arrived from Batavia on 1 May 1769 with pepper for Rotterdam, paid in £1,200 0s 0d and took a bill on the Court payable to himself. The sum was the largest single bill in these letters, above the £1,034 15s 0d drawn for the estate of Captain Inglis on 2

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			June 1768. The Council passed over any reserve about dealing with an officer of a rival company and accepted the money, since the island's finances rested on such payments, as it explained on 13 August 1768. The coin of a Dutch captain served the treasury as well as any other, and it came days after £1,000 0s 0d left for Fort Marlborough. For the captain, a Company bill was a safer way of carrying private gains home than cash in his own ship, and perhaps a more discreet one. A clerk struck out a passage in the middle of the paragraph so heavily that it could not be recovered. Captain Kirkpatrick's departure closed the quarrel that began with the proceedings of 25 April 1768. He left with his family a few days after Mr Corneille landed as Lieutenant Governor on 7 May 1769, and his bills of 29 April 1769 and 5 May 1769 sent £568 3s 0d ahead of him. The Council's promise of 11 April 1769 to ask before he sailed whether he held any plans of the fortifications received no mention in this letter. Captain Hunt's request for Ascension alleged no sickness, only a wish for further refreshment, and it was granted like all the others. He was evidently the commander of the *Tilbury*, which arrived from China on 26 April 1769 and carried Captain Kirkpatrick home. The two discharged soldiers at item 8 of the packet list were John Osborne and David Derrick, entered in the *London*'s crew under the letter of 7 May 1769. Captain Howard again drew in favour of Mrs Mary Hall, to whom he sent £215 10s 0d on 5 September 1768.
186	179	List of the Honorable Compys. Packet from St. Helena P Ship Tilbury§ §dated the 11th May 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated the 11th May 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 7th Do. Do.§ §3 Consultations from the 8th to the 9th Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. of the 5th Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship London§ §6 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Calcutta§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship London§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Cash Account from the 8th to the 11th May 1769§ §10 Duplicate Do. from the 3d to the 7th Do. Do.§ §11 Ship Tilbury's Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship Londons Do.§ §To the Honorable &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went by the Ship Tilbury,§ §under date of the 11th May 1769§ §The supplies received by the Ship Duke of Albany and Speke we§ §flatter ourselves will answer all demands of the Island untill next§ §Season. You will please to observe the Ship Speke was dispatched§ §within Charter Party time. She proceeded on her Voyage the 24th of§ §last Month§ §James Gordon who you appointed Gardener left the Ship at§ §Plymouth, his Chest we have in our possession, and shall sell at§ §Publick Auction what it contains, and pay the Produce thereof into the§ §Company's Cash the Account Sale shall be transmitted you as soon§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Tilbury*, dated 11 May 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 11 May 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 7 May 1769 3: Consultations from 8 May 1769 to 9 May 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultation of 5 May 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *London*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Calcutta*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *London*. 8: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 9: Cash account from 8 May 1769 to 11 May 1769 10: Duplicate cash account from 3 May 1769 to 7 May 1769 11: Account of the *Tilbury*. 12: Duplicate account of the *London*. A new letter to the Court of Directors opened below the list. 1: The Council's previous letter was dated 11 May 1769 and went home by the *Tilbury*. 2: The Council expected the supplies brought by the *Duke of Albany* and the *Speke* to meet all the island's needs until the following season. The *Speke* was sent off within her charter-party time and continued her voyage on the twenty-fourth of the previous month. 3: James Gordon, whom the Court appointed gardener, left the ship at Plymouth. His chest reached the island and was in the Council's keeping. The Council intended to sell its contents at public auction and pay the proceeds into the Company's treasury. **Interpretations** The island lost its second gardener before he arrived. The Council dismissed the previous one and paid £5 0s 0d for his passage home, as the letter of 10 September 1768 reported, and it asked for a qualified replacement by the next storeship. Gordon was engaged in England and quit the ship at her last home

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			port, so the garden stayed in the hands of the soldier put in charge of it in 1768. The Council passed over the ordinary course of keeping an absent man's chest for him or sending it back. It chose to sell the contents and pay the money to the Company. A servant engaged for the island normally received an advance of wages before sailing, and a man who deserted the ship kept that advance while giving no service. Selling his belongings recovered part of the loss, and a public auction fixed their value openly so that the sum credited could not be disputed later. The report on supplies marked a change from 1768, when the letters of 2 June 1768 and 15 June 1768 complained that coal came short and that no deals, oil, pitch, tar, rosin or turpentine arrived at all. The Court promised an ample supply in the orders received on 1 April 1769, and the Council here confirmed that the two ships' cargoes were enough for the year. The *Speke* arrived on the night of 6 May 1769 and sailed on the twenty-fourth of a month described as the previous one. She therefore left on 24 May 1769, and this letter was written in June 1769.
187	180	as the things are disposed of. We are greatly distressed for a Gardener§ §request you will be pleased to send Us another in his Room the next§ §Year§ §In consequence of your permission to Captn. Mitchell to§ §return to England, we have appointed, Agreeable to your directions§ §Lieut. Thomas Bazett Superintendent of the Works, who we hope§ §from the Character the Engineer has given of the pains and§ §deligence he has taken in acquiring some knowledge in the Engineering§ §branch, together with the plans of such necessary alterations and§ §repairs as he will leave for his instruction, have the greatest§ §reason to expect the same will be properly carried into Execution &§ §shall pay him the salary you have appointed in lieu of his former§ §allowance for which he begs leave to return your Honors his§ §sincere thanks, We acquainted Captn. Mitchell of your permission for§ §his return to England in the Month of July or sooner and at same§ §time desired that he would collect the fullest instructions as a§ §guidance to Lieut. Bazett, which he is at present preparing &§ §will not leave the Island untill he has given Us the clearest§ §satisfaction of the Method of pursuing what is left unfinished of§ §repairs and alterations§ §The several Gentlemen who were accused by John Bland§ §are happy to find that their respective replys have fully satisfied§ §your Honors with respect to their Innocence as their intentions§ §have ever been to do their duty and merit your approbation§ §Your Orders and instructions from the 9th to the 18 Paragh.§ §of your general Letter dated the 19th of Janry 1769 with respect to the§ §future vending of Arrack and other Spirituous	The account of the sale of James Gordon's belongings was to go home as soon as the goods were sold. The Council was badly in need of a gardener and asked the Court to send another in his place in 1770. 4: The Court gave Captain Mitchell leave to return to England, and the Council followed its directions by appointing Lieutenant Thomas Bazett superintendent of the works. The Engineer spoke well of the trouble and care the lieutenant took to learn something of engineering. Captain Mitchell was also to leave plans of the necessary alterations and repairs for his guidance. On both grounds the Council had every reason to expect the work to be properly carried out. Lieutenant Bazett was to receive the salary the Court fixed in place of his former allowance, and he sent his sincere thanks. The Council told Captain Mitchell that he was free to go home in July 1769 or sooner. It asked him at the same time to draw up the fullest instructions for Lieutenant Bazett, which he was then preparing. He was not to leave the island until the Council was fully satisfied about the method of completing the unfinished repairs and alterations. 5: The gentlemen accused by John Bland were glad to learn that their replies fully satisfied the Court of their innocence. They had always meant to do their duty and earn the Court's approval. 6: Paragraphs 9 to 21 of the Court's general letter of 19 January 1769 gave orders and instructions on the future sale of arrack and other spirits on the island. The Council considered them carefully and drew up rules on the basis the Court laid down. It added others of its own devising to prevent abuses by sellers or buyers and to discourage drunkenness and the many disorders that came with it. **Interpretations** The Court's leave let Captain Mitchell go in July 1769 or sooner, and the Council passed over releasing him on those terms alone. It made his departure wait on a full set of written instructions and on its own satisfaction with them. The reason lay in the successor's limits, which the Council's wording again conceded: Lieutenant Bazett had "some knowledge" of engineering, learned under Captain Mitchell, and no one else on the island could correct him once the Engineer sailed. The instructions and plans were to stand in for the designer's presence. The need was sharper than when the Council proposed the arrangement on 13 August 1768, since the surf at Sandy Bay damaged the glacis of Mitchell's

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		Liquors upon this§ §Island we have taken into mature deliberation, & formed such§ §Rules and regulations Conformable to the Basis you have laid§ §down for Us, as well as such others as Occurred to Us in Order to§ §prevent all abuses either from the Venders or buyers to the§ §discouragement of Drunkenness and many irregularitys arising§	Line and carried off a gully wall, as the letter of 7 May 1769 reported. The Court granted both requests of 13 August 1768 concerning the works. Lieutenant Bazett was appointed, and the phrase "in place of his former allowance" shows that he was already paid something extra for supervising, now replaced by a fixed salary. The Council had asked for £100 0s 0d a year, and the letter did not say what figure the Court set. The Court accepted the Council's verdict of 20 June 1768 on Bland's accusations, so the acquittal sent home on 13 August 1768 was confirmed in London. That confirmation could not cover the second inquiry, in which Sergeant Payne repeated the charge about the billiard room and was dismissed and shipped home on 13 February 1769, since the Court's letter of 19 January 1769 was written before that news arrived. Thirteen paragraphs of the Court's letter dealt with spirits, a measure of how seriously it took the dispute opened on 13 August 1768. The Council then objected that open retail dealing with the ships would flood the island with cheap arrack and undo its licensing rules. The Court replied with a framework of its own, and the Council built its new rules on that basis while adding to them, which kept some of the control it had argued for.
188	181	therefrom, and we have the greatest reason to hope that the present§ §Established mode will effectually destroy all Clandestine retailing§ §hitherto so prejudicial, and will answer the purpose intended therefrom§ §and that your Honors may have the fullest information of our§ §proceedings therein we beg leave to refer you to the Consultation of the§ §29 May wherein you will find the different orders and regulations§ §respecting the partys concerned, and Govr. & Lieut. Govr. begs leave§ §further to assure you that they will pay the strictest regard to the§ §executive part of such salutary measures, being well convinced that§ §much depends on them from your Orders in the 20th and 21 Paragraphs§ §of the said Letter, we appointed Mr. Richd. Wright Collector of the§ §Customs at the Salary you are pleased to direct and swore him into§ §the Execution of his Office, the strict Orders we have given with§ §respect to Collecting of the Dutys is a measure We are well perswaded§ §must Effectually prevent the introduction of Spirits without our§ §knowledge, one great cause heretofore of many abuses that has§ §arose from a Contrary Practice§ §We are well convinced that the increase of the Military§ §Establishment is a measure highly essential to the defence of this Island &§ §the addition you propose, making the Companys one hundred private§ §we think will fully answer, allowing the Artillery Company to be§ §included, as a body of Men essentially necessary upon an Island§ §Circumstanced as this, the disappointment of the eighty Recruits P§ §Speke we find much the want of, and the insufficiency of our present§ §Establishment for the present duty (which we have	The Council had every reason to hope that the new system would put an end to the secret retailing that did so much harm, and would achieve what the Court intended. The consultation of 29 May 1769 set out the various orders and rules for the parties concerned, and the Council referred the Court to it for a full account. Governor Skottowe and the Lieutenant Governor added their own assurance that they would see these measures strictly enforced, knowing how much depended on them personally. The Council followed the orders in paragraphs 20 and 21 of the Court's letter by appointing Mr Richard Wright collector of the customs at the salary the Court directed, and it swore him into office. Strict orders were given about collecting the duties. The Council felt sure that this would stop spirits coming ashore without its knowledge, which was one great cause of the abuses that arose under the opposite practice. 7: The Council was fully persuaded that enlarging the military establishment was vital to the island's defence. The Court proposed to raise each company to 100 privates, and the Council thought that would meet the need, provided the artillery company was included as a body of men essential on an island so placed. The failure of the 80 recruits expected by the *Speke* to arrive was badly felt. The existing strength was too small for the current duty, which the Council was forced to cut back, and for carrying on the works, whose importance earlier letters explained. The Council therefore asked the Court to send 180 recruits in 1770 if possible. That number would bring the four marching companies and the artillery up to the new establishment. It would also allow proper attention to the discipline of the troops, which was almost impossible up to that time. **Interpretations** The control of spirits shifted from the punch houses to the landing place. The rules of 11 June 1768 worked through licences, and the Council admitted on 13 August 1768 that selling outside the licensed houses could escape the closest watch. A collector of customs taking a duty on every cask landed gave the Council a record of who imported spirits and how much, so an unlicensed seller could be traced back to his supply. The duty also raised the price of the cheap arrack that the Council blamed for drunkenness among soldiers and slaves. Mr Wright

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		been obliged to Curtail)§ §as also for the carrying on of the Works a measure so essentially§ §necessary as explained in former Letters, that we request if possible§ §you will send Us one hundred and eighty recruits next Year which§ §will compleat the four Marching Companys and Artillery to the above§ §Establishment, and Enable Us at same time to pay proper attention to§ §the Discipline of the Military which hitherto has been almost impossible§	was the servant whose bond went home on 13 August 1768, when his post was not stated. A collector handled the Company's money, which explains why a bond and an oath were required of him. The personal pledge by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor answered a pointed passage in the Court's letter. The Court evidently told the two senior men that enforcement rested on them, after a year in which its orders on retail trade were contested in the letter of 13 August 1768. Mr Corneille, back as Lieutenant Governor since 7 May 1769, joined in the assurance within weeks of his return. The 80 recruits promised by the *Speke*, welcomed in advance on 11 April 1769, did not come. The garrison therefore received only the 38 landed from the *Duke of Albany*, at the moment the Court raised the establishment. The Council passed over keeping the full round of guards with too few men and reduced the duty instead, a choice it reported in a bracket and did not explain further. The shortfall arose partly from its own practice: soldiers were detached to the fortifications, as the letters of 23 February 1768 and 2 June 1768 recorded, and the Council again named the works beside the guard as a claim on the same men. The request for 180 recruits was more than three times the 50 asked for on 13 August 1768. An establishment of 100 privates in each of four marching companies and the artillery meant 500 men, and the figure showed how far below it the garrison stood. Marching companies were the infantry, as distinct from the artillery. The Council's insistence that the gunners be counted within the new scale reflected its reliance on the batteries at Banks's, Munden's, Lemon Valley and Sandy Bay, and the reports of 13 February 1769 and 29 March 1769 that the French held nearly 4,000 troops at Mauritius gave the increase its urgency. The link to discipline echoed the Governor's admission of 13 February 1769 that good order in the garrison was badly wanting.
189	182	not having at present even one relief for the Detail of the Island§ §The two Articles you have inserted under Paragraph the§ §26th of last General Letter, requiring the Assent of all the Officers of§ §this Establishment, to them, we accordingly summoned them all§ §before Us, and received their Assent severally to those Articles, and§ §on Examination of your Commissions to the second Lieutents.§ §sent out P Speke, we find the sense of those Articles expressed§ §therein, we therefore thought it highly necessary to Order§ §Commissions to be made out for all those Gentlemen before in§ §Your Service, not altering the dates, but the form agreeable to§ §those immediately coming from your Honors. In consequence§ §of your favour bestowed upon the Officers by an increase of§ §pay we find by the 23d Paragraph that the first and second§ §Lieutenants are both mentioned at two shillings P Day addition§ §and as the Lieut. Governor has informed Us that the Sense he§ §understood, your Additional Bounty when in England, to have§ §intended a Distinction between the first Lieut. and Second two§	The garrison did not then have enough men to provide even a single relief for the island's guard duties. 8: Paragraph 26 of the Court's latest general letter contained two articles that needed the agreement of every officer on the establishment. The Council called all the officers before it, and each one gave his assent. The commissions of the second lieutenants sent out by the *Speke* were then examined and found to carry the substance of those articles in their wording. The Council therefore thought it essential to have new commissions made out for all the officers already in the Company's service. The dates stayed as they were, and only the form changed to match the commissions lately issued by the Court. The Court also favoured the officers with a rise in pay. Paragraph 23 of its letter named first and second lieutenants alike at an extra £0 2s 0d a day. The Lieutenant Governor reported, however, that he understood in England that the Court meant to distinguish between the two ranks, giving £0 2s 0d to a first lieutenant and £0 1s 0d to a second. The Council thought such a difference reasonable, since the King's service paid those two commissions at different rates. It settled the pay on that footing until the Court made its wishes known. If the lower figure proved a mistake, the balance could be made up to the second lieutenants as soon as the Council was sure that the Court intended equal pay. 9: The Council hoped that the measures taken against drunkenness among the troops and the poorer inhabitants would work as intended and prevent such excess and disorder in future. It

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		§shillings to the former and one to the Latter, and as the thing§ §appears to Us as reasonable from a distinction of pay in the§ §Kings Service to those respective commissions, We have thought§ §it right so to settle it until your further pleasure be known to§ §Us, incase of any mistake, which if not, we can always repay§ §to those Gentlemen as soon as we are satisfied that it is your§ §intentions that their pay should be equal§ §The Salutary measures now taken to prevent§ §Drunkenness among the Military and the lower class of People§ §will we hope have the desired effect, by preventing those excesses &§ §irregularity's in future, and we shall certainly pay a particular§ §attention in keeping up a Strict Discipline, and we flatter ourselves§	promised to give particular care to keeping up strict discipline. **Interpretations** The Council set aside the written text of the Court's letter on the strength of one man's recollection. Paragraph 23 gave both ranks of lieutenant the same increase, and the plain course was to pay what it said. Mr Corneille, who was in London while the matter was decided and landed as Lieutenant Governor on 7 May 1769, recalled a different intention, and the Council paid the second lieutenants half the stated sum. The passage gave two reasons: the practice of the King's army, where the ranks were paid differently, and the ease of correction. Arrears could be handed over later without difficulty, whereas money overpaid to junior officers would have been hard to recover. The choice also shows how much weight the returned Lieutenant Governor's word carried within weeks of his arrival, and it left the second lieutenants bearing the cost of the doubt. A relief was the second body of men that took over a guard so the first could stand down. With not even one available, the same soldiers stayed on duty without proper rest, which supported the request for 180 recruits and explained why the Council cut the duty back. It also gave substance to the claim that discipline could hardly be attended to. The reissue of commissions kept each officer's original date and so preserved seniority, the order in which officers ranked and succeeded to promotion. Only the wording changed. The two articles thus became part of the terms on which every officer held his rank, new arrivals and old hands alike, and the earlier summons gave the Council each man's personal assent before the new document bound him. The letter did not state what the articles required. The *Speke* brought second lieutenants with commissions from the Court although the 80 recruits expected by her did not come. The grade of second lieutenant appeared here for the first time in these letters, and the pay distinction turned on it. The Court's enlargement of the establishment to 100 privates a company evidently brought a second subaltern rank with it, sent out ready-commissioned from England.
190	183	the additional Adjutant as solely for that purpose will be a means of§ §contributing thereto, as soon as our numbers will allow a sufficiency of Men§ §for the Works, the Detail of the Garrison, & sufficient off duty to be kept§ §constantly Drilled§ §On the Death of Adjutant Jacob, we appointed Sergeant§ §Roberts to succeed him, he having done that duty from the time of his§ §Death, until the Arrival of the Speke, and as he has approved himself§ §during that period a proper Person, and as you allow a Town Adjutant§ §independent of the Garrison one, we thought him deserving to Succeed to§ §that Commission§ §We shall duly observe in future your directions relative to§ §inserting the dates of the Commissions against the Name of each of§ §your Military Officers, and insert the Word Private instead of Centinels in§ §the Muster Rolls, and your Orders respecting the additional Bounty to§ §good Men shall be observed, and shall leave no means untried to prevail§ §on all such we think deserving of said	The Council expected the additional adjutant, appointed solely to enforce discipline, to help in keeping the garrison in good order. That depended on numbers rising far enough to supply men for the works and for the garrison's guard duties, with enough left off duty to be drilled constantly. 10: Sergeant Roberts did the adjutant's duty from the death of Adjutant Jacob until the *Speke* arrived, and the Council appointed him to succeed. He proved himself a suitable man during that time. The Court allowed a town adjutant separate from the garrison adjutant, and the Council thought he deserved that commission. 11: The Council undertook to follow the Court's directions in future by entering the date of each military officer's commission beside his name. The muster rolls were to use the word private in place of sentinel. The orders on the additional bounty for good men were also to be observed, and the Council promised to try every means of persuading all those it thought worthy of that encouragement. 12: The Lieutenant Governor received his salary and allowances for the whole period from his resignation to the arrival of the *Speke*, as the Court ordered. He was also to enjoy all the further privileges and payments the Court directed. 13: The Court called for a plan of Governor Skottowe's house in the country and for the Engineer's opinion on whether to finish that house or

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		encouragement§ §In conformity to your Orders We have paid the Lieut. Governor§ §his Salary and allowances, from the Period of his resigning your Service§ §until the Arrival of the Ship Speke, and he shall enjoy all further§ §Privileges and emoluments you have been pleased to direct§ §You order a Plan and the opinion of the Engineer to be given§ §with respect to the Governors House in the Country, and whether it will be§ §advisable to finish said House or rebuild a new one, which we will§ §accordingly send by the next opportunity, together with the Plans necessary§ §to be laid before you of Houses for the Governor and Lieut. Governor, the§ §Engineer being already of opinion of the impossibility of ever making the§ §said House Habitable, as will be more satisfactory when his reasons are§ §laid before you§ §The Governor begs leave to return your Honors thanks for§ §the Addition you have been pleased to make to his Salary§	build a new one. The Council promised to send both by the next ship, together with the plans of houses for the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor that the Court would need to see. The Engineer already held that the existing house could never be made fit to live in. His reasons were to go home with the plans. 14: The Governor thanked the Court for the increase made to his salary. **Interpretations** The Council changed its mind about Sergeant Major Roberts. On 13 February 1769 the Governor told the Court that no non-commissioned officer in the garrison was fit to be adjutant and asked for a man from the Foot Guards. The Court sent an adjutant by the *Speke* and at the same time created a second post, that of town adjutant. The Council then gave Roberts the new commission on the ground that he had proved himself. The two posts divided the work: the adjutant from England was to concentrate on drill and discipline, and the town adjutant took the daily routine of guards and duties in the fort and town. Roberts was thus judged good enough for the routine he had already carried for months, though not for reforming the garrison. Mr Corneille was paid as if he had never left. He resigned on 21 July 1768 and landed again on 7 May 1769, and the Court ordered salary and allowances for the whole gap of more than nine months. The back pay treated his resignation as forced on him by Captain Kirkpatrick's accusation and not as a voluntary act, which completed his vindication after his reinstatement and promotion. The Court asked a narrow question about the country house, finish or rebuild, and the Council answered with a wider project. It reported the Engineer's verdict before his reasons were written and promised plans for two houses, one of them for the Lieutenant Governor, about whom the Court's question was silent. The Council thus passed over waiting for the Court's choice and prepared the case for new building in advance. Captain Mitchell had leave to go home in July 1769, so the opinion and plans had to be drawn before he sailed. The house was presumably Plantation House, named on 13 February 1769 as the place from which a door lock was stolen. The additional bounty was a payment to deserving soldiers who agreed to stay on. The Council reported on 13 August 1768 that the terms of 50 men ran out in March 1769, and the 80 recruits expected by the *Speke* did not arrive. Persuading time-expired men to re-enlist was therefore the quickest way of holding numbers, which explains the promise to press every worthy man. The change from sentinel to private brought the island's muster rolls into line with ordinary army usage.
191	184	Mr. Purling esteems himself much obliged to your Honors§ §for the favourable Notice you have been pleased to take of his services, &§ §returns you his most humble Thanks for the addition to his appointments§ §together with the share you have alloted him in the Society for the Sale§ §of Arrack, and begs leave to assure you he shall always retain a§ §greatful Sense of these Marks of your favour, and shall upon all§ §Occasions exert himself in a faithful discharge, of his duty and§ §study to render his future Services equally Acceptable to his§ §imployers§ §The Gentlemen you have been pleased to appoint in	15: Mr Purling counted himself much obliged to the Court for its favourable notice of his services. He sent his humble thanks for the increase in his salary and for the share allotted to him in the Society for the Sale of Arrack. He assured the Court that he would always remember these marks of favour with gratitude. He also undertook to work faithfully at his duty and to make his future service equally acceptable. 16: The gentlemen appointed by the Court to the Society set up for the sale of arrack sent their sincere thanks for the interest granted to them in it. 17: The Company's civil and military servants sent their warmest thanks for the increases to their salaries and pay. They hoped that faithful work in their several departments would always earn the Court's approval.

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		the§ §Society established for the Sale of Arrack, beg leave to return your§ §Honors their Sincere Thanks for the Concern you have given§ §them in the said Society§ §Your Civil and Military Servants beg leave to return§ §your Honors their most sincere acknowledgements for the Addition§ §you have been pleased to make to their Salary's and respective pay§ §and flatter themselves their behaviour by a faithful discharge§ §of their duty in their several departments will always meet§ §with your Honors approbation§ §When it is convenient for Lieut. Stewart to discharge his§ §Bond we shall receive the Money, and give him up the Obligation§ §On the 16 of last Month arrived a Dane Ship from Bengal§ §called the [Rigerness Onske] Captn. Bagge burthen 600 Tons, carrys 20§ §Guns, and 90 Men, loaden with Bengal Goods, bound to Copenhagen§ §The 22d of May arrived your Ship Salisbury from Bengal,§ §Captn. Wyche acquaints Us, he left the Pilot the 26 Febry last, that§ §the Talbot, and Shrewsbury, were to be dispatched for England, the§ §former a few days after he sailed, The Thames he tells us, was to touch§ §at Madrass in her way to Europe, he also informs Us, there was no§ §Accounts of the Earl of Chatham when he left Bengal, Captn. Wyche§	18: The Council undertook to accept the money whenever Lieutenant Stewart found it convenient to pay off his bond, and to hand the document back to him. 19: A Danish ship from Bengal arrived on 15 May 1769. The *Rigernes Onske*, under Captain Bagge: 600 tons, 20 guns, 90 men, laden with Bengal goods, bound for Copenhagen. 20: The *Salisbury* arrived from Bengal on 22 May 1769. Captain Wyche parted with the pilot on 26 February 1769. The *Talbot* and the *Shrewsbury* were to be sent to England, the *Talbot* a few days after he sailed. The *Thames* was to call at Madras on her way to Europe. No news of the *Earl of Chatham* reached Bengal before he left. **Interpretations** The Society for the Sale of Arrack was the Court's answer to the dispute opened on 13 August 1768. The Court first restricted its servants' private trade and threw retail dealing with the ships open to all, after John Bland accused the servants of buying up goods to resell. The Council objected that open dealing would flood the island with cheap spirits. The Court then reversed course and placed the arrack trade in the hands of a body of named servants, each holding a share. Buying up the supply, the practice Bland complained of, thus became an authorised monopoly in this one commodity. The arrangement gave the Council the control it argued for, since spirits entered through a single channel watched by the new collector of customs. It also met the plea of poverty made in the same letter, because the profit went to the servants as a supplement to their pay. The interest of those who governed was plain. Mr Purling, one of the two men who signed the objection of 13 August 1768, received a share in the Society together with a rise in salary. The same body of servants who were to enforce the rules against drunkenness now profited from every cask sold. The general increase in salaries and pay answered the Council's statement that island salaries scarcely gave a bare living. The silence about the *Earl of Chatham* was reported as news in itself. Captain Purvis heard, as the letter of 13 February 1769 recorded, that she was to leave Madras for England on 15 September 1768. More than five months later Bengal still had no word of her, and she had not called at St Helena, so the Council passed on a first sign that the ship was missing. Lieutenant Stewart's bond was evidently a written obligation for a sum he owed the Company, since paying the money was to release him from it. The Court left the timing to his convenience, and the letter did not say how the debt arose. The *Salisbury* was spoken with off the Cape on 23 March 1769 by Captain Motley and was one of the ships due to leave Bengal in January 1769.
192	185	further tells us, he met with the Devonshire the 24th April 1769 in the§ §Latitude of 29..30 south, all well, we are likewise acquainted that Hyder§ §Ally had over Run the Carnatick with his Cavalry, but always declined§ §coming to Action. Yesterday Arrived your Ship Horsendon from China,§ §which Place Captn. Jameson left the 1st Febry, and your Ship Sea Horse there,§ §she was to be dispatched in a Day or two after,§ §On the 29th of last Month arrived a French Ship from Pondicherry§ §called the L'Actionaire Captn. Dem[arnaire], burthen 1100 Tons carrys 16 Guns§ §and 300 Men Loaden with Red wood, Salt Petre, and	Captain Wyche also met the *Devonshire* on 24 April 1769 in latitude 29 degrees 30 minutes south, with all well aboard. News came too that Hyder Ali overran the Carnatic with his cavalry but always avoided battle. The *Horsendon* arrived from China on 2 June 1769. Captain Jameson left China on 1 February 1769, when the *Sea Horse* lay there and was to be sent off a day or two later. 21: Two French ships called at the island. The *Actionaire*, from Pondicherry under Captain Demarnaise, arrived on 29 May 1769: 1,100 tons, 16 guns, 300 men, laden with redwood, saltpetre and bale goods, bound for Lorient. The *Le Sage*, from Mauritius under Captain Beaulieu, arrived on 2 June 1769: 250 tons, no guns, 40 men, laden with Bengal goods, bound for Lorient.

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		Bale Goods, bound§ §to L'Orient, Yesterday arrived another french Ship from Mauritius§ §called the Le Sage Captn. Beaulieu burthen 250 Tons, no Guns, and 40§ §Men loaden with Bengal Goods bound to L'Orient§ §The Passengers on board the Salisbury are Captn. W[ilding] & [...]§ §Mr. & Mrs. Baillie, and Mrs. Ironsides§ §We have given Captn. Wyche an Order to receive on board the Ship§ §Salisbury Wm. Bunn a Discharged Soldier, to Complete her Company§ §We have granted the following Bills vizt. two Sets to Mr.§ §Alexr. Tod one for £100.. payable to himself, dated the 22d of last§ §Month, the other for £253. 17. payable to Bryant [Shotney] Esqr.§ §dated 29th of said Month, both drawn at ninety days sight§ §Captn. Wyche desires, in case he reaches the Island of Assension,§ §he may have Liberty to send his boat on shore to get Turtle, which§ §request we have complied with, recommending he should not make any§ §unnecessary delay§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §3d June 1769§	22: The *Salisbury* carried as passengers Captains Wilding and Agnew, Mr and Mrs Baillie and Mrs Ironsides. 23: The Council ordered Captain Wyche to take William Bunn, a discharged soldier, aboard the *Salisbury* to bring her crew up to strength. 24: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange to one drawer, each drawn at 90 days' sight. Mr Alexander T[...], payable to himself, dated 22 May 1769, £100 0s 0d Mr Alexander T[...], payable to Bryant Sh[...] Esquire, dated 29 May 1769, £255 17s 0d 25: Captain Wyche asked that he might send his boat ashore for turtle if he reached the island of Ascension. The Council agreed and urged him to make no needless delay. The letter was dated at St Helena on 3 June 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling **Interpretations** The Ascension leave came with a condition for the first time. Every request from 1 June 1768 onward was granted without recorded qualification, including those of 11 April 1769 from three commanders at once. Here the Council added a warning against needless delay, and the request itself was framed more modestly, as sending a boat ashore if the ship happened to fetch the island. The Court's orders received on 1 April 1769 and 6 May 1769 stressed prompt dispatch and the cost of demurrage, and the caution suggests that the Council had become wary of appearing to license long detours. The news of Hyder Ali marked a further turn against the Company in the south. He was reported twice beaten on 23 February 1768 and as retaking Mangalore on 10 September 1768. His horsemen now ranged over the Carnatic, the coastal territory around Madras, and his refusal to fight denied the Company's infantry the pitched battle in which it had the advantage. Peace in Bengal, reported on 30 April 1769, stood in contrast. Redwood was red sanders, a dense timber from southern India valued in Europe as a source of red dye and shipped as heavy cargo low in the hold. Bale goods were textiles, the cottons of the Coromandel Coast pressed and bound into bales. Pondicherry was the chief French settlement in India, south of Madras. The *Actionaire* carried 300 men, far more than the 170 of the largest Danish ship described in these letters, which suggests that she had soldiers or passengers aboard beyond her crew. The small, unarmed *Le Sage* came from Mauritius, where nearly 4,000 French troops were reported on 29 March 1769, and the Council again recorded each foreign ship's size, guns and men. The date of 3 June 1769 confirmed the days left open in the letter: the *Speke* sailed on 24 May 1769 and the Danish ship from Bengal arrived on 15 May 1769. Bunn was shipped as a working hand under an order, with no waiver of wages mentioned.
193	186	To the Secret Committee of the Honoble United§ §East India Company§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We received your Letter of the 19th Janry 1769 and in consequence of§ §your Orders, as soon as the Ship Speke was delivered, We appointed Mr.§ §Wrangham to go on board said Ship, and search for the Illicit Trade as§ §specified in yours of the above date, and refer you for further to our§ §whole proceedings therein, under date of Consultations of the 19th & 22d May;§	The Council wrote separately to the Secret Committee of the United East India Company, acknowledging the Committee's letter of 19 January 1769. As that letter ordered, Mr Wrangham was sent aboard the *Speke* as soon as she finished unloading, to search for the illicit trade it described. The consultations of 19 May 1769 and 22 May 1769 recorded the whole inquiry, and the Council referred the Committee to them. The search found 35 chests of wine belonging to the captain and the chief mate, and five cases of clockwork belonging to the chief mate. The Council detained none of them. The captain explained that his

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		§the thirty five Chests of Wine belonging to the Captn. and Chief Mate, and§ §five Cases of Clock Work appertaining to the latter, we did not detain, as§ §apprehending that the reason the Captn. offered of being allowed that Quantity§ §in his Victualling Bill to him, and his Chief Mate, might possibly be§ §the case, tho' from our own knowledge we could not ascertain it, and§ §as to the surplus of Cases of Clock Work belonging to the Chief Mate, he§ §assured Us, that he was allowed eight Cases to be shipped on board by§ §the Honble Company, tho' only three mentioned in the Manifest, all which§ §had their Seal upon them; The above reasons, jointly with the Passengers§ §being Sworn, and declaring to their knowledge, that they knew of no§ §illicit Trade on board Said Ship, we apprehend will fully Justify our§ §not detaining the former Articles, and satisfy you of our Proceedings§ §therein§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §3d June 1769§	victualling bill allowed that quantity of wine to him and his chief mate. The Council could not confirm this from its own knowledge but thought it could well be true. The clockwork exceeded the three cases entered in the manifest. The chief mate assured the Council that the Company permitted him to ship eight cases, and all five bore the Company's seal. The passengers were also put on oath and declared that they knew of no illicit trade aboard the ship. The Council trusted that these reasons together fully justified leaving the goods alone and would satisfy the Committee. The letter was dated at St Helena on 3 June 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling **Interpretations** The Council carried out the search and then declined to act on what it found. The Committee's order pointed to seizure of any goods beyond what the ship's papers allowed, and the search turned up two such items: wine the Council could not verify and two cases of clockwork more than the manifest showed. The Council passed over detention and released everything on the officers' own explanations. Its reasons were set out with care, because each rested on something it could not check. The victualling bill was a London document, the allowance of eight cases was the mate's word, and only the Company's seal on the cases was evidence the Council could see for itself. The passengers' oaths were added as the one independent testimony available. Detaining an outward ship's goods on a mistaken suspicion risked a claim from her officers and delay beyond her charter-party time, and the *Speke* sailed on 24 May 1769, two days after the second consultation. Illicit trade meant private goods carried in a Company ship beyond the allowance granted to her officers. Commanders and mates were permitted a fixed quantity of cargo on their own account, known as their privilege, and anything above it defrauded the Company of freight and competed with its own sales. Clockwork was a favoured article of that trade on a ship bound for China. Clocks, watches and mechanical toys with moving figures and music sold at very high prices at Canton, where they served as presents for officials, and a few cases represented a large sum. Wine in such quantity could likewise be sold abroad instead of drunk at the officers' table, which was why the captain tied it to his victualling allowance. The Secret Committee here wrote to the whole Council and received a reply signed by all three members. Its earlier letters went to the Governor alone, who acknowledged them on 13 May 1768 without disclosing their contents and answered in his own name on 3 April 1769 and 8 April 1769. A search of a ship needed the Council's authority and a named officer to conduct it, which explains the wider address. Mr Wrangham was presumably Mr William Wrangham, who drew bills on 5 September 1768 and 13 February 1769.
194	187	List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship Salisbury§ §dated the 3d June 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 3d June 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. and Do. dated the 11th May Do.§ §3 Consultations from the 15th May to the 1st June Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. from the 8th to the 9th May Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Tilbury§ §6 Second Do. for Do. per Ship London§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Salisbury*, dated 3 June 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 June 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 11 May 1769 3: Consultations from 15 May 1769 to 1 June 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultations from 8 May 1769 to 9 May 1769

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		§7 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Tilbury§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Cash Account from the 11th to the 31st May 1769§ §10 Do. from the 1st to the 3d June Do.§ §11 Duplicate Do. from the 8th to the 11th May Do.§ §12 Ship Salisbury's Account§ §13 Do. Speke's Do.§ §14 Duplicate Tilburys Do.§ §15 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Salisbury and Horsendon§ §17 Certificate of Flour§ §18 Governor and Councils Letter to the Secret Committee§	5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Tilbury*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *London*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Tilbury*. 8: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 9: Cash account from 12 May 1769 to 31 May 1769 10: Cash account from 1 June 1769 to 3 June 1769 11: Duplicate cash account from 8 May 1769 to 11 May 1769 12: Account of the *Salisbury*. 13: Account of the *Speke*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Tilbury*. 15: Note of the time at which the ships' boats reached Banks's. 16: Summary of the cargoes of the *Salisbury* and the *Horsendon*. 17: Certificate of flour 18: Letter from the Governor and Council to the Secret Committee **Interpretations** Item 18 was described as a letter from the Governor and Council, where the enclosures of 3 April 1769 and 8 April 1769 were each called the Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. The change matched the letter of 3 June 1769 about the search of the *Speke*, which all three members signed. The consultations at item 3 included those of 19 May 1769 and 22 May 1769 recording that search, and the rules on the sale of spirits adopted on 29 May 1769, so the Court and the Committee received the full record with the letters that referred to it. The certificate of flour was promised on 11 April 1769 for the time when all the flour was received. The supplies came by the *Duke of Albany* and the *Speke*, and the certificate followed once the second ship was unloaded. No report on the flour's quality accompanied it in the letter, unlike 1768, when the consignment was condemned on 13 August 1768 as musty and scarcely fit to eat.
195	188	To the Honble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors by the Ship Salisbury, which left§ §this Place the 4th instant§ §By this opportunity we transmit you our Indents for what§ §Stores we shall want the next Year, together with the List of Remains§ §&ca. the Speke arriving after the Period fixed for taking the List of§ §Remains, her Stores could not be inserted in the general List, are§ §therefore entered seperately, you will please to observe, we have indented§ §for 500 Casks of Provision, and a larger Number of Soldiers Cloaths§ §than usual, this great demand is on account of the increase you§ §purpose making to your Military Establishment next Year. The 70§ §Bushels of Coals Indented for we request you will be pleased to send§ §as they are greatly wanted for the use of the Fortifications, Smiths§ §Shop and Shipping§ §As the Officers Sashes are quite worn out we directed them to§ §be wrote off your Books, and request you will send the Number§ §Indented for next Year & inform Us whether they are to stand as§ §usual on your Books, or be charged to the respective Officers§	1: The Council's previous letter went home by the *Salisbury*, which left the island on 4 June 1769. 2: The orders for stores needed in 1770 went home with this letter, together with the list of remaining stores. The *Speke* arrived after the date fixed for taking that list, so her stores could not be included in it and were entered separately. The Council ordered 500 casks of provisions and more soldiers' clothing than usual. This heavy demand arose from the increase the Court planned to make to the military establishment in 1770. The Council also asked the Court to be sure of sending the 70 chaldrons of coal ordered, which were badly needed for the fortifications, the smith's shop and the shipping. 3: The officers' sashes were completely worn out, and the Council directed that they be written off the Company's books. It asked the Court to send the number ordered for 1770. It also asked whether the new sashes were to stand on the books as before or be charged to the officers who received them. 4: The waistcoats sent for the Company's slaves were too heavy for the climate. The Council asked that future ones be made of coarse duffel, double-breasted and lined with thin flannel, which it thought better suited than the current pattern. The breeches were to be of the customary kind. Each slave was also to have a pair of long canvas drawers to protect his breeches, a necessary addition since the slaves received clothing only once a year. 5: The Council ordered Captain Jameson to take charge of two boxes and deliver them to the Court on his arrival. **Interpretations**

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		§The Waistcoats sent for your Slaves being too heavy for this§ §Climate desire you will order them in future to be made of coarse§ §Duffil double breasted and lined with thin Flannel as a Cloathing§ §we Consider better adapted than the present, the Breeches to be of§ §the Usual sort, with a pair of long Canvas Draws meant to§ §save their Breeches, which will be necessary, as they are Cloathed§ §but once a Year§ §We have given Captn. Jameson an Order to receive two§ §Boxes & deliver them to your Honors upon his Arrival, one of§	The order for salted provisions rose from 30 casks to 500 in a single year. On 13 August 1768 the Council explained the small figure by a stock in store sufficient for more than two years and by cheap purchases from homeward ships. The new figure rested on the Court's plan to raise each company to 100 privates, for which the Council requested 180 recruits on 3 June 1769. A garrison enlarged on that scale could not be fed from a dwindling reserve and occasional surplus bought in the road, so the Council returned to a large supply from England. The extra soldiers' clothing followed from the same cause. Coal was requested with unusual emphasis because the island went short in 1768, when the consignment arrived 20 chaldrons below the order, as the letter of 2 June 1768 reported. The three uses named show where it went: the forge that made and mended ironwork for the fortifications, the smith's shop and the needs of visiting ships. An officer's sash was the crimson silk band worn round the waist as a mark of commissioned rank. The Company evidently issued sashes from its stores and kept them on its books as its own property. The Council's question raised whether that should continue or whether officers should pay for them as part of their personal dress. Putting the question, after writing off the old ones, invited the Court to shift the cost just as it raised the officers' pay. Duffel was a coarse woollen cloth with a thick nap, cheap and hard-wearing, used for working men's clothing. The slaves' whole issue came once a year, so each garment had to last twelve months of labour. The canvas drawers were overalls worn above the breeches to take the wear, a small added cost that spared the dearer garment. The Council specified cut, cloth and lining in detail because the clothing was made up in England to its description. The list of remains was struck on a fixed day each year, 30 April in 1768, and the next year's orders were reckoned from it. The *Speke* arrived on 6 May 1769, just after that day, and listing her cargo separately kept the Court from sending again what she had already delivered.
196	189	contains 194 Bayonet Scabbards, we received 200 this Year, six of§ §them the master of Arms kept for the Artillery Officers Fusees, our§ §reason for returning the remainder is they are at least 4 Inches too§ §short for the Muskets consequently of no use here inclosed in the Box have§ §sent you a pattern Scabbard, and beg you will Order 200 of that length§ §to come next Season, The other Box contains a pipe of one of the Fire§ §Engines which has lost a joint, request you will order it to be repaired§ §and returned the next Year, the makers Name is Bristow living in§ §Ratcliff high way§ §Mr. George Bazett has Executed his Covenants they are returned§ §by this Packet, and as he has no friends in England requests your,§ §Honors will be pleased to accept of Messrs. James Powell & Jona. Doveton§ §to be his Securitys in the Sum of £500§ §The Iron Work for the Mortar Beds & Gun Carriages, & the§ §Copper Powder measures indented for by the Captn. of Artillery this Year,§ §were included in the Copy of his Indent of last Year given in by him to§ §the Storekeeper, but by an omission in the Copying were left out of the§	One of the two boxes entrusted to Captain Jameson contained 194 bayonet scabbards. The island received 200 that year, and the master of arms kept six for the artillery officers' fusees. The remainder went back because they were at least four inches too short for the muskets and therefore useless. A pattern scabbard was enclosed in the box, and the Council asked for 200 of that length to be sent the following season. The other box held a pipe from one of the fire engines, which lost a joint. The Council asked the Court to have it repaired and returned in 1770. The maker was named Bristow and lived in Ratcliff Highway. 6: Mr George Bazett signed his covenants, which went back to the Court in the packet. He had no friends in England, and he asked the Court to accept Messrs James Powell and Jonathan Doveton as his sureties in the sum of £500 0s 0d. 7: The captain of artillery ordered ironwork for mortar beds and gun carriages and copper powder measures. These items stood in the copy of his 1768 order that he gave the storekeeper. A copying error left them out of the general order sent to England. 8: The Lieutenant Governor used the general letter of Governor Skottowe and the Council to put a scheme before the Court of Directors. He believed it would greatly benefit the Company's livestock on the island at very small cost. The Company's herd was held back from slaughter for three years and had grown considerably, as the quarterly returns showed. The island's black cattle came originally from England, and over a long period the breed declined

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		§General Indent sent to England§ §The Lieut. Governor begs leave to take the opportunity of the§ §Governor and Councils Letter to the Honoble Court of Directors to lay§ §before them a Scheme that occurs to him much to the advantage of the§ §Compys. Stock on this Island, and at same time at a very trifling§ §expence as their Stock has been kept back for three Years past to the§ §great increase at present of the same as you will find by the Quarterly§ §returns, & as the breed of Black Cattle upon this Island came originally§ §from England and from length of time rather degenerated for want of§ §being Crossed, he cannot but be of opinion that if your Honors will be pleased§ §to send out in each Store Ship a Cow and a Bull Calf for a few Years to§ §come that it will be of infinite Advantage to the Honoble Company's§ §Stock, as likewise to that of every Individual, as he would recommend§	somewhat for lack of crossing. He therefore proposed that the Court send out a cow and a bull calf in each storeship for a few years. That would be of the greatest benefit to the Company's stock and to the cattle of every private owner. **Interpretations** Mr Corneille's scheme took a different line from the Council's earlier answers to the cattle problem. The letters of 2 June 1768 and 11 April 1769 dealt with imports from the Cape for slaughter, first asking for young animals and then preferring sheep, since Cape cattle died or failed to thrive. He passed over buying meat animals altogether and proposed to improve the island's own herd by bringing in fresh English blood. His reasoning was that of a stockbreeder: a small, closed population bred among itself for generations and lost size and vigour. The mention of private owners shows that he meant the new bulls to serve the planters' cows as well as the Company's, spreading the gain across the island. The proposal was put forward in his own name within the Council's letter, a month after he returned as Lieutenant Governor. Covenants were the written contract a writer signed on entering the Company's service, and they had to be backed by sureties who stood liable for a fixed sum if he defaulted. Sureties were normally relatives or patrons in England, where the Company could pursue them. Mr Bazett offered two island residents instead, both of whom appeared earlier as drawers of bills, Mr Powell on 22 January 1768 and 5 September 1768 and Mr Doveton on 8 August 1768. The Council appointed him on its own authority on 13 August 1768, and the request asked the Court to relax its usual rule for a man recruited locally. A fusee was a light musket carried by officers in place of the heavier weapon of the rank and file. Its shorter bayonet explains why six of the undersized scabbards could be kept for the artillery officers while the rest were useless. Sending a pattern fixed the length exactly, as the lace pattern did for the officers' uniforms on 13 August 1768. The fire engines were hand-worked pumps on wheels for throwing water on a burning building, and a broken joint in the pipe could only be mended by the London maker, a year's round trip away. The omission from the general order was a plain admission of clerical error. It bore out the Council's plea of 11 April 1769 that the offices were short of writers, and its cost was real: mortar beds and gun carriages were the mountings without which the new batteries could not be armed.
197	190	selling a Bull of the breed of those Cows so sent out to such of the§ §Planters as would wish to have them, when not to the prejudice of§ §the Companys Property§ §In our Letter to your Honors P Salisbury, We expressed§ §the acknowledgements both of your Civil and Military Servants§ §in return for the addition to their respective appointments, and We§ §then forgot to mention in behalf of Mr. Barclay Surgeon and Mr.§ §Pritchard Surgeons Mate, that they are the only two that have not§ §partaked of your bounty, and as the Salary and Diet Money of the§ §former amounts to no more than £79.. and the latter £65.. &§ §as they are both Valuable men and long in your Service, We flatter§ §ourselves that this our recommendation in behalf of those two§	The Lieutenant Governor also proposed selling a bull bred from the imported cows to any planter who wanted one, whenever that could be done without harm to the Company's property. 9: The letter sent by the *Salisbury* conveyed the thanks of the civil and military servants for the increases to their salaries. The Council forgot at that time to speak for Mr Barclay, the surgeon, and Mr Pritchard, the surgeon's mate. They were the only two servants left out of the Court's generosity. The surgeon's salary and diet money came to no more than £79 0s 0d and the mate's to £65 0s 0d. Both were valuable men of long service whose conduct deserved approval. The Council hoped the Court would receive its recommendation kindly and give them a share in the increase granted to all the other servants. 10: Captain Mitchell was about to leave the island, and the command of the artillery company fell vacant as a result. The Council regretted that it could not recommend the first lieutenant of that company for promotion. His bad conduct had already forced a suspension of six months, and his place now

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		§Gentlemen will be favourably received, as their Conduct merit your§ §approbation, and we hope this representation may intitle them to§ §partake of that bounty bestowed upon all the rest of your Servants§ §Captn. Mitchell now leaving the Island and the Compy. of§ §Artillery becoming Vacant thereby, we are sorry to say that we have§ §it not in our Power to recommend the first Lieut. of that Company§ §for promotions as his ill conduct already has obliged Us to suspend§ §him for six Months, and he now depends on his future good behaviour§ §as we are determined for the future in case he does not keep up to§ §the promise he has given Us, to dismiss him your Service, agreeable§ §to the authority you have given Us, We therefore request that you will§ §send Us next Year an Artillery Officer to fill up that Vacancy as§ §we are fully of opinion that the Command of that Company should§ §always have an Officer of Experience whose Line of Education§ §may give him that knowledge of his profession as the Discipline§ §of that Corps is very different to that of other Military Bodys§ §depending on a thorough knowledge of great Guns Mortars & every§	depended on his future behaviour. The Council was resolved to dismiss him from the service, under the authority the Court gave it, if he failed to keep the promise he made. It therefore asked the Court to send an artillery officer in 1770 to fill the vacancy. The command of that company, in its firm opinion, always needed an experienced officer trained for the work. The discipline of the artillery differed greatly from that of other troops, since it rested on a thorough knowledge of heavy guns and mortars. **Interpretations** The Council passed over promotion by seniority, the ordinary way of filling a captain's vacancy, and asked for an outsider. The first lieutenant in line was evidently Lieutenant Thomas Leech, whom a general court martial suspended for six months on 8 November 1768 for neglect of duty. The letter of 13 February 1769 proposed to move him to one of the other companies once his suspension ended, keeping Sergeant Shirley and Corporal Gilson as acting lieutenants of artillery. That plan was not carried out, since he stood here as first lieutenant of the same company, on probation under a promise of good behaviour. The threat of dismissal rested on a power the Court had newly granted, perhaps one of the two articles to which every officer assented, as reported on 3 June 1769. The request repeated that of 13 August 1768 for a gentleman who had served in the artillery train, and the vacancy it anticipated then was now at hand. The plea for the surgeon and his mate showed the limits of the general pay rise acknowledged on 3 June 1769. The Council presented their omission as an oversight by the Court and its own silence as forgetfulness, and it gave their exact incomes to make the case. Diet money was a cash allowance paid in place of meals at the Company's table. A surgeon on £79 0s 0d a year, all told, earned less than the £100 0s 0d the Council sought for Lieutenant Bazett as superintendent of the works on 13 August 1768. Mr Barclay was presumably the Mr Robert Barclay who drew a bill for £30 0s 0d on 5 September 1768. The sale of bulls completed the breeding scheme set out in the preceding paragraph. The Company would keep the imported English cows and their best offspring and sell surplus bulls to the planters, so the improvement reached private herds while the cost of the imports was partly recovered. The condition about the Company's property kept its own herd's needs first.
198	191	thing relative to the defence of the fortifications of this Island§ §As the Execution of the remainder of the Works not compleated§ §now fall to the management of Lieut. Bazett, we think it adviseable§ §and absolutely necessary that he should have under him an§ §experienced Master Mason, and as the present one has been for this§ §Long time past of very little use, as well as very unskilful in his§ §business, and as he has only this Year to serve to Compleat his§ §Contracted time We beg you will be pleased to send Us next Year a§ §Man fully Qualified for that Business, and of a good and sober§ §Character, the present being a very Drunken and Idle fellow as§ §well as very infirm from Age§ §We are very sorry to be obliged to represent to you in our§ §Consultations of the 12 & 14th instant the Conduct of Captn. Mitchell to§	Command of the artillery called for knowledge of everything bearing on the defence of the island's fortifications. 11: The unfinished works now came under Lieutenant Bazett's management. The Council thought it advisable, and indeed essential, that he should have an experienced master mason under him. The man then in the post was of very little use for a long time past and was very unskilled at his trade. He had only the current year left to serve under his contract. The Council asked the Court to send out in 1770 a fully qualified man of good and sober character. The present mason was a very drunken and idle fellow and was also very infirm with age. 12: The Council regretted having to report Captain Mitchell's conduct towards the board, recorded in the consultations of 12 June 1769 and 14 June 1769, as highly damaging to authority and government. His behaviour first became erratic directly after the *Duke of Albany*, the first storeship, arrived. He resigned from the Company's service at that time without giving any reason or any warning to the board. Governor Skottowe and Mr Purling persuaded him not to take so hasty a step. They pointed out that it could harm him in the Court's

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		§this board as highly Derogatory to Authority and Government, and§ §we must here observe that on the Arrival of the Duke of Albany§ §(the first Store Ship) his Conduct immediately after began to§ §manifest itself as very Inconsistant, having at that time resigned§ §your Service without assigning any cause or giving any previous§ §Notice to the board, but was then prevailed upon by the Governor and§ §Mr. Purling not to take so precipitate a Step as it might prejudice§ §him in the opinion of his Honorable Imployers, particularly as Your§ §Honors had desired his stay until your pleasure was further known§ §by the Second advices, he then complied and withdrew his resignation§ §and Resumed his Vocation as usual, until Saturday the 10th Instant§ §when he waited upon the Governor, and gave him up his Commission &§ §then proceeded in his Conduct as represented in the aforesaid Consultations§ §how to Account for such behaviour we are realy at a Loss, and to§ §give it the most charitable Construction, are of opinion that he is§ §rather disturbed in his Mind, and on that account acted by him§	opinion, especially as the Court asked him to stay until its wishes were made known by the second ship. He gave way, withdrew his resignation and went back to his work as before. On Saturday 10 June 1769 he called on the Governor and handed in his commission. He then behaved in the manner described in those consultations. The Council was at a loss to explain such conduct. Putting the kindest interpretation on it, the Council judged that his mind was somewhat disturbed. **Interpretations** The officer the Council praised more than any other ended his service in open breach with it. Captain Mitchell was commended for skill and economy on 23 February 1768, 13 August 1768 and 10 September 1768, the Sandy Bay work was named Mitchell's Line, and the Council cleared him of Sergeant Payne's accusation on 13 February 1769 and dismissed the accuser. The letter of 3 June 1769 still described him as preparing instructions for his successor and bound him to stay until the Council was satisfied with them. A week later he gave up his commission. The Council passed over a formal censure of the kind it directed at Captain Kirkpatrick on 13 August 1768 and offered the explanation of a disordered mind. That reading spared a man it had repeatedly vouched for, and it also protected the Council's own earlier testimony from the charge of misjudgement. The letter did not state what he did on or after 10 June 1769, leaving that to the consultations. The paragraph disclosed an event the earlier letters withheld. Captain Mitchell first resigned soon after 1 April 1769, when the *Duke of Albany* arrived, and the Governor and Mr Purling talked him out of it. None of the letters of 3 April 1769, 8 April 1769, 11 April 1769 or 18 April 1769 mentioned this, and the last of them reported his paper on the parapets as routine business. The Council revealed the first resignation only when the second made concealment pointless. The request for a master mason reversed the position taken on 13 August 1768. The Council then held that important works could not be placed under any man of that trade, citing the failures of John Bland, and put forward Lieutenant Bazett as superintendent instead. With the Engineer gone and the instructions for his successor perhaps incomplete, it now called an experienced master mason essential. The change conceded that an infantry lieutenant with some knowledge of engineering could not direct masonry without a skilled craftsman beside him. The man then in post was serving out a contract for a fixed term, and the Council condemned him as drunken, idle, unskilled and old, much as it had condemned Bland.
199	192	with more mildness and lenity than the insult offered merited, yet at§ §the same time we cannot but think that the step he took of resigning§ §his Commission, has the appearance of a premeditated caution to Act§ §the bad part he has with the greater Security, and we must observe§ §that the whole Tenor of our Conduct to him since upon the Island§ §has been such as to make the part he has acted towards Us, more§ §blameable, and forfeit our opinion of him as a valuable Member of§ §Society, divested of his abilities in his profession, of which we still§ §retain a favourable opinion in what he has Executed. From the§ §absurdity of his Conduct since the Arrival of the First	The Council treated Captain Mitchell with more mildness and leniency, on account of his supposed state of mind, than the insult he offered deserved. It could not help thinking, however, that his resignation looked like a deliberate precaution, taken so that he could behave badly with greater safety. The Council's whole treatment of him during his time on the island made his conduct towards it all the more blameworthy. He lost its regard as a worthy member of society, although it still thought well of his professional ability as shown in the works he built. His behaviour from the arrival of the first storeship was absurd, and his latest conduct left him in a poor light. The Council therefore counted his departure a fortunate event. In his state of mind, the cause of which he alone knew, a longer stay could do the Company no good. He took his passage in the *Horsendon* as he asked, and his commission went home in the packet.

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		Store Ship§ §and the present light he stands in from his latter Behaviour§ §we think it a lucky circumstance his now leaving the Island, as§ §we are well convinced, that in the situation of his mind (from what§ §cause best known to himself) his longer stay will not be of any§ §service to the Compy. he takes his Passage, on board the Horsendon§ §agreeable to his request, & transmit you his Commission in this§ §Packet§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to Captn. Archibald Mitchell for £400.. payable to§ §himself, One set to Captn. Henry Bazett for £800.. payable to§ §Mr. Alexr. Warrand, and one set to Mr. Matthew Bazett £1000..§ §payable to Mr. Alexr. Warrand, all drawn at ninety days sight§ §and dated the 14th instant§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §16th. June 1769§	13: The Council issued three sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 14 June 1769. Captain Archibald Mitchell, payable to himself, £400 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Mr Alexander Warrand, £300 0s 0d Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to Mr Alexander Warrand, £1,000 0s 0d The letter was dated at St Helena on 16 June 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling **Interpretations** The Council gave two accounts of the same conduct, and they pulled against each other. It first excused Captain Mitchell as disturbed in mind, then suggested that he resigned on purpose before insulting the board. The second reading had a precise logic. An officer holding a commission was subject to military discipline and could be suspended or tried by court martial, as Lieutenant Leech was on 8 November 1768. A man who handed in his commission on 10 June 1769 and misbehaved afterwards stood outside that jurisdiction. The Council passed over any attempt to hold or punish him and let him sail in the ship he chose. It presented that restraint as leniency towards an unsettled man, though the paragraph itself showed that it had little power left to do otherwise. The Council took care to separate the man from his work. It withdrew its good opinion of his character while keeping its praise of the fortifications, which it had commended to the Court on 23 February 1768, 13 August 1768, 10 September 1768 and 13 March 1769. Had it condemned the engineer as well as the man, its own repeated testimony and the soundness of works costing the Company heavily would have come into question. The letter still did not say what the insult was, and it was silent on whether he finished the written instructions for Lieutenant Bazett that the Council made a condition of his leaving on 3 June 1769. Captain Mitchell drew £400 0s 0d payable to himself two days after the first consultation on his conduct, and the Council issued the bill. With £400 0s 0d on 30 May 1768 and £800 0s 0d on 13 February 1769, his drafts came to £1,600 0s 0d. The other two bills went to members of the Bazett family, with whom he was linked: Sergeant Payne alleged on 12 December 1768 that he and Captain Bazett were partners in a private building. Mr Matthew Bazett's £1,000 0s 0d was among the largest sums in these letters, following his £300 0s 0d of 5 September 1768 and £424 0s 7d of 29 April 1769.
200	193	List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St.§ §Helena P Ship Horsendon dated the 16th June 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 16th June 1769§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 3d Do. Do.§ §3 Do. Do. to the Secret Committee dated the 3d Do. Do.§ §4 Consultations from the 6th to the 14th June 1769§ §5 Duplicate Do. from the 15 May to the 1st Do. Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Salisbury§ §7 Second Do. for Do. P Ship Tilbury§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Salisbury§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 4th to the 16th June 1769§ §11 Duplicate Do. from the 11th to the 31st May Do.§ §12 Do. Do. from the 1st to the 3d June Do.§ §13 Ship Horsendons Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Salisbury's Do.§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Horsendon*, dated 16 June 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 16 June 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 June 1769 3: Duplicate of the letter from the Governor and Council to the Secret Committee dated 3 June 1769 4: Consultations from 6 June 1769 to 14 June 1769 5: Duplicate of the consultations from 15 May 1769 to 1 June 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Salisbury*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Tilbury*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Salisbury*.

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		§15 Do. Do. Spekes Do.§ §16 Do. Certificate of Flour§ §17 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1770§ §18 Do. of Medicines Do. Do. Do.§ §19 List of Stores remaing. in the Honoble Compys. Ware Houses the 30th April 1769§ §20 Do. of Garrison Stores remaing. the 30th Do. Do.§ §21 Do. of Artillery Stores from the 1st October 1768 to the 30th. Do. Do.§ §22 Mr. Geo. Bazetts Covenants§ §23 List of Books and Mathematical Instruments for the Engineer§ §24 Captn. Mitchels Commission§	9: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 10: Cash account from 4 June 1769 to 16 June 1769 11: Duplicate cash account from 11 May 1769 to 31 May 1769 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 June 1769 to 3 June 1769 13: Account of the *Horsendon*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Salisbury*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Speke*. 16: Duplicate certificate of flour 17: Order for stores needed in 1770 18: Order for medicines needed in 1770 19: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 April 1769 20: List of garrison stores remaining on 30 April 1769 21: List of artillery stores from 1 October 1768 to 30 April 1769 22: Mr George Bazett's covenants 23: List of books and mathematical instruments for the Engineer 24: Captain Mitchell's commission **Interpretations** The year's orders went home two months sooner than in 1768. The orders for 1769 left only on 13 August 1768, a delay the Council put down to a missing cargo summary and a busy storekeeper, and on 11 April 1769 it promised to do better. The lists of remains were again struck on 30 April, and this time the orders built on them were ready by the middle of June. The Court therefore had longer to assemble the 500 casks of provisions, the extra clothing and the coal requested in the letter of 16 June 1769. Item 23 asked for books and mathematical instruments for the Engineer's post, a request the letter itself did not mention. Captain Mitchell's commission travelled home as the next item in the same packet, so the list was drawn up as he left. The Council evidently meant to equip whoever carried on the works with the texts and drawing and surveying instruments of the profession. Lieutenant Bazett, by the Council's own account on 13 August 1768 and 3 June 1769, had only some knowledge of engineering, and such an outfit offered him the means of adding to it. The consultations at item 4 included those of 12 June 1769 and 14 June 1769, to which the letter referred the Court for Captain Mitchell's conduct. The Court thus received the record of the affair, his surrendered commission and the Council's commentary together, carried in the ship that took him home.
201	194	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed you the 16th of last Month by§ §the Ship Horsendon§ §On the 21st June arrived your Ship York from§ §Bombay which place Captn. Hayter left the 26th February last &§ §the Grenville and Essex there the former was to Sail about fourteen§ §Days after he left that Place§ §Notwithstanding the recommendation to your§ §Captains that touch at the Cape to bring live Stock for the Island§ §yet only three out of Seven that called at that Place this Year§ §brought us Sheep, we mention this as we are sorry to observe that they§ §have not paid a greater attention to your recommendation as the§ §Utility of supplying Us particularly with Sheep, we find of great§ §advantage to our Market, and Hospital as well as for	1: The Council's previous letter went home on 16 June 1769 by the *Horsendon*. 2: The *York* arrived from Bombay on 21 June 1769. Captain Hayter left Bombay on 26 February 1769, when the *Grenville* and the *Essex* lay there. The *Grenville* was to sail about a fortnight after his departure. 3: The Court advised commanders calling at the Cape to bring livestock for the island. Only three of the seven ships that called there in 1769 brought sheep, and the Council regretted that the advice received so little attention. A supply of sheep in particular greatly benefited the island's market and hospital and served the shipping too. The letters of 17 March 1769 and 11 April 1769 reported that Cape cattle throve less well than expected. The Council therefore judged it better for the Company and the island that commanders should be told to bring no more black cattle in future, only sheep. It felt sure that sheep would serve the purpose far better. 4: The previous letter asked the Court to send in 1770 the number of officers' sashes given in the order

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		the Use of the§ §Shipping: In our Letters of the 17th March and 11th April last we§ §informed your Honors that the Cape Cattle did not Thrive equal§ §to our expectations therefore we think it more for your Interest and§ §the benefit of the Island, that you recommend to the Captains§ §hereafter not to bring us any more Black Cattle but only Sheep, as we§ §are perswaded it will answer our purpose much better, as already§ §observed in former Letters§ §In our last Letter we desired you would be pleased§ §to send next Year, the number of Officers Sashes mentioned in the§ §Indent but by mistake the number was omitted being inserted§ §therefore request you will Order 12 to come next Season§ §The Storekeeper and Paymaster representing to§ §us that they have no place of Security to keep the Cash they must§ §necessarily have in their Hands, and as we think their representation§	for stores. That number was left out of the order by mistake. The Council now asked for 12 sashes to come the following season. 5: The storekeeper and the paymaster advised the Council that they had no secure place to keep the cash that necessarily passed through their hands. **Interpretations** The Council's view of Cape livestock reached its conclusion here. It asked on 2 June 1768 for young cattle only, noted on 17 March 1769 that sheep did much better and reported on 11 April 1769 that sound cattle died or failed to fatten. It now passed over any further trial of cattle and asked the Court to stop them altogether. The complaint about the commanders showed the weakness of the arrangement: the Court's direction was advice and not an order, and four ships of seven ignored it. Livestock took deck space, fodder and water, and a commander gained nothing by carrying it beyond the price paid on the island. The Council asked for the advice to be redirected towards sheep but stopped short of requesting that it be made binding. The missing figure for the sashes was the second copying error admitted within a month. The letter of 16 June 1769 reported that ironwork for mortar beds and gun carriages and copper powder measures were dropped from the general order sent to England in 1768. Both slips bore out the plea of 11 April 1769 that the offices needed two or three more writers. The figure of 12 gave a rough count of the commissioned officers for whom sashes were kept on the Company's books. The storekeeper and the paymaster were the two servants who held the Company's cash day by day, the one for purchases and the other for the garrison's pay. The paymaster's post was held by Captain Kirkpatrick until the Court's orders removed him in April 1769, and the Council then reported a fictitious advance and errors in his accounts. A new holder asking for a secure place to keep the money raised the question of how it was kept before. The *York* was reported at Bombay on 8 December 1768 by the commander of the *Bute*. The *Grenville* and the *Essex*, then on the Malabar coast, had since reached Bombay.
202	195	well founded we beg you will send the next Year two Small Iron§ §Chests for the above purpose§ §On the 1st of April upon the Dismission of Captn.§ §Kirkpatrick we appointed Mr. William Wrangham Paymaster but as§ §none of the Civil Servants had been employed in the Accountants§ §Office where Mr. Wrangham is Assistant we could not for that reason§ §remove him from thence as it would deprive that Office of an§ §Assistant capable of carrying on the Books of Accounts under Mr.§ §Purling. And as these two employs will require close Attendance, we Judged§ §it reasonable to make Mr. Wrangham an Allowance of £30 a Year§ §for that Service until your Honors pleasure shall be known, But at§ §the same time we beg leave to Offer it to your consideration whether§ §it would not be more regular to put the Paymasters department on§ §a footing with the Storekeepers and Secretarys with the same§ §appointments to the Paymaster as the heads of those Offices enjoy§ §Our Sentiments on this Subject are clearly Expressed in Consultation§	The Council judged the complaint of the storekeeper and the paymaster well founded and asked the Court to send two small iron chests in 1770 for keeping the cash. 6: The Council appointed Mr William Wrangham paymaster on 7 April 1769, when Captain Kirkpatrick was dismissed. Mr Wrangham was an assistant in the Accountant's office, and no other civil servant had worked there. Removing him would have left that office without an assistant able to keep the books of accounts under Mr Purling. He therefore held both posts, which together demanded close attendance. The Council thought it fair to allow him £50 0s 0d a year for the paymaster's duty until the Court's wishes were known. It also asked the Court to consider whether the paymaster's department ought properly to stand on the same level as the storekeeper's and the Secretary's, with the paymaster receiving the same salary and allowances as the heads of those offices. The consultation of 19 June 1769 set out the Council's views in full. The same consultation gave the reasons for taking Mr James Desfountain and Mr William Webber Doveton into the Company's service as writers. The Council hoped the Court would approve and confirm the appointment of these two young men. Only absolute necessity could have led it to put the Company to this added cost. A look back at earlier years showed six covenanted servants working as assistants in the various offices in 1744. With the

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		§of the 19th June to which we refer you, as well for the reasons that§ §induced us to Entertain Mr. James Desfountain & Mr. Wm. Webber Doveton§ §Writers in your Service, which we hope will meet with your§ §Approbation and that you will be pleased to confirm the appointment§ §of those two Young Men, nothing but an absolute Necessity could§ §have influenced us to put your Honors to this Additional Expence but§ §on a retrospection into past times we find in the Year 1744 there§ §were Six Covenanted Servants employed Assistants in the several Offices§ §at present with the addition of the above two Writers we have no more§ §than Seven including Mr. Wrangham who is Paymaster, although we§ §may venture to Affirm that the Business in the several departments§ §have multiplied considerably since that Period, arising from an increase§ §of your Ships, Garrison and the Works now carrying on, These with the§ §other reasons we have Offered will we flatter ourselves appear to you very cogent for§ §Entertaining the above two Writers§	two new writers the island had only seven, counting Mr Wrangham the paymaster. The Council felt able to state that business in every department had grown considerably since 1744, through the increase in the Company's ships, in the garrison and in the works then in progress. It trusted that these reasons, with the others offered, would seem strong grounds for engaging the two writers. **Interpretations** The Council asked on 11 April 1769 for leave to take on two or three more writers and then appointed two before any answer could arrive. It passed over waiting a year for the Court's reply, as it did when it appointed Mr George Bazett on 13 August 1768, and sought confirmation afterwards. The argument from 1744 met the expected objection of cost with a comparison the Court could check in its own records: the clerical staff had grown by one in 25 years while the homeward fleet, the garrison and the building programme all expanded. The two admitted copying errors of June and July 1769, over the artillery ironwork and the officers' sashes, gave the case immediate support. The paymaster's post changed character with its holder. Captain Kirkpatrick held it as a military officer and councillor, and the letter here called his removal a dismissal in plain terms. The Council reported on 11 April 1769 that he imposed a fictitious advance on it and that his accounts contained errors over re-enlisted soldiers. It replaced him with a civil servant trained in the Accountant's office under Mr Purling, which put the garrison's pay in the hands of a man used to keeping books and brought it under the oversight of the councillor who kept the general accounts. The proposal to rank the paymaster with the storekeeper and the Secretary would have made the change permanent and turned Mr Wrangham's temporary £50 0s 0d into a full head of office's income. Covenanted servants were those who signed the Company's formal contract and gave sureties, as Mr Bazett did under the letter of 16 June 1769. Both new writers were probably island-born. Mr Doveton shared a surname with Mr Jonathan Doveton, who drew a bill on 8 August 1768 and stood surety for Mr Bazett, and the Council's description of them as young men already at hand points the same way. Recruiting locally spared the Company a passage from England, though it also kept the posts within the island's established families. Mr Wrangham was the officer sent aboard the *Speke* in May 1769 to search for illicit trade.
203	196	We have given Captain Hayter an order to§ §receive onboard his Ship to compleat her Company William Caleb§ §Bauldwin Thomas Wiatt, & Thomas James three discharged Soldiers§ §and have likewise permitted him to receive onboard the York Thomas§ §Durham another discharged Man§ §On the 27th of last Month Captn. Hayter delivered§ §up to us Robert Nickles Soldier who had deserted from one of your§ §Settlements on the Malabar Coast, we have Inlisted him to serve§ §his contracted time of five Years§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to John Skottowe Esqr. for £25 payable to Messrs.§ §Gi[els] and B[oo]thouse, One set to Mr. Robert Barclay for £220§ §payable to Messrs. Ballentine and A[nnat] One set to Captain§ §George Hayter for £316. 12. 4 payable to Richard [R]otham Esqr.§	7: The Council ordered Captain Hayter to take three discharged soldiers aboard his ship to bring her crew up to strength. William Caleb Bauldwin Thomas Wiatt Thomas James Captain Hayter also received leave to carry Thomas Durham, another discharged man, in the *York*. 8: Captain Hayter handed over Robert Nickles on 27 June 1769. Nickles was a soldier who deserted from one of the Company's settlements on the Malabar coast. The Council enlisted him to serve out his contracted term of five years on the island. 9: The Council issued four sets of bills of exchange, each drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 1 July 1769. John Skottowe Esquire, payable to Messrs G[...] and [...]house, £25 0s 0d Mr Robert Barclay, payable to Messrs Ballentine and Annat, £220 0s 0d Captain George Hayter, payable to Richard Hotham Esquire, £316 12s 4d

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		§and one set to Mr. Michael Lascells for £132.. 8 payable to Saml.§ §Way Esqr. all drawn at 90 days sight and dated the 1st Instant§ §As the last Quarters Accounts will not be laid§ §before us Until the 17 Instant we cannot transmit you any other§ §Cash Account by this Conveyance than the Duplicate of the last§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §2.. July 1769§	Mr Michael Lascells, payable to Samuel Way Esquire, £132 8s 0d 10: No new cash account could go home with this letter, only a duplicate of the one sent before. The quarter's accounts were not due to come before the Council until 17 July 1769. The letter was dated at St Helena on 2 July 1769 and signed by three members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Purling **Interpretations** The Council passed over punishing the deserter or sending him back to the settlement he left. A commander brought him in as a prisoner, and the Council put him straight into the garrison for the full five years he originally contracted to serve. The reason lay in the letters of June 1769: the 80 recruits expected by the *Speke* did not come, guard duty was cut back for want of men, and the Council asked for 180 recruits to reach the new establishment. A trained soldier delivered to the island was worth more in the ranks than in confinement. St Helena also offered what the Malabar coast did not, since a man could not desert from a small island with no hinterland, the same reasoning that led Fort Marlborough to send a runaway slave there, as the letter of 3 April 1769 recorded. The three men shipped under an order went as working hands, and Durham went by permission as a passenger. No waiver of wages was recorded for him, although William Luke signed one on 18 April 1769 when carried on the same footing. Mr Barclay drew £220 0s 0d two weeks after the Council pleaded on 16 June 1769 that his salary and diet money as surgeon came to only £79 0s 0d a year. The bill was nearly three years of that income. Like the servants whose poverty the Council urged on 13 August 1768, he evidently had means beyond his official pay, whether from private practice or from trade. The date of 2 July 1769 fixed the letter's month. The consultation on the paymaster and the two new writers was that of 19 June 1769. The withholding of a cash account until the quarter's books were examined repeated the practice of 2 April 1768 and 3 April 1769.
204	197	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena P Ship York§ §dated 2 July 1769 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter Dated 2 July 1769§ §2 Duplicate do. & do. Dated 16th June do.§ §3 Consultations from 19th June to 1st. July do.§ §4 Duplicate do. from 6th to 14th June do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet P Ship Horsendon§ §6 Second do. for do. P Ship Salisbury§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken 2d July 1769§ §8 do. of four discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet P Ship Horsendon§ §10 do. of Stores remaining in the Honble Company's Ware Houses the 30 April 1769§ §11 do. of Garrison Stores remaining 30. do. do.§ §12 do. of Artillery Stores from 1st October 1768 to the 30th April 1769§ §13 do. of Books & Mathematical Instruments for the Engineer§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Duplicate Cash Acct. from 4th to 16th June 1769§ §16 Ship Yorks Account§ §17 Duplicate Ship Horsendon's do.§ §18 do. Indent of Stores wanting for the Service of the Year 1770§ §19 do. do. of Medicines do. do. do.§ §20 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship York§	A list followed of the contents of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *York*, dated 2 July 1769. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 2 July 1769 2: Duplicate of the general letter from the Governor and Council dated 16 June 1769 3: Consultations from 19 June 1769 to 1 July 1769 4: Duplicate of the consultations from 6 June 1769 to 14 June 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Horsendon*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Salisbury*. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 2 July 1769 8: List of 4 discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Horsendon*. 10: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 April 1769 11: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 30 April 1769 12: Duplicate list of artillery stores from 1 October 1768 to 30 April 1769 13: Duplicate list of books and mathematical instruments for the Engineer

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		§21 Time of the Arrival of Ship Yorks Boat at Banks's§ §22 Captain Jamesons Receipt for a Box containing Bayonet Scabbards§ §23 do. do. do. containing a Pipe of a fire Engine§	14: Return of the effective strength of the garrison 15: Duplicate cash account from 4 June 1769 to 16 June 1769 16: Account of the *York*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Horsendon*. 18: Duplicate order for stores needed in 1770 19: Duplicate order for medicines needed in 1770 20: Summary of the cargo of the *York*. 21: Note of the time at which the *York*'s boat reached Banks's. 22: Captain Jameson's receipt for a box containing bayonet scabbards 23: Captain Jameson's receipt for a box containing a pipe of a fire engine **Interpretations** Captain Jameson's two receipts covered the boxes he took home in the *Horsendon* under paragraph 5 of the letter of 16 June 1769. They followed him by the next ship, so the Court held his signed acknowledgement for the 194 returned scabbards and the broken fire engine pipe separately from the boxes themselves. The practice matched that used for the boxed plans of Sandy Bay, Banks's and Lemon Valley, though these receipts were not numbered first or second. The four discharged soldiers at item 8 were the three men entered in the *York*'s crew and Thomas Durham, carried by permission, all named in paragraph 7 of the letter of 2 July 1769. No written undertaking about wages appeared in the list for Durham. The duplicates of the 1770 orders and the lists of remains went by the very next ship after the originals, as the 1769 orders did on 10 September 1768. The packet held only a duplicate cash account, in keeping with paragraph 10 of the letter, which held the next one back until the quarter's accounts came before the Council on 17 July 1769.
205	198	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on you under Date§ §of the 2d instant by the Ship York§ §On the 8th of this Month, arrived your Ship§ §Sea Horse from China & the 12th the Dutton from Madrass, which§ §place Captn. Rice left the 12th of March last, he acquaints us that a§ §Cessation of Arms between our troops & Hyder Allys had taken§ §Place for a few Days, that his Army had destroyed the Major part§ §of the Carnatic Country, he further tells Us that Mr. Andrews§ §had been upon an Embassy to Hyder Ally but was returned to§ §Madrass before he left that place, and it was reported that he was§ §to go again in a few days upon the same occasion, Captn. Rice§ §also informs us he spoke with your Ship Duke of Grafton the§ §23d of June last, off the Cape all well§ §Notwithstanding your Orders to the Captains§ §for supplying themselves with Fuel in India for their homeward§ §bound Passages, yet several of them make demands upon us for§ §that Article, which we cannot comply with, without your Honors will§ §be pleased to send Us a larger supply of Coals, or enforce your§ §Orders to them to lay in a full quantity for their homeward bound§	1: The Council's previous letter was dated 2 July 1769 and went home by the *York*. 2: The *Sea Horse* arrived from China on 8 July 1769 and the *Dutton* from Madras on 12 July 1769. Captain Rice left Madras on 11 March 1769. He reported that a ceasefire between the Company's troops and Hyder Ali's held for a few days, and that Hyder Ali's army laid waste most of the Carnatic. Mr Andrews went on an embassy to Hyder Ali and returned to Madras before the *Dutton* sailed. He was expected to go again within a few days on the same business. Captain Rice also spoke with the *Duke of Grafton* off the Cape on 23 June 1769, with all well aboard. 3: The Court ordered its commanders to stock up with fuel in India for the voyage home. Several of them nevertheless asked the island for it. The Council could not meet those demands unless the Court either sent a larger supply of coal or enforced its orders. Commanders ought to lay in a full quantity for the homeward voyage and not rely on the island for fuel of any kind. They were too often careless about providing enough to cover a slow passage. 4: Plans and elevations of houses for Governor Skottowe and the Lieutenant Governor went home with this letter. An earlier letter mentioned that the Council was obliged to pull down the new Plantation House. **Interpretations** The news from Madras showed the war with Hyder Ali turning towards a negotiated end. He was reported beaten on 23 February 1768, as retaking Mangalore on 10 September 1768 and as overrunning the Carnatic with cavalry on 3 June 1769. A ceasefire and repeated embassies from Madras, with most of

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		§Voyages, & not depend on this place for fuel of any kind, and we§ §must observe that they are too often negligent of providing themselves§ §with that Article, in case of a tedious Passage§ §We by this opportunity transmit your Honors§ §Plans and Elevations of Houses for the Governor, and Lieut. Governor§ §we mentioned in a former Letter, the Necessity we were under of§ §pulling down the New Plantation House, to save what Timbers§	the surrounding country destroyed, meant that the Madras presidency was the party seeking terms. Fuel was a scarce commodity on the island. St Helena had little timber, and the Council relied on coal from England for the forge, the smith's shop and other needs, as its request of 16 June 1769 for 70 chaldrons showed. A ship that reached the island short of firing for her galley drew on that same small stock. The Council put the choice to the Court in plain terms: send more coal or make the commanders obey. The complaint paralleled that of 2 July 1769, when only three of seven ships brought sheep from the Cape, and both showed commanders treating the Court's directions as optional and the island as a place to make good their own shortfalls. The Court asked, as the letter of 3 June 1769 recorded, whether the Governor's country house should be finished or rebuilt, and called for the Engineer's opinion and a plan. The Council went past the question. It reported the house as already being pulled down from necessity and sent designs for two new houses, one of them for the Lieutenant Governor, about whom the Court did not ask. The description of the building as the new Plantation House shows that it was itself a recent and unfinished work, so the Company faced the loss of what it had spent there as well as the cost of the replacements. Captain Mitchell gave up his commission on 10 June 1769 and sailed in the *Horsendon*, which left open who drew the plans and elevations now sent. The *Sea Horse* was reported at China on 1 February 1769 by Captain Jameson, ready to sail within a day or two. The *Dutton* was to complete her cargo at Madras, as the letter of 13 March 1769 stated.
206	199	we could for future use. many of which are totally Decayed, Occasiond§ §from the impracticability of ever making the Roof tight: therefore have§ §Constructed the Plans inclosed with one Single Pitch; which we find§ §from experience are the only ones adapted to this Climate and would§ §recommend to your Honors to send us out Slate for the above Roofs,§ §and tho' we are Sensible that the expence at first, will be greater to§ §You than tyles, Yet are sure in the end, it will be worth your while§ §to have them finishd in that manner, as the duration of such§ §Covering, makes full amends for its first Cost; The Lieut Governor§ §begs leave to observe that he has Constructed the Plan of his House§ §in as Contracted a manner as possible, paying attention to the§ §saving of expence to your Honors, and had it been Possible to have§ §sent you an Estimate of the Cost, he would have done it; but must§ §observe the impossibility of ascertaining such Estimates here; as your§ §Honors Building must be infinitely more Reasonable than that of any§ §Individual, as the Stone & Lime are your own Property, and the many§ §Artificers that you have in Constant pay, besides those amongst your§ §own Slaves, who are the People mostly imployed on your Buildings.§ §Consequently renders it impossible to make a proper Estimate, as§ §such are calculated in England by the Architect, at so much Pr Inch§	The Council reported that many of the materials saved for later use were completely rotten, because the old roofs could never be made watertight. The enclosed plans therefore showed roofs with one single pitch, which experience proved to be the only kind suited to the island's climate. The Council asked the Court to send out slate for these roofs. Slate would cost more than tiles at the outset, but the Council was sure its long life would more than repay the difference. The Lieutenant Governor explained that he drew the plan of his house as compactly as he could, with an eye to sparing the Company's money. He would have sent an estimate of the cost had one been possible. No reliable figure could be worked out on the island, where the Company built far more cheaply than any private person. The stone and lime belonged to the Company, which also kept many craftsmen on permanent wages. Its own slaves supplied most of the labour on its buildings. An architect in England priced a building at so much per foot, assuming that every material except the ornamental work had to be bought. That method could not be applied at St Helena. The Lieutenant Governor further asked that the Court, on approving his plan, would supply the enclosed order for sashes and frames, along with balusters for a staircase. Such articles were much better finished and much more cheaply made in England than on the island. 5: Mr R. Bagley applied to pay £156 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that amount, payable to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The Council passed over tiles, the cheaper and more obvious covering, in favour of slate, and admitted openly that the first cost would be higher. The reason lay in the failure recorded at the head of the passage: stored materials rotted because the existing roofs could not be kept tight. A single-pitch

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		§supposing all Materials to be paid for such building, excepting the§ §ornamental part; the Lieut Governors further Requests that if you§ §approve of his Plans you will be pleased to comply with an Indent§ §Inclosed of Sashes, and Frames, together with Ballusters for Stair§ §case, as such things are much better finished and much cheaper§ §worked in England than here —§ §Mr. Rd. Bagley applied to us to pay £156 into§ §your Cash, which we have received, and given him Bills drawn§ §on your Honors for that Sum, payable to Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick§	roof under slate was presented as a lesson of local experience, with durability set against the initial outlay. The Lieutenant Governor declined to send an estimate, which the Court would ordinarily expect before approving a building. His explanation showed how the Company's works were costed on the island. Stone and lime came from the Company's own property, and labour came from salaried craftsmen and Company slaves, so none of these appeared as a separate purchase. The English method of pricing by the foot assumed bought materials and hired labour, and so had no basis at St Helena. The effect was that the true cost of the house was absorbed into the standing establishment and could not be isolated. The request for sashes, frames and balusters from England showed the limits of local joinery. Fine finished woodwork was both dearer and poorer when made on the island, so the structural shell was built locally while the fitted components were ordered from home by an indent, the formal requisition for stores sent to the Court. Bagley's transaction was a means of remitting money to England. He paid cash into the island treasury and received bills of exchange drawn on the Court, which Captain Kirkpatrick could present in London for payment. The Company gained ready cash on the island for local expenses, and the payer moved funds home without risking coin at sea.
207	200	or order drawn at Ninety days Sight, & dated the 17th Instant§ §Mr. James Hodges is the only Passenger on§ §board the Sea Horse: and on the Dutton Roger Carter Esqr§ §Mr. & Mrs. Callend Mrs. Campbell, Mr. Pherson, Capt. Morrice of the§ §Earl of Chatham, Captn Adair & Drinnian, Lieut. Chisle n &§ §Messrs. Sadlier and Evans —§ §We have given Capt. Dampier an order to§ §receive on board his Ship John Faxon, and William Ford, two§ §Invalid Soldiers & have paid him ten Pounds for their Passage.§ §they have signed an Instnt that they will not demand any wages§ §for their voyage, which goes inclosed in the Packet —§ §As the last Quarters Accounts together with§ §other Business were laid before us on the 17th Instant, we have not§ §time to transcribe the Consultation of that day, to go by this§ §opportunity§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & Humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §19th July 1769§	The bills given to Mr R. Bagley for his £156 0s 0d were drawn to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick or his order at 90 days' sight and carried the date 17 July 1769. 6: Mr James Hodges was the only passenger aboard the *Sea Horse*. The *Dutton* carried Roger Carter Esquire, Mr and Mrs Callend, Mrs Campbell, Mr Therson, Captain Morrice of the *Earl of Chatham*, Captains Adair and Drinnian, Lieutenant Chisle n and Messrs Sadlier and Evans. 7: The Council ordered Captain Dampier to take two invalid soldiers, John Fexon and William Ford, aboard his ship and paid him £10 0s 0d for their passage. Both men signed a written undertaking to claim no wages for the voyage, and that paper travelled in the packet. 8: The accounts for the previous quarter and other business came before the Council on 17 July 1769. Too little time remained to copy out the consultation of that day for dispatch by the departing ships. The letter closed at St Helena on 19 July 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The undertaking signed by Fexon and Ford closed off a claim that could otherwise have arisen in London. Men carried home on a Company ship might later assert that they worked their passage and were owed seamen's pay. The Council therefore paid the captain a fixed fare, treated the two soldiers strictly as passengers and sent the signed paper home so the Court held the evidence if either man applied for wages. Bills at 90 days' sight gave the Court three months from the day the bill was presented in London before payment fell due. The words "or his order" made the bill transferable, so Captain Kirkpatrick could sign it over to another person instead of collecting the money himself. The Council chose to send the letter without the consultation of 17 July 1769, although the Court ordinarily expected the record of proceedings to accompany each dispatch. Only two days separated

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			that meeting from the date of the letter, and the ships' sailing took priority over the clerks' copying. The quarterly accounts considered that day therefore reached London by a later ship. The passenger list recorded Captain Morrice of the *Earl of Chatham* travelling home in the *Dutton*, a commander sailing as a passenger in another ship. The passage gave no reason for his separation from his own vessel.
208	201	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St Helena pr§ §Ship Sea Horse dated 19th. July 1769 vizt§ §Governor and Councils General Letter dated 19th July 1769§ §Duplicate do & do Dated 2 do do§ §Consultations from the 3 to 10th do do§ §Duplicate do from 19th June to 1st do do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr. Ship York§ §Second do do pr Ship Ha[v]endon§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship York§ §Effective State of the Garrison§ §Muster Rolls of do§ §Cash Acct from 17th to 30th June 1769§ §Do from 1st to 19th July Do§ §Ship Sea Horses Acct§ §Duplicate Ship Yorks Do§ §Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Sea Horse & Dutton§ §Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §Plan & Elevation of the Governrs House§ §do & do of the Lieut Governrs do§ §Indent of Sash Frames &c for do do House§ §Surgeon Certificate of two Invalid Soldiers§ §Instrument in writing of do§ §Capt. Dampiers first Receipt for £10§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Sea Horse*, dated 19 July 1769, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 19 July 1769 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 July 1769 3: Consultations from 3 to 10 July 1769 4: Duplicate consultations from 19 June to 1 July 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *York*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Horsenden*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *York*. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Muster rolls of the garrison 10: Cash account from 17 to 30 June 1769 11: Cash account from 1 to 19 July 1769 12: Account of the ship *Sea Horse*. 13: Duplicate account of the ship *York*. 14: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Sea Horse* and *Dutton*. 15: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 16: Plan and elevation of the Governor's house 17: Plan and elevation of the Lieutenant Governor's house 18: Order for sash frames and other fittings for the Lieutenant Governor's house 19: Surgeon's certificate for two invalid soldiers 20: Written undertaking of the two invalid soldiers 21: Captain Dampier's first receipt for £10 0s 0d **Interpretations** The consultations in the packet stopped at 10 July 1769. This matched the Council's statement in the letter of 19 July 1769 that the proceedings of 17 July 1769 could not be copied in time. The Court therefore received the letter without the record of the meeting at which the quarterly accounts were considered. Duplicates made up a large part of the packet. The letter of 2 July 1769, the consultations from 19 June to 1 July 1769, the packet list and the ship's account sent by the *York* were all repeated here. Sending a second copy by a later ship protected the Company's correspondence against the loss of any one vessel. The numbered receipts served the same purpose of control: each commander signed for the packet he carried, and the receipt went home by a different ship so the Court could hold him to account for its delivery. Items 19 to 21 formed the paper trail for John Fexon and William Ford. The surgeon's certificate justified their discharge as unfit, the signed undertaking barred any wage claim for the voyage, and Captain Dampier's receipt proved the £10 0s 0d fare was paid. The label "first receipt" indicated that a further copy was to follow by another ship. The list showed that a plan and elevation of the Governor's house went home alongside the Lieutenant Governor's. Only the Lieutenant Governor's house carried an order for sashes and frames, the fitted joinery that the letter described as better and cheaper made in England.

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			Item 15 recorded when boats from arriving ships reached Banks's, a named point on the island. The return gave the Court a check on how promptly ships reported themselves on arrival.
209	202	To the Honble &c.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We addressed your Honors the 19th of last Month§ §by the Ship Sea Horse§ §We have given Captn. Rice an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship towards compleating her Company John Jack§ §Richard Wetmore, Thomas Roberts, Nicholas Burket and§ §Stephen Papps five discharged Soldiers. Papps has not served§ §his Contracted time but being tried at the Quarterly Sessions held in§ §October 1768 and found guilty of an Attempt to commit that§ §most detestable Crime of Sodomy and being a very bad§ §Man in many other respects, we for these reasons judge him§ §an improper person to remain longer upon the Island§ §Mr. Carter made application to Us to§ §exchange a Man Slave named Walpole belonging to your§ §Honors for another Man he would procure equally good the§ §said Walpole being sent here by Mr. Carter about fifteen§ §Years ago for having defrauded the Company of some Money.§ §if you approve of this Exchange we request you will be§ §pleased to give Us your directions thereupon§ §We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One Set to John Skottowe Esqr. for £350.§ §payable to Robert Wood Esqr. One set to Mr. James Greentree for§ §£260 payable to Digby Dent Esqr. One set to Captn. Henry§ §Bazett for £219.1. payable to Mr. Richd Bodman, And§ §one set to John Whitchurch on Acct. of John Blands Orphs§ §for £325.6.3. all drawn at ninety days sight and§ §dated the 24th of last Month§ §As the balance of our Cash at present is§ §about £12000, this sum with what we may receive for§ §Bills Stores &ca. we hope will be sufficient for the Expence of the§	The Council opened a new letter to the Court by recalling its previous one, sent on 19 July 1769 by the *Sea Horse*. 2: Captain Rice received an order to take five discharged soldiers aboard his ship to help fill out her crew. The men were John Jack, Richard Wellmore, Thomas Roberts, Nicholas Burket and Stephen Papps. Papps had not completed the term he signed for. The quarterly court of October 1768 convicted him of attempted sodomy, and the Council described him as a thoroughly bad character in many other ways. On those grounds the Council judged him unfit to stay on the island any longer. 3: Mr Carter applied to exchange Walpole, a male slave belonging to the Company, for another man of equal quality whom he would supply. Carter himself sent Walpole to the island about 15 years earlier for cheating the Company of some money. The Council asked for the Court's instructions if it approved the exchange. 4: The Council granted four sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 24 July 1769. Governor Skottowe, payable to Robert Wood Esquire, £350 0s 0d Mr James Greentree, payable to Digby Dent Esquire, £260 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Mr Richard B[...]dman, £219 1s 0d John Whitchurch on account of John Bland's orphans, £325 6s 3d 5: The cash balance stood at about £12,000. The Council hoped that this sum, together with money still to come in for bills, stores and other receipts, would be enough to cover current expenses. **Interpretations** Papps was released before his time was up, although the ordinary course was to hold a soldier to the full term of his contract. The Council explained the departure itself: a conviction for attempted sodomy and a generally bad reputation made him unwelcome in a small garrison community. Discharge and shipment home served as a means of removal, and placing him among men needed to complete a ship's crew cost the Company no passage money. The contrast with the two invalids sent by Captain Dampier, for whom £10 0s 0d was paid on 19 July 1769, was plain. Walpole's history showed that a man could be sent to St Helena as a Company slave as a penalty for fraud against the Company. Carter, who dispatched him, now wanted him back and offered a substitute of equal value so the Company's labour force lost nothing. The Council did not settle the matter locally. A Company slave was Company property, so the decision to part with him was referred to the Court. This Carter was perhaps the Roger Carter Esquire listed as a passenger in the *Dutton* in the letter of 19 July 1769, though the passage did not say so. The bills showed who used the island treasury to send money home. The Governor remitted £350 0s 0d on his own account. The largest sum after his, £325 6s 3d, belonged to the orphans of John Bland and was remitted by John Whitchurch on their behalf, which indicated that he was managing the children's inheritance and moving it to England. As with the bills given to Mr R. Bagley, dated 17 July 1769, each payment into the treasury added to the island's ready cash, which helped explain a balance of about £12,000.

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210	203	Current Year as well as for the Year 1770 we therefore presume your§ §honors will have no Occasion to consign Us any Cash the next§ §Season —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §1st Augt 1769§ §List of the Honble Compys. Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Dutton dated the 1st. August 1769 vizt. —§ §Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 1st August 1769§ §Do. & Do. dated the 1. Do. Do relg. to Law matters§ §Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 19th July Do.§ §Consultations from the 17th. to the 31st July 1769§ §Duplicate Do. from the 3d to the 10th. Do. Do.§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Sea Horse§ §Second Do. for Do. pr. Ship York§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Sea Horse§ §List of five discharged Soldiers.§ §Effective State of the Garrison§ §Cash Account from the 20th to the 31st July 1769§ §Duplicate Do from the 17th. to the 30th. June Do.§ §Do. Do. from the 1st. to the 19th. July Do.§ §Ship Dutton's Account§ §Duplicate Ship Sea Horse Do.§ §Capt. Dampier's Second Receipt for £10§ §Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on the 12 July 1769§	The Council expected the cash in hand, about £12,000 with further receipts, to meet the costs of the rest of 1769 and of 1770 as well. The Court was therefore advised that no money needed to be shipped to the island the following season. The letter closed at St Helena on 1 August 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Dutton*, dated 1 August 1769, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 1 August 1769 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 1 August 1769 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 July 1769 4: Consultations from 17 to 31 July 1769 5: Duplicate consultations from 3 to 10 July 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Sea Horse*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *York*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Sea Horse*. 9: List of five discharged soldiers 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 20 to 31 July 1769 12: Duplicate cash account from 17 to 30 June 1769 13: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 19 July 1769 14: Account of the ship *Dutton*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Sea Horse*. 16: Captain Dampier's second receipt for £10 0s 0d 17: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 12 July 1769 **Interpretations** The Council told the Court to send no cash for the coming season, although a remote garrison would ordinarily expect a regular supply of coin from home. The reason was visible in the same letter. Residents and ships' officers kept paying money into the island treasury in return for bills on London, as the four sets dated 24 July 1769 showed, and stores sold on the island brought in more. The treasury was in effect being filled locally, and the Company settled the debt in London when the bills fell due. Shipping coin would have added risk and cost for no gain. The consultation of 17 July 1769, which could not be copied in time for the *Sea Horse*, went home in this packet as the first of the consultations from 17 to 31 July 1769. The Court therefore received the quarterly accounts considered that day about a fortnight behind the letter that mentioned them. Law matters were dealt with in a separate letter of the same date and not in the general letter, and the proceedings of the quarterly court of 12 July 1769 travelled with it. Keeping judicial business apart allowed the Court to pass those papers to its legal advisers without circulating the whole of the general correspondence. The list of five discharged soldiers matched the men named in the letter of 1 August 1769, including Stephen Papps. Its presence in the packet carried by the *Dutton* suggested that Captain Rice commanded that ship, though neither the letter nor the list said so directly. Captain Dampier's second receipt for the £10 0s 0d fare of John Fexon and William Ford followed the first, sent by the *Sea Horse* on 19 July 1769.

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211	204	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on you the 1st§ §instant by the Ship Dutton —§ §On the 13th of this Month arrived your ship§ §Grenville from Bombay last from the Cape, Capt Abercromby§ §acquaints us he left Bombay the 7th April last & your§ §ship Essex there she was to be dispatched about the latter§ §end of the Month for Europe, he likewise tells Us he put§ §into false Bay for refreshments, and that your ship§ §Royal Charlotte had been there and proceeded on her§ §Voyage about the 12th May last, he further informs us§ §that he was told by a Dutch Captain at false Bay that§ §the Prince of Wales had sprung a Leak after leaving the Island of St. Jago and was§ §gone to the Brazils to repair —§ §We have given Capt Abercromby an Order§ §to receive on board his Ship towards compleating her§ §Company John Jacks and Thomas Richards two§ §discharged soldiers —§ §In our Letter to your Honors under date§ §of the 3 June last, we informed you that we should§ §sell the Contents of the Chest belonging to James Gordon§ §Gardener and bring the produce thereof to your Honors§ §Cash, we have accordingly received the same amounting§ §to twenty Pounds Seventeen shillings and eight pence§ §and wrote that sum off to account current London§ §the account Sales is inserted in our Consultations of the§ §14th instant —§	The Council began a fresh letter by noting that its previous one went to the Court on 1 August 1769 by the *Dutton*. 2: The Company's ship *Grenville* arrived on 13 August 1769 from Bombay, having last called at the Cape. Captain Abercromby reported leaving Bombay on 7 April 1769. The Company's ship *Essex* lay there at the time and was due to sail for Europe towards the end of that month. He put into False Bay for fresh provisions. The Company's ship *Royal Charlotte* called there before him and resumed her voyage about 12 May 1769. A Dutch captain at False Bay told him that the *Prince of Wales* sprang a leak after leaving the island of St Jago and made for Brazil to repair. 3: Captain Abercromby received an order to take two discharged soldiers, John Jacks and Thomas Richards, aboard his ship to help fill out her crew. 4: The Council's letter of 3 June 1769 told the Court that the contents of a chest belonging to James Gordon, gardener, would be sold and the proceeds paid into the Company's treasury. The sale took place and raised £20 17s 8d. That sum was entered in the island's books against the running account with London. The detailed statement of the sale appeared in the consultations of 14 August 1769. **Interpretations** Entering the £20 17s 8d against the account current with London turned Gordon's property into a credit held by the Company at home. The cash itself stayed in the island treasury for local use, while the Court became answerable in London for the same amount to whoever was entitled to Gordon's effects. The account of sale copied into the consultations gave the Court an itemised record against which any claimant could be paid. The mechanism was the same one that underlay the bills of exchange dated 24 July 1769: money received on the island, liability discharged in England. The second paragraph served as shipping intelligence for the Court. St Helena was a point where homeward commanders reported what they saw and heard on the way, and the Council forwarded it by the first ship. The news of the *Prince of Wales* was hearsay at one remove, passed from a Dutch captain to Captain Abercromby, and the Council reported it as such without vouching for it. A leak serious enough to send a ship to Brazil meant a long delay to her voyage, which the Court would need to know for insurance, cargo and scheduling purposes. As with the five men sent by Captain Rice in the letter of 1 August 1769, the two discharged soldiers were shipped as hands to complete the crew of the *Grenville*. No fare was recorded for them, unlike the £10 0s 0d paid to Captain Dampier for two invalids unable to work.
212	205	Captain Abercromby acquainted the Governor§ §that he had on board his ship one Robt. Grosvenor a§ §Deserter from Bombay, we have detained him to serve§ §his Contracted time in this Garrison —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt and humle§ §(signed) Servants§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §17th Augt 1769§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §pr Ship Grenville dated the 17th August 1769 vizt§ §Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 17th	Captain Abercromby told Governor Skottowe that a deserter from Bombay named Robert Grosvenor was aboard his ship. The Council took the man off and kept him at St Helena to serve out his contracted term in the island's garrison. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 August 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Grenville*, dated 17 August 1769, held the following papers. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 August 1769 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 1 August 1769 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 1 August 1769 relating to law matters

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		Augt 1769§ §Duplicate & do dated the 1st do do§ §do do do datd 1st do do relatg to law mats§ §Consultations from 7th to the 17th do do§ §Duplicate do from the 17th to the 31 July do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Dutton§ §Second do for do pr Ship Sea Horse§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Dutton§ §List of two discharged Soldiers§ §Effective state of Garrison§ §Cash acct from the 1st to the 17th August 1769§ §Duplicate do from the 20th to the 31 July do§ §Ship Grenvilles account§ §Duplicate Ship Duttons do§ §Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Grenville§ §Time of the arrival of the Grenvilles Boat at Banks's§ §Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held§ §on the 12th July 1769§	4: Consultations from 7 to 17 August 1769 5: Duplicate consultations from 17 to 31 July 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Dutton*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Sea Horse*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Dutton*. 9: List of two discharged soldiers 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 1 to 17 August 1769 12: Duplicate cash account from 20 to 31 July 1769 13: Account of the ship *Grenville*. 14: Duplicate account of the ship *Dutton*. 15: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Grenville*. 16: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Grenville* at Banks's. 17: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 12 July 1769 **Interpretations** Grosvenor deserted from the Company's service at Bombay, and the obvious courses were to send him back there to face punishment or to let him continue to England in the *Grenville*. The Council did neither. His contract was with the Company, not with a particular station, so the Council treated the unserved years as still owing and claimed them for St Helena. The choice suited the island's needs. The letters of 1 August 1769 and 17 August 1769 recorded seven soldiers discharged and shipped home as crew, and two invalids left on 19 July 1769. A trained man already bound to serve cost nothing to recruit or transport. The captain reported the deserter to the Governor personally, and the Council then acted on it. A commander who knowingly carried a Company deserter home risked blame in London, so disclosure at the first Company settlement protected him and handed the problem to the nearest authority able to deal with it. The two discharged soldiers in item 9 were John Jacks and Thomas Richards, named in the letter of 17 August 1769 as joining the crew of the *Grenville*. The packet again paired each new document with duplicates from the previous dispatch, so the letter on law matters and the court proceedings of 12 July 1769, first sent by the *Dutton*, went home a second time by a different ship.
213	206	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed your Honors the 17th of last Month§ §by the Ship Grenville§ §On the 25th of of August Arrived your Ships Essex from§ §Bombay, and the 28th the Shrewsbury from Bengal (last from the§ §Mauritious) Capt. Jones acquaints Us he left Bengal the 18th April§ §and that your Ship Talbot sailed the 24 March from the same§ §place, he further Informed Us that after he left Ingelie he met§ §with a Country Vessel bound from Madrass to Bengal, the Captain§ §acquainted him that a Peace was made between your Presidency of§ §Madrass and Hyder Ally, but on what terms, he did not know§ §Capt. Jones likewise tells Us that he put into the Mauritious, and on his§ §Arrival into that Port, he immediately received a message from the§ §Governor Monsieur D' La Roche acquainting him	The Council opened a new letter by recalling its previous one, sent on 17 August 1769 by the *Grenville*. 2: The Company's ship *Essex* arrived from Bombay on 25 August 1769. The *Shrewsbury* followed on 28 August 1769 from Bengal, having last called at Mauritius. Captain Jones reported leaving Bengal on 18 April 1769, and the Company's ship *Talbot* sailed from there on 24 March 1769. After clearing Ingelie he met a country vessel on passage from Madras to Bengal. Her captain told him that the Madras presidency made peace with Hyder Ally, though he knew nothing of the terms. Captain Jones also described his reception at Mauritius. A message from the French governor, Monsieur De La Roche, reached him as soon as he entered the port. Neither Jones nor any of his officers could come ashore, but the French would deliver whatever provisions or water he needed with their own boats and men. Jones replied that French commanders were always allowed to land at St Helena. He asked only for the same courtesy, so that he could call on the governor in person. The request was flatly refused. The same reply carried an invitation, since De La Roche was holding a ball that evening and wished Jones and any officers he chose

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		that he could§ §not permit, either himself or any of his Officers to land, but that§ §whatever provisions or Water he wanted he shoud be supply'd§ §therewith by their own Boats and People, that he Capt. Jones sent§ §in Answer to the Governors message, that as their Commanders§ §were always permitted to land at the Island St Helena, he only§ §requested the same privilege there, that he might have an§ §opportunity of paying his respects to the Governor, which was§ §absolutely refused at the same time Informed Capt. Jones that§ §the Governor had a Ball that night and should be glad of his§ §Company together with any of his Officers that he thought proper§ §to bring, and that a Boat should be sent for them at eight§ §oClock at night, to bring them a shore, and that same Boat§ §should attend to carry them off, as it was impossible for them§ §to lay a shore, that in consequence of the above message Capt.§ §Jones permitted some of his Officers together with Mr Barwell§ §passenger to go that they were conducted to and from the§ §Settlement§	to attend. A boat would collect them at eight o'clock at night and wait to take them back, because none of them could sleep ashore. Jones allowed some of his officers and a passenger, Mr Barwell, to accept. They were escorted to the settlement and back again. **Interpretations** The French governor's arrangements kept British officers from seeing anything of Mauritius. Supplies came out in French boats with French crews, so no boat from the *Shrewsbury* touched the shore. The only visit allowed was after dark, to a ball, with the guests fetched, escorted and returned by the same boat. The hospitality was real but so was the purpose: no Company officer could observe the harbour works, defences or garrison by daylight or move about unaccompanied. Jones's appeal to the treatment of French commanders at St Helena showed that he understood the refusal as a breach of the usual reciprocity between the two nations' stations. The Council reported the episode in detail because it bore on how French ships ought to be received at St Helena in return. Jones did not go to the ball himself, as far as the passage showed. Having been refused the formal call he asked for, he let officers and a passenger attend while keeping his own distance. Accepting in person an invitation offered in place of a proper reception would have conceded the point he had just argued. A country vessel was a ship owned and based in the East, trading between Asian ports and not sailing to Europe. Ingelie lay at the seaward end of the river approach to Calcutta, where outward ships left the pilotage and took their departure. The news of a peace with Hyder Ally, ruler of Mysore and the Madras presidency's opponent in war, was third-hand and without terms. The Council passed it on regardless, since any ship from St Helena might reach London ahead of the official dispatches from Madras.
214	207	Settlement by an Officer, and strictly attended by the same, during§ §the whole time of their stay, and that those Gentlemen observed a§ §prodigious number of Military Officers at the entertainment —§ §amounting as they suppose, upwards of four hundred Officers and§ §as they were informed had Troops proportional to that number as§ §also a large number of Cavalry, we think it necessary to give your§ §Honors the above information, as we have received it from Capt§ §Jones, and have determined in the Present critical situation of§ §affairs in Europe, to raise the Militia of this Island, and in case§ §of French Ships touching here not to permit them to land but supply§ §them in the same manner as they have set us the example, until§ §we receive your further instructions thereupon —§ §We beg leave to refer your Honors to our Consultation of§ §the 4th August relative to Letters received and answered by us, from§ §Capt Reed on his request of landing twenty Gallons of Arrack for his§ §own use, without paying the Company's duty as settled in the§ §regulations provided on that account, and which we considered as§ §highly irregular and without precedent since the taking place of§ §those regulations: and we beg leave to take this Opportunity of§	An officer escorted the visitors from the *Shrewsbury* to the French settlement at Mauritius and back, and kept close beside them for the whole of their stay. The guests noticed an extraordinary number of military officers at the ball, more than 400 by their estimate. They were told that the island held troops in proportion to that figure and a large body of cavalry besides. The Council thought the Court ought to have this information exactly as Captain Jones gave it. Affairs in Europe stood at a dangerous point, and the Council resolved to call out the island's militia. Any French ships calling at St Helena would be refused permission to land. They would be supplied in the same way the French governor supplied the *Shrewsbury*, until the Court sent further instructions. 3: The Council referred the Court to its consultation of 4 August 1769, which recorded an exchange of letters with Captain R[...]. He asked to land 20 gallons of arrack for his own use without paying the Company's duty fixed by the regulations. The Council regarded the request as highly irregular, and nothing like it was allowed since those regulations came into force. The Council took the chance to explain why the duty was collected so strictly. No workable line could be drawn once exemptions began. Commanders and their officers would have claimed personal use as a cover for bringing large quantities of spirits to many of the inhabitants. The old problem of unlicensed retailing would then have returned, which did great harm to the soldiers and the poorer islanders. The new system of selling arrack put a stop to that trade. The Council assured the Court that the benefits were already plain in the steadier conduct and better behaviour of the garrison. Any relaxation of the

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		§explaining our reasons why we were obliged to that strictness in§ §the collecting of that duty, as it was impossible to draw the line to§ §prevent the former abuse, had we not fallen upon that method as§ §the Commanders, as well as their Officers would have availed§ §themselves on pretence of their own use, of introducing a very§ §large quantity of spirituous Liquors to many of the Inhabitants§ §and of course subject us to the former difficulty of the abuse of§ §retailing, found so very prejudicial to the Military and lower§ §sort of people of this Island, and now so effectually prevented as we§ §find by experience from the new method of Vending Arrack and§ §which we have the satisfaction of assuring you that the good effects§ §are at present so obvious both from the regularity & consequently§ §morality of our Military, that we are well convinced that any§ §innovations therein, would be of the greatest hurt & bad consequence§ §to the Settlement in General —§	system, the Council was convinced, would do serious damage to the settlement as a whole. **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in the East from palm sap, rice or sugar-cane molasses, and reached St Helena in ships returning from India and Batavia. It was the common drink of soldiers and sailors in the Company's settlements, cheap and potent. At St Helena the Company charged a duty on every gallon landed and, under the regulations mentioned here, controlled how it was sold. The duty raised revenue, but the passage showed that its main purpose was control: by channelling all arrack through one regulated outlet, the Council limited how much drink reached the garrison and shut out private sellers. The Council refused an exemption for 20 gallons claimed as a captain's personal supply, a modest quantity that could easily have been waved through as a courtesy to a commander. The reason given was specific. A personal allowance could not be policed, since any officer could land spirits under that label and pass them to islanders for resale. The Council therefore chose a rule with no exceptions over one that depended on judging each claim. Writing to the Court unprompted suggested that the Council expected the captain to complain in London and wanted its justification on record first. The response to the French was a deliberate change of practice. French commanders were previously free to land at St Helena, as Captain Jones reminded the governor of Mauritius. The Council dropped that courtesy and adopted the French method exactly, supplying ships by boat without allowing anyone ashore. Two reasons appeared on the page: the treatment of the *Shrewsbury* and the report of more than 400 officers with troops and cavalry to match, a force far larger than the defence of Mauritius required. Such a concentration pointed to preparations for war in the East, and St Helena lay on the route home. The Council framed the measure as temporary and subject to the Court's orders, since refusing landing rights to a foreign power at peace was a matter of state beyond its ordinary authority. Raising the militia put the island's civilian men under arms alongside the garrison. This was a precaution taken on the strength of a ship's report alone, before any word from London.
215	208	We request you will please to Order two five Inch Hawsers§ §and fifty fathom of Iron Chain for Moorings for the Long Boats§ §to be sent us next season, these Articles being much wanted§ §but were omitted when the General Indent was made out —§ §Lieut Welch died the 21st of last Month we have appointed§ §Mr Richard Mason Cadet, to fill up that vacant commission§ §he being a very deserving young man and having taken§ §great pains in learning his duty during the time he was§ §Cadet, we hope your Honors will be pleased to confirm the§ §said appointment —§ §The Passengers on board the Shrewsbury are Messrs§ §Barwell, and Starkee, and Mrs Tingle —§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to John Skottowe Esqr for one hundred and twenty§ §pounds, payable to Robert Wood Esqr. One Set to Daniel Corneille Esqr§ §for eighty eight pounds, payable to Messrs John	The Council asked the Court to order two five-inch hawsers and 50 fathoms of iron chain for mooring the longboats, to come out the following season. Both were badly needed, but they were left off the general order for stores when it was drawn up. 5: Lieutenant Welch died on 21 August 1769. The Council gave his vacant commission to a cadet, Mr Richard Mason. Mason was a very deserving young man who worked hard to learn his duties during his time as a cadet. The Council hoped the Court would confirm the appointment. 6: Messrs Barwell and Starkee and Mr Tingle were the passengers aboard the *Shrewsbury*. 7: The Council granted six sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. Governor Skottowe, payable to Robert Wood Esquire, dated 4 September 1769, £120 0s 0d Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Messrs John Parker and Edward Wakelin, dated 4 September 1769, £88 0s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, dated 4 September 1769, £400 0s 0d Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Mr George [...]itherden, dated 4 September 1769, £65 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to John Purling Esquire, dated 11 September 1769, £100 0s 0d

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		Parker and§ §Edward Wakelin: one set to Mr Matthew Purling for four§ §hundred pounds payable to John Purling Esqr: One Set to§ §Mr Jonathan Doveton for sixty five pounds payable to Mr§ §George Ritherdon dated the 4th instant: One Set to Capt Henry§ §Bazett for one hundred pounds, payable to John Purling Esqr§ §And one set to Mr William Wrangham for one hundred and§ §fifty pounds payable to Capt Gabriel Steward, both dated the 11th§ §instant and all drawn at ninety days sight —§ §By the Ship Shrewsbury that sails on the 17th instant§ §we shall lay before your Honors our sentiments respecting Mr§ §Bears Petition, and application to you for a proper Person to§ §succeed him as Schoolmaster§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humble§ §Servants§ §signed John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §14 Sepr. 1769§	Mr William Wrangham, payable to Captain Gabriel Steward, dated 11 September 1769, £150 0s 0d 8: The *Shrewsbury* was due to sail on 17 September 1769. By her the Council intended to send its views on the petition of Mr Bea[...] and a request for a suitable person to succeed him as schoolmaster. The letter closed at St Helena on 14 September 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Council filled Welch's commission from the island's own cadets instead of leaving it open for the Court to fill from England, which was where the power to grant commissions lay. Mason's promotion was therefore provisional, and the praise of his diligence was the case for confirming it. With the militia newly called out and French intentions in doubt, as the same letter reported, a vacant lieutenancy in a small garrison could not wait a year for a reply. All three members of the Council remitted money home in this one batch, as did two other Company servants and a ship's captain. The Governor again named Robert Wood as his payee, as in the bills dated 24 July 1769, which pointed to Wood acting as his regular agent in London. Matthew Purling's £400 0s 0d and Captain Bazett's £100 0s 0d were both payable to John Purling Esquire, who was probably a relation of the councillor handling funds in London for more than one island correspondent. These six sets brought £923 0s 0d into the treasury, further support for the Council's advice on 1 August 1769 that no cash need be shipped out. The hawsers and chain were a supplementary request. The general indent, the yearly list of stores required from England, had already gone, so the omission could only be repaired by a separate paragraph asking for delivery a season later. Longboats moored in the open roadstead were the island's link with every ship, and under the new rule of supplying French vessels by boat alone their upkeep mattered more than before. The schoolmaster's petition was held over for a fuller letter by the *Shrewsbury* three days later. The mention of a successor showed that Mr Bea[...] was leaving the post, though the passage gave neither the grounds of his petition nor the Council's opinion of it.
216	209	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St Helena pr Ship§ §Essex dated 14th September 1769 vizt§ §Governor & Councils General Letter dated 14th Septr 1769§ §Duplicate Do & Do dated 17th August Do§ §Consultations from 21st August to the 11 Sepr Do§ §Duplicate Do from 7th to 17th August Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Grenville§ §Second Do for Do pr Ship Dutton§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Grenville§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Cash Acct from 18th to 31st Augt 1769§ §Do. from 1st to 14th Sepr Do§ §Duplicate Do from 1st to 17th Augt. Do§ §Ships Essexs Account§ §Duplicate Ship Grenvilles Do§ §Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Essex and Shrewsbury§ §Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Essex*, dated 14 September 1769, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 14 September 1769 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 August 1769 3: Consultations from 21 August to 11 September 1769 4: Duplicate consultations from 7 to 17 August 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Grenville*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Dutton*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Grenville*. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Cash account from 18 to 31 August 1769 10: Cash account from 1 to 14 September 1769 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 17 August 1769 12: Account of the ship *Essex*. 13: Duplicate account of the ship *Grenville*.

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			14: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Essex* and *Shrewsbury*. 15: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's
217	210	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §On the 14th instant we addressed you by the§ §Ship Essex§ §We have given Capt Jones an Order to receive§ §on board the Shrewsbury towards compleating her Company Thomas§ §Harris Seaman left here out of the Ship Grenville§ §Mr Hugh Jones applied to us to pay forty pounds§ §into your Cash, which we have received and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that sum payable to Mr. Morrice Jones§ §drawn at ninety days sight & dated the 16th instant§ §Mr Richard Beale in Consultation of the 4th instant§ §presenting a Petition to the board setting forth that by Age and§ §infirmities his Constitution is so much impaired that he is incapable§ §of executing the Office of Judge Advocate, or teaching the Children§ §on the Island any longer: and therefore under the necessity of§ §resigning his Employs, which resignation we cannot but consider§ §as a particular Stamp of his Benevolent Disposition to the Parents§ §and Youths of this Island finding himself now past his Labour§ §and well knowing that we could never have thought of displacing§ §a man of his approved worth and merit after such a number§ §of Years faithful service, without laying his Case first before§ §your Honors, and Joining our strongest Solicitations in his§ §favour for a Pension for the remainder of his Life, as we can§ §safely say that the advantages the Inhabitants here have received from§ §his instructions & diligence, so well known to every Individual,§ §makes him an object worthy your favour and Bounty, our§ §Sentiments on this Head, are no more than Correspondent with§ §those of all your servants in this Settlement, as well as the§ §Inhabitants as you will find by their proceedings in Vestry§ §held the 8th of September§ §As a Schoolmaster is of the greatest consequence§ §to§	The Council began a further letter by noting that its previous one went to the Court on 14 September 1769 by the *Essex*. 2: Captain Jones received an order to take Thomas Harris aboard the *Shrewsbury* to help fill out her crew. Harris was a seaman left behind on the island from the *Grenville*. 3: Mr Hugh Jones applied to pay £40 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills on the Court for that amount, payable to Mr Morrice Jones. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 16 September 1769. 4: Mr Richard Beale presented a petition at the consultation of 4 September 1769. Age and illness so weakened him, he explained, that he could no longer serve as Judge Advocate or teach the island's children. He therefore felt obliged to give up both posts. The Council saw the resignation as a clear sign of his goodwill towards the parents and young people of the island. Beale recognised that he was past work. He also knew that the Council would never have considered removing a man of his proven worth after so many years of loyal service without first putting his case to the Court. The Council added its strongest appeal for a pension for the rest of his life. Every islander knew how much the community gained from his teaching and hard work, and the Council held that this made him deserving of the Court's generosity. All the Company's servants in the settlement shared that view. The inhabitants did too, as the record of the vestry meeting held on 8 September 1769 showed. **Interpretations** Beale held two offices at once, Judge Advocate and schoolmaster. The Judge Advocate was the Company's legal officer on the island, who prepared and conducted cases before its courts. Combining that post with the school showed how thin the establishment of educated men was: one literate, trusted individual served both the law and the classroom. His retirement therefore opened two vacancies, although the request sent home, noted in the letter of 14 September 1769, concerned a successor as schoolmaster. The Council could accept a resignation but could not award a pension. That power rested with the Court, so the letter was written as a case for one. The account of the resignation was shaped to that end. Beale was presented as stepping down for the children's sake, when he could have stayed in post drawing his salary because the Council admitted it would not have removed him unasked. By going voluntarily he gave up an income he could have kept, and the Council asked the Court to make good that sacrifice. The vestry meeting of 8 September 1769 was the parish assembly of the island's inhabitants. Its proceedings were cited to show that the appeal did not come from the Council alone but had the backing of the free population. A recommendation supported by both the Company's servants and the islanders was harder for the Court to refuse than one resting on the word of three councillors. Harris, a seaman who stayed behind when the *Grenville* left after 17 August 1769, was placed in the next homeward ship short of hands. The practice matched the shipping of discharged soldiers as crew recorded on 1 August 1769 and 17 August 1769: stray men on the island were used to make up ships' complements at no cost to the Company.
218	211	to the welfare of the Youth & Inhabitants, and not being able to§	The Council regarded a schoolmaster as vital to the wellbeing of the island's young people and

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		§procure one here capable of undertaking the same, We have agreed§ §that Mr Beale should keep his appointments both of Judge Advocate§ §& Schoolmaster until your pleasure be known, and required the§ §Chaplain and Church Wardens to Assemble the Inhabitants in§ §a Vestry to consider of a Provision and accommodations fitting§ §for a Schoolmaster, we should apply to you to send from England§ §at the same time desired the Chaplains particular sentiments on§ §the subject which he has accordingly given & laid them before us§ §in Consultation of the 11th instant together with the resolutions§ §taken by the inhabitants at their meeting in which you will§ §be pleased to observe that £450 now in stock of the Poors§ §money is to be appropriated for Building a House & other§ §accommodations for the Schoolmaster and that as a better provision§ §for him they have augmented the quarterly payments heretofore§ §given for teaching of Children vizt from six shillings a quarter for§ §spelling and reading to twenty shillings, and for writing and§ §casting accounts from twelve shillings to thirty shillings, which§ §augmentation arising from Scholars we are in hopes may be§ §one means of making it better worth a Schoolmasters coming§ §out as we think he may always be sure of Twenty Scholars, his§ §present salary from the Company is thirty pounds pr Year and§ §in addition we proposed to give him the Post of Judge Advocate§ §which would be Fifty pounds a Year more, this together with a§ §House free to live in would make a Provision for a Schoolmaster§ §infinitely better than what is has hitherto been, and we flatter§ §ourselves jointly with your bounty, sufficient to procure a good§ §and able man for that Office, Mr Bearcroft in his Sentiments on§ §the matter gives very cogent reasons that a Clergyman would§ §be the properest person for that undertaking, and we cannot but§ §Join in Sentiments with him, but here a difficulty arises in§ §Assigning him the Post of Judge Advocate being as we§ §apprehend inconsistent for one of his Function to Act in any§ §Court Proceedings respecting Criminal Prosecutions, in that§ §case§	inhabitants, and nobody on the island was capable of taking on the work. Mr Beale therefore kept both his posts, Judge Advocate and schoolmaster, until the Court made its wishes known. The Council required the Chaplain and churchwardens to call the inhabitants together in a vestry. The meeting was to consider what income and housing would suit a schoolmaster sent out from England at the Council's request. The Chaplain was also asked for his own opinion. He gave it, and it came before the Council at the consultation of 11 September 1769 together with the resolutions passed by the inhabitants. Those resolutions set aside £450 0s 0d, then held in the fund for the poor, to build a house and other facilities for the schoolmaster. The inhabitants also raised the quarterly fees paid for teaching their children. Spelling and reading, former fee per quarter, £0 6s 0d Spelling and reading, new fee per quarter, £1 0s 0d Writing and arithmetic, former fee per quarter, £0 12s 0d Writing and arithmetic, new fee per quarter, £1 10s 0d The Council hoped the larger income from pupils would help make the post worth a schoolmaster's voyage out, since he could always count on 20 scholars. The Company's salary for the post stood at £30 0s 0d a year. The Council proposed adding the office of Judge Advocate, worth a further £50 0s 0d a year. With a house to live in rent-free, the schoolmaster's position would be far better than before. The Council trusted that this package and the Court's generosity would together attract a good and capable man. Mr Bearcroft argued persuasively in his written opinion that a clergyman would be the most suitable person for the work, and the Council agreed with him. A difficulty followed over giving such a man the post of Judge Advocate. The Council thought it improper for a clergyman to take part in court proceedings involving criminal prosecutions. **Interpretations** The fund for the poor was the parish's own money, raised and held locally for relief of the needy, and the vestry controlled it. The inhabitants voted to spend £450 0s 0d of it on a schoolhouse. The obvious course was to ask the Company to build, since the schoolmaster was a salaried Company servant. The islanders instead committed their own capital, which strengthened the Council's request to the Court: the community had already paid for the building and raised the fees, and the Company was asked only for a man and its usual salary. The new fees more than trebled the cost of basic schooling and raised the higher subjects by two and a half times. Fees were paid per child each quarter, so the schoolmaster's income rose with his roll. On the Council's figure of 20 pupils the fees alone would exceed the Company's £30 0s 0d salary several times over. Most of the schoolmaster's living thus came from parents, not from the Company. This matched the ordinary practice of fee-paying schools in England at the time, though the fixing of fees by a parish meeting gave the islanders a collective say that English parents seldom had. The proposal to attach the Judge Advocate's post to the school repeated Beale's own arrangement and was a way of making one salary do the work of two. The £50 0s 0d for legal duties was worth more than the teaching salary, so the plan depended on finding a man fit for both. The Chaplain's recommendation of a clergyman broke that link. A clergyman acting for the prosecution in criminal trials, some of which could end in severe punishment, was at odds with his

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			calling. The Council accepted the objection even though it removed the larger part of the proposed income, and so undid the financial case it had just set out. Keeping Beale in both offices, despite a petition declaring him unfit for either, showed that the Council preferred a nominal holder to a vacancy. An empty Judge Advocate's post would have hampered the island's courts, and an empty school would have left the children untaught for the year or more that a reply from London required.
219	212	case the Schoolmaster would fail in an Emolument of Fifty§ §pounds a Year: If this Plan or proposal of Mr. Bearcrofts of§ §having a Clergyman in preference to a Layman for School§ §master should meet with your approbation, which we are§ §willing to hope may be the case from the reasons he has§ §assigned, we have no other Aid or dependance to replace the§ §Fifty pounds a Year but in your bounty by augmenting the§ §Schoolmasters Salary to make it equal to what we intended§ §him if a Lay Man, by Joining the Judge Advocates & Schoolmasters§ §pay together, as now injoyed by Mr Beale, should a Clergyman§ §be appointed to the latter Office, we can easily supply the Post of the§ §former by one of your civil servants upon the Island, and for§ §the present have directed Mr Beale to get a proper Person to§ §Copy the Regimental Courts Martial, and in case there should§ §be a necessity of holding General Courts Martial, we shall§ §appoint a Temporary Judge Advocate to Officiate on the§ §occasions until we receive your determination & directions§ §therein — We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humble Servts§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §17th Sepr 1769§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §pr Ship Shrewsbury 17 Sepr 1769 vizt§ §Governor & Councils General Letter dated 17th Sepr 1769§ §Duplicate Do and Do. dated 14th Do Do§ §Consultation of the 16th Do Do§ §Duplicate Do from 21 Augt to 11th Do Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Essex§	A clergyman appointed as schoolmaster could not hold the post of Judge Advocate, and the schoolmaster would then lose £50 0s 0d a year. The Council hoped the Court would approve Mr Bearcroft's proposal to prefer a clergyman over a layman, given the reasons he set out. Only the Court's generosity could then make up the missing £50 0s 0d. The Council asked for the schoolmaster's salary to be raised to match what a layman would have earned from the two posts combined, as Mr Beale then did. One of the Company's civil servants on the island could easily take over as Judge Advocate if a clergyman became schoolmaster. For the time being the Council directed Beale to find a suitable person to copy out the proceedings of the regimental courts martial. A temporary Judge Advocate would be appointed to act whenever a general court martial had to be held, until the Court's decision and instructions arrived. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 September 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Shrewsbury*, dated 17 September 1769, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 17 September 1769 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 September 1769 3: Consultation of 16 September 1769 4: Duplicate consultations from 21 August to 11 September 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Essex*. **Interpretations** The Council backed the dearer option. Uniting the two posts in a layman cost the Company nothing new, since both salaries already existed and Beale drew them together. A clergyman as schoolmaster meant paying a separate Judge Advocate and also lifting the teaching salary from £30 0s 0d to £80 0s 0d, an added charge of £50 0s 0d a year. The Council chose that course on the strength of the Chaplain's reasons and left the Court to decide whether to fund it. The earlier emphasis on the islanders' own contribution, the £450 0s 0d for a house and the higher fees recorded in the same letter, prepared the ground for this request. The interim measures showed what the Judge Advocate's work consisted of. Regimental courts martial dealt with lesser military offences inside the garrison and needed only an accurate written record, so a copyist working under Beale was enough. A general court martial tried serious charges and required a legal officer to conduct the case, so one would be named for each occasion. Beale thus kept his title and salary while the duties he could no longer perform were divided between a clerk and a temporary appointee. The suggestion that a civil servant could "easily" fill the Judge Advocate's post indicated that the office was not thought to demand formal legal training. It

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			was treated as an administrative duty that a competent Company writer or factor could add to his existing work. The packet list recorded the consultation of 16 September 1769 as a single item. The bills for Mr Hugh Jones's £40 0s 0d carried that date, and the consultation was held one day before the *Shrewsbury* sailed.
220	213	Second Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Grenville§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Essex§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Cash Acct from 15th to 17th Sepr. 1769§ §Duplicate Do from 18th to 31 Augt. Do§ §Do Do from 1st to 14th Sepr Do§ §Ship Shrewsburys Account§ §Duplicate Ships Essexs Do§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote last to you by the Ship Shrewsbury§ §under Date of the 17th September 1769§ §On the 22d of last Month Arrived a Dutch Ship§ §from Batavia called the Rhynsburg Captn Stuurman burthen§ §about 700 Tons carrys 23 Guns & 100 Men loaden with Pepper§ §bound to Amsterdam§ §The 7th instant arrived your Ship Thames§ §from Madrass (last from the Cape) Capt Haggis acquaints Us§ §he left Fort St. George the 1st of July & your Honors Ships Pigot§ §Hector, Triton, Plassey, Nottingham, Ashburnham Earl of§ §Lincoln, Havannah, Osterly, Devonshire, Norfolk & Lord§ §Holland there, the Lioness he tells Us saild from Bengall the§ §22d of May, the Earl of Chatham had not been heard of when§ §he left Madrass, neither can he give Us any Accident of the§ §Talbot, he likewise informs Us that a Peace was Concluded§ §with Hyder Alley, & tranquillity again restored in the§ §Carnatick§	The packet sent by the *Shrewsbury* on 17 September 1769 also held the following papers. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Grenville*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Essex*. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Cash account from 15 to 17 September 1769 10: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 31 August 1769 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 14 September 1769 12: Account of the ship *Shrewsbury*. 13: Duplicate account of the ship *Essex*. The Council opened its next letter by recalling the previous one, dated 17 September 1769 and sent by the *Shrewsbury*. 2: A Dutch ship from Batavia, the *Rhynsburg* under Captain Stuurman, arrived on 22 September 1769. She measured about 700 tons, carried 23 guns and 100 men, and was bound for Amsterdam with a cargo of pepper. 3: The Company's ship *Thames* arrived on 7 October 1769 from Madras, having last called at the Cape. Captain Haggis reported leaving Fort St George on 1 July 1769. Twelve Company ships lay there when he sailed. *Pigot* *Hector* *Triton* *Plassey* *Nottingham* *Ashburnham* *Earl of Lincoln* *Havannah* *Osterley* *Devonshire* *Norfolk* *Lord Holland* Captain Haggis added that the *Lioness* sailed from Bengal on 22 May 1769. Nothing was heard of the *Earl of Chatham* by the time he left Madras, and he had no news of the *Talbot*. He confirmed that peace was concluded with Hyder Ally and that calm had returned to the Carnatic. **Interpretations** The peace with Hyder Ally first reached the Council as a third-hand report from Captain Jones, relayed in the letter of 14 September 1769 with the terms unknown. Captain Haggis came directly from Madras, the presidency that fought the war, and sailed on 1 July 1769, so his statement turned a rumour into firm news. The Carnatic was the coastal region of south-east India around Madras, where the fighting took place. Its return to quiet mattered to the Court because the war disrupted the Company's trade and revenue there. The Council recorded the Dutch ship's tonnage, guns, crew, cargo, origin and destination. No such detail was given for the Company's own ships. A foreign vessel calling at the island was noted as intelligence: the Court could gauge from such entries the scale and armament of Dutch shipping and the volume of pepper reaching Amsterdam, a trade in direct competition with its own. The list of twelve ships at Fort St George was an unusually large gathering for one port. The passage

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			did not say why so many lay there together, though the war just ended in the Carnatic and the delays it caused to cargoes offered a probable reason. The two ships reported missing were both named in earlier letters. Captain Jones stated that the *Talbot* left Bengal on 24 March 1769, yet more than three months later Madras knew nothing of her. A Captain Morrice of the *Earl of Chatham* went home as a passenger in the *Dutton*, according to the letter of 19 July 1769, while Madras had no word of that ship on 1 July 1769. The passage offered no explanation of either case.
221	214	Carnatick, he further tells us that a Great number of French men§ §are Stragling about the Town of Calcutta & he heard that several§ §Ships of that Nation arrived at Bengall full of Men & doubly§ §Officerd, but return with only their necessary compliment, he§ §likewise heard at the Cape that there were a great number of Troops§ §at Mauritius that the French had taken possession & Fortifyd the§ §Island St. Mary's & were making large strides on the Island§ §Madagascar, the Dutch he says seemed to be much alarmed§ §at it; Your Ship Fox he informs Us proceeded on her Voyage the§ §day after he arrived at the Cape§ §Your honours will please to observe by our last§ §Consultation that Capt. Haggis had made a demand for Fuel§ §being greatly distressed from the want of that Article, we could§ §spare him but one Chaldron of Coals which we were obliged to§ §take from those appropriated for burning Lime, Request you§ §will Order all Indented for to be sent next Year, as we have§ §frequent demands upon Us for Fuel from the Commanders§ §notwithstanding your Orders for supplying themselves in§ §India, this we cannot avoid remarking to you as any supply§ §of the kind is always attended with great inconvenience to Us§ §We beg leave to refer you to our last Consultation§ §respecting Letters received relative to Mundens Point from the§ §Lieut Governor & Lieut Bazett Superintendant of the Works,§ §also another Letter from the Lieut Governor as Companys§ §Husband regarding the stock & our determination thereon§ §Mr Richard Beale who we recommended to§ §your Honours in our last Letters as a very valuable &§ §deserving old servant & solliciting your Bounty to him in§ §his Old Age Died on the 7th instant§ §The Passengers on board the Thames are Mr§ §Mackay & Messrs Barlow Foster & Barry —§	Captain Haggis of the *Thames* also brought news of French activity in the East. Large numbers of Frenchmen were wandering about the town of Calcutta. He heard that several French ships reached Bengal crowded with men and carrying twice the usual number of officers, then sailed away with no more than a working crew. At the Cape he learned that a great many troops were stationed at Mauritius. The French had seized and fortified the island of St Mary's and were advancing rapidly on Madagascar, and the Dutch appeared very uneasy about it. He added that the Company's ship *Fox* continued her voyage the day after he reached the Cape. 4: The latest consultation recorded a request from Captain Haggis for fuel, which his ship badly lacked. The Council could spare him only one chaldron of coal, and even that came out of the stock set aside for burning lime. The Court was asked to send the following year everything ordered under that head. Commanders often applied to the island for fuel despite the Court's orders to stock up in India. The Council felt bound to point this out, since every such issue caused the island great difficulty. 5: The same consultation dealt with letters about Munden's Point from the Lieutenant Governor and from Lieutenant Bazett, Superintendent of the Works. It also covered a further letter from the Lieutenant Governor, writing as Company's Husband, about the livestock. The Council referred the Court to that record for the letters and for the decisions taken on them. 6: Mr Richard Beale died on 7 October 1769. The Council's recent letters had commended him as a valuable and deserving old servant and asked the Court to provide for him in his old age. 7: Mrs Mackay and Messrs Barlow, Foster and Barry were the passengers aboard the *Thames*. **Interpretations** The report from Bengal described a way of moving soldiers without declaring them. Ships arrived with far more men and officers than were needed to sail them and left with ordinary crews, so the surplus stayed ashore. Double the normal number of officers pointed to cadres for raising or commanding troops, not to seamen. Read with the account from the *Shrewsbury* in the letter of 14 September 1769, of more than 400 officers at Mauritius, the picture was of a French build-up at several points at once: Bengal, Mauritius, St Mary's and Madagascar. St Mary's was a small island off the east coast of Madagascar, useful as a fortified anchorage on the route between Mauritius and India. The Dutch alarm was noted because their Cape settlement lay on the same route and they had as much to fear as the Company. This intelligence gave further grounds for the Council's decisions to call out the militia and to keep French crews from landing. A chaldron was the standard measure by which coal was sold, a little over a ton in weight. St Helena had almost no timber, so coal shipped from England was the island's working fuel and was reserved for particular uses. The stock drawn on here was for burning lime, the process of roasting limestone in a

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			kiln to make the lime needed for mortar and plaster. The stone and lime were the Company's own, as the Lieutenant Governor observed in the letter of 19 July 1769, but the kilns still depended on imported coal. The Council gave Captain Haggis the coal although the Court's standing orders required commanders to take on fuel in India, and refusing him was the course those orders implied. A ship without fuel could not cook for her crew on the passage home, so the Council yielded and took the chaldron from the building works. It then used the incident to press two points on the Court: that the island's full order of coal be sent, and that commanders were ignoring their instructions at St Helena's expense. The Lieutenant Governor acted in a second capacity as Company's Husband, the officer who managed the Company's farms, livestock and produce on the island. Lieutenant Bazett held the post of Superintendent of the Works, in charge of building and fortification. Munden's Point was a defensive position, and letters about it from both men at this moment were consistent with the wider concern over the French, though the passage left the substance to the consultation. Beale's death came exactly three weeks after the letter of 17 September 1769 asked for his pension and arranged for him to keep both offices. The request reached London as a plea for a man already dead. Both the post of Judge Advocate and the school now stood vacant in fact, and the interim plan of a copyist working under Beale fell away with him.
222	215	As the Quarters Accounts will not be laid§ §before Us, until the 16th instant we cannot transmit you any§ §other Cash Account by this Opportunity than the Duplicate§ §of the last —§ §Mr Jonathan Doveton applied to Us to pay§ §one hundred Pounds into your Cash which we have received§ §& given him Bills on your Honors for that Sum payable to§ §Capt Alexander Jameson drawn at ninety day sight & dated§ §the 13th instant§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humbl Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §14th Octor 1769§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §pr Ship Thames Dated the 14th Octobr 1769 vizt —§ §Governor & Councils General Letter Dated the 14th October 1769§ §Duplicate Do. & Do. Dated the 17th Sepr. Do§ §Consultations from the 18th Sepr to the 13 Octor Do§ §Duplicate Do of the 16th. Do Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Shrewsbury§ §Second Do. for Do pr Ship Essex§ §List of Officers & Servants taken 14th Octor 1769§ §Do of Familys taken 30th Sepr Do§ §Do of [...] taken 30th Do Do§	The accounts for the quarter were not due before the Council until 16 October 1769. No cash account could therefore go home by the departing ship except a duplicate of the previous one. 9: Mr Jonathan Doveton applied to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills on the Court for that amount, payable to Captain Alexander Jameson. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 13 October 1769. The letter closed at St Helena on 14 October 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Thames*, dated 14 October 1769, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 14 October 1769 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 September 1769 3: Consultations from 18 September to 13 October 1769 4: Duplicate consultation of 16 September 1769 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Shrewsbury*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Essex*. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 14 October 1769 8: List of families taken on 30 September 1769 9: List of Blacks taken on 30 September 1769 **Interpretations** Items 7 to 9 were the island's returns of population, a kind of paper absent from the five earlier packets of 1769 recorded here. The lists of families and of Blacks were both taken on 30 September 1769, the end of the Company's accounting quarter, which indicated a count made at a fixed point in the year. Together the three lists gave the Court the whole population in separate categories: the Company's own officers and servants,

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			the free households, and the Black population, most of whom were slaves owned by the Company or by the inhabitants. The division mirrored the island's social order and let the Court measure the garrison and establishment it paid for against the settlers and labour force it governed. The cash account was withheld for the same reason given in the letter of 19 July 1769. The books were closed quarterly and examined by the Council before being sent, and the ship sailed two days before that review. The Council sent a duplicate of the last account instead of an unexamined one, which showed that the review in Council was treated as a condition of dispatch and not a formality. Doveton's bills were his second remittance in six weeks. He sent £65 0s 0d by bills dated 4 September 1769 and now a further £100 0s 0d, payable this time to a ship's captain. Regular payments on this scale by a Company servant pointed to private dealings beyond his salary, probably in goods supplied to or bought from the ships.
223	216	List of Slaves taken 30th Sepr. 1769§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Shrewsbury§ §Effective State of the Garrison§ §Muster Rolls of Do§ §Courts Martials from the 15th Augt 1768 to 31st Augt 1769§ §Duplicate Cash Acct from 15th to 17th Sepr. Do§ §Ship Thames Acct§ §Duplicate Ship Shrewsbury Do§ §Time of the Arrival of Ship Thames's Boat at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Thames§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on your Honors the 14th instant by the§ §Ship Thames —§ §On the 17th of this Month arrived your Ship Talbot from§ §Bengal, last from Madagascar, Sir Charles Hudson acquaints Us he§ §beat off the Cape Six Weeks, but his people falling down very fast§ §obliged him to bear away for Madagascar where he wintered —§ §The Passengers on board the Talbot are Mr. & Mrs.§ §Dacres Miss Wilding & Messrs. Charlton, Scott, Jones Moore &§ §Randall —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obt. & humble Servant§ §(signed)§ §Jno. Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §27th Octr. 1769§	The packet sent by the *Thames* on 14 October 1769 also held the following papers. 10: List of slaves taken on 30 September 1769 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Shrewsbury*. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Muster rolls of the garrison 14: Courts martial from 15 August 1768 to 31 August 1769 15: Duplicate cash account from 15 to 17 September 1769 16: Account of the ship *Thames*. 17: Duplicate account of the ship *Shrewsbury*. 18: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Thames* at Banks's. 19: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Thames*. The Council opened a short letter by noting that its previous one went to the Court on 14 October 1769 by the *Thames*. 2: The Company's ship *Talbot* arrived on 17 October 1769 from Bengal, having last called at Madagascar. Sir Charles Hudson reported struggling against the weather off the Cape for six weeks. His crew were falling sick so quickly that he was forced to turn back for Madagascar, where he spent the winter. 3: Mr and Mrs Davies, Miss Wilding and Messrs Charlton, Scott, Jones, Moore and Randall were the passengers aboard the *Talbot*. The letter closed at St Helena on 27 October 1769 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The arrival of the *Talbot* ended a run of anxious reports. Captain Jones stated in the letter of 14 September 1769 that she left Bengal on 24 March 1769, and Captain Haggis could give no news of her when he left Madras on 1 July 1769. She reached St Helena almost seven months after sailing, on a passage that normally took a fraction of that time. Sir Charles Hudson met the Cape in the southern winter, when strong westerly winds blew against homeward ships. After six weeks of failing to get round, with men going down faster than they could be replaced, he abandoned the attempt and ran back north-east to Madagascar to wait for the season to change. The obvious refuge was the Dutch settlement at the Cape itself, but a ship unable to weather the Cape could not easily reach its anchorage either, and Madagascar lay downwind. The illness was probably scurvy, the usual consequence of weeks at sea without fresh food, and Madagascar offered provisions and rest.

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			The Council wrote this letter for the single purpose of reporting her safe arrival and her passengers. A ship so long overdue affected the Court's insurance, its expected cargoes and the families of those aboard, so the news went home at once without waiting for other business to accumulate. Item 10 listed slaves separately from the Blacks counted in item 9, although both lists were taken on 30 September 1769. The two headings therefore covered different groups. The more probable reading was that the Blacks of item 9 were free, a small class distinct from both the settler families and the slave population, and counted on their own for that reason. The courts martial records ran from 15 August 1768 to 31 August 1769, just over a year of military justice sent home in one bundle. Keeping and copying those proceedings was part of the Judge Advocate's duty. The letter of 17 September 1769 arranged for a copyist to do that work under Beale, and Beale died on 7 October 1769, a week before this packet closed.
224	217	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Talbot dated 27th Octr. 1769 vizt —§ §Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 27th of Octr. 1769§ §Do. Do. & Do. dated the 27th Do. Do. relating to§ §Law Matters§ §Duplicate Do. & Do. dated the 14th. Do. Do.§ §Consultations from 16th to the 27th. Do. Do.§ §Duplicate Do. from 18 Sepr. to 13th. Do. Do.§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Thames§ §Second Do. for Do. pr Ship Shrewsbury§ §Duplicate List of Family's taken 30th Sepr. 1769§ §Do. Do. of Rents taken 30th. Do. Do.§ §Do. Do. of Slaves taken 30th. Do. Do.§ §Do. Do. of the Packet pr Ship Thames§ §Effective State of the Garrison§ §Cash Account from 18th to 30th Sepr. 1769§ §Do. from 1st to 27th Octr. Do.§ §Ship Talbots Account§ §Duplicate Ship Thames Do.§ §Time of the Arrival of Ship Talbots Boat at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Talbot§ §Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on the 4th Octr. 1769§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Talbot*, dated 27 October 1769, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 27 October 1769 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 27 October 1769 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 October 1769 4: Consultations from 16 to 27 October 1769 5: Duplicate consultations from 18 September to 13 October 1769 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Thames*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Shrewsbury*. 8: Duplicate list of families taken on 30 September 1769 9: Duplicate list of rents taken on 30 September 1769 10: Duplicate list of slaves taken on 30 September 1769 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Thames*. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Cash account from 18 to 30 September 1769 14: Cash account from 1 to 27 October 1769 15: Account of the ship *Talbot*. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Thames*. 17: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Talbot* at Banks's. 18: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Talbot*. 19: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 4 October 1769 **Interpretations** The three returns dated 30 September 1769 formed a yearly statement of the island's settled population and the Company's income from it. The list of families counted the free households. The list of slaves recorded the labour force held as property. The list of rents set out what each tenant owed for Company land held on lease, and so served as the rent roll against which the cash accounts could be checked. Taking all three on the last day of the accounting quarter tied the count of people and the count of dues to the same date as the books. The cash account from 18 to 30 September 1769 went home in this packet and not by the *Thames*. The letter of 14 October 1769 explained that the quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 16 October 1769. The consultations sent here began on

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			that same date, so the account was released as soon as the Council examined it. Legal business again travelled in its own letter, accompanied by the proceedings of the quarterly court of 4 October 1769. The same pairing appeared in the packet sent by the *Dutton* on 1 August 1769, with the court of 12 July 1769. A separate law letter with each set of court proceedings looked like settled routine. The court of 4 October 1769 sat three days before Mr Richard Beale died, so it was the last held while he was Judge Advocate, and any questions arising from his death and the vacancy belonged naturally in that letter.
225	218	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors by the Ship Talbot,§ §under date of 27th Octr. 1769§ §On the 16 instant, Arrived your Ship Ponsborne from§ §China (last from the Cape) Capt. Payne informs Us, he left§ §China the 8th July 1769, & that your Ship Cruttenden arrived there§ §two days before; he further acquaints Us, he saw the Granby§ §the day he left China to the Southward at an Anchor; he also§ §tells us he put into Batavia the 16th Sepr last, were he was§ §informed Your Ship Duke of Albany left that place for§ §Bencoolen about the beginning of the aforesaid Month; he§ §likewise acquaints Us, he touched at the Cape the 11th of Decemr.§ §last, were he found his Majesty's Frigates Stagg & Aurora &§ §Hawke Sloop, also your Ship Duke of Kingston from the§ §Brazils, where she had been to refit; the Stagg, Aurora & Duke§ §of Kingston were sailed before he left the Cape, the 31st of sd.§ §Month; that Messrs. Vansittart, Scrafton & Ford were all well§ §We have given Capt. Payne an Order to receive on§ §board his Ship to compleat her Company William Hodges a§ §discharged Soldier: also an Order for receiving John Dobson§ §& William Brown two Soldiers as Charter party Passengers§ §Agreeable to the Determination of the proceedings of a§ §special meeting of Justices (transmitted herewith) having§ §been found Guilty of Counterfeiting Rupees, therefore Judge§ §them improper Men to keep upon the Island; We have§ §paid Capt. Payne Ten pounds for their Passage, His first§ §Receipt goes in the Packet§ §We take this Opportunity of transmitting your§ §Honors§	The Council opened a new letter by recalling its previous one, dated 27 October 1769 and sent by the *Talbot*. 2: The Company's ship *Ponsborne* arrived from China on 16 January 1770, having last called at the Cape. Captain Payne reported leaving China on 8 July 1769, two days after the Company's ship *Cruttenden* arrived there. On the day he sailed he saw the *Granby* lying at anchor to the south. He put into Batavia on 16 September 1769 and learned that the Company's ship *Duke of Albany* left that port for Bencoolen early in the same month. At the Cape, which he reached on 11 December 1769, he found the King's frigates *Stagg* and *Aurora* and the sloop *Hawke*. The Company's ship *Duke of Kingston* was there too, newly come from Brazil after a refit. The *Stagg*, the *Aurora* and the *Duke of Kingston* all sailed before Captain Payne left the Cape on 31 December 1769. Messrs Vansittart, Scrafton and Ford were all in good health. 3: Captain Payne received an order to take William Hodges, a discharged soldier, aboard his ship to help fill out her crew. A second order covered two soldiers, John Dobson and William Brown, who travelled as charterparty passengers. A special meeting of the justices found both men guilty of counterfeiting rupees, and the record of that hearing went home with the letter. The Council judged them unfit to remain on the island and paid Captain Payne £10 0s 0d for their passage. His first receipt for the money travelled in the packet. **Interpretations** The conviction for counterfeiting rupees showed that Indian silver coin passed as money at St Helena. Ships from Bengal, Madras and Bombay called constantly, and their officers and crews spent what they carried, so rupees circulated beside sterling. A soldier able to pass false rupees among islanders and ships' people threatened confidence in the coin on which everyday trade depended. Counterfeiting was among the gravest crimes in England at this date and carried the death penalty there. The Council took a different course and removed the men from the island, the same remedy applied to Stephen Papps in the letter of 1 August 1769. Expulsion rid the garrison of them at once and left any further reckoning to the Court. The two men were tried by a special meeting of the justices and not at the regular quarterly court, the last of which sat on 4 October 1769. The offence was evidently dealt with as soon as it came to light. Sending the proceedings home gave the Court the evidence on which the Council acted and its authority for ending two soldiers' contracts early. A charterparty was the contract under which the Company hired each ship, and it fixed the terms on which the owners had to carry persons at the Company's order. Dobson and Brown were shipped under those terms at £5 0s 0d a head, the rate paid to Captain Dampier for two invalids on 19 July 1769. Hodges, an ordinary discharged man, went as a working hand and cost nothing. Convicted men were kept out of the crew and carried as paid passengers,

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			perhaps because a commander could not be asked to rely on them. Captain Payne's report again served as shipping intelligence. The *Duke of Kingston* was a second Company ship driven to Brazil for repairs, after the *Prince of Wales* noted in the letter of 17 August 1769. The mention of three named gentlemen in the same breath as the King's ships implied that they were travelling with the frigates, and the care taken to report their health marked them as men whose welfare concerned the Court.
226	219	Honors General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30th Sepr last§ §The Passengers onboard the Ponsborne are Miss Sa[mw]ays§ §& Messrs. Smith, & Waddell§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your Mt. Obt. & Humble Servants§ §(signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §25th January 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr§ §Ship Ponsborne dated 25th January 1770 vizt§ §Governor & Councils Genl. Letter dated 25th Janry 1770§ §Do & Do Do dated 16th Do Do Relating to§ §Law Matters§ §Duplicate Do Do dated 27th Octr. 1769§ §Do Do & Do dated 27th. Do Do Relating to§ §Law Matters§ §Consultations from 30th Octr 1769 to 22 January 1770§ §Duplicate Do from 16th to 27th Do Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Talbot§ §Second Do for Do pr Ship Thames§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Muster Rolls of Do§ §Cash Acct from 28th to 31st October 1769§ §Do for the Month of Novemr Do§ §Do for Do of Decemr. Do§ §Do from the 1st to the 25th January 1770§ §Duplicate Do from 18th to 30th Septemr 1769§	The Council used the sailing of the *Ponsborne* to send home the Company's general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September 1769. 5: Miss Sa[...]ways and Messrs Smith and Waddell were the passengers aboard the *Ponsborne*. The letter closed at St Helena on 25 January 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Ponsborne*, dated 25 January 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 25 January 1770 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 25 January 1770 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 27 October 1769 4: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 27 October 1769 relating to law matters 5: Consultations from 30 October 1769 to 22 January 1770 6: Duplicate consultations from 16 to 27 October 1769 7: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Talbot*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Thames*. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Muster rolls of the garrison 11: Cash account from 28 to 31 October 1769 12: Cash account for November 1769 13: Cash account for December 1769 14: Cash account from 1 to 25 January 1770 15: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 30 September 1769 **Interpretations** The general books were the island's full set of ledgers, as distinct from the short cash accounts sent with every ship. They were closed once a year at 30 September, the date on which the lists of families, rents and slaves were also taken. Balancing them took the better part of four months, and they left by the first ship to call after the work was done. With these books the Court could audit the whole year: every receipt and payment, the stores issued, and the bills of exchange drawn on London. The packet covered an unusually long interval. Between July and October 1769 a ship left roughly every fortnight, and each cash account spanned days or a few weeks. Here the consultations ran from 30 October 1769 to 22 January 1770 and the cash accounts filled two whole calendar months. No homeward Company ship called between the *Talbot*, which left after 27 October 1769, and the *Ponsborne*, which arrived on 16 January 1770. The gap reflected the rhythm of the trade. Ships from India passed in the middle of the year, and the first of the China ships did not reach the island until the turn of the year. A second letter on law matters accompanied the general letter, as on 1 August 1769 and 27 October 1769. The proceedings of the special meeting of

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			justices against John Dobson and William Brown, mentioned in the letter of 25 January 1770, gave this one its probable subject.
227	220	Duplicate Cash Acct from 1st to 27th Octor. 1769§ §Ship Ponsbornes Acct§ §Duplicate Ship Talbots Do§ §Time of the Arrival of Ship Ponsbornes Boat at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Ponsborne§ §Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on the 10th Jany. 1770§ §Duplicate Do. of Do held on the 4th Octr. 1769§ §Proceedings of a special Meeting of Justices held the 8th Novr. 1769§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Talbot§ §List of three discharged Soldiers§ §Capt. Paynes first Receipt for £10 —§ §General Books of Accounts§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went§ §by the Ponsborne under date of the 25th January 1770§ §On the 8th instant Arrived your Ship§ §Ankerwyke from Bengal, (last from the Cape) And the 15th§ §the Hampshire from Bengal Capt. Smith Acquaints Us§ §he left that place the 4th Decemr. last & your Ship Lioness§ §Royal Charlotte, Duke of Grafton, Anson & Britannia§ §there, We hear the two former were to be dispatched for§ §Europe about the latter end of Decr. and the Britannia to§ §go to Madrass to fill up, we are also told your Ship Lord§ §Holland was unfortunately lost coming out of the River§ §of Bengall in Septemr. last —§	The packet sent by the *Ponsborne* on 25 January 1770 also held the following papers. 16: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 27 October 1769 17: Account of the ship *Ponsborne*. 18: Duplicate account of the ship *Talbot*. 19: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Ponsborne* at Banks's. 20: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Ponsborne*. 21: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 10 January 1770 22: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 4 October 1769 23: Proceedings of a special meeting of justices held on 8 November 1769 24: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Talbot*. 25: List of three discharged soldiers 26: Captain Payne's first receipt for £10 0s 0d 27: General books of accounts The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one, dated 25 January 1770, went by the *Ponsborne*. 2: The Company's ship *Ankerwyke* arrived from Bengal by way of the Cape on the 8th of the month in which the Council wrote. The *Hampshire* followed from Bengal on the 15th. Captain Smith reported leaving Bengal on 4 December 1769, when five Company ships lay there. *Lioness* *Royal Charlotte* *Duke of Grafton* *Anson* *Britannia* The Council heard that the *Lioness* and the *Royal Charlotte* were to sail for Europe towards the end of December 1769, and that the *Britannia* was to go on to Madras to complete her cargo. News also came that the Company's ship *Lord Holland* was lost in September 1769 while coming out of the river of Bengal. **Interpretations** The special meeting of justices sat on 8 November 1769, yet John Dobson and William Brown did not leave until the *Ponsborne* sailed after 25 January 1770. The two men convicted of counterfeiting rupees therefore stayed on the island for about eleven weeks after the verdict. No homeward ship called in that time, so a sentence of removal could only take effect when one arrived. The date also confirmed that the case was heard out of the regular cycle, about five weeks after the quarterly court of 4 October 1769 and two months before that of 10 January 1770. The list of three discharged soldiers covered William Hodges, Dobson and Brown, the men named in the letter of 25 January 1770. The two convicted men appeared on it as ordinary discharges. Their offence was recorded in the justices' proceedings, while the garrison's books simply showed three men struck off the strength. Captain Payne's receipt for £10 0s 0d related to the passage of Dobson and Brown alone. The loss of the *Lord Holland* was the first wreck of a Company ship reported in these letters. Captain Haggis saw her at Fort St George on 1 July 1769, according to the letter of 14 October 1769. She evidently went on to Bengal to load and was lost two months later on her way out. The river of Bengal was the Hooghly, the long, shifting channel between Calcutta and the sea, where sandbanks made the passage dangerous even under pilotage. The Council

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			gave the report as hearsay and offered no details of the crew or cargo. The instruction for the *Britannia* to "fill up" at Madras described a common practice. A ship that could not obtain a full cargo at one presidency was sent to another to complete her lading before sailing home, so that she did not make the voyage part empty.
228	221	The Passengers on board the Hampshire are§ §General Smith Mr Skinner & Capt. Nairne & Major Hill§ §on the Ankerwyke —§ §Capt. Ross applied to Us to pay three§ §hundred and thirty nine Pounds ten shillings into your§ §Cash which we have received & given him Bills drawn§ §on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or Order§ §ninety days after sight§ §We have received of Captn. Ross Fifty Cape§ §Sheep amounting to thirty seven Pounds ten shillings he§ §not chusing to receive the money here we have given him§ §Certificates for the same and refer the Payment to your§ §Honors — We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Yr. mo. Obt. & humbl. Servants§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §17th February 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St.§ §Helena pr Ship Ankerwyke dated the 17th February 1770§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 17th February 1770§ §Duplicate Do & Do dated 25th January Do§ §Do Do & Do dated 25th Do. Do§ §relating to Law matters§ §Consultations from 29th Jany to 15th Feb. 1770§ §Duplicate from 30th Octr 1769 to 22d Jany. Do§	Captain Ross applied to pay £339 10s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills on the Court for that amount, payable to himself or his order 90 days after sight. 3: General Smith, Mr Skinner and Captain Nairne were the passengers aboard the *Hampshire*. Major Hill travelled in the *Ankerwyke*. 5: Captain Ross also supplied the Council with 50 Cape sheep, valued at £37 10s 0d. He preferred not to be paid on the island. The Council therefore gave him certificates for the amount and referred the payment to the Court. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 February 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Ankerwyke*, dated 17 February 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 17 February 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 January 1770 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 25 January 1770 relating to law matters 4: Consultations from 29 January to 12 February 1770 5: Duplicate consultations from 30 October 1769 to 22 January 1770 **Interpretations** Cape sheep were the fat-tailed breed kept at the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, hardy animals raised for meat and valued for the heavy store of fat carried in the tail. Homeward ships calling at the Cape could buy them cheaply and carry them on deck. The 50 delivered here worked out at 15s 0d a head. They gave the island fresh mutton for the garrison and for visiting ships, and breeding animals to strengthen the Company's flocks, which the Lieutenant Governor managed as Company's Husband. Captain Ross was owed £37 10s 0d and the treasury was able to pay him, since the Council reported a balance of about £12,000 on 1 August 1769. He declined the cash. The obvious course was to take coin on the spot, but coin was of little use to a man sailing for England and already converting £339 10s 0d of his own money into bills. A certificate recorded that the Company owed him the sum and left the Court to settle it in London. The effect was the same as a bill of exchange without a fresh payment into the treasury: the island kept its cash and the debt moved home. The Council noted his choice expressly because paying a local purchase in London was outside the usual routine and needed the Court's sanction. His bills were made payable to himself, unlike those of the island's residents, who named agents or relations in London. A commander returning in his own ship could present them in person. Carrying paper in place of coin protected his money against loss at sea, the same advantage the bills offered to everyone who used them. The date of the letter fixed the arrivals reported in it. The *Ankerwyke* came in on 8 February 1770 and the *Hampshire* on 15 February 1770. The *Ankerwyke*

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			last called at the Cape, which made her the probable source of the sheep and Captain Ross her probable commander, though the letter did not name his ship.
229	222	First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Ponsborne§ §Second Do for Do pr Ship Talbot§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Ponsborne§ §Cash Acct from 26 to 31st Jany. 1770§ §Do from 1st to 17th Feby Do§ §Duplicate Do from 28th to 31st Octr. 1769§ §Do Do for the Month of Novr. Do§ §Do Do for the Month of Decr. Do§ §Do Do from the 1st to 25th Jany. 1770§ §Ship Ankerwykes Acct§ §Duplicate Ship Ponsbornes Do§ §Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Ankerwyke & Hampshire§ §Capt. Paynes Second Receipt for £10§ §Duplicate Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held§ §on 10th January 1770§ §Do Do of a special meeting of Justices held on§ §the 8th Novr. 1769§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote your Honors last the 17th instant by§ §the Ship Ankerwyke§ §On the 18th of this Month Arrived your Ships Plassey§ §the 19th the Cruttenden & 20th the Glatton all from China the Granby§ §we are informed was dispatched with the Glatton, & parted from§ §her in the Streights of Sunda, we are told there were at§ §Canton§	The packet sent by the *Ankerwyke* on 17 February 1770 also held the following papers. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Ponsborne*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Talbot*. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Ponsborne*. 10: Cash account from 26 to 31 January 1770 11: Cash account from 1 to 17 February 1770 12: Duplicate cash account from 28 to 31 October 1769 13: Duplicate cash account for November 1769 14: Duplicate cash account for December 1769 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 25 January 1770 16: Account of the ship *Ankerwyke*. 17: Duplicate account of the ship *Ponsborne*. 18: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 19: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Ankerwyke* and *Hampshire*. 20: Captain Payne's second receipt for £10 0s 0d 21: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 10 January 1770 22: Duplicate proceedings of a special meeting of justices held on 8 November 1769 The Council opened a further letter by recalling its previous one, sent on 17 February 1770 by the *Ankerwyke*. 2: Three Company ships arrived from China on successive days: the *Plassey* on 18 February 1770, the *Cruttenden* on 19 February 1770 and the *Glatton* on 20 February 1770. The Council learned that the *Granby* left China in company with the *Glatton* and parted from her in the Straits of Sunda. **Interpretations** Three China ships reached the island within three days, a month after the *Ponsborne* arrived alone on 16 January 1770. Captain Payne left China on 8 July 1769, well ahead of the rest, and reported the *Cruttenden* arriving there only two days earlier. She therefore discharged, loaded and made the whole passage home in the time since. Ships of the China trade commonly sailed in company for mutual protection and help, which explained both the close arrivals and the care taken to report where the *Granby* dropped out. The Straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra, formed the usual gateway from the China Sea into the Indian Ocean. A ship last seen there was past the most confined and hazardous waters of the voyage, so the report told the Court that the *Granby* was safely on her way though not yet arrived. Captain Payne saw the same ship at anchor to the south on the day he left China, as the letter of 25 January 1770 recorded. The packet sent the proceedings against John Dobson and William Brown home a second time, with Captain Payne's second receipt for their £10 0s 0d passage. Papers bearing on the early discharge of two soldiers for counterfeiting were duplicated by a different ship like every other record, so that the Court held the evidence even if the *Ponsborne* failed to arrive.
230	223	Canton this Year sixteen of your Honors Ships vizt. Neptune Pigot§ §Havannah, Earl of Lincoln, Devonshire, Earl of Ashburnham§ §Osterly, Nottingham, Hector, Triton, Norfolk & Speke with the§	Sixteen Company ships lay at Canton during the season, according to the reports brought by the China fleet. Twelve were named, and the four already mentioned, the *Plassey*, the *Cruttenden*, the *Glatton* and the *Granby*, made up the number. *Neptune*

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		§abovementioned four Ships, four Country, one Dane two Swede§ §four Dutch & three French, We are likewise informed that your§ §Ship Earl of Middlesex had lost her passage & was gone to Batavia§ §Capt. Waddell acquaints Us, he was dispatched the 29th November§ §last & that yr. Ships Pigot, Hector, Triton, & Nottingham were§ §to leave China about the Middle of December —§ §The Passengers on board the Ship Plassey are§ §Messrs. Mac Clintick & Hickey§ §We have given Capt Waddell an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship Silvanus Rolf an Invalid Soldier & have paid§ §him Five pounds for his Passage, Capt. Waddells Receipt together§ §with the Surgeons Certificate goes herewith —§ §Captns Smith & Waddell request leave to touch§ §at Assension to get Turtle for a further refreshment of their People§ §we have complied with their request, we likewise gave leave to§ §Captns Payne & Ross to touch at that place which was omitted§ §to be mentioned in our two last Letters —§ §This Letter waits on you by the Ship Hampshire§ §which sails from hence with the Plassey & Cruttenden, Copys§ §of which we transmit you by the abovementioned Ships —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Yr. mt. Obedt & humbl Servts§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §St. Helena 22d. February 1770§	*Pigot* *Havannah* *Earl of Lincoln* *Devonshire* *Earl of Ashburnham* *Osterley* *Nottingham* *Hector* *Triton* *Norfolk* *Speke* Ships of other owners and nations were also there. Country ships, 4 Danish ships, 1 Swedish ships, 2 Dutch ships, 4 French ships, 3 The Council further learned that the Company's ship *Earl of Middlesex* lost her passage and went to Batavia. Captain Waddell reported that he was sent away from China on 29 November 1769. The *Pigot*, the *Hector*, the *Triton* and the *Nottingham* were due to leave about the middle of December 1769. 3: Messrs MacClintock and Hickey were the passengers aboard the *Plassey*. 4: Captain Waddell received an order to take Silvanus Rolf, an invalid soldier, aboard his ship, and the Council paid him £5 0s 0d for the passage. His receipt and the surgeon's certificate went home with the letter. 5: Captains Smith and Waddell asked permission to call at Ascension for turtle, to give their crews more fresh food. The Council agreed. Captains Payne and Ross were given the same permission earlier, a fact left out of the two previous letters. 6: The letter went by the *Hampshire*, which sailed in company with the *Plassey* and the *Cruttenden*. Copies travelled in those two ships. The letter closed at St Helena on 22 February 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The count of shipping at Canton was commercial intelligence of the first importance. Canton was the one Chinese port open to European trade, and tea was its chief export. Sixteen Company ships against ten from all the rival European nations together showed the Company's dominance of that trade in the season, while the Danish, Swedish, Dutch and French ships represented tea that would reach Europe outside its control. The four country ships were vessels owned in India and trading between Asian ports, which brought Indian goods to Canton and helped pay for the tea. Eleven of the Company ships at Canton had been together at Fort St George on 1 July 1769, as Captain Haggis reported in the letter of 14 October 1769. That gathering puzzled at the time. The Canton list explained it: those ships were bound for China and called at Madras on the way, a common route that let them carry goods and silver onward. The twelfth ship in the Madras list, the *Lord Holland*, went instead to Bengal and was lost there in September 1769. A ship "lost her passage" when she arrived too late to catch the seasonal winds that carried vessels up the China Sea. Those winds reversed with the monsoon, and a ship that missed them could not reach Canton until the following season. The *Earl of Middlesex* therefore put into Batavia, the Dutch headquarters in Java, to wait. For the Court this meant a cargo delayed by the better part of a year.

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			Ascension, an uninhabited island north-west of St Helena, was a nesting ground for sea turtles. Crews turned the animals on their backs on the beach and carried them aboard alive, where they survived for weeks and supplied fresh meat on the long run to England. The captains needed the Council's permission because a call there was a departure from the direct voyage. A commander who deviated without leave risked blame for any loss or delay, and the owners' insurance could be affected. A written permission from the Company's nearest authority covered him. The Council's admission that it failed to report the leave given to Captains Payne and Ross showed that such permissions were expected to be notified to the Court each time. Rolf's passage cost £5 0s 0d, the same rate per head paid for John Fexon and William Ford on 19 July 1769 and for John Dobson and William Brown on 25 January 1770. The surgeon's certificate again accompanied the receipt, since a medical finding was the Council's warrant for releasing a soldier before his time on grounds of health. Three ships sailing together each carried the letter, one the original and two the copies. A convoy offered no protection against all three meeting the same storm, but it guarded against the loss of any single vessel, and the Council took the chance to multiply the copies at no cost.
231	224	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Hampshire dated the 22d February 1770§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 22d February 1770§ §Duplicate Do Do dated 17th Do Do§ §Consultations from 19th to 21st Do Do§ §Duplicate Do from 29th Jany. to 16th Do Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Ankerwyke§ §Second Do for Do pr Ship Ponsborne§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Ankerwyke§ §Cash Acct from 18th to 22d Feby. 1770§ §Duplicate Do from 26th to 31st Jany Do§ §Do Do from 1st to 17th Feby. Do§ §Ship Hampshires Acct§ §Do Cruttendens Do§ §Do Plasseys Do§ §Duplicate Ship Ankerwykes Do§ §Time of the Arrivl. of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Cruttenden & Plassey§ §Capt. Waddells first Receipt for £5§ §Surgeons Certificate of Silvanus Rolf an Invalid Soldier —§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Hampshire*, dated 22 February 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 22 February 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 February 1770 3: Consultations from 19 to 21 February 1770 4: Duplicate consultations from 29 January to 16 February 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Ankerwyke*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Ponsborne*. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Ankerwyke*. 9: Cash account from 18 to 22 February 1770 10: Duplicate cash account from 26 to 31 January 1770 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 17 February 1770 12: Account of the ship *Hampshire*. 13: Account of the ship *Cruttenden*. 14: Account of the ship *Plassey*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Ankerwyke*. 16: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 17: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Cruttenden* and *Plassey*. 18: Captain Waddell's first receipt for £5 0s 0d 19: Surgeon's certificate for Silvanus Rolf, an invalid soldier
232	225	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed your Honors last the 22d instant§ §by the Ship Hampshire which saild in Company with the§ §Plassey and Cruttenden§ §The Season for some Months past has been§ §remarkably dry, and the Summer Rains not yet setting§ §in, we are apprehensive the Island may suffer as the Cattle§ §begin to fall off from the want of sufficient Herbage —§ §We are§	The Council began a brief letter by noting that its previous one went on 22 February 1770 by the *Hampshire*, which sailed in company with the *Plassey* and the *Cruttenden*. 2: The weather was exceptionally dry for several months, and the summer rains were still awaited. The Council feared the island would suffer, since the cattle were starting to lose condition for lack of grazing. The letter closed at St Helena on 24 February 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling

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		§Honoble Sirs§ §Yr. most ob. & humbl Servants§ §(signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §24th February 1770§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St. Helena§ §pr. Ship Glatton dated the 24th Feby. 1770 vizt§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated the 24th February 1770§ §Duplicate Do & Do dated the 22d Do Do§ §Consultation of the 23d Do Do§ §Duplicate Do from 19 to the 21st Do Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Hampshire§ §Do Do for a small Paper Packet pr Ship Cruttenden§ §Do Do Do Do Do pr Ship Plassey§ §Second Do for the Packet pr Ship Ankerwyke§ §Capt. Waddells second Receipt for £5§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Hampshire§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Glatton*, dated 24 February 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 24 February 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 22 February 1770 3: Consultation of 23 February 1770 4: Duplicate consultations from 19 to 21 February 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Hampshire*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Cruttenden*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Plassey*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Ankerwyke*. 9: Captain Waddell's second receipt for £5 0s 0d 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Hampshire*. **Interpretations** February fell in the southern summer at St Helena, and the Council treated rain at that season as the normal expectation. Its failure after months of dry weather left the pastures bare. Cattle were central to the island's purpose. Fresh beef was among the chief supplies furnished to the garrison and to the crews of homeward ships, who arrived after months on salt provisions. Thin cattle meant less meat, fewer animals fit to slaughter and a risk of losing breeding stock. The warning came at the busiest point of the shipping year, with eight Company ships calling between 16 January 1770 and 20 February 1770, each with a crew to be fed. The Council wrote this letter for the sake of that one paragraph, two days after its last. Reporting the drought before any real loss occurred put the Court on notice. Later shortfalls in fresh provisions, or requests for salt meat and grain from England, could then be read against a warning already on record. The purchase of 50 Cape sheep from Captain Ross, reported on 17 February 1770, took on added weight in that light, since stock brought in from outside did something to offset the decline of the island's own herds. Items 6 and 7 showed how the copies of the letter of 22 February 1770 were handled. The *Hampshire* carried the full packet, while the *Cruttenden* and the *Plassey* each took only a small paper packet containing the letter. Each commander signed a receipt even for that, so the Court could account for every copy by ship and captain.
233	226	Cash Acct. from 23 to 24th February 1770§ §Duplicate Do from 18th to 22d Do Do§ §Ship Glattons Acct.§ §Duplicate Ship Hampshire Do§ §Do. Ship Cruttendens Do§ §Do. Ship Plassey Do§ §Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Glatton§ §Duplicate Surgeons Certificate of Silvas. Rolf Invd. Soldier —§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went by the§ §Ship Glatton under date of the 24th February 1770§ §On the 13th instant, Arrived a Swede Ship from§ §China, called the Adolph Frederick, Capt. Stichlenet burthen 1300§ §Tons, carrys 20 Guns, & 140 Men, loaden with Tea China Ware§ §& silk, bound to Gottenburg —§ §The 17th of this Month Arrived your Ship Speaker§ §& the 18th the Deptford, both from Bombay (but last	The packet sent by the *Glatton* on 24 February 1770 also held the following papers. 12: Cash account from 23 to 24 February 1770 13: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 22 February 1770 14: Account of the ship *Glatton*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Hampshire*. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Cruttenden*. 17: Duplicate account of the ship *Plassey*. 18: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Glatton*. 19: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for Silvanus Rolf, an invalid soldier The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one, dated 24 February 1770, went by the *Glatton*. 2: A Swedish ship from China, the *Adolph Frederick* under Captain St[...], arrived on the 13th of the month in which the Council wrote. She measured 1,300 tons, carried 20 guns and 140 men, and was bound for Gothenburg with tea, porcelain and silk.

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		from the Cape)§ §Capt. Tryon informs us, he left Bombay the 4th December 1769 &§ §your Ships Lord Camden & Duke of Cumberland there; he likewise§ §acquaints Us the Houghton was at the Cape & proceeded on her§ §Voyage the 26th of last Month, that he left it the 2d instant, & the§ §Granby at that Place. —§ §By the Ship Speaker, we received a Letter§ §from your President & Council of Madrass, Enclosing a Copy§ §of the 33d Paragraph of your General Letter, under date of the§ §17th May 1769, relative to six of your Ships having in consequence§ §of§	3: The Company's ship *Speaker* arrived on the 17th and the *Deptford* on the 18th, both from Bombay by way of the Cape. Captain T[...] reported leaving Bombay on 4 December 1769, when the Company's ships *Lord Camden* and *Duke of Cumberland* lay there. He added that the *Houghton* was at the Cape and resumed her voyage on the 26th of the preceding month. He himself left the Cape on the 2nd, and the *Granby* was still there. 4: The *Speaker* brought a letter from the President and Council of Madras. It enclosed a copy of paragraph 33 of the Court's general letter of 17 May 1769, which concerned six of the Company's ships. **Interpretations** The Swedish ship was one of the two Swedes counted at Canton in the letter of 22 February 1770. At 1,300 tons she was far larger than the Dutch *Rhynsburg* of about 700 tons, recorded on 14 October 1769, and her cargo of tea, porcelain and silk was the classic lading of the China trade. Gothenburg was the home port of the Swedish East India Company. Much of the tea landed there was known to be re-exported and smuggled into Britain, where heavy duties made the Company's own tea dear. Her tonnage and cargo were therefore of direct interest to the Court as a measure of the competition its tea faced at home. The Council again recorded a foreign ship's size, guns and crew, as with the Dutch vessel, and gave no such details for Company ships. A Swedish ship was allowed to call. Sweden was no threat to the island, and the restrictions adopted on 14 September 1769 applied to French vessels alone. The *Granby* was traced a stage further. She left China with the *Glatton* and parted from her in the Straits of Sunda, as the letter of 22 February 1770 reported. She was now placed at the Cape, safe but behind the rest of the China fleet, which reached St Helena between 18 and 20 February 1770. A letter from Madras reached St Helena by a Bombay ship, enclosing an extract from the Court's own orders. The presidencies passed on to one another those paragraphs of the Court's letters that affected a station other than the one addressed. The Court's instruction of 17 May 1769 thus arrived at the island by way of India some ten months after it was written.
234	227	of your orders laid in a larger quantity of salt provisions than§ §they will be able to dispense with, when those Ships Arrive, and their§ §Commanders make application to Us, we shall agreeable to your§ §orders receive that part of the said Provision which may be§ §unexpended, & fit for Use, and shall duly inform your Honors of§ §the quantity we shall so receive together with the price —§ §We have given Capt. Scott an Order to receive on§ §board his Ship, Geo Wells, & Benjamin Pooles two Invalid Soldiers§ §& have paid him £10 for their Passage, Capt. Scotts Receipt,§ §together with the Surgeons Certificate, goe herewith —§ §The Passengers on board the Deptford are Colonel§ §Brewer, Mrs Clough, & Messrs Stephenson, Peachy, & Bridecoat & Mrs§ §Keating, Capt. Gwinett & Messrs. Heysham, Moulterey & Wales on§ §the Speaker —§ §We have received of Capt. Scott from the Cape 7§ §Sheep & 12lb of Garden Seed, Amounting to £7.18	The paragraph forwarded from Madras explained that six Company ships, acting on the Court's orders, took on more salt provisions than they would need. Their commanders were to apply to the Council on arrival. The Council undertook to follow the Court's instructions and receive whatever part of those provisions remained unused and fit to eat. The Court would be told the quantity taken in and its price. 5: Captain Scott received an order to take two invalid soldiers, George Wells and Benjamin Tooles, aboard his ship. The Council paid him £10 0s 0d for their passage. His receipt and the surgeon's certificate went home with the letter. 6: The passengers aboard the *Deptford* were Colonel Brewer, Mrs Clough, Miss Stephenson, Miss Peachy, Miss Bride[...] and Mr Keating. Captain Gwinnett and Messrs Heysham, Mou[...] and Watson travelled in the *Speaker*. 7: Captain Scott supplied the Council with goods brought from the Cape, valued together at £7 18s 0d. Sheep, 7 Garden seed, 12 pounds He preferred not to be paid on the island, so the Council gave him certificates for the amount and referred the payment to the Court.

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		he not chusing§ §to receive the money here, we have given him Certificates for§ §the same, and referred the payment to your Honors —§ §Capt. Scott applied for leave to touch at Assension§ §to get Turtle for the further refreshment of his Ships Company§ §we have complied with his request, —§ §We are§ §Honoble Sir & Sirs§ §Yr. Mt. obedt. & humbl. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §St. Helena 20th March 1770§	8: Captain Scott asked permission to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council agreed. The letter closed at St Helena on 20 March 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Court's order turned six homeward ships into supply vessels for the island at almost no cost. Salt provisions were beef and pork preserved in brine and packed in casks, the standard long-keeping food of ships and garrisons. Each of the six loaded more than her own voyage required, and the surplus was to be landed at St Helena on the way home. The Company thereby stocked the island's stores without chartering a storeship, using hold space that would otherwise have carried nothing on that leg. The Council's promise to accept only what was "fit to eat" and to report the price showed that the provisions were to be bought from the ships' accounts and inspected first, since meat that had crossed the tropics twice was not always sound. The timing was fortunate for reasons the Court could not have foreseen when it wrote on 17 May 1769. The Council reported on 24 February 1770 that months of drought were weakening the cattle. A reserve of salt meat arriving by six ships offered exactly the cushion the island needed if fresh beef ran short. The date of the letter fixed the events reported in it. The Swedish ship *Adolph Frederick* arrived on 13 March 1770, the *Speaker* on 17 March 1770 and the *Deptford* on 18 March 1770. The *Houghton* left the Cape on 26 February 1770, and the captain who brought that news sailed from there on 2 March 1770. Captain Scott's small consignment from the Cape followed the example of Captain Ross, who delivered 50 Cape sheep on 17 February 1770. The garden seed deserved notice. Vegetables grown on the island were a chief defence against scurvy for ships' crews, and seed had to be renewed from outside because stock saved locally lost vigour over time. Seed from the Cape, raised in a comparable southern climate, was better suited to the island than seed from England. Like Ross, Scott declined cash and took certificates payable in London. Two commanders making the same choice within five weeks suggested it was becoming the usual way of settling such purchases. Wells and Tooles went home at £5 0s 0d a head, the rate paid in every earlier case in these letters. Captain Scott was also the fifth commander of the season given leave to call at Ascension for turtle, after Captains Payne, Ross, Smith and Waddell.
235	228	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship Speaker§ §dated 20th March 1770 vizt§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 20th March 1770§ §Duplicate do & do dated 24th Feby. do§ §Consultations from 26th Feby to 20th March do§ §Duplicate do of the 23d do do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Glatton§ §Second do for do pr Ship Hampshire§ §do do do a small paper Packet pr Ship Cruttenden§ §do do do do pr Ship Plassey§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Glatton§ §Cash Acct from 26th to the 28th Feby. 1770§ §do from 1st to the 20th March do§ §Duplicate from 23d to 24th Feby. do§ §Ship Speakers Acct§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Speaker*, dated 20 March 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 20 March 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 February 1770 3: Consultations from 26 February to 20 March 1770 4: Duplicate consultation of 23 February 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Glatton*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Hampshire*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Cruttenden*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Plassey*.

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		§Duplicate Ship Glattons do§ §Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Speaker & Deptford§ §Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §Surgeons Certificate of two Invalid Soldiers§ §Capt. Scotts first Receipt for £10§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote last to you the 20th instant by the Ship§ §Speaker —§ §Captn. Tryon bought at the Cape on Account of the§ §Company§	9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Glatton*. 11: Cash account from 25 to 28 February 1770 12: Cash account from 1 to 20 March 1770 13: Duplicate cash account from 23 to 24 February 1770 14: Account of the ship *Speaker*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Glatton*. 16: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Speaker* and *Deptford*. 17: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 18: Surgeon's certificate for two invalid soldiers 19: Captain Scott's first receipt for £10 0s 0d The Council opened a further letter by recalling its previous one, sent on 20 March 1770 by the *Speaker*. 2: Captain Tryon made a purchase at the Cape on the Company's account. **Interpretations** The packet settled which commander had which ship. Captain Scott's receipt for the £10 0s 0d passage of George Wells and Benjamin Tooles travelled in the packet of the *Speaker*, the ship that carried the two invalids, so he commanded her. Captain Tryon, who brought the news from Bombay and the Cape reported on 20 March 1770, therefore had the *Deptford*, and the new letter was written for dispatch by her. Captain Tryon bought at the Cape on the Company's account, whereas Captains Ross and Scott sold the island sheep and seed as private ventures and took certificates for payment in London. A purchase made for the Company from the outset was a different transaction: the commander acted as the Company's buyer, and the goods were its property from the moment of sale.
236	229	Company twelve black Cattle and fifty five Sheep amounting in the§ §whole to sixty nine Pounds six shillings one of the Cattle & five§ §of the Sheep dyed in the Passage he delivered Us only Eleven§ §Cattle and fifty Sheep, but as he laid out his own Money we have§ §given him Certificates for the amount of the first Cost and refer the§ §payment to your Honors —§ §Captn. Tryon requesting we would permit him to touch§ §at Ascension to get Turtle for the refreshment of his Ships Company§ §we have given him leave to call there for that purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obedient & humble§ §Servants§ §(signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §22d March 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr§ §Ship Deptford dated the 22d March 1770 vizt. —§ §Governor and Councils General Letter dated 22d March 1770§ §Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 20th Do. Do.§ §Consultation of the 22d March 1770§ §Duplicate Do. from 26 February to 20th March Do.§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Speaker§ §Second Do. for Do. pr Ship Glatton§	Captain Tryon bought livestock at the Cape for the Company at a total cost of £69 6s 0d. Black cattle bought, 12 Sheep bought, 55 Black cattle died on the passage, 1 Sheep died on the passage, 5 Black cattle delivered, 11 Sheep delivered, 50 He paid for the animals out of his own pocket. The Council therefore gave him certificates for the full original cost and referred the payment to the Court. 3: Captain Tryon asked permission to call at Ascension for turtle to feed his crew. The Council gave him leave to stop there for that purpose. The letter closed at St Helena on 22 March 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Deptford*, dated 22 March 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 22 March 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 20 March 1770 3: Consultation of 22 March 1770 4: Duplicate consultations from 26 February to 20 March 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Speaker*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Glatton*. **Interpretations** The Council reimbursed Captain Tryon for all 67 animals he bought, including the six that died at sea. Paying only for the 61 landed was the alternative, and

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			it was the footing on which Captains Ross and Scott were paid: each was credited for what he delivered, at a price agreed on the island. Tryon's case differed because he bought on the Company's account. The animals were the Company's from the moment of purchase, so losses on the voyage fell on the Company and not on him. He received his outlay and nothing more, with no profit and no allowance for carrying the stock. The Council stated the deaths plainly so the Court could see why the sum certified exceeded the value of what arrived. "Black cattle" was the ordinary term of the period for oxen, cows and bulls as a class, as distinct from sheep and horses. It did not describe the colour of the animals. Three commanders brought livestock from the Cape within five weeks: Ross with 50 sheep on 17 February 1770, Scott with seven sheep on 20 March 1770 and Tryon with cattle and sheep on 22 March 1770. Tryon's was the only consignment that included cattle and the only one made on the Company's behalf. The Council reported on 24 February 1770 that drought was wasting the island's herds. Tryon left the Cape on 2 March 1770, too early for that warning to have reached him, so his purchase rested on instructions or a request given before the drought was reported. The arrival of eleven head of cattle nonetheless met the island's most pressing shortage. Captain Tryon became the sixth commander of the season given leave to take turtle at Ascension. Every Company ship named as sailing from the island since January 1770, except the *Glatton*, obtained that permission, which showed that the call was by then a regular part of the homeward voyage and the Council's leave a matter of form.
237	230	[Two holes in the lower part of the page: one in the centre of the line below "Port L'Orient", one at the left edge of the writing block at the start of the following line. The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Speaker§ §Cash Account, from the 21st to 22d March 1770§ §Duplicate Do. from the 25th to 28th Feby, Do.§ §Do. Do. from the 1st to 20th March Do.§ §Ship Deptfords Account§ §Duplicate Ship Speakers Do.§ §Do. Surgeons Certificate of two Invalid Soldiers§ §Captain Scotts second Receipt for £10§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went by the Ship§ §Deptford under date of 22d March 1770§ §On the 29 of last Month Arrived your Ships Nottingh[...]§ §and Granby, the 30th Speke, and Pigot the 31st Hector & Havannah all§ §from China, the Granby last from the Cape; the Triton left China§ §with the Pigot, Nottingham, & Hector, & we are informed your Ships§ §Earl of Lincoln & Earl of Ashburnham sailed at the same time the§ §Speke, & Havannah did —§ §The 28th of last month arrived a French Ship from§ §Bengal called the Le Duc D' Pralin Capt. Maguey burthen about six§ §hundred Tons, carrys twenty Guns & one hundred and sixty four Men§ §Loaden with Bengal Goods bound to Port L'Orient§ §[...]§ §[...] Agreeable to what we wrote your Honors in§ §our General Letter under date of the 14th September 1769 we did§ §not§	The packet sent by the *Deptford* on 22 March 1770 also held the following papers. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Speaker*. 9: Cash account from 21 to 22 March 1770 10: Duplicate cash account from 25 to 28 February 1770 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 20 March 1770 12: Account of the ship *Deptford*. 13: Duplicate account of the ship *Speaker*. 14: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for two invalid soldiers 15: Captain Scott's second receipt for £10 0s 0d The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one, dated 22 March 1770, went by the *Deptford*. 2: Six Company ships arrived from China over three days. The *Nottingham* and the *Granby* came in on 29 March 1770, the *Speke* and the *Pigot* on 30 March 1770, and the *Hector* and the *Havannah* on 31 March 1770. The *Granby* last called at the Cape. The *Triton* left China together with the *Pigot*, the *Nottingham* and the *Hector*. The Council was told that the *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Earl of Ashburnham* sailed at the same time as the *Speke* and the *Havannah*. 3: A French ship from Bengal, *Le Duc de Praslin* under Captain Mag[...], arrived on 28 March 1770. She measured about 600 tons, carried 20 guns and 164 men, and was bound for Port L'Orient with a cargo of Bengal goods. The Council dealt with her in line with the position set out in its general letter of 14 September 1769. **Interpretations** *Le Duc de Praslin* was the first French ship recorded at the island since the Council changed its policy. The letter of 14 September 1769 resolved that French crews would no longer be allowed ashore and that their ships would be supplied by boat, in the

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			manner the governor of Mauritius treated the *Shrewsbury*. The Council's reference back to that letter showed the rule being applied when the occasion came, six months after it was adopted and before any reply from the Court could have arrived. Her crew stood out against the other foreign ships described in these letters. The Dutch *Rhynsburg*, of about 700 tons, carried 100 men, and the Swedish *Adolph Frederick*, more than twice the size of the French ship, carried 140. At 164 men for about 600 tons, the French vessel was far more heavily manned than a merchant voyage required. Captain Haggis reported in the letter of 14 October 1769 that French ships reached Bengal crowded with men and returned with only a working crew. A homeward ship with so large a complement did not fit that pattern neatly, and the Council recorded the figure without comment, leaving the Court to weigh it. Port L'Orient, on the coast of Brittany, was the home base of French trade with the East. The second wave of the China fleet arrived five weeks after the first, which came in between 18 and 20 February 1770. Captain Waddell stated in the letter of 22 February 1770 that the *Pigot*, the *Hector*, the *Triton* and the *Nottingham* were to leave China about the middle of December 1769, and three of those four now appeared together. The *Triton* sailed with them but was not among the arrivals, so the Council reported her as on the way. The same applied to the *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Earl of Ashburnham*. The *Granby* reached the island at last, having been traced through four earlier reports: at anchor off China, parted from the *Glatton* in the Straits of Sunda, and lying at the Cape on 2 March 1770. She left China with the first group and arrived with the second, more than a month behind her consort.
238	231	Not permit the Capt. or any of the Officers belonging to the said Ship,§ §to come into the Garrison, excepting the Officer that was sent on§ §shore to the Governor, who was attended with the Town Adjutant§ §we supplyed the Capt. with the Provison he demanded as well as§ §permitted him to take What Water he wanted —§ §The 28th of last Month arrived a Dane Ship from China§ §called the Queen Sophia Magdalena Capt. Holm burthen about§ §one thousand one hundred Tons, carrys twenty six Guns, and§ §one hundred and sixty Men, loaden with Tea China Ware, and§ §Silk, bound to Copenhagen, On the 2 instant arrived a Swede§ §Ship from China called the Rickenstander Capt. Habbick burthen§ §one thousand three hundred Tons, carrys thirty two Guns & one§ §hundred & forty Men, loaden with Tea, China ware, & Silk bound to§ §Gottenburg§ §As the last Quarters Accounts will not be laid before Us§ §until the 16th instant, we cannot transmit you any other Cash§ §Account by this opportunity, than the Duplicate of the last —§ §Capt. Swainson brought us from the Cape six Black Cattle§ §& twenty five Sheep, amounting to Forty pounds five shillings, he§ §not chusing to receive the money here we have given him Certificates§ §for the same & refer the Payment to your Honors§	The Council refused to let the captain or any officer of *Le Duc de Praslin* enter the garrison. The one exception was the officer sent ashore to wait on Governor Skottowe, and the Town Adjutant accompanied him throughout. The captain received the provisions he asked for and was allowed to take as much water as he wanted. 4: A Danish ship from China, the *Queen Sophia Magdalena* under Captain Holm, arrived on 28 March 1770. She measured about 1,100 tons, carried 26 guns and 160 men, and was bound for Copenhagen with tea, porcelain and silk. A Swedish ship from China, the *Rickenstander* under Captain Habbicht, arrived on 2 April 1770. She measured 1,300 tons, carried 32 guns and 140 men, and was bound for Gothenburg with tea, porcelain and silk. 5: The accounts for the previous quarter were not due before the Council until 16 April 1770. No cash account could therefore go home by the departing ship except a duplicate of the last one. 6: Captain Swa[...] brought livestock from the Cape, valued together at £40 5s 0d. Black cattle, 6 Sheep, 25 He preferred not to be paid on the island, so the Council gave him certificates for the amount and referred the payment to the Court. 7: The Council granted four sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 2 April 1770. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to John Lewin Smith Esquire, £599 10s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to Captain Fasham Nairne, £226 5s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £1,000 0s 0d John Barnes, a discharged soldier, payable to himself, £20 0s 0d **Interpretations**

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		§We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt.§ §one set to Daniel Corneille Esqr. for five hundred and ninety nine§ §Pounds ten shillings, payable to John Lewin Smith Esqr. Two sets to Mr.§ §Matthew Purling one for two hundred & twenty six pounds five§ §shillings payable to Capt. Fasham Nairne, the other for one§ §thousand pounds, payable to John Purling Esqr, and one set to§ §John Barnes a discharged Soldier, for twenty pounds payable§ §to himself, all drawn at ninety days sight & dated the 2 instant§	The treatment of the French ship copied, almost point for point, what Captain Jones met at Mauritius. There the governor forbade any landing and supplied the *Shrewsbury* by boat, as the letter of 14 September 1769 related. At St Helena the French captain was kept out of the town and fort, given his provisions and allowed his water. The Council admitted a single officer to pay the customary call on the Governor, a courtesy the French governor had refused to Jones outright, and placed him under the escort of the Town Adjutant, the garrison officer responsible for its daily order and discipline. That escort served the same end as the French officer who shadowed the visitors from the *Shrewsbury*: the stranger saw nothing of the defences except what lay on his path. The Council thus matched the French restriction while stopping short of its discourtesy, a measured answer that kept the peace between two nations not at war. The detailed report gave the Court the first account of the policy in operation, still without instructions from London. Three foreign China ships called within a week of the French vessel, and none met any restriction. The Danish ship was the single Dane counted at Canton in the letter of 22 February 1770, and the *Rickenstander* was the second of the two Swedes, following the *Adolph Frederick* on 13 March 1770. All three carried the same lading of tea, porcelain and silk. Copenhagen and Gothenburg were the bases of the Danish and Swedish companies, whose tea competed with the Company's and fed the smuggling trade into Britain. The guns and crews were noted as before. At 32 guns the second Swede was the most heavily armed foreign ship recorded in these letters. The bills were the largest batch of the series. Matthew Purling alone remitted £1,226 5s 0d and Daniel Corneille £599 10s 0d, sums far beyond a councillor's salary. They fell at the end of the busiest shipping weeks of the year, when 17 Company ships and five foreigners called between mid January and early April 1770. The timing pointed to private dealings with the ships as the source, probably the sale of island produce and the handling of goods on commission. One of Purling's bills was payable to Captain Fasham Nairne, a passenger in the *Hampshire* named in the letter of 17 February 1770, which suggested a debt between the two men settled in London. John Barnes, a discharged soldier, paid £20 0s 0d into the treasury and took a bill payable to himself. A private soldier going home thus used the same facility as the councillors. The sum represented the savings of his service, turned into paper he could cash in London and safe from theft or loss on the voyage. The livestock was the fourth consignment from the Cape since 17 February 1770 and, like Captain Tryon's on 22 March 1770, included cattle. With the drought reported on 24 February 1770 still unrelieved so far as these letters showed, each delivery of cattle helped to make good the island's failing herds.
239	232	The Passengers on board these Ships are Capt. Veneret,§ §on the Pigot, and Mr. Yard a french Gentleman on the Granby§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obt. & humble Servants§ §(signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §4th April 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§	8: Captain Vene[...]t travelled as a passenger in the *Pigot*, and Mr Yard, a French gentleman, in the *Granby*. The letter closed at St Helena on 4 April 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Granby*, dated 4 April 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 4 April 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 22 March 1770 3: Consultations from 26 March to 2 April 1770

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		§Granby dated the 4th April 1770 vizt.§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated the 4th April 1770§ §Duplicate Do & Do dated the 22d March Do§ §Consultations from the 26th March to 2 April Do§ §Duplicate Do of the 22d. Do Do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Deptford§ §Second Do for Do pr Ship Speaker§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Deptford§ §Do Cash Acct. from 21st to 22d March 1770§ §Ship Granby's Acct.§ §Duplicate Ship Deptfords Do§ §Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Hector, Granby, Speke, Pigot§ §Nottingham & Havannah —§	4: Duplicate consultation of 22 March 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Deptford*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Speaker*. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Deptford*. 9: Duplicate cash account from 21 to 22 March 1770 10: Account of the ship *Granby*. 11: Duplicate account of the ship *Deptford*. 12: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 13: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Hector*, *Granby*, *Speke*, *Pigot*, *Nottingham* and *Havannah*. **Interpretations** A French gentleman went home as a passenger in a Company ship in the same week that the Council kept the captain and officers of *Le Duc de Praslin* out of the garrison. The letter of 4 April 1770 recorded both facts without linking them. The restriction adopted on 14 September 1769 was aimed at French ships and their officers, who might observe the island's defences on behalf of their own service. A private individual who took passage from China under a Company commander's eye fell outside that concern. The Council nonetheless identified his nationality to the Court, the only passenger in these letters described in that way. Of the six China ships that arrived between 29 and 31 March 1770, only the *Granby* carried a packet. She reached China with the first group, dropped behind in the Straits of Sunda and at the Cape, and was the first of the second group sent on, within six days of anchoring. Her call at the Cape made her the probable carrier of the six cattle and 25 sheep delivered by Captain Swa[...], who was therefore perhaps her commander. The packet contained no new cash account, only a duplicate of the one for 21 and 22 March 1770. The quarter ended on 31 March 1770, and the letter explained that the accounts were not due before the Council until 16 April 1770. The bills for £1,845 15s 0d dated 2 April 1770 thus fell in a period for which the Court had as yet no account at all.
240	233	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We wrote your Honors last by the Ship Granby§ §which sailed from hence the 4th instant§ §Yesterday Arrived the Triton from China (last§ §from the Cape) Capt. Elphinston acquaints Us your Ships Earl of§ §Lincoln, and Valentine were at that place when he left it; the§ §former was to sail the day after: he further tells Us that there§ §were three outward and one homeward bound French Ships at the§ §Cape, that he heard the outward bound had on board about seven§ §hundred Troops, part of the Regiment of Conti§ §We have given Capt. Richardson an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship, to compleat her Company James§ §Hannington, a discharged Soldier, and have permitted Capt§ §Williams to take onboard the Hector, William Stone Matross, John§ §Crawley, William Harper, and John Tucker Private; and have§ §likewise given permission to Capt. Stoakes to receive on board§ §his Ship, Robt. Hopkinson Sergeant, William Hunt, and James§ §Avery private, and have permitted Capt. Jackson to	The Council began a new letter by noting that its previous one went by the *Granby*, which sailed on 4 April 1770. 2: The *Triton* arrived from China by way of the Cape on the day before the Council wrote. Captain Elphinston reported that the Company's ships *Earl of Lincoln* and *Valentine* were at the Cape when he left, and the *Earl of Lincoln* was due to sail the next day. Three outward-bound French ships and one homeward-bound lay there as well. He heard that the outward ships carried about 700 soldiers, part of the Regiment of Conti. 3: Several discharged soldiers went aboard the departing ships. Captain Richardson received an order to take James Hamington to help fill out his crew. Captain Williams was allowed to take four men in the *Hector*, Captain Stoakes was given permission to take three, and Captain Jackson was allowed to take one in the *Speke*. Captain Richardson: James Hamington, discharged soldier Captain Williams: William Stone, matross Captain Williams: John Crawley, private Captain Williams: William Harper, private Captain Williams: John Tucker, private Captain Stoakes: Robert Hopkinson, serjeant Captain Stoakes: William Hunt, private Captain Stoakes: James [...]ary, private Captain Jackson: John Barnes, private

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		take John§ §Barnes Private on board the Speke —§ §Captains Richardson, Williams, Stoakes & Jackson§ §requesting Liberty to touch at Assension to get Turtle, we have§ §permitted them to call there for that purpose —§ §Capt. Jeffry Jackson applied to Us to pay seven§ §hundred pounds into your Cash, which we have Received, and§ §given Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that Sum,§ §payable to himself (or Order) drawn at ninety days sight: and§ §dated this day —§ §Captains White and Jackson Requesting we§ §would§	4: Captains Richardson, Williams, Stoakes and Jackson asked for leave to call at Ascension for turtle. The Council allowed them to stop there for that purpose. 5: Captain Jeffry Jackson applied to pay £700 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court for that amount, payable to himself or his order. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the day of the letter. **Interpretations** The news from the Cape added a named regiment and a number to the earlier reports of French strength. Captain Jones's officers counted more than 400 officers at Mauritius, as the letter of 14 September 1769 related, and Captain Haggis described ships landing surplus men in Bengal in the letter of 14 October 1769. Captain Elphinston now reported about 700 regular infantry of the Regiment of Conti on their way east in three ships. A regiment of the French line sent out in strength was a reinforcement of a different order from stray officers and adventurers. The Cape was the point where outward French ships and homeward Company ships crossed, so intelligence gathered there was the freshest available on what France was sending to the Indian Ocean. Nine soldiers left the garrison in a single dispatch, the largest number in these letters, and among them a serjeant and a matross. A matross was an artilleryman of the lowest grade, who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and sponging the guns. The letter gave no grounds such as illness or misconduct, in contrast to the invalids and convicted men of earlier months, so these were probably men whose contracted terms had run out. Their release came while the militia stood embodied and French troops were moving east, and the Council offered no comment on the loss to the garrison's strength. The wording distinguished two kinds of arrangement. Captain Richardson was ordered to receive a man to complete his crew, the formula used on 1 August 1769 and 17 August 1769. The other three captains were "allowed" or "given permission" to take theirs, which implied that the request came from the commanders. Ships at the end of a long voyage were commonly short of hands through death and sickness, and time-expired soldiers wanting a passage home supplied the need. No fare was paid for any of them. John Barnes appeared for the second time. The bills dated 2 April 1770 recorded him as a discharged soldier remitting £20 0s 0d payable to himself. He now sailed in the *Speke* under Captain Jackson, carrying his savings home as paper. Four more commanders received leave for Ascension, bringing the number in this season to ten. Captain Jackson's bills for £700 0s 0d were payable to himself, like those of Captain Ross on 17 February 1770. A commander's own trading profits from the voyage were the probable source, converted on the island into a claim on the Company in London.
241	234	would give them Certificates for the Amount of the Salt§ §Provision we purchased of them on your Honors Account, we§ §have complied therewith, the respective Sums we have given§ §Certificates for are mentioned in our Consultation of this day§ §This Letter waits on your Honors by the Ship Pigot§ §which Sails in Company with the Hector, Nottingham, &§ §Speke, Copys of which we transmit you by the aforesaid Ships§	Captains White and Jackson asked for certificates covering the salt provisions the Council bought from them on the Company's account. The Council agreed, and the amounts certified to each were entered in the consultation of 6 April 1770. 7: The letter went by the *Pigot*, which sailed in company with the *Hector*, the *Nottingham* and the *Speke*. Copies travelled in those three ships. The letter closed at St Helena on 6 April 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling

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		§We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obt. and humbl. Servants§ §signd§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §6th April 1770§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Pigot dated the 6th April 1770 vizt.§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 6th April 1770§ §Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 4th Do Do§ §Consultation of the 6th do. do§ §Duplicate Do from the 26th March to 2 do do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Granby§ §Second do for Do pr Ship Deptford§ §Effective State of the Garrison§ §Muster Rolls of Do§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Granby§ §List of 9 discharged Soldiers§ §Ship Pigots Acct.§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Pigot*, dated 6 April 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 6 April 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 April 1770 3: Consultation of 6 April 1770 4: Duplicate consultations from 26 March to 2 April 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Granby*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Deptford*. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Muster rolls of the garrison 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Granby*. 10: List of 9 discharged soldiers 11: Account of the ship *Pigot*. **Interpretations** The purchase of salt provisions put into effect the Court's order of 17 May 1769, which reached the island through Madras and was reported in the letter of 20 March 1770. Six ships were told to load more salt meat than they needed, and the Council undertook to take over the unused surplus when their commanders applied. Captains White and Jackson were the first to do so. Captain Jackson commanded the *Speke*, one of the China ships that arrived on 30 March 1770. The island thus gained a reserve of preserved meat within six weeks of the Council's warning, on 24 February 1770, that drought was wasting the cattle. Payment took the form of certificates and not cash, as with the livestock supplied by Captains Ross, Scott, Tryon and Swa[...]. Here the request came from the commanders. The provisions belonged to the ships' owners, who had laid them in at their own cost, so the money was due to the owners in London and a certificate was the natural instrument. The Council left the sums to the consultation, which the Court could set against the promised report of quantity and price. The date of the letter fixed the events it described. The *Triton* arrived on 5 April 1770, and Captain Jackson's bills for £700 0s 0d were dated 6 April 1770. The list of nine discharged soldiers matched the nine men named in the letter as embarking with Captains Richardson, Williams, Stoakes and Jackson. Four ships sailed together, and four commanders took the discharged soldiers and asked leave for Ascension. Captain Williams had the *Hector* and Captain Jackson the *Speke*, as the letter stated. Captains Richardson and Stoakes therefore commanded the *Pigot* and the *Nottingham* between them, though the letter did not say which man had which ship. As on 22 February 1770, one ship carried the full packet and her consorts carried copies of the letter.
242	235	Ship Hectors Account§ §Ship Spekes do§ §do Nottinghams do§ §Duplicate Ship Granbys do§ §Time of the Arrival of Ship Tritons Boat at Banks's§ §Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Triton§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We Addressed your Honors Yesterday by the Ship§ §Pigot, which Sails this day in Company with your Ships, Hector§ §Nottingham & Speke§ §We have permitted Capt. White to take onboard§ §his Ship, John Reed, James Armstrong, & John Sabourin, three§	The packet sent by the *Pigot* on 6 April 1770 also held the following papers. 12: Account of the ship *Hector*. 13: Account of the ship *Speke*. 14: Account of the ship *Nottingham*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Granby*. 16: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Triton* at Banks's. 17: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Triton*. The Council wrote again a day after its letter of 6 April 1770, which went by the *Pigot*. That ship sailed on 7 April 1770 in company with the *Hector*, the *Nottingham* and the *Speke*. 2: Captain White was allowed to take three discharged soldiers aboard his ship. Captain Stoakes

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		§discharged Soldiers; Capt. Stoakes has likewise this day taken§ §Edward Dudley, Edward Haddock, & William Clifford, three other§ §discharged Men, for which he has our permission —§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obt. & humbl Servants§ §(signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena 7th April 1770§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Havannah dated the 7th April 1770 vizt§ §Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 7th April 1770§ §Duplicate do do dated 6th do do§	took three more on the same day with the Council's permission. Captain White: John Reed, discharged soldier Captain White: James Armstrong, discharged soldier Captain White: John Sabo[...], discharged soldier Captain Stoakes: Edward Dudley, discharged soldier Captain Stoakes: Edward Haddock, discharged soldier Captain Stoakes: William Cl[...], discharged soldier The letter closed at St Helena on 7 April 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Havannah*, dated 7 April 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 7 April 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 6 April 1770 **Interpretations** Six more soldiers left on 7 April 1770, the day after nine were listed in the packet of the *Pigot*. Fifteen men thus quit the garrison in two days, spread across five ships. Earlier departures in these letters came singly or in small groups and usually carried a stated reason, such as illness, a conviction or a wish to be rid of a bad character. Here the men were simply described as discharged, which pointed to contracts that had run their term and to soldiers taking the last ships of the season home. The Council wrote a separate letter for the sole purpose of reporting the six names, so that the Court's record of who was struck off the garrison's strength stayed complete to the day. The loss fell at an awkward moment. The militia was embodied on the strength of French movements, and the letter of 6 April 1770 reported about 700 French regulars bound east. The garrison's only recorded gain in the period was Robert Grosvenor, the deserter from Bombay kept on the island on 17 August 1769. Replacements could come only from England by the outward storeships, so each such exodus left the establishment below strength until the next arrivals. Captain Stoakes took three men on 6 April 1770 and three more on the day he sailed, six in all, the most of any commander. A ship coming home from China with a crew thinned by the voyage had room for as many able men as offered, and the Council's permission cost the Company nothing. The letter went by the *Havannah*, and Captain White was the only commander named in it who did not sail with the convoy of four. He was therefore her captain. That identification also placed the *Havannah* among the six ships ordered to carry extra salt provisions, since Captain White received certificates for his surplus on 6 April 1770.
243	236	Duplicate Consultations of 6th April 1770§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Pigot§ §Do Do for a small paper Packet pr Ship Nottingham§ §Do Do for Do Do pr Ship Speke§ §Do Do for Do Do pr Ship Hector§ §Second do for do pr Ship Granby§ §Effective state of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Pigot§ §Ship Havannahs Acct§ §Duplicate Ship Pigots Do§ §do Ship Hectors Do§ §do do Spekes§ §do do Nottinghams§	The packet sent by the *Havannah* on 7 April 1770 also held the following papers. 3: Duplicate consultation of 6 April 1770 4: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Pigot*. 5: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Nottingham*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Speke*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Hector*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Granby*.

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		§List of 6 discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on your Honors under date§ §of 7th instant by the Ship Havannah —§ §On the Arrival of the Triton, we acquainted her§ §Commander Capt. Elphinstone with your Orders for receiving what§ §salt Provision he had left, put onboard on account of Recruits for India§ §he informed Us that he had none to spare§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humbl. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §9th April 1770§	9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Pigot*. 11: Account of the ship *Havannah*. 12: Duplicate account of the ship *Pigot*. 13: Duplicate account of the ship *Hector*. 14: Duplicate account of the ship *Speke*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Nottingham*. 16: List of 6 discharged soldiers The Council opened a further short letter by recalling its previous one, dated 7 April 1770 and sent by the *Havannah*. 2: When the *Triton* arrived, the Council informed her commander, Captain Elphinston, of the Court's orders about salt provisions. Those orders required the island to take over whatever remained of the stock put aboard for the recruits bound for India. He replied that he had none to spare. The letter closed at St Helena on 9 April 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** This paragraph explained the origin of the surplus that the earlier letters left unstated. The six ships named in the Court's order of 17 May 1769 carried recruits out to India, soldiers enlisted in England for the Company's armies. Extra salt provisions were loaded to feed those men on the outward voyage. Once the recruits were landed, whatever was left over had no further use aboard, and the Court directed that it be delivered at St Helena on the way home. The route through Madras, reported on 20 March 1770, now made sense: the ships landed their recruits in India and went on to China for cargo, and the *Triton* was among the vessels seen at Fort St George on 1 July 1769 and at Canton later that season. The Council reported a nil return. Captains White and Jackson sold their surplus on 6 April 1770, and Captain Elphinston had nothing left to offer. Recording his answer protected the Council. The Court expected provisions from six ships, and a letter stating that the commander was asked and had none prevented any later suggestion that the island failed to apply. It also left the Court to judge whether the stock was fully consumed or whether the commander chose to keep it for his own crew on the run home. The Council wrote three letters in four days, on 6, 7 and 9 April 1770, each prompted by a ship's sailing and each confined to what had happened since the last. The practice kept the Court's information current to the departure of every vessel, at the price of very short dispatches such as this one.
244	237	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Triton dated 9th April 1770§ §Governor & Councils Genl Letter dated 9th April 1770§ §Duplicate do. & do. dated 7th. do. do§ §Consultation of the 9th do. do§ §First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Havannah§ §Second do for do pr Ship Pigot§ §do do for a small paper Packet pr Ship Hector§ §do do for do do do pr Ship Nottingham§ §do do for do do pr Ship Speke§ §Effective State of the Garrison§ §Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Havannah§ §Ship Tritons Account§ §Duplicate Ship Havannah's do§ §List of Officers & Servants taken 9th April 1770§ §To the Honoble &ca.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors by the Ship§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Triton*, dated 9 April 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 9 April 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 April 1770 3: Consultation of 9 April 1770 4: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Havannah*. 5: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Pigot*. 6: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Hector*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Nottingham*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Speke*. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Havannah*.

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		§Triton that Sailed from hence the 9th instant§ §On the 10th of this month Arrived your Ship Earl§ §of Lincoln from China (last from the Cape) Capt. Hardwicke§ §acquainting Us that he had some Salt Provision unexpended§ §which was put onboard on Account of Passengers for India§ §We have Received four hundred and twenty five pieces Beef & two§ §hundred and ninety four pieces of Pork for which we have given§ §him Certificates on you for the same§ §Since Mustering the Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §John Harrison a deserter from the Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §delivered himself up, we have Inlisted him to serve his§ §contracted time of five Years —§	11: Account of the ship *Triton*. 12: Duplicate account of the ship *Havannah*. 13: List of officers and servants taken on 9 April 1770 The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went by the *Triton*, which sailed on 9 April 1770. 2: The Company's ship *Earl of Lincoln* arrived from China by way of the Cape on 10 April 1770. Captain Hardwicke reported that some of the salt provisions loaded for passengers bound to India remained unused. The Council took them over and gave him certificates on the Court for their value. Salt beef, 425 pieces Salt pork, 294 pieces 3: John Harrison, a deserter from the ship *Earl of Ashburnham*, gave himself up after the crew of the *Earl of Lincoln* was mustered. The Council enlisted him as a soldier for a contracted term of five years. **Interpretations** Harrison ran from one Company ship and surfaced at St Helena in the wake of another. He came forward only after the muster of the *Earl of Lincoln* was over, which suggested that he had travelled in her unlisted and stayed out of sight while her people were counted. The usual course with a deserting seaman was to hold him for his own ship, and the *Earl of Ashburnham* was expected, having left China with the same group. The Council instead signed him on as a soldier for five years. The garrison had just lost 15 men in two days, on 6 and 7 April 1770, and a volunteer already on the island filled one of those places at once. The decision repeated the handling of Robert Grosvenor, the deserter from Bombay kept to serve in the garrison on 17 August 1769. In both cases the Council turned a man in breach of one engagement with the Company into a recruit under another, and reported the fact so the Court could settle any claim by the ship. The passage also showed that the Council mustered the crews of arriving ships. A roll call under the island's authority checked the men present against the ship's books, and it was the means by which stowaways, deserters and men wanted elsewhere came to light. Salt meat was counted in pieces and not weighed. The carcass was cut to a standard size before salting, so that one piece served as a fixed ration and casks could be issued and accounted for by number. The 719 pieces delivered here formed the third lot received under the Court's order of 17 May 1769, after those of Captains White and Jackson on 6 April 1770, while Captain Elphinston of the *Triton* had none to give. The letter described the provisions as loaded for "passengers" to India, where the letter of 9 April 1770 spoke of recruits. Both words referred to the men carried out at the Company's charge and fed from stores put aboard for the purpose. A fresh list of officers and servants was taken on 9 April 1770, six months after the last, dated 14 October 1769. The lists of families, rents and slaves were drawn up once a year on 30 September, but the roll of the Company's own establishment was evidently renewed every half year. The departures of the previous days made the new one timely.
245	238	4 Captain Hardwicke applied to Us for liberty to§ §touch at Assension to get Turtle for the further refreshment of§ §his Ships Company, we have permitted him to call there for that§ §purpose§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humbl Servts§ §(signd)§	Captain Hardwicke applied for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 April 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling

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		§John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §16th April 1770§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St Helena pr§ §Ship Earl of Lincoln dated the 16th April 1770 vizt. —§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated the 16th April 1770§ §2 Duplicate do & do dated the 9th do do§ §3 Consultation of the 14th do do.§ §4 Duplicate do of the 9th do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Triton§ §6 Second do for do pr Ship Havannah§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Triton§ §9 Ship Earl of Lincolns Acct.§ §10 Duplicate Ship Tritons do.§ §11 Time of the Arrival of the Earl of Lincolns Boat at Banks's§ §12 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §13 Cash Acct. from the 23 to the 31st March 1770§ §14 do from the 1st to the 16th April do§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Earl of Lincoln*, dated 16 April 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 16 April 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 9 April 1770 3: Consultation of 14 April 1770 4: Duplicate consultation of 9 April 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Triton*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Havannah*. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Triton*. 9: Account of the ship *Earl of Lincoln*. 10: Duplicate account of the ship *Triton*. 11: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Earl of Lincoln* at Banks's. 12: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Earl of Lincoln*. 13: Cash account from 23 to 31 March 1770 14: Cash account from 1 to 16 April 1770 **Interpretations** The cash accounts resumed in this packet after a gap of four dispatches. The letter of 4 April 1770 stated that the quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 16 April 1770, and the packets sent by the *Granby*, the *Pigot*, the *Havannah* and the *Triton* carried no new account. The packet closed on the very day of that review, and both outstanding accounts went with it. The account for 23 to 31 March 1770 completed the quarter, and the one for 1 to 16 April 1770 covered the bills for £1,845 15s 0d dated 2 April 1770 and Captain Jackson's £700 0s 0d of 6 April 1770. The Council thus kept to its rule of sending no account it had not examined, and lost no time once the examination was done. Captain Hardwicke was the eleventh commander of the season to receive leave for Ascension. Every Company ship that carried a letter home from the island since January 1770 obtained it, with the single exception of the *Glatton*.
246	239	To the Honoble &ca§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1 Our last Address to your Honors went by§ §the Ship Earl of Lincoln, under date of 16th April 1770 —§ §2 On the 27th of last Month, Arrived your§ §Ship Royal Charlotte & the 3 instant the Lioness, both from§ §Bengal (but last from the Cape) Capt. Larkins acquaints§ §Us he left that place the 16th of last Month, that your Ship§ §Europa arrived there the day before all well, he further§ §informs Us that a Spanish Frigate outward bound of§ §twenty eight Guns, and about three hundred Men, Sailed§ §from the Cape bound for Manilla as they reported the day he§ §did, We are likewise told the Lapwing Capt. Gardiner§ §arrived at Bengal just before these Ships departure from§ §thence —§ §3 The Passengers onboard the Lioness are§ §Harry Verelst Esqr. Major Pearson, Capt. Cox, & Messrs.§ §Rent & Denty, & Thos Rumbold Esqr. Mr. Butler & Mr.§ §Fisher on the Ship Royal Charlotte —§ §4 As we have not received any Madera§	The Council opened a new letter by recalling its previous one, dated 16 April 1770 and sent by the *Earl of Lincoln*. 2: The Company's ship *Royal Charlotte* arrived on 27 April 1770 and the *Lioness* on 3 May 1770, both from Bengal by way of the Cape. Captain Larkins reported leaving the Cape on 16 April 1770. The Company's ship *Europa* reached there the day before, with all well aboard. A Spanish frigate bound outward, of 28 guns and about 300 men, sailed from the Cape on the same day he did, and her people gave Manila as their destination. The Council also heard that the *Lapwing* under Captain Gardiner arrived at Bengal just before the two ships left. 3: The passengers aboard the *Lioness* were Harry Verelst Esquire, Major Pearson, Captain Cox and Messrs R[...] and Den[...]y. Thomas Rumbold Esquire, Mr Buller and Mr Fisher travelled in the *Royal Charlotte*. 4: No Madeira wine reached the island from the Company's settlement in Bengal, and the Council had reason to think none would come that season. The President and Council at Bengal made no mention in their letters of any orders to send it. Wine was needed for the Company's table, and the Council therefore bought one pipe of Madeira for £40 0s 0d. 5: The Council drew the Court's attention to the serious difficulties caused by the lateness of the island's storeships, which had still not arrived. **Interpretations**

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		§Wine from your Settlement of Bengal, and have reason§ §to imagine none will come this Season as the President§ §and Council of that place has not mentioned in their§ §Letters to Us receiving any Orders for that purpose, and being§ §in want of Wine for the Company's Table, we have purchased§ §a Pipe of Madera for Forty Pounds —§ §5 We beg leave to mention to your Honors§ §the great inconveniency Arising to this Settlement from§ §the retardment of our Store Ships not yet Arrived, as the§ §want§	The island's Madeira came by a roundabout route. Outward ships loaded wine at Madeira and carried it to India, and a share was then sent back from Bengal to St Helena in homeward vessels. The long passage through warm latitudes was held to improve the wine, so a cask that had been to India was preferred to one shipped direct. The system depended on the Court sending orders to Bengal each year. Silence in the letters from Bengal told the Council that no such order had gone, and that waiting would leave the island without wine for a year. The Company's table was the public table kept by the Governor at the Company's expense. Senior officers of the garrison dined there, and so did the commanders and principal passengers of visiting ships. Its supply was a charge on the Company and a matter of the settlement's standing, particularly in a season that brought men such as Harry Verelst and Thomas Rumbold ashore. A pipe was a large cask holding roughly 100 gallons. The Council bought one locally at £40 0s 0d, almost certainly from a ship's commander, and reported both the purchase and the reason. Buying outside the Company's own supply needed justifying, and the explanation also put the Court on notice that its orders to Bengal had been omitted. The Spanish frigate was reported with a note of reserve: Manila was her destination "as they report". Spain's ordinary link with the Philippines ran across the Pacific from Mexico, so a warship taking the Cape route was unusual, and one with about 300 men was strongly manned. With French troops also moving east, as the letters of 14 October 1769 and 6 April 1770 recorded, the Council passed on the sighting and left the Court to judge its meaning. The two Bengal ships were expected. The letter of 17 February 1770 reported that the *Lioness* and the *Royal Charlotte* were to leave Bengal towards the end of December 1769, and they reached the island about four months later. The complaint about the storeships opened a subject that the earlier letters approached only indirectly. Storeships were the outward vessels that brought the island its yearly supplies from England: coal, building materials, clothing, provisions and recruits. The Council had already asked for coal, hawsers and chain, lost 15 soldiers in two days in April 1770 and reported a drought. Each of those needs depended on ships that were now overdue.
247	240	want of Sundry Stores, and other necessarys, will put a§ §stop to the prosecution of the Works as well as distress§ §most of the Inhabitants. We therefore beg leave to submit§ §to your Consideration (to obviate the like difficulties for the§ §future) the sending one of the Store Ships earlier in the§ §Year, as this Island secluded as it is from all§ §communication with any other Country, and the§ §Resources within our selves but few, subjects Us to many§ §inconveniences at all times, nay further may possibly§ §very much distress the Island as by experience had near§ §been the case in the Year 1768 —§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble§ §Servants (signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§	The shortage of various stores and other necessities was about to halt the Company's building works and bring hardship to most of the inhabitants. The Council therefore asked the Court to consider sending the storeships out earlier in the year, so that the same difficulties did not recur. St Helena was cut off from contact with any other country and had few resources of its own, which left it exposed to many hardships at all times. A late supply could do worse and bring the island to real distress. Experience showed how close that came in 1768. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Royal Charlotte*, dated 7 May 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 7 May 1770 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 7 May 1770 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 April 1770

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		§St. Helena§ §7th May 1770§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr§ §Ship Royal Charlotte dated 7th May 1770 vizt§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 7th May 1770§ §2 do do do dated 7th do do relatg. to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 16th April do§ §4 Consultations from 16th April to the 7th May do§ §5 Duplicate do of the 14th do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §7 Second do for do pr Ship Triton§	4: Consultations from 16 April to 7 May 1770 5: Duplicate consultation of 14 April 1770 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Lincoln*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Triton*. **Interpretations** The Council asked the Court to change the timing of its shipping, a matter the Court settled in London to suit its own trade. The modest course was to report the shortage and wait. The Council went further and proposed a remedy, resting its case on two facts stated in the letter. The island could obtain nothing from any neighbour, so a late storeship could not be made good from elsewhere. And the danger was not theoretical, since the settlement came near to serious want in 1768. Citing a recent year within the Court's own knowledge gave the request a precedent that general complaint would have lacked. The works threatened with stoppage were the Company's building projects. The letter of 19 July 1769 sent home plans for the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's houses and asked for slate, sashes, frames and balusters from England, and the letter of 14 October 1769 referred to correspondence on Munden's Point. Construction used the Company's own stone and lime but depended on imported coal to burn the lime, on ironwork and on finished joinery. When those ran out the masons and craftsmen on permanent wages had nothing to work with, yet their pay continued, so delay cost the Company money as well as time. The inhabitants suffered alongside the works because the Company's store was their main source of imported goods. Clothing, tools, flour and household articles came out in the storeships and were sold to settlers from the Company's warehouse. Private purchases from passing ships, such as the livestock and Madeira bought in recent months, could ease particular wants but were no substitute for the yearly cargo. The letter was written in early May, after the homeward fleets from India and China had largely passed. Ships sailing from England late in the year arrived when the island had already gone through its busiest season on the previous year's stock. An earlier departure would have landed the stores before the homeward ships came in to be supplied, which was the practical point behind the Council's proposal. A further letter on law matters went with the packet, the fourth of the series after those of 1 August 1769, 27 October 1769 and 25 January 1770. The three earlier ones each followed a quarterly court by a few weeks, and this one fell in the same quarterly rhythm.
248	241	No 8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §10 Cash Acct. from the 17th to the 30th April 1770§ §11 do. do from the 1st to the 7th May do§ §12 Duplicate do from the 23 to the 31st March 1770§ §13 do do from the 1st to the 16th April do§ §14 Ship Royal Charlottes Account§ §15 Duplicate Ship Earl of Lincolns do§ §16 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ship Royal Charlotte and Lioness§ §18 Proceedings of a General Quartr Sessions held on the 25th April 1770§ §To the Honoble &c —§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We wrote to you the 7th instant by the Ship Royal§ §Charlotte, and had the pleasure last night of receiving a Packet§ §from your Honors by the British King, and another	The packet sent by the *Royal Charlotte* on 7 May 1770 also held the following papers. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Lincoln*. 10: Cash account from 17 to 30 April 1770 11: Cash account from 1 to 7 May 1770 12: Duplicate cash account from 23 to 31 March 1770 13: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 16 April 1770 14: Account of the ship *Royal Charlotte*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Earl of Lincoln*. 16: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 17: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Royal Charlotte* and *Lioness*. 18: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 25 April 1770 The Council wrote a few lines two days after its letter of 7 May 1770, which went by the *Royal*

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		this Morning§ §by your Ship Harcourt, we Opened and read your Orders and§ §Instructions to Us, which we beg leave to assure you, shall be§ §punctually complied with and Obeyed, as this Ship is to Sail§ §immediately, we have not time at present to Add more than§ §that we are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signd)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §9th May 1770§	*Charlotte*. A packet from the Court arrived by the *British King* on the evening of 8 May 1770, and a second came by the Company's ship *Harcourt* on the morning of 9 May 1770. The Council opened and read the Court's orders and instructions and gave its assurance that they would be carried out exactly. The ship taking the letter was about to sail at once, which left no time to write more. The letter closed at St Helena on 9 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** Two ships from England reached the island within a day and a half of the letter of 7 May 1770, in which the Council complained that the storeships were late and asked for earlier sailings. That complaint had already left in the *Royal Charlotte* and could not be recalled. The Court would therefore read the protest and, by the next ship, learn that the vessels came in almost as it was written. The arrival did not weaken the Council's argument. The stores landed in the second week of May, after the homeward fleets of the season had been supplied from the previous year's stock, which was precisely the timing the Council wanted changed. The note was an acknowledgement and nothing else. Its purpose was to place on record, by the first ship to leave, that both packets came safely to hand and on what dates. The Court sent its orders in more than one ship for the same reason the Council duplicated its own papers, and a prompt receipt told London that neither copy was lost. A considered reply had to wait, since the Council could not answer instructions it had read only that morning. Those instructions were the first word from the Court to appear in these letters. Since July 1769 the Council had referred a series of matters home: the plans and slate for the new houses, the exchange of the slave Walpole, the appointment of Mr Richard Mason, the schoolmaster's post and salary, and above all the decision of 14 September 1769 to raise the militia and keep French crews from landing. The note said nothing of which questions the Court had answered. The quarterly court of 25 April 1770 fitted the cycle seen earlier, after those of 12 July 1769, 4 October 1769 and 10 January 1770. Its proceedings travelled with the letter on law matters dated 7 May 1770, the same pairing as in the three previous quarters.
249	242	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on you the§ §9th Instant by the Ship Royal Charlotte, when we Informed§ §you of the Arrival of your Ships British King and Harcourt:§ §Your Honors may depend upon our dispatching those Ships on§ §the expiration of the ten working days, and give them all the§ §assistance in our power, that they may proceed on their respective§ §Voyages with all expedition —§ §2 As the Lioness Sails so soon§ §after the Arrival of the above mentioned Ships, time will not§ §permit us to answer your Letters received by those conveyances,§ §but will do it as soon as possible —§ §3 Having taken into consideration§ §upon a representation of the Principal Inhabitants, the§	The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went on 9 May 1770 by the *Royal Charlotte* and reported the arrival of the Company's ships *British King* and *Harcourt*. The Court could rely on both ships being sent on their way once the ten working days ran out. The Council promised them every help within its power so that each could continue her voyage without delay. 2: The *Lioness* sailed so soon after those two ships came in that there was no time to answer the letters they brought. The Council undertook to reply as early as possible. 3: The principal inhabitants made a representation to the Council about the costs attached to the office of Sheriff. In the Company's other settlements, all necessary expenses of sheriffs and bailiffs were paid by the Company, together with the cost of serving warrants and of executing criminals. The Council thought it only fair to meet such unavoidable outlays at St Helena too. It ordered the previous year's Sheriff to be repaid his expenses and recorded the decision in the consultation of 14 May 1770.

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		§Expences attending the Office of Sheriff, and as all necessary§ §Expences of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Execution of Warrants as well as§ §Execution of Criminals &ca are defrayed in the other Settlements§ §at the Honble Companys Expence, we think it but reasonable§ §to defray such unavoidable Disbursments, and have accordingly§ §Ordered the Sheriff of last Year to be defrayed such Expences,§ §and have entered the same in Consultation of this day —§ §4 Captain Larkins applied to Us to go§ §to Ascension, to get Turtle for the further refreshment of his Ships§ §Company, we have permitted him to call there for that purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §14th May 1770§	4: Captain Larkins applied for leave to go to Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council allowed him to call there for that purpose. The letter closed at St Helena on 14 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Sheriff was an inhabitant who served for a year and carried out the orders of the island's courts: serving warrants, seizing goods, holding prisoners and putting sentences into effect, including executions. Until this decision he bore the running costs himself. The post was thus a burden laid on the leading settlers in turn, and the more work the courts generated, the more it cost the holder. The representation came from the principal inhabitants as a body, the class from which sheriffs were drawn, which showed a shared grievance and not one man's claim. The Council granted the request on its own authority and applied it to the previous year's Sheriff at once. Referring the matter home was the cautious course, and the Council took exactly that course over Mr Beale's pension and the schoolmaster's salary in the letter of 17 September 1769. Here it acted first and reported afterwards. The stated ground was the practice of the other settlements, where the Company already paid such charges. The Council presented the measure as bringing St Helena into line with an established rule, not as a new expense requiring leave, and limited it to outlays that could not be avoided. The mention of executing criminals indicated that the Sheriff's expenses included the cost of carrying out death sentences passed by the island's courts. The ten working days were the time allowed to an outward ship at the island to land her cargo for St Helena and take in water and provisions. The allowance was fixed in the terms on which the Company hired its ships, and if the island detained a vessel beyond it the owners could claim compensation for each further day. The Council's assurance answered a concern the Court evidently raised in the orders that arrived on 8 and 9 May 1770: that ships bound onward to the East should not lose their season through slow handling at St Helena. The letter corrected the record of the *Royal Charlotte*. Her packet was dated 7 May 1770, but she was still in the road two days later and carried the note of 9 May 1770 as well. The *Lioness*, which arrived on 3 May 1770, took the letter of 14 May 1770. Captain Larkins, who brought the news from the Cape reported on 7 May 1770, was her commander and the twelfth of the season given leave for Ascension.
250	243	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Lioness dated the 14th May 1770 vizt§ §No. 1 Govr. and Councils Genl. Letter dated the 14th May 1770§ §2 Duplicate Do. & do dated 9th Do. Do.§ §3 Do. Do. & do dated 7th Do. Do.§ §4 Do. Do. & do dated 7th Do. Do. relating to§ §Law matters.§ §5 Consultations from 9th to 14th May 1770§ §6 Duplicate Do from 16th April to 7th May Do.§ §7 First receipt for the Packet pr Ship Royal Charlotte§ §8 First Receipt for a small Paper do pr Ship Royal Charlotte§ §9 Second do. for the Packet pr Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §10 Cash Acct. from 8th to 14th May 1770§ §11 Duplicate do. from 17th to 30th April 1770§ §12 Do. Do. from 1st to 7th May Do.§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Lioness*, dated 14 May 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 14 May 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 May 1770 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 9 May 1770 4: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 7 May 1770 relating to law matters 5: Consultations from 9 to 14 May 1770 6: Duplicate consultations from 16 April to 7 May 1770 7: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Royal Charlotte*. 8: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Royal Charlotte*.

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		§13 Ship Lionesses Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Royal Charlottes Account§ §15 Do Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessns. held on 25th April 1770§ §16 Govrs. Letter to the Honble Court of Directors§ §17 do. do to the Secret Committee§ §18 Effective State of the Garrison§ §19 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Royal Charlotte§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed you the 14th instant§ §by the Ship Lioness, the same Night arrived your Ships Earl of§ §Ashburnham, and Osterly from China, Capt. Fortescue acquaints§ §Us he left that Place the 22d January last, that your Ships§ §Neptune and Norfolk, were both dispatched at the same time, he§ §likewise tells us he saw two Ships in the Streights of Banka§ §under§	9: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Lincoln*. 10: Cash account from 8 to 14 May 1770 11: Duplicate cash account from 17 to 30 April 1770 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 7 May 1770 13: Account of the ship *Lioness*. 14: Duplicate account of the ship *Royal Charlotte*. 15: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 25 April 1770 16: The Governor's letter to the Court of Directors 17: The Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 18: Effective state of the garrison 19: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Royal Charlotte*. The Council began its next letter by noting that the previous one went on 14 May 1770 by the *Lioness*. The Company's ships *Earl of Ashburnham* and *Osterley* arrived from China that same night. Captain Fortescue reported leaving China on 22 January 1770, and the Company's ships *Neptune* and *Norfolk* were sent away at the same time. He also saw two ships in the Straits of Banca. **Interpretations** Items 16 and 17 were letters from the Governor alone, the first of their kind in these packets. Every earlier dispatch went in the joint name of the Governor and Council. The Secret Committee was the small body of directors that handled the Company's confidential political and military business, apart from the general correspondence read by the whole Court. A governor wrote to it personally on matters too sensitive for the Council's letters and the clerks who copied them. Both letters were written within five days of the Court's orders arriving on 8 and 9 May 1770. The Council told the Court on 14 May 1770 that it had no time yet to answer those orders, but the Governor evidently replied at once on his own account. The subject was not stated. The business most fitting a secret channel was the defence of the island and the treatment of French ships, on which the Council had acted without instructions since 14 September 1769. The small paper packet in item 8 was the note of 9 May 1770. The *Royal Charlotte* had already signed for her main packet, dated 7 May 1770, and gave a separate receipt for the later addition. The two receipts confirmed that she carried both letters, as the letter of 14 May 1770 stated. The *Earl of Ashburnham* was the ship from which John Harrison deserted. He gave himself up after the muster of the *Earl of Lincoln*, and the Council enlisted him for five years, as the letter of 16 April 1770 recorded. His own ship reached the island a month later. By then he was a soldier under contract to the Company, and the question of returning him to her had been closed by the Council's earlier decision. The Straits of Banca ran between Sumatra and the island of Banca, on the usual track of ships coming south from China towards the Straits of Sunda. Ships sighted there were on the homeward route, so the report bore on vessels still expected. With the *Earl of Ashburnham* and the *Osterley* in, the *Neptune* and the *Norfolk* were the last of the 16 Company ships listed at Canton in the letter of 22 February 1770 not yet accounted for at St Helena.
251	244	under Spanish Colours, one appeared to be a Ship of 74 Guns the§ §other a Frigate, the 16th instant arrived the Duke of Albany from§ §Bencoolen, we are told Captn. Alexander Stewart died at that Place§	Captain Fortescue saw two ships under Spanish colours in the Straits of Banca, one apparently of 74 guns and the other a frigate. The *Duke of Albany* arrived from Bencoolen on 16 May 1770, and the Council heard that Captain Alexander Stewart died there in November 1769.

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		§in November last§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and§ §Humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §18th May 1770§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to your Honors went§ §by the Ship Lioness, dated 14th and 18th Instant —§ §2 On the 20th of this Month arrived your§ §Ships Neptune from China, the 21st Duke of Grafton from§ §Bengal, Yesterday Norfolk from China, & Britannia from§ §Madrass, (last from Mauritius) Captn. Rous acquaints Us§ §he left Madrass the 8th February last, that on the 10th March in§ §the Latitude of 16o South and about 10 to the Eastward of§ §Mauritius, he met with a violent Gale of Wind, in which his§ §Ship had like to have foundered, having five feet Water in the§ §Hold, which dissolved part of the Salt Petre and damaged§ §several Bales which Obliged him to put into Mauritius, where§ §he discovered one hundred Bales so much drenched & soaked§ §with Salt Water that he found it absolutely necessary to have§ §them washed, as the doing of this would take some Months he left§ §them§	The letter closed at St Helena on 18 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Council opened a further letter by noting that its latest reports, dated 14 and 18 May 1770, both went by the *Lioness*. 2: Four Company ships came in over a few days. The *Neptune* arrived from China on 20 May 1770 and the *Duke of Grafton* from Bengal on 21 May 1770. The *Norfolk* from China and the *Britannia* from Madras, last from Mauritius, arrived the day before the Council wrote. Captain Rous reported leaving Madras on 8 February 1770. On 10 March 1770, in latitude 20 degrees south and about 10 degrees east of Mauritius, a violent gale struck his ship. She came close to sinking and took five feet of water into the hold. The water dissolved part of the saltpetre and damaged a number of bales, and Captain Rous was forced to put into Mauritius. There he found 100 bales so thoroughly soaked with sea water that washing them was unavoidable. That work was going to take some months. **Interpretations** Saltpetre was the chief ingredient of gunpowder and one of the Company's staple imports from India. It was a heavy crystalline salt, shipped in bags and stowed at the bottom of the hold, where its weight helped to steady the ship. The same position made it the first cargo reached by water, and it dissolved on contact, so a flooded hold meant a direct and unrecoverable loss. The bales held Indian cloth, the most valuable part of a Madras cargo. Sea water did not destroy cloth at once, but salt left in the fibres drew damp and rotted them. The only remedy was to open each bale, wash the pieces in fresh water and dry them before repacking, a slow task for 100 bales. The gale drove a Company ship into the very port where, according to the letter of 14 September 1769, the French governor refused the *Shrewsbury* any landing. A leaking ship with a spoiling cargo needed far more than water and provisions alongside: she had to be lightened, repaired and her goods handled ashore. The account showed that this was permitted, since the bales were examined and the washing put in hand there. Distress at sea thus obtained from the French what Captain Jones could not get by request. The Spanish ships were a second report of that nation's forces in eastern waters. The letter of 7 May 1770 mentioned a frigate of 28 guns and about 300 men leaving the Cape for Manila. Captain Fortescue now described a ship of 74 guns, a full ship of the line, with a frigate in company, on the route between China and the Straits of Sunda. A vessel of that force was far beyond anything needed to protect trade. Set beside the French troop movements reported on 14 October 1769 and 6 April 1770, it added to a picture of the two Bourbon powers strengthening themselves in the East at the same moment. The arrivals of the *Neptune* and the *Norfolk* completed the tally. All 16 Company ships listed at Canton in the letter of 22 February 1770 were now reported at or past St Helena. The *Britannia* and the *Duke of Grafton* were both seen at Bengal on 4 December 1769, and the *Britannia* was then under orders to finish loading at Madras, as the letter of 17 February 1770 stated. The *Duke of Albany* was last heard of leaving Batavia for Bencoolen in September 1769, in Captain Payne's report of 25 January 1770. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, notorious for sickness. The *Lioness* carried three letters. Her packet was dated 14 May 1770, yet she was still at anchor four days later and took the letter of 18 May 1770 too, just

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			as the *Royal Charlotte* took a second letter two days after her packet was closed.
252	245	them in the Hands of a Responsible Merchant, who entered into§ §a Contract to have it done and carry them back to Madrass, he§ §further tells us, he was under the necessity of taking onboard 70 Tons§ §of Ballast, he left Mauritius the 15th of April, and spoke with your§ §Ship Europa the 1st instant in the Latitude of 34d. 57ms South, all§ §well: Captn. Samson acquaints Us he left the Pilot the 18th February§ §that Your Ship Anson, was to sail from Bengal in a few days§ §after, and to fill up at the Coast —§ §3 The ten working days allowed by Charter§ §Party for unloading the British King and Harcourt, expiring the§ §21st instant, we yesterday gave Captns Hoare and Paul their§ §dispatches, the latter offering to take for Ballast on Board his§ §Ship freight free and carry to England any unserviceable Cannon§ §&ca. we might have: upon which we gave the Capt. of Artillery Orders§ §to examine and report to Us what Iron Guns he found unfit for service§ §he returned thirty eight of different Calibre, which we have put onboard§ §the Harcourt, Captn Paul has signed to two Bills of Lading for the§ §same, & Obligating himself and Owners to deliver them to the Company,§ §upon the arrival of the Ship Harcourt in the River of Thames, on the§ §terms he proposed, the first Bill of Lading goes herewith —§ §4 The Passengers onboard the Britannia are§ §Charles Bourchier Esqr. James Bourchier, and John Call Esqrs.§ §Lieut. Colonels De Beck and Frischman, and Mr. Paton; and on board§ §the Duke of Grafton, Majors Graham, and McKenzie, & Messrs Hunter§ §Petrie, Freak, Court, Adams, Christie Mrs. Griffith, Mrs Madeson§ §Mrs. Hunter, and Miss Vincent & Mr. Hasne the Danish Chief of§ §Salampore, and Mr. Pasare onboard the Neptune —§ §5 The 20th Instant, arrived a Spanish Frigate§ §from Manilla, called the La Venus Deise Mande, Capt. Manuel§ §Gonsales De Guernal, carrys 28 Guns & 170 Men: Yesterday§ §arrived another Spanish Frigate from Manilla, called the St. Rose§ §Captn. Don John Arroa, carrys 26 Guns, and 180 Men, both Bound to§ §Spain§	Captain Rous left the 100 soaked bales at Mauritius with a reliable merchant, who signed a contract to have them washed and to carry them back to Madras. He was obliged to take in 70 tons of ballast before sailing. He left Mauritius on 15 April 1770 and exchanged news with the Company's ship *Europa* on 1 May 1770 in latitude 34 degrees 57 minutes south, where all aboard her were well. Captain Sampson reported dropping the pilot on 18 February 1770. The Company's ship *Anson* was to sail from Bengal a few days later and complete her cargo on the Coast. 3: The ten working days allowed by charterparty for unloading the *British King* and the *Harcourt* ran out on 21 May 1770. Captains Hoare and Paul received their sailing papers the day before the Council wrote. Captain Paul offered to take any worn-out cannon and similar articles aboard his ship as ballast and carry them to England without charge for freight. The Council ordered the Captain of Artillery to inspect the iron guns and report which were unfit for service. He condemned 38 pieces of various calibres, and these were loaded into the *Harcourt*. Captain Paul signed two bills of lading for them. He bound himself and his owners to deliver the guns to the Company on the ship's arrival in the Thames, on the terms he proposed. The first bill of lading went home with the letter. 4: The passengers travelled in three ships. Britannia: Charles Bourchier Esquire Britannia: James Bourchier Esquire Britannia: John Call Esquire Britannia: Lieutenant Colonel De Beck Britannia: Lieutenant Colonel Frischman Britannia: Mr P[...] Duke of Grafton: Major Graham Duke of Grafton: Major McKenzie Duke of Grafton: Mr Hunter Duke of Grafton: Mr Petrie Duke of Grafton: Mr Fr[...] Duke of Grafton: Mr Curt Duke of Grafton: Mr Adams Duke of Grafton: Mr Christie Duke of Grafton: Mrs Griffith Duke of Grafton: Mrs Mad[...]son Duke of Grafton: Mrs Hunter Duke of Grafton: Miss Vincent Duke of Grafton: Mr Ras[...], the Danish Chief of Salampore Neptune: Mr Pa[...] The three vessels named in that list were the Company's ships *Britannia*, *Duke of Grafton* and *Neptune*. 5: A Spanish frigate from Manila, *La Venus* [...] under Captain Manuel Gonzales De Guer[...], arrived on 20 May 1770. She carried 28 guns and 170 men. A second Spanish frigate from Manila, the *St* [...] under Captain Don John [...], arrived the day before the Council wrote, with 26 guns and 180 men. Both were bound for Spain. **Interpretations** Captain Paul's offer suited both sides, and the Council's handling showed why it was accepted. The *Harcourt* landed her stores at St Helena and faced the voyage home light, so she needed weight low in the hold to sail safely. Stone would have served, but condemned iron guns served as well and had a value in England as scrap for the foundries. Left on the island they were useless and could never have repaid the cost of freight at ordinary rates. The Council therefore took a passage that cost nothing, yet guarded the Company's interest at each step. The Captain of Artillery made a formal survey so that no

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			sound gun was sent away, and the island's defences were a live concern while the militia stood embodied. The captain then signed bills of lading that made him and his owners answerable for delivering all 38 pieces in the Thames. A bill of lading was a commander's signed receipt for cargo and his contract to deliver it, and it was issued in more than one copy so that one could travel by another ship as proof of what was loaded. The storeships were cleared within the time allowed. They arrived on 8 and 9 May 1770, and the ten working days expired on 21 May 1770. The assurance given on 14 May 1770 was thus kept to the day, and no claim for detention could arise against the island. Captain Rous entrusted Company property to a merchant in a French colony, under a contract to wash the cloth and ship it back to Madras. The governor of the same island refused Captain Jones leave even to land, as the letter of 14 September 1769 related. Commerce evidently ran on easier terms than official dealings. The alternative was to keep the bales aboard and lose the cargo to rot or lose months at Mauritius, so the risk of relying on a French merchant was the smaller evil. The 70 tons of ballast replaced the weight of the dissolved saltpetre and the landed bales, without which the ship would have been too light to carry sail. To "drop the pilot" marked a ship's true departure from Bengal. Pilots took vessels down the Hooghly to the open sea and then left them, so the date fixed the start of the ocean passage. "The Coast" meant the Coromandel coast of south-east India, where Madras lay and where a ship short of cargo could finish loading. Two Spanish frigates from Manila called on their way to Spain. With the frigate reported at the Cape on 7 May 1770 and the two warships seen in the Straits of Banca, they made five Spanish ships of war noticed in a fortnight's letters. Vessels sailing between Manila and Spain by the Cape were using a direct route in place of the long-established crossing of the Pacific to Mexico. The Council recorded their guns and crews as it did for every foreign ship, and noted no restriction on them, since the rule of 14 September 1769 applied to the French alone. The Danish Chief of Salampore, the head of the Danish trading station on the Hooghly above Calcutta, went home as a passenger in a Company ship. Senior officers of rival European companies sometimes travelled this way when no ship of their own nation was sailing, and the Council marked his rank and nationality for the Court's information.
253	246	6 A Dutch Ship arrived Yesterday from§ §Batavia, called the Maria Jacoba, Capt. Arrians burthen§ §800 Tons, carrys 20 Guns and 100 Men, loaden with Spice &ca.§ §bound to Holland —§ §7 This Letter waits on you by the§ §Ship Earl of Ashburnham, copy of which goes by the Osterly§ §that sails in Company with the abovementioned Ship§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and§ §Humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §23d. May 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§	A Dutch ship from Batavia, the *Maria Jacoba* under Captain Arrians, arrived on 22 May 1770. She measured 800 tons, carried 20 guns and 100 men, and was bound for Holland with a cargo of spices. 7: The letter went by the *Earl of Ashburnham*. A copy travelled in the *Osterley*, which sailed in her company. The letter closed at St Helena on 23 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Earl of Ashburnham*, dated 23 May 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 23 May 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 May 1770 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 May 1770 4: Consultations from 21 to 22 May 1770

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		§Earl of Ashburnham dated 23d. May 1770 vizt§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 23d. May 1770§ §2 Duplicate do & do dated 14th do do§ §3 do do & do dated 18th do do§ §4 Consultations from 21st to 22d May do§ §5 Duplicate do from 9th to 14th do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Lioness§ §7 First do for a small paper do pr Ship Lioness§ §8 Second do for do pr Ship Royal Charlotte§ §9 Second do for a Small paper do pr Ship Royal Charlotte§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Lioness§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Cash Account from 15th to 23d May 1770§ §13 Duplicate do from 8th to 14th do do§ §14 Ship Earl of Ashburnhams Account§	5: Duplicate consultations from 9 to 14 May 1770 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Lioness*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Lioness*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Royal Charlotte*. 9: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Royal Charlotte*. 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Lioness*. 12: Cash account from 15 to 23 May 1770 13: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 14 May 1770 14: Account of the ship *Earl of Ashburnham*. **Interpretations** The date of the letter fixed the events it described as happening the day before. The *Norfolk* and the *Britannia* arrived on 22 May 1770, and the second Spanish frigate from Manila came in on the same day. Captains Hoare and Paul also received their sailing papers on 22 May 1770, one day after their ten working days expired. The roadstead was unusually crowded in those few days. Between 20 and 22 May 1770 the island received four Company ships, two Spanish frigates and a Dutch Indiaman, while the *Earl of Ashburnham*, the *Osterley*, the *Duke of Albany*, the *British King* and the *Harcourt* were already at anchor. A dozen vessels of four nations lay together off a settlement whose pastures had been failing since the drought reported on 24 February 1770, and whose yearly stores had only just been landed. The Dutch ship carried spices, where the *Rhynsburg*, recorded on 14 October 1769, carried pepper. Cloves, nutmeg and mace came from islands in the eastern archipelago that the Dutch company controlled outright, and the trade in them was a monopoly closed to every other nation. Pepper, by contrast, was grown widely and bought by the English at Bencoolen as well. A cargo described simply as spices therefore represented the most protected and profitable branch of Dutch commerce. The Council noted her tonnage, guns and crew in the usual way, and at 100 men for 800 tons she was manned on the same modest scale as the earlier Dutch vessel. The receipts in items 6 to 9 confirmed how the two previous ships were used. Each gave one receipt for her main packet and another for a small paper packet added afterwards: the *Royal Charlotte* for the note of 9 May 1770 and the *Lioness* for the letter of 18 May 1770.
254	247	15 Ship Osterly's Account§ §16 Duplicate Ship Lioness's do§ §17 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ship Earl of Ashburnham, Osterly,§ §Duke of Albany, Neptune, Norfolk, & Duke of Grafton§ §19 First Bill of Lading for 38 Iron Guns put onboard the Ship§ §Harcourt§ §20 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you by the Ship§ §Earl of Ashburnham, that sailed from hence the 25 instant, in company§ §with your Ship Osterly —§ §2 It gives Us great pleasure to hear all§ §your Ships of the last Season arrived safe; the like success we hope will§	The packet sent by the *Earl of Ashburnham* on 23 May 1770 also held the following papers. 15: Account of the ship *Osterley*. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Lioness*. 17: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 18: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Earl of Ashburnham*, *Osterley*, *Duke of Albany*, *Neptune*, *Norfolk* and *Duke of Grafton*. 19: First bill of lading for 38 iron guns put aboard the ship *Harcourt*. 20: The Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went by the *Earl of Ashburnham*, which sailed on 25 May 1770 in company with the *Osterley*. 2: The Council was very glad to learn that all the Company's ships of the previous season reached home safely, and hoped the same good fortune would attend those of the current year.

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		§attend those of this Year —§ §3 The Orders received from the§ §Gentlemen of the Secret Committee, or any three of them, shall be§ §duly Obeyed —§ §4 Your Honors will please to observe§ §by our Consultation of 22d last Month, that we dispatched the Ships§ §British King, and Harcourt, upon the expiration of the ten working§ §Days —§ §5 Your Orders to yr Captains for supplying§ §themselves with Fuel for their Homeward bound Passage is highly§ §necessary to be a standing Order, as the Fuel of this Island yearly§ §decrease, and should they be deficient in so doing, we have no other§ §means of supplying them but with Coals, which is one reason, together§ §with the burning a sufficiency of Lime for carrying on the Works, that§ §we make so large an Indent for that Article, which we request for§ §the future (if possible) may be fully complied with, and shall not fail to§ §Acquaint§	3: Orders from the gentlemen of the Secret Committee, or from any three of them, would be faithfully obeyed. 4: The consultation of 22 May 1770 showed that the *British King* and the *Harcourt* were sent on their way when the ten working days expired. 5: The Court's direction that captains provide their own fuel for the homeward passage needed to become a standing order. The island's supply of fuel shrank every year. When commanders arrived short, the Council had nothing to give them but coal. That demand, together with the need to burn enough lime to keep the works going, explained the large quantity of coal the island ordered. The Council asked that future orders for it be met in full wherever possible. **Interpretations** This letter was the Council's considered reply to the orders that arrived by the *British King* and the *Harcourt* on 8 and 9 May 1770. Its form showed how the correspondence worked. The Council took the Court's letter paragraph by paragraph and answered each in turn, so that the numbered items here corresponded to the points London raised. The Court's own words were not repeated, and its concerns had to be read from the replies: the safe return of the previous season's fleet, the authority of the Secret Committee, the prompt clearing of outward ships and the supply of fuel to homeward ones. The third paragraph recorded a change in the chain of command. The Council bound itself to obey orders from the Secret Committee, and the words "or any three of them" set the number of signatures that made such an order valid. Until then the island took its instructions from the Court as a whole through the general letters. The Court had now told the Council that a small inner group could issue binding commands on its own authority, without the knowledge of the other directors or the many hands through which ordinary letters passed. Such an arrangement was made for war and for matters needing secrecy and speed. It came after months in which the Council reported French troops and officers gathering at Mauritius and elsewhere, called out the militia and shut French crews out of the garrison, as set out in the letters of 14 September 1769, 14 October 1769 and 6 April 1770. The Governor wrote to the Secret Committee twice within a fortnight, in the packets of 14 May 1770 and 23 May 1770. The substance of the committee's orders was kept out of the general letter, as secrecy required. The fuel paragraph answered a point the Council itself raised. The letter of 14 October 1769 complained that commanders ignored the Court's orders to stock up in India, and described giving Captain Haggis a chaldron of coal taken from the lime kilns. The Court responded by repeating its direction to captains, and the Council now pressed for it to be made permanent. The reason given was new and significant: the island's own fuel was decreasing year by year. St Helena's native woodland had been cut for generations for firewood, building and lime burning, and goats prevented its regrowth. With local wood failing, coal from England became the only fuel for the kilns and the only reserve for ships, which tied the building works, the garrison's needs and the shipping to a single imported article. The request that the coal order be met in full implied that earlier consignments fell short of what the island asked for. The first bill of lading for the 38 condemned guns went home by a different ship from the one carrying them. If the *Harcourt* was lost or her captain disputed the delivery, the Court held independent proof of what was loaded and on what terms.

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255	248	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length, most deeply at the lower right.] Acquaint you with the Names of those Commanders that shall be§ §deficient in this Article —§ §6 You will please to observe by our Letter§ §entered in Consultation of the 22d instant, to the Gentlemen at Canton,§ §that we found it necessary to make some small addition to our China§ §Indent —§ §7 We are glad you have given directions to§ §the Captains that touch at the Cape, to purchase on your account§ §Sheep only as we find by experience the Black Cattle do not thrive.§ §When the Wheat is received and a proper trial of it made, we will§ §report to you the Utility of that Measure —§ §8 It is with great satisfaction we find you§ §approved of our Conduct, to the French Gentlemen that have, or§ §may come here; in the third Paragraph of our General Letter dated§ §4th. April last, we acquainted you with our treatment of the Captain &§ §Officers of the French Ship that arrived here about that time, you may§ §depend upon our being particularly careful not to give any of that Nation§ §just cause for complaint —§ §9 We flatter ourselves the Money we may§ §receive this Year for Bills, Stores &ca. will enable Us to get a sufficiency§ §for the Current Expence of the Island —§ §10 The Supplies you have been pleased to send§ §Us this Season, we hope will fully answer the demands of the Island,§ §except the article of Purbeck Stone, which we certainly shall be in want§ §of, and must increase that Article in our next Indent, we have for§ §these three Months past been obliged to defer the Completion of that§ §important Battery at Mundens Point for want of the aforesaid Article§ §11 In the second paragraph of our Letter§ §dated 24th Feby. last we informed your Honors that the Summer Rains§ §had failed, and am sorry to acquaint you that a Great Number of Cattle§ §since that time have perished, principally for the want of Food, and§ §what remain on the List for Slaughter, are very Lean & Small, and§ §we have great Reason to apprehend the Returns next Year will be§ §very§	The Council promised to report the names of any commanders who arrived short of fuel. 6: A letter to the Company's representatives at Canton was entered in the consultation of 22 May 1770. It showed that the Council found a small addition to the island's order from China necessary. 7: The Council welcomed the Court's instruction that captains calling at the Cape should buy sheep alone on the Company's account. Experience proved that cattle brought from there did not do well on the island. Once the wheat arrived and was given a fair trial, the Council would report on the usefulness of that measure. 8: The Court's approval of the Council's conduct towards French visitors, past and future, gave great satisfaction. The third paragraph of the general letter of 4 April 1770 described how the captain and officers of the French ship then at the island were treated. The Court could rely on the Council to take particular care that no one of that nation had fair grounds for complaint. 9: The Council trusted that the money coming in during the year for bills, stores and other receipts would cover the island's running costs. 10: The supplies sent that season were expected to meet the island's needs in full, with one exception. Purbeck stone was certain to run short, and the quantity would have to be increased in the next order. For three months the Council was forced to put off finishing the important battery at Munden's Point for lack of it. 11: The second paragraph of the letter of 24 February 1770 reported that the summer rains failed. A great many cattle died after that date, mainly from want of food. The animals still on the list for slaughter were very thin and small. The Council had strong reason to fear for the following year's returns. **Interpretations** The Court approved what the Council did on its own authority. The letter of 14 September 1769 announced that French crews would be kept from landing and supplied by boat, and asked for instructions. Approval reached the island on 8 and 9 May 1770, about eight months later, so for that whole time the Council ran a policy touching relations with a foreign power without sanction. The reply showed that the approval carried a caution. The Council's promise to give the French no "fair grounds for complaint" answered a concern that restrictions should stop short of insult, since the two nations were at peace. The Council pointed to its handling of *Le Duc de Praslin* as evidence: her officers were excluded from the garrison, but one was received by the Governor under escort and her captain got all the provisions and water he asked for. Purbeck stone was a hard, dense limestone quarried on the Dorset coast and shipped widely for paving. On a battery it formed the platforms on which the guns stood and recoiled. A platform had to be level, smooth and strong enough to bear the weight and shock of heavy cannon, and the island's own volcanic rock evidently did not answer. Stone and lime for walls were the Company's own, as the Lieutenant Governor observed on 19 July 1769, yet the finishing material for the gun floors came from England. The battery at Munden's Point, which guarded the anchorage, therefore stood unfinished for three months at a time when the Council was calling out the militia against the French. The letters about that work from the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant Bazett, mentioned on 14 October 1769, belonged to the same project. The order about sheep changed the practice seen earlier in the year. Captains Ross, Scott, Tryon and Swa[...] brought livestock from the Cape between 17

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			February 1770 and 4 April 1770, some as private sales and some for the Company, and two consignments included cattle. The Court now directed that such purchases be made on the Company's account and confined to sheep. The Council agreed from experience that Cape cattle failed on the island's pastures. Buying for the Company from the start, as Captain Tryon did, removed the commander's private profit and put the risk of loss at sea on the Company. The wheat mentioned alongside was a separate experiment ordered by the Court, probably seed for trial sowing, on which the Council reserved judgement until it could be tested. The eleventh paragraph confirmed the fears of 24 February 1770. The drought killed a large part of the herds outright, and the survivors marked for slaughter were poor. The slaughter list was the roster of animals due to be killed for the garrison and the shipping in the coming months. Thin beasts yielded little meat, and heavy losses among breeding stock cut the number of calves, so the damage carried into the next year. The surplus salt provisions taken from Captains White, Jackson and Hardwicke in April 1770 thus arrived when the island's own supply of fresh beef was collapsing. The island sent its own order to Canton each year through the Company's resident agents there, who bought goods for St Helena and shipped them in homeward vessels. Tea, sugar and porcelain were the usual articles. The Council recorded the addition in the consultation so the Court could see what was requested outside the main order.
256	249	very inadequate to the Demands we shall have for Beef, but the Rains§ §that have lately fallen have been of infinite service to the Country and§ §we hope if they continue the Island will soon recover its Verdure,§ §and the Cattle Cease dying: We are sorry the Cattle you sent Us out for§ §the improvement of our Breed agreeable to our request of last year, had not§ §the success we hoped for having received only three out of the eight, yet are§ §of opinion that the same measure continued, may be of great Utility, as§ §we hope the same ill success may not happen another Year, as the§ §Commanders of the respective Storeships inform Us, that their loss was§ §intirely owing to the Rough Weather they met with in their outset, three§ §of them on the Harcourt were washed overboard —§ §12 James Carmichal, Gardener shall be paid the Salary§ §and Dieted at your Expence, as you are pleased to direct —§ §13 As you do not approve of removing from hence§ §the two Mallay Prisoners, we shall continue their allowances, but at the§ §same time cannot help observing to you, that if your Presidency's abroad§ §have a Latitude of sending all those that may be troublesome to their§ §Government to this Island, as a place of Banishment we conceive it§ §may be attended with great inconveniency to Us, When we receive of Mr Carter§ §a Man of equal goodness to your Slave Walpole, we shall comply with his Request for the§ §Exchange —§ §14 We have received only ninety four out of the§ §one Hundred Recruits you informed us were to come upon the Ships§ §British King, and Harcourt, John Givan, and Willm	The Council expected the following year's supply of cattle to fall well short of the demand for beef. Rain fell shortly before the letter was written and did the countryside a great deal of good. If it continued, the island would soon turn green again and the cattle would stop dying. The cattle sent out by the Court to improve the island's breed, as requested the previous year, did not bring the success hoped for. Only three of the eight arrived. The Council still held that the scheme could be very useful if kept up, and hoped for better fortune another year. The commanders of the two storeships reported that the losses were due entirely to rough weather at the start of their voyage. Three of the animals in the *Harcourt* were washed overboard. 12: James Carmichael, gardener, would receive his salary and be fed at the Company's expense, as the Court directed. 13: The Court refused to sanction the removal of the two Malay prisoners from the island, and the Council undertook to go on paying their allowance. It could not refrain from one observation. If the Company's presidencies abroad were free to send to St Helena, as a place of banishment, everyone who might prove troublesome to their governments, the island could suffer serious harm. Once Mr Carter supplied a man as good as the Company's slave Walpole, the Council would carry out the exchange he asked for. 14: Only 94 of the 100 recruits announced by the Court as coming in the *British King* and the *Harcourt* reached the island. John G[...]an and William Cooper died on the passage in the *British King*, and David [...]yle in the *Harcourt*. 15: The Council regretted that the Court was unable to send a master mason that year. Such a man was badly needed, as the previous season's letters explained in describing the incapacity of the late master mason, William Holbrook, who had died in the meantime. 16: The Court gave permission to build the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's houses according to the plans. The Council promised to keep

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		Cooper died in§ §the Passage onboard the British King, and David Gayle on the§ §Harcourt —§ §15 We are sorry you could not succeed in§ §sending Us a Master Mason this Year, as such a Man is much wanted§ §as we represented to you in our Letters of last Season, from the inability§ §of your late Master Mason Willm. Holbrook, who is since Dead —§ §16 Agreeable to your permission for carrying§ §the Plans of the Governors, and Lieut Govrs. Houses into Execution,§ §you may be assured that we shall pay all due attention to Oeconomy in§ §the execution of the same, and request that the Windows, Sashes and§ §Ballisters Indented for them, may be sent next Year, and will§ §Mention§	costs down in carrying out the work. It asked that the windows, sashes and balusters ordered for the houses be sent the following year. **Interpretations** The thirteenth paragraph recorded a disagreement with the Court, stated with unusual directness. Two Malay prisoners were held on the island at the Company's cost, sent there by one of the eastern settlements. The Council evidently proposed to send them away, and the Court said no. The Council obeyed but added a protest of principle. Its objection went beyond the two men: if every presidency could rid itself of difficult people by shipping them to St Helena, a small and isolated community would become a general place of exile, with the expense of feeding the banished and the risk of keeping them among a population of settlers, soldiers and slaves. The usual course on receiving a refusal was to comply in silence. The Council chose to put its dissent on record, and its wording treated the Court's ruling as opening a door that ought to be shut. The sentence on Walpole, inserted beside it, bore on the same question. The letter of 1 August 1769 explained that Mr Carter sent Walpole to the island as a Company slave about 15 years earlier for defrauding the Company, and now wished to exchange him. The Court's reply allowed the exchange once a man of equal quality was delivered, so the Company's labour force was kept whole. Walpole was himself an example of the island used as a place of punishment by an authority elsewhere. Eight breeding cattle left England and three were landed. The request for them went home before the drought, and their purpose was to improve the island's stock over generations, not to supply meat. Their arrival in May 1770, with the herds devastated, gave the scheme more importance than when it was proposed. The Council urged its continuance despite a loss of five animals in eight, and supported the case with the commanders' explanation that bad weather at the outset, not any fault in the plan, caused the deaths. The same letter welcomed the Court's order to buy only sheep at the Cape because Cape cattle did not thrive. English cattle were thus preferred for breeding, while the Cape remained a source of sheep. The recruits answered the garrison's losses. Fifteen men were discharged on 6 and 7 April 1770 alone, after smaller groups in August 1769 and January 1770. A draft of 100 replaced them several times over, and the Council accounted for the shortfall by naming the three who died at sea, as it named every man struck off the strength. Carmichael's appointment filled the place of James Gordon, the gardener whose chest was sold for £20 17s 8d, as the letter of 17 August 1769 reported. The gardener managed the Company's gardens, which grew the vegetables supplied to ships and garrison. To be "dieted" was to receive daily food from the Company in addition to salary, a standard part of a servant's pay on the island. The lack of a master mason touched both the major works then in hand. The battery at Munden's Point was stalled for want of Purbeck stone, and the two houses were now authorised. A master mason directed the Company's stoneworkers and slaves and set out the building. Without one the Council had to rely on whoever among the tradesmen could lead, at the moment its building programme was largest. The Court approved the house plans sent on 19 July 1769, some ten months after they were dispatched. The promise of economy answered a condition that plainly accompanied the approval. The Lieutenant Governor had declined to give an estimate, arguing that costs could not be calculated on the island, and the Court responded by granting

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			leave while insisting on restraint. The joinery ordered from England had not come with the storeships, so the Council renewed the request.
257	250	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] mention in the general Indent (as near as possible) how many Squares§ §of Slate may be wanted for the said Houses, which we would recommend§ §to be packed up in Cases to prevent Breakage —§ §17 We are glad you have been pleased to§ §confirm our appointment of Messrs. James Deffountain and§ §William Webber Doveton Writers, You may be assured we would§ §not have put you to this additional Expence had we not found it§ §absolutely necessary for the carrying on your Business they beg§ §leave to return you their sincere thanks for their appointment,§ §and have Executed their Covenants, which are returned in the Packet Mr. James Deffountain has§ §got Lieut Samuel Deffountain & Mr. James Greentree to be his§ §Securitys & Mr. Willm. Webbr. Doveton, Messrs. Willm. Wrangham§ §and Jonathan Doveton to be his, which they request your§ §Honors will please to accept of —§ §18 Mr. George Bazetts Securitys have§ §Executed the Bond which goes Enclosed —§ §19 Messrs. Robert Barclay, and John§ §Pritchard have been paid the Additional Salary you are pleased§ §to Order, for which they return your Honors their best§ §Acknowledgments —§ §20 We are pleased you approved of our§ §proposal of putting the Paymaster department under the§ §management of a Civil Servant, you may be assured that it§ §shall continue in that Line, as we think it for the good of the§ §Service Mr. Willm. Wrangham shall be paid the same Salary and§ §allowances, as the Storekeepers & Secretarys, and shall continue to§ §assist Mr. Purling untill Mr. Wright who is appointed to the§ §Accomptants Office, is capable of executing that Business§ §Mr. Wrangham begs leave to return you his sincere thanks§ §for this Appointment —§ §21 Mr. Jn. Tippett who you have been§ §pleased to appoint Capt. of Artillery and principal Engineer§ §shall be paid the Salary &ca. and Rank, next to the Youngest§ §Captain§	The Council undertook to state in the general order, as closely as it could, how many squares of slate the two houses needed. It recommended that the slate be packed in cases to prevent breakage. 17: The Court confirmed the appointment of Messrs James Deffountain and William Webber Doveton as writers, and the Council was glad of it. The extra expense would never have been laid on the Company had the two posts not proved absolutely necessary for carrying on its business. Both men sent their sincere thanks and signed their covenants, which went home in the packet. Lieutenant Samuel Deffountain and Mr James Greentree stood as securities for Mr James Deffountain. Messrs William Wrangham and Jonathan Doveton did the same for Mr William Webber Doveton. The Court was asked to accept them. 18: Mr George Bazett's securities signed his bond, which was enclosed. 19: Messrs Robert Barclay and John Pritchard received the additional salary ordered by the Court and returned their best thanks. 20: The Court approved the proposal to place the paymaster's department under a civil servant, which pleased the Council. The arrangement would continue, since the Council judged it good for the service. Mr William Wrangham would receive the same salary and allowances as the Storekeeper and the Secretary. He would go on assisting Mr Purling until Mr Wright, appointed to the Accountant's office, was able to do that work. Mr Wrangham sent his sincere thanks for the appointment. 21: The Court appointed Mr Tippett as Captain of Artillery and principal Engineer. He would receive the salary and allowances of that post and rank next below the junior captain. **Interpretations** Putting the paymaster's department under a civil servant changed who controlled the garrison's money. The paymaster issued the soldiers' wages and kept the pay accounts. When an officer of the garrison held the post, the military both certified its own numbers and paid itself. A civil servant answered to the Council and stood outside the chain of command, so the muster rolls drawn up by the officers were now checked by a separate hand before money left the treasury. The Council proposed the change, the Court approved it, and the reply stressed that it would be kept. The salary fixed for Mr Wrangham, level with the Storekeeper and the Secretary, placed the office among the senior civil posts. A writer was the lowest grade of the Company's covenanted civil service, a clerk who copied letters, kept books and learned the business with a view to promotion. The covenant was the signed agreement by which he bound himself to serve faithfully and to account for everything that passed through his hands. Two securities then guaranteed him with their own property, so that the Company could recover any loss from them if he defaulted. The arrangement gave the Court a financial hold over young men handling its goods and cash at a great distance. The names showed how closely the island's establishment was knit. James Deffountain was guaranteed by Lieutenant Samuel Deffountain, plainly a relation, and William Webber Doveton by Jonathan Doveton, who remitted £65 0s 0d on 4 September 1769 and £100 0s 0d on 13 October 1769. The other two securities, James Greentree and William Wrangham, also appeared in the bills of 24 July 1769 and 11 September 1769. The Council had made both appointments locally and asked for confirmation, and

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			its remark about expense showed that the Court questioned whether two more salaried clerks were needed. The new writers were sons of island families, backed by relations and neighbours already in the Company's pay, and the service was thus recruited from within the settlement itself. A square was the measure by which roofing was reckoned, equal to 100 square feet of covered surface. The reference showed that the Court accepted the argument of 19 July 1769 for slate over tiles on the single-pitch roofs, though the quantity remained to be worked out. The advice on packing reflected the risk to a brittle material on a long voyage, handled several times between quarry, ship and shore. Mr Tippett came out by the Court's appointment to a combined post, commanding the artillery and directing the fortifications. The Council fixed his standing in the garrison by placing him immediately after the most junior captain. Rank decided who commanded whom, so the place of a new arrival appointed from England had to be settled at once, and the Council put him below every existing captain. The Captain of Artillery who condemned the 38 guns loaded into the *Harcourt* on 22 May 1770 acted days after the storeships arrived, so that survey was probably among Mr Tippett's first duties.
258	251	Captain as you direct, & Lieut Thos. Bazett shall be employed as§ §Assistant to Captn. Tippett, in carrying on the Works pursuant to your§ §Orders —§ §22 Agreeable to your directions, we ordered Lieut§ §Leech before Us and read him the 40 Paragraph of your last General§ §Letter, and at the same time assured him that if his future behaviour§ §did not Merit the continuance of our approbation after the Indulgence§ §he has already received, we should no longer think him a fit Person to§ §remain in your Service —§ §23 We have acquainted Lieut. Nathan Sampell§ §with the Pension you have been pleased to allow him, for which he§ §begs leave to return you his Thanks —§ §24 Agreeable to the 42d Paragraph of your Letter,§ §we have paid the Second Lieuts their Arrears according to your Orders,§ §and shall continue their Pay henceforward as you have directed —§ §25 We are obliged to you for your attention in sending§ §Us out the Plans, but we cannot conceive how Captn. Mitchel could have§ §given your Honors information of our not having Copys of the same, as§ §neither the projecting, or drawing was executed by him —§ §26 Mr. John Congreve the Schoolmaster, we have§ §appointed Judge Advocate, the School House is not yet erected, but§ §we shall give the Inhabitants all the assistance in our Power, by§ §letting them have Materials out of your Stores (they paying for the same)§ §to expedite that Work, he has already begun to teach the Children, we§ §shall be a better Judge with respect to his Abilities & Conduct, in his§ §Vocation, when we have experienced the same —§ §27 In the 31 Paragraph of General Letter§ §dated 29th. March 1751, you positively Order that no Foreigner of what§ §Quality soever shall be permitted to go into the Country, neither with the§	Mr Tippett took rank below the junior captain as the Court directed, and Lieutenant Thomas Bazett was assigned to assist Captain Tippett in carrying on the works, in line with the Court's orders. 22: The Council summoned Lieutenant Leech, as directed, and read him the fortieth paragraph of the Court's latest general letter. He was told that he had already been treated leniently. If his future conduct did not earn continued approval, the Council would no longer consider him fit to remain in the service. 23: Lieutenant Nathan Sam[...]ell was informed of the pension the Court granted him and returned his thanks. 24: The second lieutenants received their arrears as ordered in the forty-second paragraph of the Court's letter. Their pay would continue from then on as directed. 25: The Council thanked the Court for its care in sending out the plans. It could not understand how Captain Mitchel came to tell the Court that the island held no copies of them, since he neither designed nor drew them. 26: Mr John Congreve, the schoolmaster, was appointed Judge Advocate. The schoolhouse was still unbuilt. The Council promised the inhabitants every help in its power to speed the work, and allowed them to buy materials from the Company's stores. Mr Congreve had already started teaching the children. The Council expected to judge his ability and conduct in the post better after some experience of them. 27: The thirty-first paragraph of the Court's general letter of 29 March 1751 strictly forbade any foreigner, of whatever rank, to go into the interior of the island, whether in the company of the Governor or of any Company servant. The Council had always obeyed that order in full. It nevertheless submitted that the order could not have been meant to cover gentlemen or ships' officers who spent many years in the Company's service and served with credit at Bengal, Madras and elsewhere. **Interpretations** The standing order of 1751 kept every foreigner out of the island's interior. St Helena's strength lay in its cliffs and the few valleys where a landing was possible, and a visitor who rode inland could observe the paths, the water, the batteries commanding the landing places and the distances between them. The Court therefore confined strangers to the town, and made no exception for rank or for the Governor's

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		§Governor or any of your Servants, which we have allways fully complyed§ §with. Yet at the same time we beg leave to represent to you, that we§ §do not imagine that, that Order means to include such Gentlemen§ §as Swiss Officers who have been many Years in your Service, and served§ §with Credit both at Bengal, and Madrass, as well as in all your§ §Garrisons§	own invitation. The Council now asked for one. Foreign-born men held commissions in the Company's armies and commands in its ships, and passed through the island as trusted servants. The passenger list of 23 May 1770 included Lieutenant Colonels De Beck and Frischman, whose names suggested officers of that kind. To treat such men as potential spies, while they were free to see every fortress in India, was an awkwardness the Council wished removed. The request came in the same letter that promised strict care in dealing with the French, so the Council was drawing a line between foreigners in a rival's service and foreigners in the Company's own. Mr Congreve's double appointment settled the question debated on 17 September 1769. The Council then proposed to join the schoolmaster's post to that of Judge Advocate, as Mr Richard Beale held them, to make a living worth £80 0s 0d a year. The Chaplain urged a clergyman instead, and the Council supported him while admitting that a clergyman could not prosecute criminals. The Court sent a layman. The Council thereupon gave him both offices, which was its original plan and cost the Company nothing extra. Both posts stood vacant after Beale died on 7 October 1769, so the island went about seven months without a schoolmaster or a regular Judge Advocate. The schoolhouse remained the inhabitants' project. The vestry voted £450 0s 0d from the fund for the poor to build it, as the letter of 17 September 1769 recorded. The Council's help took the form of selling building materials from the Company's stores, not giving them, so the islanders bore the cost while gaining access to goods they could not obtain elsewhere. The storeships that arrived on 8 and 9 May 1770 had just replenished those stores. The reading of a paragraph to Lieutenant Leech was a formal reprimand delivered on the Court's instruction. The offence was not stated. The Council's words showed that the matter had gone home, that the Court chose leniency over dismissal, and that the warning was final. Having it read before the whole Council put the censure on record and left the officer no room to claim later that he was not told. Lieutenant Bazett appeared in the letter of 14 October 1769 as Superintendent of the Works, in charge of the Company's building. He was now placed under Captain Tippett, the engineer newly sent from England. The Court thus put a professional over the local officer who had directed the works, at the point when the battery at Munden's Point and two large houses were in hand. The remark about Captain Mitchel was a correction of the record. He apparently told the Court that the island lacked copies of certain plans, and the Court sent a set. The Council thanked the Court and at the same time denied him any credit for the designs. The exchange showed a former officer giving information in London about the island's affairs, and the Council taking care that his account was not accepted unchallenged.
259	252	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] Garrisons abroad, and we apprehend that the hardships such§ §Gentlemen have at times considered themselves under from our§ §refusal has subjected Us to great difficultys, as really under the§ §above predicament, they consider themselves as Naturalized to the§ §English Nation, and still deprived of that small indulgence§ §of taking Exercise in the Country, often very	Such officers served in the Company's garrisons abroad, and the Council feared that refusing them brought it serious trouble. They felt the refusal as a hardship. In their position they regarded themselves as naturalised Englishmen, yet they were denied the small favour of taking exercise in the countryside, which was often essential to restoring their health. The Council asked for the Court's further instructions on the point. 28: Ships returning from Bengal arrived at the island very light, owing to the nature of their cargoes, and at times had to take in ballast there. The Council

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		necessary to the Recovery§ §of their Health, We request your further instructions on that head§ §28 As your returning Ships from Bengal, from§ §the nature of their Cargoes arrive at this Island very light, and at§ §times are obliged to take in Ballast here, we offer to your consideration§ §how far their taken a certain proportion of Bricks from thence as§ §Ballast, for the use of this Settlement, and in return give them stone§ §could be practicable, as such a measure we apprehend may be of§ §infinite Utility to the carrying on of the Fortifications, and other§ §Civil Buildings on this Island —§ §29 Mr. M. Purling applied to Us to pay £307.17.4§ §into your Cash, which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to Mr. William§ §Alexander, or Order, ninety Days after sight, dated 28th instant —§ §30 Yesterday arrived your Ship Devonshire§ §from China —§ §31 Captn. Rous desires we would permit him to§ §call at Ascension to get Turtle for the further refreshment of his§ §Ships Company, we have complied with his Request —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §30th May 1770§	put a proposal to the Court. Such ships might load a set quantity of bricks at Bengal as ballast, land them for the use of the settlement and receive stone in exchange. The Council believed this could be of the greatest value to the fortifications and the other public buildings on the island. 29: Mr Matthew Purling applied to pay £307 17s 4d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court for that amount, payable to Mr William Alexander or his order 90 days after sight and dated 28 May 1770. 30: The Company's ship *Devonshire* arrived from China on 29 May 1770. 31: Captain Rous asked for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council granted his request. The letter closed at St Helena on 30 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The brick proposal applied to building materials the reasoning that put 38 condemned guns into the *Harcourt* on 22 May 1770. A ship needed weight in her hold whatever she carried, so anything heavy travelled free if it served as ballast. Bengal cargoes were bulky for their weight, cloth and silk above all, and ships loaded with them rode high. The *Britannia* showed the problem a few weeks earlier, when Captain Rous took in 70 tons of ballast at Mauritius. The Council suggested that such ships carry Bengal bricks in place of sand or shingle and exchange them at St Helena for the island's stone, which would ballast them equally well for the run home. The island would gain bricks at no cost in freight, and the ships would lose nothing. The need behind the proposal was real. Bricks could not readily be made on the island, since firing them required fuel, and the same letter stated that local fuel dwindled every year and that coal had to be imported even to burn lime. Island stone served for walls but was laborious to cut and unsuited to some uses, as the delay to the battery at Munden's Point for want of Purbeck stone showed. Brick was quick to lay and suited vaults, ovens, chimneys and linings. The Council named both the fortifications and the public buildings as beneficiaries, at a time when a battery and two large houses were in progress under a newly arrived engineer and with no master mason. The close of the paragraph on foreigners gave the Council's motive for raising the standing order of 1751. Officers of foreign birth who gave their careers to the Company resented being confined to the town like strangers, and their complaints fell on the Governor and Council, who had no power to relent. The ground urged was health. Passengers landed after months at sea, often ill, and riding or walking in the cooler uplands was the accepted means of recovery. The Council did not relax the rule on its own authority, as it did over the Sheriff's expenses on 14 May 1770. An order touching the island's security was left to the Court, and the Council merely argued for a change. The date of the letter fixed the reply as a whole. The Court's orders arrived on 8 and 9 May 1770, the Council explained on 14 May 1770 that it had no time to answer, and the full response went home on 30 May 1770, three weeks after the packets were opened. Matthew Purling remitted a further £307 17s 4d, after £1,226 5s 0d on 2 April 1770 and £400 0s 0d on 4 September 1769. He named a different payee each time except for John Purling, which suggested payments to several creditors or correspondents in London and not a simple transfer of savings.

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			Captain Rous of the *Britannia* was the thirteenth commander of the season given leave for Ascension. The *Devonshire* was one of the Company ships listed at Canton in the letter of 22 February 1770, and among the last of that fleet to reach the island.
260	253	[The left-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length, most deeply at the lower left.] List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Britannia dated 30th. May 1770 vizt§ §No. 1 Govr. and Councils General Letter dated 30th. May 1770§ §2 Duplicate do & do dated 23d do do§ §3 Consultation of the 28th do do§ §4 Duplicate do from 21st to 22d do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §6 First do for a small paper do pr Ship Osterly§ §7 Second do for do pr Ship Lioness§ §8 Second do for a small paper do pr Ship Lioness§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Account from 24th to 30th. May 1770§ §12 Duplicate do from 15th to 23d. do do§ §13 Ship Britannias Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Earl of Ashburnhams Account§ §15 do Ship Osterlys do§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ship Britannia & Devonshire§ §17 Second Bill of Lading for 38 Iron Guns put onboard the Ship Harcourt§ §18 Time of the Arrival of the Devonshires Boat at Banks's§ §19 Mr. George Bazetts Security Bond§ §20 Mr. James Deffountains Covenants§ §21 Mr. Willm. Webb. Dovetons do. —§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed you yesterday by the§ §Ship Britannia —§ §2 Captn. Boggen applied to Us for§ §liberty to call at Ascension to get Turtle for the further§ §refreshment of his Ships Company, We have permitted him to§ §touch§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Britannia*, dated 30 May 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 30 May 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 May 1770 3: Consultation of 28 May 1770 4: Duplicate consultations from 21 to 22 May 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Ashburnham*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Osterley*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Lioness*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Lioness*. 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Ashburnham*. 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 24 to 30 May 1770 12: Duplicate cash account from 15 to 23 May 1770 13: Account of the ship *Britannia*. 14: Duplicate account of the ship *Earl of Ashburnham*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Osterley*. 16: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Britannia* and *Devonshire*. 17: Second bill of lading for 38 iron guns put aboard the ship *Harcourt*. 18: Time of the arrival of the boat of the *Devonshire* at Banks's. 19: Mr George Bazett's security bond 20: Mr James Deffountain's covenants 21: Mr William Webber Doveton's covenants The Council wrote again a day after its letter of 30 May 1770, which went by the *Britannia*. 2: Captain B[...] applied for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council allowed him to stop there. **Interpretations** Items 19 to 21 were legal instruments, and their place was in London. A covenant bound the servant who signed it, and a security bond bound the men who guaranteed him with their own property. If a writer or officer defaulted, the Company's remedy was an action in the English courts against him or his sureties, and the Court needed the signed originals to bring one. Papers kept on the island would have been useless for that purpose. The letter of 30 May 1770 reported the signing, and the documents travelled in the same packet. The securities named for the two writers were Lieutenant Samuel Deffountain, James Greentree, William Wrangham and Jonathan Doveton, all men settled on the island, whose liability the Court could only enforce through such bonds. The second bill of lading for the condemned guns followed the first, which went by the *Earl of Ashburnham* on 23 May 1770. Captain Paul signed two copies on 22 May 1770, and the Council sent them by separate ships. The Court would thus hold proof of the cargo and of the owners' undertaking even if one packet was lost, the same safeguard applied to every receipt and letter. The pattern of receipts continued to show which ships carried what. The *Earl of Ashburnham* took the full packet of 23 May 1770 and her consort the *Osterley* a small paper packet with a copy of the letter,

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			as that letter stated. The *Lioness* was credited with both her main packet and the later addition of 18 May 1770. The commander asking leave for Ascension was the fourteenth of the season. The *Devonshire* arrived on 29 May 1770 and was the only Company ship in the road not yet dispatched, so he was probably her captain and the letter written for her sailing.
261	254	touch there for that Purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §31st May 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr. Ship§ §Norfolk dated 31st May 1770 vizt§ §No 1 Govr. and Councils Genl. Letter dated 31st May 1770§ §2 Duplicate do. & do. dated 30th do do§ §3 Do. Consultation of the 28th do do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet pr. Ship Britannia§ §5 Second do for do pr Ship Earl of Ashburnham§ §6 Second do for a small paper do pr Ship Osterly§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Britannia§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Cash Account of the 31st May 1770§ §10 Duplicate do. from 24th to 30th do do§ §11 Ship Norfolks Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship Britannia's Account —§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to you, went by the§ §Ship Norfolk, which sailed from hence the 1st. instant, in company§ §with the Britannia —§ §2 This Letter waits on you by the Duke§ §of Grafton, Copy of which we transmit your Honors by the Neptune§ §that§	Captain B[...] received the Council's leave to call at Ascension for turtle. The letter closed at St Helena on 31 May 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Norfolk*, dated 31 May 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 31 May 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 30 May 1770 3: Duplicate consultation of 28 May 1770 4: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Britannia*. 5: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Ashburnham*. 6: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Osterley*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Britannia*. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Cash account for 31 May 1770 10: Duplicate cash account from 24 to 30 May 1770 11: Account of the ship *Norfolk*. 12: Duplicate account of the ship *Britannia*. The Council opened its next letter by noting that its latest reports went by the *Norfolk*, which sailed on 1 June 1770 in company with the *Britannia*. 2: The new letter went by the *Duke of Grafton*, and a copy travelled in the *Neptune*. **Interpretations** The letter of 31 May 1770 consisted of a single item of business, the leave for Ascension, and went by the *Norfolk*. Its only purpose was to cover that ship's departure with a dispatch of her own, so that the commander who asked the favour was the captain of the vessel carrying the letter. The Council's practice throughout was to give each departing ship a letter dated to her sailing, however little there was to say, and to record in it any permission granted to her commander. The packet and sailing dates showed how the two ships left. The *Britannia* had her packet closed on 30 May 1770 and the *Norfolk* on 31 May 1770, yet both sailed together on 1 June 1770. A ship's packet was therefore sealed a day or two before she weighed, and vessels ready at about the same time waited to leave in company. The *Britannia* had nearly foundered in a gale on 10 March 1770 and taken in 70 tons of ballast at Mauritius, so a consort for the passage home was of particular value to her. The cash account in item 9 covered one day. The Council closed its accounts to the date of each packet, and where two ships left on consecutive days the second account ran only from the end of the first. With the *Duke of Grafton* and the *Neptune* next to sail, again as a pair with the letter in one and a copy in the other, the same procedure was about to be repeated.
262	255	that Sails from hence with the aforesaid Ship —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & Humble Servants§	Both ships sailed from the island together, the *Duke of Grafton* with the letter and the *Neptune* with its copy.

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		§(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §2d June 1770§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Duke of Grafton dated 2d June 1770 vizt§ §No 1 Govr. and Councils Genl Letter dated 2d. June 1770§ §2 Duplicate do & do dated 31st May do§ §3 Consultation of the 2d. June do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet pr. Ship Norfolk§ §5 Second do for do pr Ship Britannia§ §6 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Norfolk§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Cash Account from 1st to 2d. June 1770§ §9 Duplicate do. of 31st May do§ §10 Ship Duke of Graftons Account§ §11 do Neptunes do§ §12 Duplicate Ship Norfolks do§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed your Honors the§ §2d instant, by the Ship Duke of Grafton, which sailed from hence§ §in company with the Neptune —§ §2 By this opportunity we transmit§ §you our Indents for Stores, wanted for the Use of the Island, next§ §Year; together with the List of Remains &ca., the Hints we have§ §received§	The letter closed at St Helena on 2 June 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Duke of Grafton*, dated 2 June 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 2 June 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 31 May 1770 3: Consultation of 2 June 1770 4: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Norfolk*. 5: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Britannia*. 6: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Norfolk*. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Cash account from 1 to 2 June 1770 9: Duplicate cash account for 31 May 1770 10: Account of the ship *Duke of Grafton*. 11: Account of the ship *Neptune*. 12: Duplicate account of the ship *Norfolk*. The Council began a further letter by recalling its previous one, sent on 2 June 1770 by the *Duke of Grafton*, which sailed in company with the *Neptune*. 2: The Council took the occasion to send home its orders for the stores the island needed in the following year, together with the list of remaining stock and related papers. **Interpretations** The yearly order for stores went home with a list of "remains", the inventory of what was still in the Company's warehouses. The two documents worked as a pair. The order stated what the island wanted, and the inventory let the Court test each request against the quantity already in hand before it bought and shipped anything. A demand for an article of which a large stock remained could be cut down in London, and one for an article shown as exhausted was harder to refuse. The inventory was thus the Court's check on the Council's requests and the Council's evidence in support of them. The order was drawn up within a month of the storeships' arrival on 8 and 9 May 1770. Only when that year's cargo was landed and counted could the Council know what it held and what the next year required. The earlier letters had already marked several articles for increase or special mention: Purbeck stone for the battery at Munden's Point, coal for the kilns and for ships short of fuel, slate by the square for the two houses, the windows, sashes and balusters outstanding from the previous year, and the hawsers and chain requested on 14 September 1769 after being left off the last order. Its timing bore on the complaint of 7 May 1770 that the storeships came too late. An order leaving the island in June reached London in the autumn, and the goods could not return before the following spring at the earliest. Each year's supply therefore answered wants identified about a year before, and any delay in the ships' departure from England stretched that interval further. The Council's request for earlier sailings and its care to dispatch the order promptly were two parts of the same effort to shorten the cycle.
263	256	received for some Years past, have proved so extreemly bad, that§ §they will not stand firing above once or twice: and many of them§ §not at all, we have several times complained of this Article, and§ §notwithstanding the Musters shewn your Honors,	The flints supplied to the island for some years proved so poor that they failed after one or two shots, and many never sparked at all. The Council complained of this article several times. Samples were shown to the Court, and bad flints still came out every year. The island's defence depended to a great extent on flints of the best quality. The Council

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		they have always§ §sent bad: As the defence of this Island in a great measure§ §depend upon having the Flints of the Best Sort, we request you§ §will be pleased to Order those we have now Indented for, may be§ §examined and proved, before they are sent, as we have a great§ §Number remaining that are entirely Useless —§ §3 The crooked Timbers we Indented for§ §this Year for Repairs to the Long Boats, are to prevent such§ §pieces being cut of the Timber of this Island, the nature of our§ §Wood not answering that use, besides we are Obliged to cut down§ §trees to get such crooked pieces as are wanted for that purpose —§ §4 The Breeches received for the Slaves this Year§ §are too small, we therefore request what are sent in future both for§ §the Men, and Boys may be of a larger size —§ §5 We have Granted the following Sets of Bills vizt§ §One to John Skottowe Esqr. for five hundred and fifty seven pounds,§ §payable to Robert Wood Esqr. Three to Daniel Corneille Esqr. one for§ §fifty five pounds, payable to Messrs. Staniforth and Gidoin, One§ §for one hundred and ten pounds, sixteen Shillings, and eleven pence,§ §payable to John Caillaud Esqr. And one for one hundred and seventy§ §six pounds six Shillings, payable to Charles Bourchier Esqr. One§ §to Mr. Richard Bagley for five hundred and sixty six pounds,§ §three shillings and ten pence, payable to Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick§ §and one to Lieut. Clement St. Maurice for thirty pounds payable to§ §Mrs. Ann Borne, all dated the 5th Instant, One set to Mr. Jonathan§ §Doveton for sixty three pounds, payable to Capt. Rich Doveton, and§ §one to Mr. Richard Goodwin for one hundred and twenty six pounds§ §fourteen Shillings and six pence payable to Captn William Tryon,§ §dated the 11th of this Month, and all drawn at ninety days, sight —§ §6 We have given Captn. Stewart an Order to§ §receive§	therefore asked that those in the new order be examined and tested before shipment. A large stock remained on the island that was completely useless. 3: The curved timbers ordered that year for repairing the longboats were requested so that such pieces need not be cut from the island's own trees. The local wood did not suit the purpose, and trees had to be felled to obtain the bent pieces required. 4: The breeches received that year for the slaves were too small. The Council asked that future supplies for both men and boys be of a larger size. 5: The Council granted eight sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. Governor Skottowe, payable to Robert Wood Esquire, dated 5 June 1770, £557 0s 0d Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Messrs Staniforth and Gi[...], dated 5 June 1770, £55 0s 0d Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to John Caillaud Esquire, dated 5 June 1770, £110 16s 11d Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Charles Bourchier Esquire, dated 5 June 1770, £176 6s 0d Mr Richard Bagley, payable to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, dated 5 June 1770, £566 3s 10d Lieutenant Solomon [...], payable to Mrs Ann Bo[...], dated 5 June 1770, £30 0s 0d Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Captain Richard Doveton, dated 11 June 1770, £63 0s 0d Mr Richard Goodwin, payable to Captain William Tryon, dated 11 June 1770, £126 14s 6d **Interpretations** Every musket and pistol in the garrison fired by a flint. A shaped piece of flint was clamped in the lock and struck a steel plate when the trigger was pulled, throwing sparks into the priming powder. A good flint lasted for many shots before it needed replacing, and a poor one shattered or failed to spark, leaving the weapon useless at the moment of firing. Flint was quarried and shaped in England and could not be had on the island, so the garrison depended entirely on what was sent. The complaint was a serious one. The militia stood embodied against a possible French attack, 94 recruits had just arrived, and the Council stated that much of its stock would not fire. The request for testing before shipment proposed a specific remedy after general complaints and samples failed, and placed responsibility on the Court's suppliers and inspectors in London. Curved timbers were the naturally bent pieces of wood from which a boat's ribs and knees were cut. A piece that grew to the required curve was far stronger than one sawn to shape across the grain, so boatbuilders sought out crooked branches and trunks. The longboats were the island's only link with ships in the road, and were of greater importance since the rule of 14 September 1769 that French ships be supplied by boat. The Council gave two reasons for ordering the timber from England. The island's wood was unsuitable, and getting the few bent pieces meant felling whole trees. The second reason matched the statement of 30 May 1770 that the island's fuel decreased every year. Trees were by then scarce enough that the Council preferred to import shaped timber across several thousand miles than to cut what remained. The breeches were part of the clothing the Company issued to its own slaves, ordered from England in fixed sizes with the other stores. The mention of men and boys showed that the Company's slave force included children old enough to be clothed and put to work. A consignment that did not fit was wasted, and the Council treated the matter as one of ordinary supply, alongside flints and boat timber. The bills totalled £1,684 1s 3d and showed the same circle of remitters as before. The Governor used Robert Wood as his payee for the third time,

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			after 24 July 1769 and 4 September 1769. Richard Bagley again named Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, to whom his £156 0s 0d was payable on 17 July 1769. Two payees had recently passed through the island. Charles Bourchier Esquire was a passenger in the *Britannia*, listed on 23 May 1770, and Captain William Tryon commanded the *Deptford*, which sailed after 22 March 1770. Bills in favour of men who had just left pointed to debts contracted during their stay, for goods bought from a commander's private trade or money advanced by a wealthy passenger, and settled by a claim on the Company in London. Jonathan Doveton's bill was payable to Captain Richard Doveton, evidently a relation, and was his third remittance in these letters.
264	257	receive on board his Ship John Carfoot Bombardier, George Charitt§ §Drummer, Samuel Perry and John Black Private, towards filling up§ §his Ships Company —§ §7 On the 3 instant arrived a Dane Ship from§ §Tranquebar, called the Countess of Molke, Capt. Borrup, burthen seven§ §hundred Tons, carrys twenty two Guns and sixty Men, Loaden with§ §Bengal Goods, bound to Copenhagen —§ §8 Capt. Stewart applied to Us for leave to touch§ §at Ascension for Turtle, for the further refreshment of his Ships§ §Company, we have permitted him to call there for that purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §12th June 1770§ §List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §pr Ship Duke of Albany dated 12th June 1770 vizt§ §No. 1 Govr. and Council's Genl Letter dated 12th June 1770§ §2 Duplicate do. & do. dated 2d do. do.§ §3 Consultations from 5th to 11th do. do.§ §4 Duplicate do. of 2d. do. do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr. Ship Duke of Grafton§ §6 First do. for a small paper do. pr Ship Neptune§ §7 Second do. for the Packet pr Ship Norfolk§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Duke of Grafton§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Acct. from 3d to 12th June 1770§ §11 Duplicate do. from 1st. to 2d. do. do§ §12 Ship Duke of Albanys Account§	Captain Stewart received an order to take four men aboard his ship to help fill out her crew. John Car[...]t, bombardier George Char[...], drummer Samuel Perry, private John Black, private 7: A Danish ship from Tranquebar, the *Countess of Moltke* under Captain W[...], arrived on 3 June 1770. She measured 700 tons, carried 22 guns and 60 men, and was bound for Copenhagen with a cargo of Bengal goods. 8: Captain Stewart applied for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose. The letter closed at St Helena on 12 June 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Duke of Albany*, dated 12 June 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 12 June 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 June 1770 3: Consultations from 5 to 11 June 1770 4: Duplicate consultation of 2 June 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Grafton*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Neptune*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Norfolk*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Grafton*. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 3 to 12 June 1770 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 2 June 1770 12: Account of the ship *Duke of Albany*. **Interpretations** The *Duke of Albany* carried the letter that held the island's yearly order for stores, the complaint about the flints and eight sets of bills. She arrived from Bencoolen on 16 May 1770 and stayed almost four weeks, far longer than the China and Bengal ships, which were mostly sent on within a week or two. The letter of 18 May 1770 reported that Captain Alexander Stewart died at Bencoolen in November 1769. A Captain Stewart nonetheless commanded her at St Helena, received the four soldiers and asked leave for Ascension. The passage did not explain the connection. Bencoolen was known for heavy mortality, and a ship that lost her commander there had probably lost many of her people too, which fitted both her long stay and her need for hands. The four men were soldiers of different standing. A bombardier was a junior non-commissioned officer

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			of artillery, trained in preparing shells and fuses and in serving mortars. A drummer beat the signals that regulated the garrison's day and its movements under arms. Neither was described as discharged or invalid, in contrast to the men shipped on 6 and 7 April 1770. With 94 recruits landed in May 1770, the garrison could spare men whose time was up, and the order treated all four alike as working hands for a short-handed ship. Tranquebar was the Danish company's settlement on the Coromandel coast of south-east India. A ship sailing from there with "Bengal goods" had gathered cloth and other produce of Bengal, probably through the Danish station on the Hooghly whose chief went home in the *Duke of Grafton* in May 1770. The cargo was of the kind that weighed little for its bulk, as the Council observed of Bengal ships on 30 May 1770. Her crew of 60 for 700 tons was by far the smallest proportion among the foreign vessels recorded: the Dutch ships of 700 and 800 tons each carried 100 men, and the French *Le Duc de Praslin* of about 600 tons carried 164. A ship so thinly manned was plainly a trader and nothing more, and the comparison made the French figure look heavier still. Captain Stewart was the fifteenth commander of the season given leave to take turtle at Ascension. By this date the homeward traffic of the year had almost run its course, and the *Devonshire*, which arrived on 29 May 1770, was the only Company ship named in these letters still to be dispatched.
265	258	13 Ship British Kings Account§ §14 do Harcourts do§ §15 Duplicate Ship Duke of Graftons Acct§ §16 do Ship Neptunes do§ §17 Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1771§ §18 do of Medicines for do do§ §19 List of Stores remaining in the Honble Company's Ware Houses 30th§ §April 1770§ §20 do of Garrison Stores remaing. 30th April 1770§ §21 do of Artillery Stores from 1st Octob 1769 to 30th do do§ §22 List of four discharged Soldiers —§ §To the Honble. &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on you, under date of 12th instant§ §by the Ship Duke of Albany —§ §2 On the 13 of this Month, the British King, and§ §Harcourt, proceeded on their Voyage, the number of Ships that were§ §here at the same time with these, in a great measure retarded their§ §landing the Stores, consequently hindered their making that§ §dispatch they otherwise would —§ §3 Lieutenant Frost, having laid before Us a Petition§ §setting forth his long services, and great infirmities, rendering him§ §incapable for the future to do his duty as an Officer, We having§ §taken the said Petition into consideration, as entered in Consultation§ §of this days date, and being fully convinced for some time past, that§ §his unhappy blindness and great weakness and infirmity of body,§ §has been coming upon him for a few Years past, we have considered§ §that the keeping him upon full pay must prove an unnecessary§ §expence, and therefore have put him upon the same pension as§ §Lieut. Sampell, and tho we are well apprised that your	The packet sent by the *Duke of Albany* on 12 June 1770 also held the following papers. 13: Account of the ship *British King*. 14: Account of the ship *Harcourt*. 15: Duplicate account of the ship *Duke of Grafton*. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Neptune*. 17: Order for stores wanted for the service of the year 1771 18: Order for medicines wanted for the service of the year 1771 19: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 April 1770 20: List of garrison stores remaining on 30 April 1770 21: List of artillery stores from 1 October 1769 to 30 April 1770 22: List of four discharged soldiers The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one, dated 12 June 1770, went by the *Duke of Albany*. 2: The *British King* and the *Harcourt* continued their voyages on 13 June 1770. The number of ships at the island at the same time greatly slowed the landing of their stores, and so prevented them from getting away as quickly as they otherwise would. 3: Lieutenant Frost laid a petition before the Council, setting out his long service and the severe ill health that left him unable to do an officer's duty in future. The Council considered it and entered it in the consultation held on the day of the letter. It was fully satisfied that his blindness and great bodily weakness had been growing on him for some years. Keeping him on full pay seemed a needless expense. The Council therefore placed him on the same pension as Lieutenant Sampell. **Interpretations** The second paragraph revised what the Court had been told. The letter of 14 May 1770 promised that both storeships would be sent on when their ten working days expired, and the letter of 30 May 1770 pointed to the consultation of 22 May 1770 as proof that this was done. The ships in fact left on 13 June 1770, five weeks after arriving and three weeks after receiving their papers. The Council now attributed

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		Honors§ §have§	the delay to congestion. Between 14 and 29 May 1770 the road held ten Company ships, two Spanish frigates and a Dutch Indiaman, all needing the island's few boats for water and provisions while the storeships needed the same boats to land cargo. The explanation mattered because of the charterparty. If the island detained an outward ship beyond her allowed days, her owners could claim payment for each day lost. By stating that the formal dispatch was given on time and that the later delay arose from pressure of shipping, the Council set out the grounds on which such a claim could be answered. The episode also bore out the argument of 7 May 1770: storeships arriving in May met the height of the homeward season, when the anchorage was fullest. The Council pensioned Lieutenant Frost on its own authority. When Mr Richard Beale asked to retire, the letter of 17 September 1769 referred the question of a pension to the Court and kept him in both his posts meanwhile. Here the Council decided first. Two reasons appeared in the passage. A blind officer on full pay cost more than a pensioner and did no duty, so the measure saved money from the day it took effect. And a rate already existed, since the Court granted Lieutenant Sampell a pension that the Council announced to him on 30 May 1770. Extending the same terms to a second officer in like condition applied a precedent the Court itself set only weeks before. The decision also freed a lieutenant's commission for an officer fit to serve, which counted for something with the militia embodied and a draft of recruits to train. The yearly order went home with three inventories, each for a separate department: the general warehouse, the garrison and the artillery. All were drawn up to 30 April 1770, nine days before the storeships arrived. They therefore showed the stock at its lowest point of the year, after twelve months of issues and before the new cargo was landed. An inventory taken at that moment made the strongest case for the quantities requested, and it was also the honest basis for an order meant to cover the year 1771. Medicines were ordered on a separate list, since the surgeon's requirements were compiled apart from the general stores. The list of four discharged soldiers matched the men Captain Stewart took in the *Duke of Albany*: a bombardier, a drummer and two privates. The letter of 12 June 1770 gave their ranks without saying that they were discharged, and the packet list supplied that fact.
266	259	have no Establishment for half pay, Yet considering the number§ §of Years he has been in your service, his Conduct during that Period§ §blameless, and his present numberless infirmitys, we cannot but be of§ §opinion that a small Pittance is due to his future support, from the§ §above considerations, and as such recommend him to be continued on§ §the above allowance, and at same time request that you will send§ §Us out next Year an Officer to fill up the Vacancy of a second§ §Lieutenant, in the second Company, having preferred Lieut. Lambert,§ §the eldest second Lieut. of this Garrison, to the Rank of a first§ §Lieut. in the aforesaid Company —§ §4 We have Granted the following Sets of Bills vizt. One to§ §Capt. Richd. Beale for £20. payable to the Revd. Mr. William§ §Lee, and one to Capt. Heny. Bazett for £60. payable	The Council knew well that the Company kept no establishment for half pay. It held all the same that Lieutenant Frost deserved a small allowance for his future support, given his many years in the service, his blameless conduct throughout and the countless ailments he then suffered. The Court was asked to let him continue on the pension. Lieutenant Lambert, the senior second lieutenant in the garrison, was promoted to first lieutenant in the second company. The Council requested that an officer be sent out the following year to fill the resulting vacancy for a second lieutenant in that company. 4: The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 16 June 1770. Captain Richard Beale, payable to the Reverend Mr William Lee, £20 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Miss Mary Bazett, £60 0s 0d 5: The balance of the cash account showed that the island held enough, with the money expected for bills, stores and other receipts, to meet the costs of 1771. No money would therefore be needed from the Court for that year.

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		to Miss§ §Mary Bazett, both drawn at ninety days sight, and dated this§ §Day —§ §5 We find by the Balance of our present Cash Account, we§ §shall have sufficient, with what we may receive for Bills, Stores,§ §&ca. to answer the Expences of the Year 1771, consequently shall§ §not want any Money for the service of that Year —§ §6 Captain Hoare applied to us for leave to touch at§ §Ascension to get Turtle, for the further Refreshment of his People,§ §we have permitted him to call there for that purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble. Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humbl. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §16th June 1770§	6: Captain Hore applied for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food. The Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 June 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Council admitted in plain terms that it had no authority for what it did. Half pay was the reduced salary given to officers no longer employed, a regular feature of the King's army. The Company made no such provision, and an officer who could not serve had no claim on it. The proper course was to keep Lieutenant Frost on the strength at full pay and refer his petition home, as with Mr Richard Beale on 17 September 1769, or to discharge him with nothing. The Council took neither. It put him on a pension at once and then asked the Court to ratify the step, resting the case on length of service, good character and present helplessness. A blind officer of long standing turned out without support would have been a hard example to set before a garrison whose loyalty mattered more than usual that year. The request was framed as a "small allowance" and tied to a rate the Court had itself just approved for Lieutenant Sampell, so that refusing it would have meant treating two officers in like condition differently. The promotion that followed went by seniority. Lieutenant Lambert, the longest-serving second lieutenant, moved up to the first lieutenancy that Frost's retirement opened. The Council filled that step itself but asked the Court to supply the junior vacancy from England. This reversed the course taken on 14 September 1769, when Lieutenant Welch died and the Council commissioned a cadet, Mr Richard Mason, on the spot and sought confirmation afterwards. In June 1770 there was no pressing need to act locally: the storeships had just brought 94 recruits and a new Captain of Artillery, and a year's wait for a subaltern was acceptable. The statement on cash repeated the advice of 1 August 1769, when the Council reported about £12,000 in hand and told the Court to send no money for the following season. A year later the position held, and the forecast was extended to cover 1771. The bills recorded in these letters showed where the money came from. Residents, officers and ships' commanders paid well over £9,000 into the treasury between July 1769 and June 1770 in return for claims on London. The island's expenses were thus met from private remittances, and the Company settled in England without risking coin at sea. Both bills were small family or personal payments. Captain Henry Bazett sent £60 0s 0d to Miss Mary Bazett, evidently a relation supported from his pay. He had remitted larger sums before, £219 1s 0d on 24 July 1769 and £100 0s 0d on 11 September 1769. Captain Richard Beale shared the name of the Judge Advocate and schoolmaster who died on 7 October 1769, which pointed to a member of the same island family holding a commission in the garrison. Captain Hore was the sixteenth commander of the season given leave for Ascension. The *Devonshire*, which arrived from China on 29 May 1770, was the only Company ship in these letters not yet sent on, so the letter of 16 June 1770 was probably written for her sailing.
267	260	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §pr Ship Devonshire dated 16th June 1770 vizt —§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Devonshire*, dated 16 June 1770, held the following papers.

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		16th June 1770§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 12th Do. Do.§ §3 Consultation of the 16th Do. Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. from 5th to 11th Do. Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Duke of Albany§ §6 Second Do. for Do. pr Ship Duke of Grafton§ §7 Do. Do. for a small Paper Do. pr Ship Neptune§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Duke of Albany§ §9 Do. Do. of Stores Remaining in the H Company's§ §Ware Houses 30th April 1770 —§ §10 Do. Do. of Garrison Stores remaining 30th April 1770§ §11 Do. Do. of Artillery Do. from 1 Octr. 1769 to the 30th Do. Do.§ §12 Do. Indent wanted for the service of the Year 1771§ §13 Do. Do. of Medicines for Do. Do.§ §14 Effective state of the Garrison§ §15 Cash Account from 13th to 16th June 1770§ §16 Duplicate Do. from 3d to 12th Do. Do.§ §17 Ship Devonshire's Account§ §18 Duplicate Ship Duke of Albany's Acct§ §19 Do. Do. British Kings Do.§ §20 Do. Do. Harcourts Do.§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to you went by§ §your Ship Devonshire, under date of 16th June last —§ §2 On the 29th of last Month arrived your§ §Ship§	1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 16 June 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 12 June 1770 3: Consultation of 16 June 1770 4: Duplicate consultations from 5 to 11 June 1770 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Albany*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Grafton*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Neptune*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Albany*. 9: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 April 1770 10: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 30 April 1770 11: Duplicate list of artillery stores from 1 October 1769 to 30 April 1770 12: Duplicate order for stores wanted for the service of the year 1771 13: Duplicate order for medicines wanted for the service of the year 1771 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Cash account from 13 to 16 June 1770 16: Duplicate cash account from 3 to 12 June 1770 17: Account of the ship *Devonshire*. 18: Duplicate account of the ship *Duke of Albany*. 19: Duplicate account of the ship *British King*. 20: Duplicate account of the ship *Harcourt*. The Council opened its next letter by noting that its latest reports went by the Company's ship *Devonshire* under the date 16 June 1770. 2: A Company ship arrived on the 29th of the month before the letter was written. **Interpretations** The yearly order for stores and its three supporting inventories went home twice within four days, first by the *Duke of Albany* on 12 June 1770 and again by the *Devonshire*. No other papers in these packets mattered more to the island's survival. A letter lost at sea cost the Court some news, but a lost order meant that the goods for 1771 were never bought or shipped, and the gap could not be repaired for a further year. The Council reported on 7 May 1770 how close the island came to distress in 1768 through late supply. Sending the duplicate by the very next ship, instead of waiting for a later opportunity, reflected that experience. The packet confirmed the *Devonshire* as the ship that carried the letter of 16 June 1770, and with it Captain Hore as her commander. She was the last of the 16 Company ships listed at Canton on 22 February 1770 to leave St Helena. Her departure closed the homeward season that began with the arrival of the *Ponsborne* on 16 January 1770. The accounts of the two storeships appeared here in duplicate, after the originals went by the *Duke of Albany*. Those accounts recorded what each ship landed and what she received from the island, and were the basis on which any claim by her owners for time lost would be settled. The letter of 16 June 1770 explained that crowding in the road delayed their unloading, and both ships sailed on 13 June 1770. With the accounts in London in two copies, the Court had the figures to set beside that explanation.
268	261	Ship Anson from Madrass (last from Mauritius) the 2d instant§ §arrived the Fox from Bombay, Captn. Lennox left Madrass 8th April§ §last, and acquaints us that the Prince of Wales sailed	The Company's ship *Anson* arrived from Madras by way of Mauritius on 29 June 1770, and the *Fox* came in from Bombay on 2 July 1770. Captain Lennox reported leaving Madras on 8 April 1770. The *Prince of Wales* sailed from there for Bengal the

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		from that place§ §the day before for Bengal: Captn. Mitchel informs Us he left Anjengo§ §the 8th May last, that he heard your Ships Duke of Kingston, and§ §Houghton were arrived at Madrass the middle of April; he§ §likewise tells us Sr. John Lindsay was arrived at Bombay, that§ §he had sent his Ship to the Gulph of Persia under the Command§ §of his Captain, but remained himself at that Place, Captn. Mitchell§ §further acquaints Us, the Trade at Persia was opened, and that§ §Place quite in tranquillity, We are likewise told that your§ §Settlements on the Malabar Coast, were at Peace with all the§ §Black Powers and that Hyder Alley was flying before the Morattas§ §the former offered thirty seven Lack of Pagodas to purchase peace§ §of the latter, but a Crore of Pagodas was the sum insisted upon —§ §3 We request your honors will be pleased to send us§ §the next Year 100 Recruits, which number we shall want to§ §complete your Garrison according to your last Establishment —§ §4 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to Daniel Corneille Esqr. for £36.5. payable to§ §Mrs. Barbara Barow. One Set to Mr. Matthew Purling for £400.§ §payable to John Purling Esqr., Two Sets to Mr. William Wrangham§ §one for £222.10. payable to Mr. John Morgan, the other for £122.§ §payable to Capt. Gabriel Steward. One Set to Mr. John Pritchard for§ §£228 payable to Capt. George Thomsons; all dated the 31st of last month§ §And one Set to the Revd. Mr. William Bearcroft for £40. payable§ §to Mr. Charles Stacey Senr. dated the 4th. Instant, all drawn at§ §ninety Days sight —§ §5 We have given Captn Lennox an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship towards completing her Company, Nicholas§ §Wootton Sergeant, and Robert Allum Private§ §6 Notwithstanding we have Indented to§ §Bombay§	day before. Captain Mitchel left Anjengo on 8 May 1770. He heard that the Company's ships *Duke of Kingston* and *Houghton* reached Madras in the middle of April 1770. Sir John Lindsay had arrived at Bombay, he added, and sent his ship on to the Gulf of Persia under her captain while staying at Bombay himself. Trade with Persia was open again and that country entirely quiet. The Council also learned that the Company's settlements on the Malabar coast were at peace with all the Indian states. Hyder Ally was in retreat before the Marathas. He offered them 37 lakh of pagodas for peace, but they held out for a crore of pagodas. 3: The Council asked the Court to send 100 recruits the following year. That number was needed to bring the garrison up to the strength fixed in the Court's latest establishment. 4: The Council granted six sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Mrs Barbara Ba[...], dated 30 June 1770, £36 5s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, dated 30 June 1770, £400 0s 0d Mr William Wrangham, payable to Mr John Morgan, dated 30 June 1770, £222 10s 0d Mr William Wrangham, payable to Captain Gabriel Steward, dated 30 June 1770, £122 0s 0d Mr John Pritchard, payable to Captain George Thomson, dated 30 June 1770, £228 0s 0d The Reverend Mr William Bearcroft, payable to Mr Charles Sta[...] senior, dated 4 July 1770, £40 0s 0d 5: Captain Lennox received an order to take two soldiers aboard his ship to help fill out her crew. Nicholas Wootton, serjeant Robert Allum, private **Interpretations** The pagoda was the gold coin of southern India and the money of account at Madras, worth roughly eight shillings sterling. A lakh was 100,000 and a crore was ten million, the standard Indian units for large sums. Hyder Ally therefore offered 3,700,000 pagodas and the Marathas demanded 10,000,000, a gap of well over two million pounds. The figures showed the scale of the war then being fought in the south and how far apart the two sides stood. The report marked a sharp turn in Hyder Ally's fortunes. He was the ruler of Mysore who fought the Madras presidency to a peace, news of which reached the island on 14 September 1769 and was confirmed on 14 October 1769. Less than a year later he was retreating before the Marathas, the confederacy that dominated western and central India, and trying to buy them off. For the Court the news cut two ways. An enemy of Madras was being weakened, but a Maratha victory would bring a stronger power to the borders of the Company's southern territories. The phrase the Council used for the Indian states, "the Black Powers" in the manuscript's wording, was the Company's ordinary term for the country governments as distinct from the European ones. Anjengo was a small Company fort and trading station on the Malabar coast, in the far south-west of India, kept chiefly for buying pepper. A ship from Bombay called there on the way home to complete her cargo, and it was a listening post for news of the southern states. Sir John Lindsay's movements were reported in the manner reserved for persons of consequence. He had a ship at his disposal and a captain under him, and he sent the vessel on while remaining at Bombay, which marked him as a senior officer of the King whose presence mattered to the Company's government there. The reopening of trade with Persia concerned the Company's factories in the Gulf, where disorder had interrupted business.

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			Three ships whose troubles were noted earlier were now accounted for. The *Prince of Wales* sprang a leak and went to Brazil, as the letter of 17 August 1769 reported, and the *Duke of Kingston* refitted there too, according to the letter of 25 January 1770. Both reached India and were continuing their voyages. The *Houghton* left the Cape on 26 February 1770 and arrived at Madras about seven weeks later. The *Anson* was at Bengal on 4 December 1769 and due to complete her cargo on the Coast, as the letter of 23 May 1770 stated, and she now came in from Madras. Like the *Britannia* before her, she called at Mauritius on the way. The request for 100 recruits came only weeks after 94 landed from the *British King* and the *Harcourt*. The Council tied the figure to the Court's "latest establishment", the authorised strength set out in the orders received on 8 and 9 May 1770. The Court had evidently enlarged the garrison, and the draft just received did not fill the new numbers. Discharges continued meanwhile: four men left in the *Duke of Albany* on 12 June 1770 and a serjeant and a private now went in the *Anson*. The increase fitted the same concern that put the island under the Secret Committee's orders. The bills for £1,048 15s 0d brought further remittances from familiar names. Matthew Purling again sent £400 0s 0d to John Purling Esquire, and William Wrangham, newly confirmed as paymaster, paid £122 0s 0d to Captain Gabriel Steward, to whom his £150 0s 0d was payable on 11 September 1769. The Chaplain appeared for the first time as a remitter. John Pritchard was one of the two servants granted additional salary in the letter of 30 May 1770.
269	262	Bombay these two Years past for Gun Carriages, they have not§ §sent us any, although they acknowledged last Year the receipt of§ §that Indent, and upon a Survey of the Gun Carriages of the§ §Island, we find a great number of them entirely unfit for§ §service, we have inclosed in a seperate Paper in the Packet an§ §Indent for such Carriages as we shall want, which we request§ §may be sent out from England, as it is uncertain whether the§ §Presidency of Bombay mean to send them, or have forgot them,§ §and in our present situation, think it very improper to wait the§ §uncertainty of receiving them from thence, We have also Enclosed§ §in the Packet an Indent for Pane Glass both for the Church§ §and School House, which we request may be sent next Year —§ §7 On the 30 of last Month we received a§ §Petition from Mr. Philip Mahany Clerk of the Peace, which we§ §have entered in that days Consultation for your notice —§ §8 The Passengers onboard the Anson are§ §Mr. Rozendie Captn. Calvert and Wife, Captn. Read, and Messrs§ §Austin, Smith, Maynard, Mattocks Whittall, & Fountain; and§ §Captn. Hamilton & Messrs Hough, Angus, & Wood onboard the§ §Fox —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humbl. Servants§ §(signed)§	The Council had ordered gun carriages from Bombay for two years running and received none, although Bombay acknowledged the order the previous year. A survey of the island's gun carriages found a great many completely unfit for service. A separate paper in the packet listed the carriages required, and the Council asked for them to be sent from England. Nobody could tell whether the presidency of Bombay meant to supply them or had simply forgotten. In the island's situation at that time, the Council thought it quite wrong to depend on so uncertain a source. The packet also held an order for window glass for the church and the schoolhouse, to be sent the following year. 7: A petition from Mr Philip Ma[...]y, Clerk of the Peace, reached the Council on 30 July 1770. It was entered in the consultation of that day for the Court's attention. 8: The passengers travelled in two ships. Anson: Mr Ra[...]die Anson: Captain Calvert and [...] Anson: Captain Reid Anson: Mr Austin Anson: Mr Smith Anson: Mr Maynard Anson: Mr Mattocks Anson: Mr Whittall Anson: Mr Fountain Fox: Captain Hamilton Fox: Mr Hough Fox: Mr Angus Fox: Mr Wood The vessels named in that list were the Company's ships *Anson* and *Fox*. The letter closed at St Helena on 4 August 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations**

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		§John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §4th August 1770§	The Council gave up on Bombay as a supplier and turned to England. Bombay was the natural source for gun carriages. Its dockyard built in teak, a timber that resisted rot and insects far better than English oak or elm, and a carriage made there could be expected to last for many years in an exposed battery. The Council accordingly ordered from Bombay in two successive years. Continuing to wait was the cheaper and, on grounds of quality, the better course. The Council rejected it for a reason it stated openly: in the island's "situation at that time" delay was unacceptable. The phrase pointed to the French and Spanish movements reported since September 1769 and to the Secret Committee's orders acknowledged on 30 May 1770. A gun on a rotten carriage could not be trained or fired safely, so the batteries were weaker than their count of guns implied. The doubt whether Bombay "had simply forgotten" was a mild rebuke to a sister presidency, placed before the Court that governed both. The carriages were the third defect in the island's ordnance reported in ten weeks. The Captain of Artillery condemned 38 iron guns on 22 May 1770, and the letter of 12 June 1770 stated that the flints supplied for years would hardly fire. Each finding followed the arrival of Captain Tippett as Captain of Artillery and principal Engineer, announced on 30 May 1770. A newly appointed professional was evidently inspecting the guns, their mountings and their stores in turn, and the Council passed each result home as it came. The battery at Munden's Point stood unfinished for want of Purbeck stone throughout the same period. The date of the letter fixed the events it reported. The *Anson* arrived on 29 July 1770 and the *Fox* on 2 August 1770. The bills of exchange were dated 31 July 1770, except the Chaplain's, which was dated 4 August 1770. No Company ship called between the sailing of the *Devonshire* after 16 June 1770 and the arrival of the *Anson*, a gap of six weeks that marked the end of the homeward season and matched the longer silence of November and December 1769. Window glass was ordered for two buildings that belonged to the community as much as to the Company. The schoolhouse was the one for which the inhabitants voted £450 0s 0d from the fund for the poor, as the letter of 17 September 1769 recorded, and which was still unbuilt on 30 May 1770. An order for its glazing showed that the work had advanced far enough for the windows to be measured. Glass could not be made on the island and broke easily in transit, so it had to be requested a year ahead like every other finished article. The Clerk of the Peace kept the records of the island's justices and of the quarterly courts. His petition was noted without a word on its subject or the Council's view of it. The same reserve applied to Mr Beale's petition in the letter of 14 September 1769, which was announced first and explained in a later letter.
270	263	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Anson dated 4th August 1770 vizt§ §No. 1 Govr. and Councils Genl. Letter dated 4th August 1770§ §2 do & do dated 4th do. do relating to Law§ §Matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 16th June 1770§ §4 Consultations from 18th June to 4th August do§ §5 Duplicate do of 16th June do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Devonshire§ §7 Second do. for do pr Ship Duke of Albany§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Devonshire§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Anson*, dated 4 August 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 4 August 1770 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 4 August 1770 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 June 1770 4: Consultations from 18 June to 4 August 1770 5: Duplicate consultation of 16 June 1770 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Devonshire*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Albany*.

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		§10 Governors Letter to the Honble Court of Directors§ §11 Cash Account from 17th to 30th June 1770§ §12 do. for the Month of July do§ §13 do. from 1st to 4th. August do§ §14 Duplicate do from 13th to 16th June do§ §15 Ship Ansons Account§ §16 Duplicate Ship Devonshires Account§ §17 Time of the arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Anson and Fox§ §19 Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on 11th July 1770§ §20 Indent for Gun Carriages to be sent in the Year 1771§ §21 do. for Glass for the Church & School House do do§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you the 4th§ §Instant by the Ship Anson —§	8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Devonshire*. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: The Governor's letter to the Court of Directors 11: Cash account from 17 to 30 June 1770 12: Cash account for July 1770 13: Cash account from 1 to 4 August 1770 14: Duplicate cash account from 13 to 16 June 1770 15: Account of the ship *Anson*. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Devonshire*. 17: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 18: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Anson* and *Fox*. 19: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 11 July 1770 20: Order for gun carriages to be sent in the year 1771 21: Order for glass for the church and schoolhouse to be sent in the year 1771 The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went on 4 August 1770 by the *Anson*. **Interpretations** The quarterly court of 11 July 1770 completed a full year of the island's judicial calendar as recorded in these packets. Courts sat on 12 July 1769, 4 October 1769, 10 January 1770, 25 April 1770 and 11 July 1770, one in each quarter. Each time the proceedings went home by the next ship with a separate letter on law matters, here dated 4 August 1770. Mr John Congreve was appointed Judge Advocate on his arrival in May 1770, as the letter of 30 May 1770 stated, so this was the first quarterly court to sit with that office filled since Mr Richard Beale died on 7 October 1769. The petition of the Clerk of the Peace, received on 30 July 1770, fell naturally within the business of the law letter, though the general letter left its subject unstated. The Governor again wrote to the Court of Directors in his own name, as in the packet of 14 May 1770. On that occasion a second letter went to the Secret Committee. This time only the Court was addressed, which suggested business of a personal or administrative kind and not the confidential matters reserved for the committee. The two supplementary orders were dated for delivery in 1771, the same year as the main order for stores sent on 12 June 1770. They were added seven weeks after that order left, when the survey of the gun carriages and the progress of the schoolhouse showed further needs. An order sent in August could still be combined in London with the one sent in June and shipped by the same storeships. The Council thus avoided a second year's delay on carriages it described as urgently wanted. The consultations ran from 18 June to 4 August 1770 and the cash accounts covered a whole calendar month, as in the packet of 25 January 1770. Both marked the slack season, when no homeward ship called for six weeks and the records accumulated between opportunities.
271	264	2 We have given Captn. Mitchell an Order to§ §receive onboard his Ship, Abraham Harding, Thos. Matthews§ §Richd. Wallis and Josiah Johnson four Invalid Soldiers§ §and have paid him £20. for their Passage, Captn.§ §Mitchels Receipt together with the Surgeons Certificate,§ §goe herewith —§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange Vizt. One Set to Mr. James Powell for £150.§	Captain Mitchell received an order to take four invalid soldiers aboard his ship, and the Council paid him £20 0s 0d for their passage. His receipt and the surgeon's certificate went home with the letter. Abraham Harding, invalid soldier Thomas Matthews, invalid soldier Richard Wallis, invalid soldier Josiah Johnson, invalid soldier 3: The Council granted three sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 6 August 1770.

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		§payable to Captn. John Lennox. One Set to Jno. Whitchurch§ §(Attorney to the Orphans of John Bland) for £313.6.4§ §payable to Mr. Roger Gwin. And one Set to Mr. Jonathan§ §Doveton for £407. payable to Captn. Richd. Doveton§ §all drawn at ninety days Sight and dated the 6th Instant —§ §4 We this day received into your Cash of Mr.§ §Barclay Surgeon the Sum of £5.14.11 for effects Sold belonging§ §to George Chudge late Caulker of Ship Duke of Grafton who died§ §in the Hospital which Sum we have wrote off to Account Current§ §London —§ §5 The Madeira Wine received this Year from§ §Bengal being Invoiced at £39.3 pr Pipe and if agreeable to§ §your Orders, we put 30 pr Cent on that Invoice price, it will§ §amount to £50.17.11 pr Pipe, which makes it extreemly dear,§ §and as it is invoiced to us so high we cannot but suppose that§ §the 30 pr Cent and all other Charges must have been put on it§ §at Bengal, We therefore request your further directions§ §relative thereto, as it will not sell at this Settlement at that§ §high Price —§ §6 As we have had a very dry Summer Season§ §and have already lost upwards of five hundred Head of§ §Black Cattle chiefly through Scarcity, and continuing to drop,§ §we are sure our return of Cattle for Slaughter next Year will be§ §very small, as the loss is chiefly fallen upon the younger sort§ §intended§	Mr James P[...]ell, payable to Captain John Lennox, £130 0s 0d John Whitchurch, attorney to the orphans of John Bland, payable to Mr Roger G[...], £313 6s 4d Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Captain Richard Doveton, £407 0s 0d 4: Mr Barclay, the surgeon, paid £5 14s 11d into the Company's treasury on the day of the letter. The money came from the sale of effects belonging to George Cr[...]ge, formerly caulker of the ship *Duke of Grafton*, who died in the hospital. The Council entered the sum against the running account with London. 5: The Madeira wine received that year from Bengal was invoiced at £39 3s 0d a pipe. The Court's orders required 30 per cent to be added to the invoice price, which brought it to £50 17s 11d a pipe and made it extremely dear. With the invoice so high, the Council could only suppose that the 30 per cent and every other charge had already been added at Bengal. It asked for further instructions, since the wine would not sell on the island at such a price. 6: The summer was very dry, and more than 500 head of cattle were already dead, chiefly from starvation. Deaths were continuing. The Council warned that very few cattle would be available for slaughter the following year, since the loss fell mainly on the younger animals. **Interpretations** The Company sold goods from its stores at St Helena at a fixed advance on the invoice price. The invoice stated what an article cost the Company, and the addition, here 30 per cent, covered freight, risk and profit. The rule was simple to apply but depended on the invoice showing true first cost. The Council suspected that Bengal had invoiced the Madeira at its own selling price, with the advance and charges already included. Adding 30 per cent again at St Helena charged the buyer twice. The Council had a ready comparison: it bought a pipe locally for £40 0s 0d, as the letter of 7 May 1770 reported, almost exactly the Bengal invoice figure and far below £50 17s 11d. It did not lower the price on its own authority. The 30 per cent stood by the Court's order, so the Council stated the difficulty and waited, leaving the wine unsold meanwhile. The same letter of 7 May 1770 predicted that no Madeira would come from Bengal that season, and it arrived after all. More than 500 cattle had died. The figure gave the first measure of the disaster reported in stages since 24 February 1770, when the Council warned that the herds were losing condition, and 30 May 1770, when it wrote that "a great many" had perished. Rain was mentioned at the end of May 1770 as bringing hope, but the deaths went on into August, the middle of the southern winter, when pasture grew slowly and weakened animals could not recover. The loss of the young stock was the gravest part. Those were the beasts that would have been fattened for slaughter over the next two or three years, so the shortage of beef was set to last well beyond a single season. The eight English breeding cattle of which three arrived in May 1770, the Cape livestock bought earlier in the year and the 719 pieces of salt meat taken from the *Earl of Lincoln* were small against a loss on that scale. The four invalids went home at £5 0s 0d a head, the rate paid in every earlier case. With a serjeant and a private sent as crew in the *Anson*, six more men left the garrison within days of the Council asking for 100 recruits. The description of John Whitchurch as "attorney to the orphans of John Bland" confirmed what the bills of 24 July 1769 implied. He acted under legal authority for children who could not manage property themselves, and he remitted their money to

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			England in two instalments, £325 6s 3d then and £313 6s 4d now. The Company's bills thus served for moving an inheritance as well as for trade and savings. The dead caulker's effects were handled as James Gordon's were on 17 August 1769. His belongings were sold, the proceeds paid into the treasury and the sum credited in London, where his family or the ship's owners could claim it. He died in the island's hospital after his ship left on 2 June 1770. Sick seamen were evidently landed and left in the surgeon's care when their ships sailed, and the surgeon acted as custodian of what they left behind. Jonathan Doveton's £407 0s 0d was his fourth and largest remittance, again payable to Captain Richard Doveton. One of the other bills was in favour of Captain John Lennox, commander of the *Anson*, which had sailed two days earlier.
272	265	intended for Slaughter we therefore to provide against the Want of§ §Provision for the Shipping, as well as the use of the Island request§ §that by the dispatch of your first Ship to India, you will please to send§ §Orders to be left at the Cape for all your homeward bound Commanders§ §that touch there next Year, to bring us one hundred Sheep each, as it§ §is the only resource we can devise to be furnished with Provisions§ §next Year, and we apprehend this Mode will effectually commu-§ §nicate your Orders to the returning Commanders next Season without§ §which we are well assured, we should not by any means be supplied§ §as we have already experienced, notwithstanding your recommenda-§ §tion to them for bringing us live Stock from the Cape, that very§ §few have complied therewith, having received this Season no more§ §than One hundred and thirty two Sheep a number not adequate to the§ §consumption of the Hospital —§ §7 We hope we shall not be disappointed of a Master§ §Mason next Year, as we have already found the want of such§ §a Man, and particularly as Preston the second Mason is a very§ §drunken fellow, and we think shall not be able to continue him§ §long in your Service —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants —§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §9th August 1770§	The cattle lost were mostly the young animals meant for slaughter, and the Council looked for a way to guard against a shortage of provisions for the shipping and the island alike. It asked the Court to send orders by the first ship dispatched to India, to be left at the Cape for every homeward commander calling there the following year. Each was to bring 100 sheep. The Council could think of no other means of obtaining provisions for the coming year. Orders left at the Cape were certain to reach the returning commanders in time. Without such orders the island would not be supplied at all, as experience already showed. The Court had recommended commanders to bring livestock from the Cape, yet very few did so. Only 132 sheep arrived in the whole season, too few even for the needs of the hospital. 7: The Council hoped not to be disappointed of a master mason the following year, since the want of one was already felt. The need was the greater because Preston, the second mason, was a heavy drinker, and the Council did not expect to keep him in the service much longer. The letter closed at St Helena on 9 August 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Council asked the Court to replace a recommendation with a command, and gave the season's figures as its reason. Commanders were encouraged to bring livestock from the Cape, and the result was 132 sheep. That total agreed exactly with the deliveries reported in these letters: 50 from Captain Ross on 17 February 1770, seven from Captain Scott on 20 March 1770, 50 landed by Captain Tryon on 22 March 1770 and 25 from Captain Swa[...] on 4 April 1770. Four commanders out of more than 30 who called acted on the Court's wish. Sheep took up deck space, needed fodder and water, and died on the passage, as five of Captain Tryon's did, so a commander had little reason to carry them unless ordered. A fixed quota of 100 a ship removed the choice. Thirty ships under such an order would land 3,000 sheep, a supply on a different scale from anything the island's own pastures could give after the loss of more than 500 cattle. The proposal also solved a problem of communication. Orders sent from London to St Helena reached the island after the homeward ships had already passed the Cape, too late to affect what they loaded there. Orders sent to India would reach commanders at the start of their return voyages but might be forgotten or overtaken by events. The Council's solution was to have the first outward ship of the season drop the orders at the Cape itself, where every homeward commander called and where

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			the sheep were bought. The instruction would then meet each captain at the one place he could act on it. The detail showed how carefully the Council thought about the timing of ships and letters, the same concern behind its request of 7 May 1770 for earlier storeships. The mention of the hospital showed where fresh meat went first. Sick seamen were landed from the ships and nursed ashore, as the case of the caulker who died there after his ship sailed made clear. Fresh mutton and broth were the standard diet for men recovering from scurvy and fever. A supply that could not even feed the patients left nothing for the garrison, the inhabitants or the healthy crews, who had to rely on salt provisions. The remark about Preston completed the picture of the island's building trades. The master mason, William Holbrook, was incapable before he died, and the Court sent no replacement, as the letter of 30 May 1770 regretted. The second mason, on whom the direction of the stonework then fell, was a drunkard near dismissal. Two houses were authorised and a battery stood unfinished, with Captain Tippett newly arrived to direct works for which he had no reliable foreman. The Council named Preston's failing bluntly so that the Court would treat the request for a master mason as pressing. The letter went by the *Fox*, the ship commanded by Captain Mitchell, five days after the *Anson* sailed.
273	266	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Fox dated 9th. August 1770 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. and Councils Genl. Letter dated 9th August 1770§ §2 Duplicate do. & do. dated 4th do. do.§ §3 do. do. & do. dated 4th do. do. relating to§ §Law Matters§ §4 Consultation of the 6th August 1770§ §5 Duplicate do. from 18th June to 4th August 1770§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Anson§ §7 Second do. for do. pr Ship Devonshire§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Anson§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Muster Rolls of do.§ §11 Cash Account from 5th to 9th. August 1770§ §12 Duplicate do. from 17th to 30 June do.§ §13 do. do. for the Month of July do.§ §14 do. do. from 1st to 4th. August do.§ §15 Ship Foxes Account§ §16 Duplice Ship Ansons do.§ §17 do. Proceeding of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on 11th July 1770§ §18 do. Indent for Gun Carriages to be sent in the Year 1771§ §19 do. do. for Glass for the Church & School House do. do.§ §20 Captn. Mitchells first Receipt for £20§ §21 Surgeons Certificate of four Invalid Soldiers§ §22 Govrs. Letter to the Honble Court of Directors —§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Fox*, dated 9 August 1770, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 9 August 1770 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 August 1770 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 4 August 1770 relating to law matters 4: Consultation of 6 August 1770 5: Duplicate consultations from 18 June to 4 August 1770 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Anson*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Devonshire*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Anson*. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Muster rolls of the garrison 11: Cash account from 5 to 9 August 1770 12: Duplicate cash account from 17 to 30 June 1770 13: Duplicate cash account for July 1770 14: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 4 August 1770 15: Account of the ship *Fox*. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Anson*. 17: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 11 July 1770 18: Duplicate order for gun carriages to be sent in the year 1771 19: Duplicate order for glass for the church and schoolhouse to be sent in the year 1771 20: Captain Mitchell's first receipt for £20 0s 0d 21: Surgeon's certificate for four invalid soldiers 22: The Governor's letter to the Court of Directors
274	267	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on you under date 9th§ §August by the Ship Fox —§ §2 On the 1st instant arrived a Dutch Ship from§ §Batavia called the West Friesland, Captn. Mooy burthen about§ §700 Tons, carrys 28 Guns and 90 Men, Loaden with	The Council opened a short letter by noting that its previous one, dated 9 August 1770, went by the *Fox*. 2: A Dutch ship from Batavia, the *West Friesland* under Captain Mooy, arrived on 1 September 1770. She measured about 700 tons, carried 28 guns and 90 men, and was bound for Holland with sugar, coffee and pepper. Her captain said he meant to call at a

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		Sugar, Coffee§ §and Pepper, bound to Holland, and as the Captain informs Us§ §he intends touching at some Port in the English Channel we§ §take this opportunity of addressing this Letter to you —§ §3 Captn. Martin Pietersz Mooy of the Dutch Ship§ §applied to us to pay £591. into your Cash, which we have§ §received and given him Bills on your Honors for that Sum,§ §payable to himself drawn at ninety days sight and dated§ §this day —§ §4 In our last Letter we informed you that§ §we had a very dry Season & we are sorry to acquaint you, that it§ §still continues, and without speedy Rain, we are very apprehen-§ §sive of the ill consequences that it must be productive of, to the§ §Island in General —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §13th Septr. 1770§	port in the English Channel, and the Council took the chance to send the letter by him. 3: Captain Martin Pietersz Mooy of the Dutch ship applied to pay £591 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills on the Court for that amount, payable to himself. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 12 September 1770. 4: The previous letter reported a very dry season. The drought had not broken, and without rain soon the Council greatly feared the harm it would do to the island as a whole. The letter closed at St Helena on 12 September 1770 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Council entrusted a letter to a foreign ship. Every earlier dispatch in these records went by a Company vessel under a commander who signed a receipt and answered to the Court for delivery. A Dutch captain owed the Company nothing and could not be held to account. The Council used him because no Company ship was at the island or expected, the last having sailed after 9 August 1770, and because he volunteered that he would put into an English Channel port, from which a letter could be posted to London. The contents were chosen to suit the carrier. The letter ran to four short paragraphs, carried no packet, no accounts and no consultations, and said nothing of defence, the French or the Secret Committee's orders. Its real business was the fourth paragraph. The drought was worsening, and the Council judged that the warning should reach London by any means available instead of waiting weeks or months for a Company ship. A Dutch commander bought Company bills. Until then the remitters were island residents, Company officers and commanders of Company ships. Captain Mooy paid £591 0s 0d into the treasury and took a claim on the Court payable to himself, which he could collect in London when he touched in the Channel or negotiate in Amsterdam. The transaction suited both sides. The island gained ready money without cost, and the Council reported on 16 June 1770 that local receipts were covering its expenses. The Dutch captain turned cash earned from private trade on his voyage into paper that was safer to carry and good in Europe. His intended call in the Channel and his purchase of sterling bills pointed the same way: he had private dealings in England that his own company's rules would not have favoured. The cargo of sugar, coffee and pepper came from Java and the Dutch company's other possessions. Coffee and sugar were plantation crops grown there under the company's control, and they appeared here for the first time among the Dutch cargoes noted at the island, after pepper on 14 October 1769 and spices on 23 May 1770. At 28 guns for about 700 tons she was more heavily armed than the two earlier Dutch ships, which carried 23 and 20. The drought had by then lasted through a full year of seasons. The summer rains failed, as the letter of 24 February 1770 reported, a little rain fell in May 1770, and the letter of 9 August 1770 counted more than 500 cattle dead. September was early spring at St Helena, when new growth ought to have begun. The Council's fear for "the island as a whole" widened the concern beyond the herds to the crops, gardens and water on which the inhabitants and the shipping depended.

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275	268	To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices waited on you under date§ §of 13th September 1770 by a Dutch Ship called the West-Friesland§ §2 This day arrived your Ship Lapwing§ §Captain Owen from Madrass last from the Cape, the Captn§ §acquaints Us he left Fort St. George the 14th Octr. last but§ §none of your Ships there, he also informs Us he sailed from§ §Bengall the 20th Septr and that your Ships Prince of Wales§ §Duke of Kingston Houghton Europa Verelst & Vansittart§ §were at that Place when he left it, and that he met with§ §your Ship Egmont a going up the River, he further tells us§ §the Prince of Wales was to Sail from Bengall for Europe soon§ §after he did that he left the Cape the 27th Decr. last and His§ §Majesty's Ship Dolphin and your Ship Mos there, that§ §the Aurora with the Comrs onboard had not been heard of since§ §sailing from that Place, we are likewise told Genl Coote§ §was returning to England over Land —§ §3 We are very sorry to acquaint you our§ §Winter Rains have again failed and that the Country is at§ §Present in a terrible situation Your Honors have lost in§ §the course of last Year one hundred and fifty Head of§ §Black Cattle and the Planters five hundred and fifty§ §we are apprehensive if the Summer Rains do not§ §speedily set in that a great many more must inevitably§ §perish from the want of Food, and are certain if we§ §have not a large supply of Sheep from the Cape by the§ §Homeward bound Ships, agreeable to our request in August§ §last that we shall not be able to afford the Ships of§ §this Season any proper refreshment and have come to a§ §resolution of reducing the Charter party from 1/3d to 1/4 part —§	The Council opened a new letter by noting that its latest report, dated 12 September 1770, went by a Dutch ship, the *West Friesland*. 2: The Company's ship *Lapwing* under Captain Owen arrived on the day of writing from Madras, having last called at the Cape. He reported leaving Fort St George on 14 October 1770, when none of the Company's ships lay there. He sailed from Bengal on 20 September 1770. Six Company ships were at Bengal when he left. *Prince of Wales* *Duke of Kingston* *Houghton* *Europa* *Verelst* *Vansittart* He met the Company's ship *Egmont* going up the river as he came down. The *Prince of Wales* was due to sail from Bengal for Europe soon after his own departure. Captain Owen left the Cape on 27 December 1770, where the King's ship *Dolphin* and the Company's ship [...] were lying. Nothing was heard of the *Aurora*, with the Commissioners aboard, after she sailed from the Cape. The Council was also told that General Coote was returning to England by the overland route. 3: The winter rains failed again, and the countryside was in a terrible condition. Losses of cattle in the course of the previous year were heavy on both sides. Cattle lost by the Company, 150 head Cattle lost by the planters, 550 head The Council feared that a great many more would die for want of food unless the summer rains set in quickly. Without a large supply of sheep from the Cape by the homeward ships, as requested in August 1770, the island would be unable to give the ships of the season proper fresh provisions. The Council resolved to cut the charterparty allowance from one third to one quarter. **Interpretations** The Council reduced what the ships were entitled to receive. The charterparty, the contract under which the Company hired each vessel, fixed the scale on which homeward ships were supplied with fresh provisions at St Helena. The Council lowered that scale from a third to a quarter on its own authority, a cut of one part in four in every ship's entitlement. A term of the Company's contracts with shipowners was a matter for the Court, and the regular course was to supply at the agreed rate for as long as stock lasted. The Council chose rationing instead. With the herds collapsing, meeting the full allowance for the first ships would have left nothing for those arriving later, and the season's fleet was just beginning to come in. The decision spread a shortage evenly and was reported at once, so the Court could answer any owner or commander who complained. The losses were now stated for both owners. The Company lost 150 head and the planters 550, some 700 between them, against the "more than 500" reported on 9 August 1770. The planters' share showed where the island's beef really came from. The settlers' herds were several times larger than the Company's, and their animals supplied the garrison and the shipping under the Council's regulation. Their ruin was therefore a threat to the island's main purpose as a place of refreshment, and to the livelihood of the free inhabitants. Three successive rainy seasons had failed. The summer rains did not come early in 1770, as the letter of 24 February 1770 reported, the drought continued through September 1770, and the winter rains of the middle of the year failed too. The Council's request of 9 August 1770 for orders at the Cape requiring 100

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			sheep from each homeward ship could not yet have produced any result. That letter left the island in August 1770 and needed several months to reach London, after which the orders had to travel out again to the Cape. The news of the *Aurora* was grave. Captain Payne saw the frigate at the Cape in December 1769 and reported Messrs Vansittart, Scrafton and Ford all well, as the letter of 25 January 1770 recorded. The present passage identified those passengers as "the Commissioners", men sent out with special powers over the Company's affairs in India. A year after she left the Cape, Captain Owen found that nothing was known of her there, and he came from Bengal and Madras, where she ought long since to have arrived. A ship unreported for so long on that passage was almost certainly lost. The Council passed on the bare fact, which the Court would have understood as the probable loss of its whole commission. General Coote was a senior officer of the Company's forces in India. The overland route ran by way of the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea and across the Middle East to the Mediterranean, and was used when speed mattered more than comfort or safety. His choice of it was reported as news in itself. The letter was the first to go by a Company ship since the *Fox* sailed after 9 August 1770. The interval of about five months was the longest in these records and spanned the same slack months as the gap between 27 October 1769 and 16 January 1770. Captain Owen and the *Lapwing* were last mentioned on 7 May 1770, when word came of their arrival at Bengal. Two of the ships he named, the *Verelst* and the *Vansittart*, bore the names of men who figured in these letters: Harry Verelst, a passenger in the *Lioness* in May 1770, and one of the missing Commissioners.
276	269	4 As the Lapwing sails immediately we have§ §not time to transmit you by this Opportunity any other§ §Papers than the Duplicates of our two last General Letters§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St Helena§ §6 Jany. 1771§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you under date 6th§ §January 1771 by your Ship Lapwing —§ §2 On the 30th of last Month arrived the§ §Prince of Wales from Bengal, Captn. Court informs Us he§ §left the Pilot 10th November 1770 and that the Ships Worcester§ §and Lord Mansfield arrived at that Place after the sailing§ §of the Lapwing, the 2d instant arrived your Ship Duke of§ §Cumberland from Bombay, Captn. Savage acquaints Us he§ §sailed from thence 4th Decembr. last, and left the Brook and§ §Northington there the former was to leave Bombay a few days§ §after and fill up at Anjengo, he further tells us the Greenwich§ §sailed from Bombay to fill up at the same Place the 18th Novr§ §and that your Ships Portland, and True Briton were	The *Lapwing* was to sail at once, which left no time to send any papers by her except duplicates of the two previous general letters. The letter closed at St Helena on 6 January 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Council began its next letter by recalling the previous one, dated 6 January 1771 and sent by the Company's ship *Lapwing*. 2: The *Prince of Wales* arrived from Bengal on 28 January 1771. Captain Court reported dropping the pilot on 10 November 1770. The Company's ships *Worcester* and *Lord Mansfield* reached Bengal after the *Lapwing* sailed. The Company's ship *Duke of Cumberland* arrived from Bombay on 2 February 1771. Captain Savage sailed from there on 4 December 1770 and left the *Pocock* and the *Northington* in port. The *Pocock* was to leave Bombay a few days later and complete her cargo at Anjengo. The *Greenwich* sailed from Bombay on 18 November 1770 to finish loading at the same place. The Company's ships *Portland* and *True Briton* had not yet arrived. **Interpretations** The *Lapwing* arrived and left on the same day, 6 January 1771. Every other ship in these records stayed at least several days to water and take in provisions, and most stayed a week or two. Her haste left the Council time for one short letter and no packet of accounts or consultations. A ship that would not wait was nonetheless too valuable an opportunity to lose after five months without a Company vessel, so the Council gave her the two things that mattered most. The first was the warning that the winter rains had failed and the allowance to ships was cut. The second was a duplicate of each of the last two letters. One of those was the letter of 12 September 1770, which went by the Dutch ship *West*

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		not arrived§ §at§	*Friesland* with no receipt and no assurance of delivery. Its duplicate by a Company ship made good that risk at the first chance. Her brief stay also fitted the state of the island. The Council had just resolved to reduce what ships received, and the herds were dying. A commander who found little fresh food to be had gained nothing by lingering. The *Prince of Wales* reached St Helena homeward bound some 18 months after the first report of her. A Dutch captain at False Bay said that she sprang a leak after leaving St Jago and bore away for Brazil, as the letter of 17 August 1769 related. She was at Madras in April 1770 and sailed for Bengal, according to the letter of 4 August 1770, and Captain Owen saw her there in September 1770 preparing to leave. Her voyage was thus traced through four separate reports before she appeared in person. The Council's practice of forwarding every commander's news allowed the Court to follow a troubled ship from one ocean to another in this way. Two ships were described as completing their cargoes at Anjengo. Vessels loading at Bombay commonly took in part of their lading there and then ran down the Malabar coast to the Company's southern station for pepper before turning for home. The dates showed the Bombay ships leaving in a steady sequence from the middle of November 1770, which gave the Court a forecast of when each might be expected. The new season opened later than the last. In 1770 the first homeward ship, the *Ponsborne*, arrived on 16 January, and ten Company ships called by 20 February. In 1771 only three were reported by 2 February: the *Lapwing*, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Duke of Cumberland*.
277	270	at Bombay when he left it, neither had they been heard of on§ §the Coast —§ §3 The Passengers on Board the Prince of Wales§ §are Messrs. Gardiner De Cruz, Goodwin, Atkinson and Fretwell§ §Mr. Mostyn and Captn Calyper on the Duke of Cumberland —§ §4 We transmit you in the Packet the Plans of§ §Mundens Point and Lemon Valley Fortifications as now compleated§ §and likewise an Abstract of the Expences of the aforesaid two Batterys§ §5 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to Mr. Matthew Purling for £800. payable to§ §John Purling Esqr. and one set to Capt. Henry Bazett for £100.§ §payable to Miss Mary Bazett both drawn at ninety days sight§ §and dated 25 February 1771 —§ §6 On the 4th instant Capt. Savage Acquainted§ §Us he had on board his Ship, John Thorp, Joseph Bristow and§ §James Hadley three deserters from Bombay We have detained§ §them on the Island to serve as Soldiers their full contracted times§ §7 By this conveyance we transmit your Honors§ §General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30 Sept. last —§ §8 We have given Captn. Court an Order to§ §receive onboard his Ship Sutton Tucke and Patrick Newland§ §two Soldiers towards compleating the Prince of Wales's Company,§ §the abovementioned Men were tryed at the Quarterly Sessions§ §held on the 3d October last for Sodomitical practices	Neither the *Portland* nor the *True Briton* had reached Bombay when Captain Savage left, and nothing was heard of them on the Coast. 3: Messrs Gardiner, D[...], Goodwin, Atkinson and Fr[...]well were the passengers aboard the *Prince of Wales*. Mr Mostyn and Captain R[...] travelled in the *Duke of Cumberland*. 4: The packet held the plans of the fortifications at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley as completed, together with a summary of what the two batteries cost. 5: The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated [...] February 1771. Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £800 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Miss Mary Bazett, £100 0s 0d 6: Captain Savage informed the Council on 4 February 1771 that three deserters from Bombay were aboard his ship. The Council kept them on the island to serve as soldiers for the whole of their contracted terms. John Thorp, deserter from Bombay Joseph Bristow, deserter from Bombay James Hadley, deserter from Bombay 7: The Company's general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September 1770, went home by the same ship. 8: Captain Court received an order to take two soldiers, Sutton L[...] and Patrick Newland, aboard his ship to help fill out the crew of the *Prince of Wales*. Both men stood trial at the quarterly court of 3 October 1770 for sodomy, and both were suspected of the same offence before. The Council decided to send the pair off the island. 9: Captain Court applied for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give his crew more fresh food.

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		and had§ §been suspected before of the same abominable Crime, we therefore§ §determined to send them both off the Island —§ §9 Captn. Court applied to Us for leave to touch§ §at Ascension to get Turtle for the further refreshment of his§ §People§	**Interpretations** The battery at Munden's Point was finished. On 30 May 1770 the Council reported that the work had been held up for three months for want of Purbeck stone and that the island's defence was a pressing concern. Some eight months later it sent home the completed plans of that battery and of a second at Lemon Valley, a landing place on the leeward coast west of the main anchorage. Munden's Point covered the approach to the road where ships lay, and Lemon Valley guarded one of the few other spots where boats could put men ashore. Closing both answered directly to the fears raised since September 1769 by reports of French and Spanish forces. The summary of costs accompanied the plans for a reason the earlier letters made clear. The Lieutenant Governor argued on 19 July 1769 that building costs on the island could not be estimated in advance, since the stone, lime, craftsmen and slaves were the Company's own. The Court could not be given a forecast, so it was given an account after the event. The work was carried through under handicaps the Council had described: no master mason, a second mason given to drink, gun carriages unfit for service and no carriages from Bombay. Captain Tippett, appointed Captain of Artillery and principal Engineer, arrived in May 1770, and the completion of two batteries within his first months suggested where the direction came from. The three deserters were handled as Robert Grosvenor was on 17 August 1769 and John Harrison on 16 April 1770. Men who broke one engagement with the Company were held to another, and the island kept them. The wording was firmer than before: they were to serve "the whole" of their terms, with no credit for time already given at Bombay. The garrison's need explained the choice. The Council asked on 4 August 1770 for 100 recruits to reach the strength the Court had fixed, and continued to discharge invalids and time-expired men. Three trained soldiers delivered by a passing ship cost nothing. Returning them to Bombay for punishment, the course that presidency would have preferred, was passed over once again. The letter said the two soldiers were tried and did not say they were convicted. It rested the decision on the trial together with earlier suspicion, which implied that the court did not reach a finding sufficient for the penalty the law provided. The Council then removed them by its own administrative act. The method followed the case of Stephen Papps, who was convicted of attempted sodomy at the court of October 1768 and shipped home as crew, as the letter of 1 August 1769 recorded. Here too the men went as working hands with no fare paid, unlike the two counterfeiters carried as paid passengers on 25 January 1770. Four months passed between the court of 3 October 1770 and their departure, because no Company ship fit to take them called in the interval. The general books went home at the same point in the year as before. Those balanced to 30 September 1769 left by the *Ponsborne* on 25 January 1770, and the next set left about a year later. Matthew Purling's £800 0s 0d was his largest single remittance after the £1,000 0s 0d of 2 April 1770, and went as usual to John Purling Esquire. Captain Henry Bazett again sent money to Miss Mary Bazett, £100 0s 0d after £60 0s 0d on 16 June 1770.
278	271	People, we have permitted him to call there for that purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§	Captain Court received the Council's leave to call at Ascension for turtle. The letter closed at St Helena on 7 March 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling

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		§John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §St. Helena§ §7th March 1771§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr§ §Ship Prince of Wales dated the 7th. March 1771 vizt. —§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 7th March 1771§ §2 Do. Do. & do dated 7th Do. Do. Relating to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 6th January 1771§ §4 Consultations from the 13th August 1770 to the 4th March Do.§ §5 Duplicate Do. the 6th Do. Do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Fox§ §7 Do. Do. for a Small Paper Do. pr Ship Lapwing§ §8 Do. Do. pr Dutch Ship West Friesland§ §9 Second Do. for the Packet pr Ship Anson§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Fox§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Muster Rolls of Do.§ §13 Cash Account from the 10th to the 31st August 1770§ §14 Do. Do. for the Month of Septr Do.§ §15 Do. Do. for the Do. of October Do.§ §16 Do. Do. for the Do. of November Do.§ §17 Do. Do. for the Do. of December Do.§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Prince of Wales*, dated 7 March 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 7 March 1771 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 7 March 1771 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 6 January 1771 4: Consultations from 13 August 1770 to 4 March 1771 5: Duplicate consultation of 6 August 1770 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Fox*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Lapwing*. 8: First receipt for the letter sent by the Dutch ship *West Friesland*. 9: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Anson*. 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Fox*. 11: Effective state of the garrison 12: Muster rolls of the garrison 13: Cash account from 10 to 31 August 1770 14: Cash account for September 1770 15: Cash account for October 1770 16: Cash account for November 1770 17: Cash account for December 1770 **Interpretations** The date of the letter fixed the events reported in it. The *Prince of Wales* arrived on 28 February 1771 and the *Duke of Cumberland* on 2 March 1771. Captain Savage disclosed the three deserters from Bombay on 4 March 1771, and the consultations sent in the packet ran to that same day. The two sets of bills were dated in the last days of February 1771. Those dates showed how thin the shipping was. Apart from the *Lapwing*, which touched for a single day on 6 January 1771, no Company ship called between the departure of the *Fox* after 9 August 1770 and the end of February 1771, an interval of nearly seven months. The packet reflected it. The consultations covered almost seven months in one bundle, and the cash accounts ran month by month from August to December 1770. In the previous year the equivalent gap lasted under three months, from 27 October 1769 to 16 January 1770, and ten Company ships called by 20 February 1770. The China fleet that made up most of those early arrivals had not appeared at all by 7 March 1771. The letter gave no reason. The delay nonetheless meant fewer mouths to feed during the worst of the drought, at the very time the Council cut the allowance to ships from one third to one quarter. Captain Mooy of the *West Friesland* signed a receipt. The letter of 12 September 1770 went by a foreign commander who owed the Company no duty, and the Council still required from him the same written acknowledgement it took from its own captains. The receipt now went home as evidence that the letter was handed over and to whom. It could not compel delivery, but it let the Court know exactly what to enquire after if the Dutch ship failed to forward it. The duplicate of that letter had already left by the *Lapwing* on 6 January 1771. The *Lapwing* was credited with a small paper packet only. She sailed on the day she arrived, and the letter of 6 January 1771 stated that there was time to send nothing but that letter and two duplicates. Her receipt matched that account, and the full run of papers for the period waited for the *Prince of Wales*. A letter on law matters accompanied the general letter once more. The quarterly court of 3 October 1770, at which Sutton L[...] and Patrick Newland were tried, fell within the period covered, and a

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			further court was due in January 1771 on the pattern of the previous year. The Council's decision to remove the two men by its own order, reported in the general letter, was a matter the law letter could be expected to explain more fully.
279	272	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] 18 Cash Account for the Month of January 1771§ §19 Do. Do. for Do. of Feby. Do.§ §20 Do. Do. from the 1st to 7th March Do.§ §21 Duplicate Do. from the 5th to 9th August 1770§ §22 Ship Prince of Wales's Account§ §23 Duplicate Ship Foxes do.§ §24 Plans of Mundens Point & Lemon Valley Fortifications§ §25 Abstract of the Expence of the said Fortifications§ §26 List of Officers & Servants taken the 7th March 1771§ §27 Do. of Familys do. 30th Septr. 1770§ §28 Do. of Rents do. 30th do. do§ §29 Do. of Slaves do. 30th do. Do.§ §30 Courts Martial from the 11th Septr. 1769 to the 26th Feby 1771§ §31 Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on the 3d Octr. 1770§ §32 Do. Do. Do. held on the 9th Jany. 1771§ §33 Captn. Mitchels second Receipt for £20§ §34 Genl. Books of Accounts§ §35 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §36 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Prince of Wales and Duke§ §of Cumberland§ §37 Govrs. Letter to the Honble Court of Directors§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed you yesterday by the§ §Ship Prince of Wales which sails this day, and since dispatching§ §of her, has Arrived your Ship Earl of Middlesex from China§ §Captn Rogers acquaints Us, he left that Place the 30th November§ §and the Ships that were to Sail from thence soon after, were the§ §Lord Camden, Kent, Valentine and Royal Captain in December§ §the§	The packet sent by the *Prince of Wales* on 7 March 1771 also held the following papers. 18: Cash account for January 1771 19: Cash account for February 1771 20: Cash account from 1 to 7 March 1771 21: Duplicate cash account from 5 to 9 August 1770 22: Account of the ship *Prince of Wales*. 23: Duplicate account of the ship *Fox*. 24: Plans of the fortifications at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley 25: Summary of the cost of those fortifications 26: List of officers and servants taken on 7 March 1771 27: List of families taken on 30 September 1770 28: List of rents taken on 30 September 1770 29: List of slaves taken on 30 September 1770 30: Courts martial from 1 September 1769 to 26 February 1771 31: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 3 October 1770 32: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 9 January 1771 33: Captain Mitchell's second receipt for £20 0s 0d 34: General books of accounts 35: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 36: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Prince of Wales* and *Duke of Cumberland*. 37: The Governor's letter to the Court of Directors The Council wrote again a day after its letter of 7 March 1771. The *Prince of Wales*, which carried that letter, sailed on 8 March 1771. The Company's ship *Earl of Middlesex* arrived from China after her packet was closed. Captain Rogers reported leaving China on 26 November 1770. Four ships were to sail from there soon afterwards, in December 1770. *Lord Camden* *Kent* *Valentine* *Royal Captain* **Interpretations** The *Earl of Middlesex* was the first China ship of the 1771 season, and her history explained why she led. The letter of 22 February 1770 reported that she "lost her passage", arriving too late for the winds up the China Sea, and went to Batavia to wait. She therefore spent an extra year in the East. Reaching Canton at the very start of the next season, she loaded early and sailed on 26 November 1770, three days ahead of the date on which the *Plassey* left the year before. Her arrival on 7 or 8 March 1771 was nonetheless nearly three weeks later than the first China ships of 1770, which came in between 18 and 20 February. The four ships due to follow in December 1770 could thus be expected from the end of March. The packet gathered the yearly returns that had waited seven months for a ship. The lists of families, rents and slaves were taken on 30 September 1770, exactly a year after the previous set, and the general books were balanced to the same day. In the earlier year those lists went home within a fortnight, by the *Thames* on 14 October 1769. This time no Company ship called in October, so the returns left more than five months late. The list of officers and servants was renewed on 7 March 1771 to give the establishment as it stood on the day of dispatch, after the earlier lists of 14 October 1769 and 9 April 1770.

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			The courts martial records ran for 18 months, from 1 September 1769 to 26 February 1771. The previous bundle ended on 31 August 1769 and went home on 14 October 1769, so the new one took up where it stopped. For the first eight months of that period the island had no Judge Advocate in post, between the death of Mr Richard Beale on 7 October 1769 and the appointment of Mr John Congreve in May 1770. The letter of 17 September 1769 arranged for a copyist to keep the regimental proceedings in the meantime. The unbroken dates suggested that the record was maintained through the vacancy. Two sets of quarterly court proceedings went together. The court of 3 October 1770 was the one that tried Sutton L[...] and Patrick Newland, who sailed in this ship. The court of 9 January 1771 followed in the regular quarterly sequence. With the accompanying letter on law matters, the Court received the judicial record of half a year at once, along with the two men whose removal arose from it.
280	273	[The left-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] the Hawke, Latham, Princess Royal, and Gloucester the beginning of§ §January, the Bridgewater, and Resolution the latter end of that Month,§ §the Huntingdon early in February and the Prime the last Ship some§ §time in that Month, he likewise tells us the Ship Bute, Stafford§ §Elgin, & British King have lost their Passages to China; there is an§ §Alarm for another Ship seen five Leagues distance but no account§ §as the Boat is not yet Arrived —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants —§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §St. Helena§ §8th. March 1771§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices waited on you by the Ship§ §Prince of Wales, which sailed from hence the 8th instant. The same day§ §arrived the Greenwich from Bombay, Captn Carr acquaints Us he§ §spoke with the True Britton, and Duke of Portland about the 12th§ §Decembr. last off Cochin. Besides your Honors Ships at China§ §last Year, they were one English Country, five Dutch, two Danes, two§ §Swedes and two french Ships§ §2 We have given Captn. Rogers an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship John Hurlock, John Glynny, Abel Bagnel, Willm.§ §Foster, and Archibald Graham, five Invalid Soldiers and have§ §paid§	Captain Rogers gave the dates on which the remaining Company ships were due to leave China. *Hawke*, *Latham*, *Princess Royal* and *Gloucester*, at the beginning of January 1771. *Bridgewater* and *Resolution*, towards the end of January 1771. *Huntingdon*, early in February 1771. *Prime*, the last ship, at some point in February 1771. He also reported that the *Bute*, the *Stafford*, the *Elgin* and the *British King* lost their passages to China. An alarm was raised for another ship sighted five leagues off. Nothing more was known of her, since the boat had not yet come in. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 March 1771 over two signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille The Council began its next letter by noting that its latest report went by the *Prince of Wales*, which sailed on 8 March 1771. The *Greenwich* arrived from Bombay the same day. Captain Carr exchanged news with the *True Briton* and the *Duke of Portland* off Cochin about 12 December 1770. Ships of other owners and nations were at China in the previous season alongside the Company's own. English country ships, 1 Dutch ships, 5 Danish ships, 2 Swedish ships, 2 French ships, 2 2: Captain Rogers received an order to take five invalid soldiers aboard his ship. John Hurlock, invalid soldier John Gl[...], invalid soldier Abel Ba[...], invalid soldier William F[...], invalid soldier Archibald Graham, invalid soldier **Interpretations** The *British King* was one of the four ships that failed to reach China. She was the storeship that arrived at St Helena on 8 May 1770. The Council promised on 14 May 1770 to clear her within ten working days and stated on 30 May 1770 that this was done, yet she did not sail until 13 June 1770. The letter of 16 June 1770 blamed the crowded anchorage for slowing the landing of her stores. The consequence now appeared. A ship bound for China had to enter the China Sea before the seasonal winds turned against her, and three weeks lost at St Helena could decide whether she arrived in time. Her failure meant a year's delay to her cargo, as with the *Earl of Middlesex* the season before, and gave her owners grounds to look for the cause. The Council's explanation of the delay, sent nine months earlier,

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			took on a weight it did not have when written. The episode also bore out the argument of 7 May 1770 that storeships sent late from England reached the island at the worst moment of the year. Four ships losing their passage in one season was a serious setback for the Company's tea trade. Only one was recorded the year before. The schedule of departures given by Captain Rogers, running from December 1770 to February 1771, was later throughout than that of the previous season, when the bulk of the fleet left between November 1769 and January 1770. A late season at Canton explained why no China ship reached St Helena before March 1771. The count of foreign ships at Canton could be set against the figures in the letter of 22 February 1770. Dutch ships rose from four to five and Danish from one to two, while Swedish ships held at two. French ships fell from three to two, and country ships from four to one. The European rivals together numbered eleven against ten, so the competition for tea was at least as strong as before, at a time when four of the Company's own ships missed the market. The sharp drop in country ships meant less Indian produce carried to Canton to help pay for the Company's purchases there. The alarm showed the island's lookout system at work. A watch on the heights sighted any sail far out at sea, here at five leagues, about 15 miles, and the garrison was alerted until the stranger proved friendly. An arriving ship sent her boat ahead to report her name and nation at the outer battery. Every packet list in these records carried an entry for the time ships' boats arrived at Banks's, and this passage explained it. Until the boat came in, the ship was unidentified and the alarm stood. The Council closed its letter with the matter unresolved, since the *Prince of Wales* was sailing and could not wait. The ship proved to be the *Greenwich*, which the next letter reported as arriving that same day. Only two members signed the letter of 8 March 1771. Matthew Purling's name, present on every earlier letter in these records, was absent, and the passage gave no reason. Off Cochin, a port on the Malabar coast, Captain Carr met the two ships that Captain Savage reported as missing from Bombay, in the letter of 7 March 1771. The *True Briton* and the *Duke of Portland* were therefore safe and on the coast in mid December 1770. The five invalids were the largest group sent home on medical grounds in a single ship so far.
281	274	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] paid him £25. for their Passage, Captn. Rogers Receipt§ §together with the Surgeons Certificate, goe herewith —§ §3 On the Night of the 12th instant Your Stores§ §were broke open by some Villains unknown, by making a hole§ §through the wall, with an Iron Crow near the door, large enough§ §for a Man to enter, that afterwards they broke the Cash Chest, and§ §took therefrom £355.12.11 1/2 of different species we have the§ §greatest reason to imagine the Corporals Guard that lays at§ §Night in the Castle are partys concerned, as the Centry posted upon§ §the Stores is Relieved from said Guard that all the enquiry that§ §has hitherto been made cannot discover any presumptive proofs§ §sufficient to commit them judicially, as yet they are all confined§ §seperately upon suspicion in order to have them	The Council paid Captain Rogers £25 0s 0d for the passage of the five invalid soldiers. His receipt and the surgeon's certificate went home with the letter. 3: Unknown thieves broke into the Company's stores on the night of 12 March 1771. They used an iron crowbar to make a hole through the wall near the door, large enough for a man to get in. Once inside they forced open the cash chest and took £355 12s 11½d in coin of various kinds. The Council had the strongest grounds for thinking the corporal's guard, which spent the night in the Castle, was involved, since the sentry posted over the stores was relieved from that guard. All the enquiries made up to the date of the letter failed to produce evidence strong enough to commit the men for trial. Every one of them was held separately on suspicion, so that each could be questioned further. The Council published a notice offering a reward of £40 0s 0d and a pardon to anyone who exposed the robbery, even an accomplice in it. 4: Captain Fa[...]r travelled as a passenger in the *Greenwich*. The letter closed at St Helena on 16 March 1771 over three signatures.

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		further Examined§ §We published an Advertisement offering a reward of £[40]§ §and a pardon to any one that will discover the said Robbery though§ §an Accomplice in the same —§ §4 Captn. Faner is Passenger onboard the Ship§ §Greenwich —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §16th March 1771§	John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Council confined the whole guard without evidence against any one of them. It admitted that nothing found would support a formal committal, and the lawful course in that case was to release the men and continue the search. It held them instead, and its reasoning rested on how the theft was done. Breaking through a wall with a crowbar took time and made noise, and the sentry at the stores stood within hearing. That sentry was changed through the night from the corporal's guard, so the work could hardly have gone on unless the man on duty, and probably those who relieved him, allowed it. The suspicion therefore fell on a small, identifiable group, and the Council acted on that inference alone. Keeping the men apart was the essential step. Soldiers who could confer would agree on a story, while men questioned singly, each unsure what the others had said, were likely to contradict one another or to break. The reward and pardon worked on the same weakness. A robbery by several hands could be proved only if one of them talked, and no participant would talk at the risk of his own neck. The pardon removed that risk for the first man to come forward, and the reward, more than a private soldier earned in several years, gave him a reason. The offer turned every member of the gang into a danger to the rest. It was the standard device of the period for breaking a conspiracy, used here because ordinary enquiry had failed. The phrase "coin of various kinds" described the mixed money of the treasury. Sterling coin was scarce on the island. Ships brought Spanish dollars, Indian rupees and pagodas, Dutch and Portuguese pieces, and all passed at fixed rates and were reckoned in pounds, shillings and pence in the accounts. The conviction of two soldiers for counterfeiting rupees, reported on 25 January 1770, showed the same mixture in daily use. The odd halfpenny in the total came from converting foreign coin at those rates. The loss was small beside the island's reserves, which stood at about £12,000 on 1 August 1769 and were described on 16 June 1770 as enough for two years. The gravity lay elsewhere. The Castle was the fortified centre of the settlement and held the stores and the treasury, and the men set to guard it were the suspects. A garrison whose night guard robbed the cash chest could not be fully relied on, and this came while the militia stood embodied and the Council waited on the Secret Committee's orders. The Council had been paying residents, officers and captains in bills on London against cash deposited in that same chest, so its security underpinned the whole system of remittance. The five invalids cost £5 0s 0d a head, the rate paid without variation since 19 July 1769. Captain Rogers commanded the *Earl of Middlesex*, the China ship that arrived on 7 or 8 March 1771, and the letter of 16 March 1771 went by her or by the *Greenwich*. Matthew Purling signed again, after his name was missing from the letter of 8 March 1771.
282	275	[The left-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Earl of Middlesex dated 16th March 1771 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 16th March 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 7th do. do.§ §3 Do. Do. & Do. dated 7th do Do relating to Law matters§ §4 Consultations from 11th to 16th March 1771§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Earl of Middlesex*, dated 16 March 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 16 March 1771 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 March 1771 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 7 March 1771 relating to law matters 4: Consultations from 11 to 16 March 1771

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		§5 Duplicate Do. from 13th August 1770 to 4th March 1771§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Prince of Wales§ §7 do do. for a small Paper Do. pr do. Do.§ §8 Second do. for Do. pr Ship Fox§ §9 Second do. for a small Paper Do. pr Ship Lapwing§ §10 Do. Do. for Do. pr Dutch Ship Westfriesland§ §11 Captn. Rogers first Receipt for £20§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Prince of Wales§ §14 do. of Familys taken 30th Septr. 1770§ §15 do. of Rents taken Do. Do.§ §16 do. of Slaves taken Do. Do.§ §17 Cash Account from 8th to 16th March 1771§ §18 Duplicate from 10th to 31st August 1770§ §19 do. for the Month of Septr. Do.§ §20 do. for the Month of Octobr. do.§ §21 do. for the Month of Novembr do.§ §22 do. for the Month of Decembr do.§ §23 do. for the Month of January 1771§ §24 do. for the Month of Feby. do.§ §25 do. from the 1st to 7th March Do.§ §26 Ship Earl of Middlesex's Account§ §27 Duplicate Ship Prince of Wales's do.§ §28 do. Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on the 3d§ §October 1770§ §29 do. do. & do. held on the 9th Jany. 1771 —§	5: Duplicate consultations from 13 August 1770 to 4 March 1771 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Prince of Wales*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Prince of Wales*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Fox*. 9: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Lapwing*. 10: Second receipt for the letter sent by the Dutch ship *West Friesland*. 11: Captain Rogers's first receipt for £25 0s 0d 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Prince of Wales*. 14: Duplicate list of families taken on 30 September 1770 15: Duplicate list of rents taken on 30 September 1770 16: Duplicate list of slaves taken on 30 September 1770 17: Cash account from 8 to 16 March 1771 18: Duplicate cash account from 10 to 31 August 1770 19: Duplicate cash account for September 1770 20: Duplicate cash account for October 1770 21: Duplicate cash account for November 1770 22: Duplicate cash account for December 1770 23: Duplicate cash account for January 1771 24: Duplicate cash account for February 1771 25: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 7 March 1771 26: Account of the ship *Earl of Middlesex*. 27: Duplicate account of the ship *Prince of Wales*. 28: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 3 October 1770 29: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 9 January 1771 **Interpretations** The cash account for 8 to 16 March 1771 was the first to cover the night of the robbery. The theft of £355 12s 11½d from the cash chest on 12 March 1771 had to appear in it as a loss, since the treasury's balance no longer matched the books. The account therefore gave the Court the exact sum missing in the form the accountant recorded it, alongside the narrative in the general letter. The consultations for 11 to 16 March 1771 covered the same days and held the Council's proceedings on the break-in: the examination of the guard, their confinement and the notice offering £40 0s 0d and a pardon. The *Prince of Wales* was credited with two receipts, one for her packet of 7 March 1771 and one for a small paper packet. The second was the letter of 8 March 1771, written after her packet closed and handed over before she sailed that day. The same arrangement was used for the *Royal Charlotte* and the *Lioness* in May 1770. Seven months of duplicate accounts and consultations followed the originals within nine days. After so long without a ship, the Council held a large body of records of which London had no copy at all until the *Prince of Wales* sailed. Sending the whole set again by the very next vessel halved the time during which a single wreck could have destroyed the island's entire record for the latter half of 1770.
283	276	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] 30 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §31 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Earl of Middlesex & Greenwich§ §32 Surgeons Certificate of five Invalid Soldiers§ §33 Govrs. Letter to the Honble Court of Directors§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§	The packet sent by the *Earl of Middlesex* on 16 March 1771 also held the following papers. 30: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 31: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Earl of Middlesex* and *Greenwich*. 32: Surgeon's certificate for five invalid soldiers 33: The Governor's letter to the Court of Directors

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		§1 We addressed you Yesterday by the Ship§ §Earl of Middlesex —§ §2 We have given Captn. Carr an Order to§ §receive onboard his Ship Thos. Stevens, John Slade, John Flynn,§ §and Richard Mandas four Invalid Soldiers, and have paid him§ §£20. for their Passage, Captn. Carrs Receipt together with§ §the Surgeons Certificate goe herewith —§ §3 Captns. Savage & Carr requesting liberty to touch§ §at Assension to get Turtle, we have permitted them to call there§ §for that purpose —§ §4 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. one Set to Captn. Robert Carr for £500. payable to himself§ §and one Set to Mr. John Tweeks for £220. payable to Mr.§ §John Pyle both drawn at ninety days sight, & dated this day —§ §5 In our Letter to your Honors under date of 3d§ §July 1769 we desired you would send us two small Iron Chests§ §for the Storekeeper and Paymaster to keep the Cash in they have in§ §their Hands which request we hope you will be pleased to Comply§ §with, as we think them absolutely necessary for the security of your§ §Money that must necessarily be from time to time in their possession§ §as the reasonableness of that Request is verified from the accident§ §lately happening —§	The Council wrote again a day after its letter of 16 March 1771, which went by the *Earl of Middlesex*. 2: Captain Carr received an order to take four invalid soldiers aboard his ship, and the Council paid him £20 0s 0d for their passage. His receipt and the surgeon's certificate went home with the letter. Thomas S[...], invalid soldier John Slade, invalid soldier John [...], invalid soldier Richard Ma[...], invalid soldier 3: Captains Savage and Carr asked for leave to call at Ascension for turtle. The Council allowed them to stop there for that purpose. 4: The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the day of the letter. Captain Robert Carr, payable to himself, £500 0s 0d Mr John T[...], payable to Mr John P[...], £220 0s 0d 5: The Council's letter of 3 July 1769 asked the Court to send two small iron chests, in which the Storekeeper and the Paymaster could keep the cash in their hands. The Council hoped the request would now be met. It considered the chests essential for the safety of the Company's money, which had to be in those officers' keeping from time to time. The recent incident proved how reasonable the request was. **Interpretations** The robbery of 12 March 1771 gave the Council an argument it used at once. Nearly two years earlier it asked for two iron chests and received none. The thieves who broke through the storehouse wall then forced the cash chest and carried off £355 12s 11½d. The Council's account of 16 March 1771 said they "forced open" the chest once inside, which they could hardly have done so readily to a proper iron strongbox. The stolen money was the working cash held in the stores, the very kind the 1769 request was meant to protect, and distinct from the main treasury. By recalling the date of its earlier letter the Council placed part of the responsibility on London. It did not say so outright. It described the theft as an "incident" and let the sequence of dates make the point: the island asked, the Court did not send, and the loss followed. The passage showed how the Company's money was held day to day. The Storekeeper took cash for goods sold from the warehouse, and the Paymaster drew cash to pay the garrison. Each necessarily kept sums in hand between settling with the treasury. The paymaster's office was placed under a civil servant, Mr William Wrangham, as the letter of 30 May 1770 reported, so that the garrison's pay passed through hands independent of its officers. Sound chests for both men were the physical counterpart of that reform. Nine invalid soldiers left in two ships within two days, five in the *Earl of Middlesex* and four in the *Greenwich*. In the whole of the previous season, from July 1769 to August 1770, the letters recorded eleven invalids sent home. The surge followed seven months without a ship, during which men found unfit could not be removed and accumulated on the island. The fare was £5 0s 0d a head as always. The garrison also lost two soldiers shipped off after their trial and gained three deserters from Bombay, as the letter of 7 March 1771 recorded, so its strength fell further below the establishment for which 100 recruits were requested on 4 August 1770. Captain Carr commanded the *Greenwich* and took £500 0s 0d in bills payable to himself, like Captains Ross and Jackson the year before. Captain Savage had the *Duke of Cumberland*. The two Bombay ships were dispatched together, and their commanders were the

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			first of the 1771 season after Captain Court to receive leave for Ascension.
284	277	[The left-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] 6 This Letter waits on you by the Ship Duke of§ §Cumberland which sails from hence in company with the§ §Greenwich (Copy of which we transmit you by that Ship) —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants —§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§ §17th March 1771§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Duke of Cumberland dated 17th March 1771 —§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 17th March 1771§ §2 Duplicate do. do. dated 7th do. Do.§ §3 do. do do. dated 16th do Do.§ §4 Duplicate Consultation from 11th to 16th March 1771§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §6 Second do. for do. pr Ship Prince of Wales§ §7 Second do. for a small Paper Packet pr do. do.§ §8 Capt. Carrs First Receipt for £20§ §9 Capt. Rogers Second do. for £25§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §12 Cash Account of the 17th March 1771§ §13 Duplicate do. from 8th to 16th do. do§ §14 Ship Duke of Cumberlands Account§ §15 Ship Greenwiches Do.§	6: The letter went by the *Duke of Cumberland*, which sailed in company with the *Greenwich*. A copy travelled in the *Greenwich*. The letter closed at St Helena on 17 March 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Duke of Cumberland*, dated 17 March 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 17 March 1771 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 March 1771 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 16 March 1771 4: Duplicate consultations from 11 to 16 March 1771 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Middlesex*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Prince of Wales*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Prince of Wales*. 8: Captain Carr's first receipt for £20 0s 0d 9: Captain Rogers's second receipt for £25 0s 0d 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Middlesex*. 12: Cash account for 17 March 1771 13: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 16 March 1771 14: Account of the ship *Duke of Cumberland*. 15: Account of the ship *Greenwich*.
285	278	16 Duplicate Ship Earl of Middlesex's Account§ §17 Surgeons Certificate of four Invalid Soldiers§ §18 Duplicate do. of five Do. Do. —§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices waited on you by the§ §Ships Duke of Cumberland and Greenwich under date 17th of§ §this Month§ §2 On the 24th instant arrived His Majesty's§ §Ship Portland from England, by which conveyance we received§ §a Packet directed to the Governor & Lieutenant Governor, enclosing§ §two Letters from your Honors under dates of 23 November 1770§ §and 2 Janry 1771§ §3 Yesterday arrived your Ship Lord Camden§ §from China Captn. Smith acquaints Us he parted company with§ §the Kent the 3 instant in the Latitude of 34 about 8 or 10§ §to the Eastward of the Cape —§ §4 We take the opportunity by Captn. Swane of§ §the Danish Ship Fredericksborg of conveying this Letter to you§ §as he informs Us he shall go up the British Channel —§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humbl. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§	The packet sent by the *Duke of Cumberland* on 17 March 1771 also held the following papers. 16: Duplicate account of the ship *Earl of Middlesex*. 17: Surgeon's certificate for four invalid soldiers 18: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for five invalid soldiers The Council opened its next letter by noting that its latest reports went on 17 March 1771 by the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Greenwich*. 2: The King's ship *Portland* arrived from England on 24 March 1771. She brought a packet addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Lieutenant Governor, which enclosed two letters from the Court dated 23 November 1770 and 2 January 1771. 3: The Company's ship *Lord Camden* arrived from China on 25 March 1771. Captain Smith reported parting company with the *Kent* on 3 March 1771 in latitude 34 degrees south, about 8 or 10 degrees east of the Cape. 4: Captain Swa[...] of the Danish ship *Fredericksborg* told the Council that he meant to sail up the British Channel, and the Council took the chance to send the letter by him. The letter closed at St Helena on 26 March 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Court's letters came by a warship and were addressed to two men, the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. Every earlier instruction in these records travelled in a Company ship and was

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		§Mattw. Purling§ §St Helena§ §26 March 1771§	directed to the Governor and Council as a body. Both changes pointed the same way. A King's ship was sent when speed and safety outweighed the usual arrangements, and the second of the two letters, dated 2 January 1771, reached the island in under twelve weeks. Addressing the packet to the Governor and his deputy alone kept its contents from the third member of the Council and from the clerks who handled the general correspondence. The Council had bound itself on 30 May 1770 to obey orders signed by any three of the Secret Committee, and the present packet had the marks of such an order: a restricted address, a naval carrier and no word of the subject. The naming of the Lieutenant Governor ensured that the orders could still be acted on if the Governor died or was absent. He was also the officer at the head of the garrison under the Governor. The Council's reply disclosed nothing. It recorded the ship, the date, the address and the dates of the two enclosures, which was enough to tell the Court that both letters arrived. The matters that prompted them were left out entirely. The island had by then spent 18 months reporting French troops moving east, Spanish warships in the eastern seas and its own measures of defence, and had just completed the batteries at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley. Dispatches sent out by a ship of war in the middle of the northern winter belonged to that same context. A foreign ship carried the letter for the second time. The first occasion was 12 September 1770, when no Company vessel was at hand and the Dutch *West Friesland* offered to touch in the Channel. Here a Company ship, the *Lord Camden*, lay in the road, having arrived the day before. The Council still chose the Dane. A ship newly anchored needed days to water and provision, while the *Fredericksborg* was evidently ready to leave, and her captain's intention to pass up the Channel made delivery practicable. The purpose of the letter was to acknowledge the warship's packet without delay, and the fastest carrier served that purpose. As before, the letter went without any packet of accounts or consultations and held nothing a stranger could not safely carry. The *Lord Camden* was the first of the four ships that Captain Rogers reported, in the letter of 8 March 1771, as leaving China in December 1770. She and the *Kent* kept company across the Indian Ocean and separated only when nearing the Cape, so the *Kent* could be expected within days.
286	279	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last address waited on you by the§ §Dane Ship called the Fredericksborg under date of 26th. March 1771 Duplicate§ §of which we transmitted you by another Dane Ship called the§ §King of Denmark, by these conveyances we acknowledged the§ §Receipt of your Orders by his Majesty's Ship Portland —§ §2 On the 18th. April arrived a Swede§ §Ship from China called the Crown Prince Gustaff, Capt. Sollt§ §burthen 1200 Tons carrys 30 Guns and 150 Men the 30th of the same§ §Month arrived another Swede Ship from China called the Finland§ §Capt. Ekenberg burthen 1100 Tons carrys 28 Guns and 140 Men§ §both loaden with Tea China Ware and Silk & bound to Gottenburg§ §3 The 22d. April arrived a Dane Ship§ §from China called the Fredericksborg Capt. Swane burthen 1200§ §Tons carrys 28 Guns & 170 Men and the next day	The Council opened a new letter by recalling its previous one, dated 26 March 1771 and sent by the Danish ship *Fredericksborg*. A duplicate went by a second Danish ship, the *King of Denmark*. Both carried the Council's acknowledgement of the orders brought by the King's ship *Portland*. 2: A Swedish ship from China, the *Crown Prince Gustaff* under Captain T[...], arrived on 18 March 1771. She measured 1,200 tons and carried 30 guns and 150 men. Another Swedish ship from China, the *Finland* under Captain Ek[...], followed on 20 March 1771, measuring 1,100 tons with 28 guns and 140 men. Both were bound for Gothenburg with tea, porcelain and silk. 3: The Danish ship *Fredericksborg* under Captain Swa[...] arrived from China on 22 March 1771. She measured 1,300 tons and carried 28 guns and 170 men. The *King of Denmark* under Captain D[...], also Danish and from China, came in the next day, measuring 1,200 tons with 30 guns and 170 men. Both were bound for Copenhagen with tea, porcelain and silk. 4: Seven ships arrived from India and elsewhere after the Council's last report. *Kent*, from China, 29 March 1771. *Admiral Pocock*, from Bombay, 30 March 1771.

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		another Dane§ §Ship from China called the King of Denmark Capt. Dixen§ §burthen 1200 Tons carrys 30 Guns and 170 Men both loaden with§ §Tea, China Ware and Silk bound to Copenhagen —§ §4 The following Ships have arrived§ §from India &ca. since our last Advices to you vizt. —§ §The Kent§ §29th. March§ §from China§ §Admiral Pocock§ §30th do.§ §from Bombay§ §Houghton from Madrass§ §Calcutta from England§ §3. April§ §Latham§ §4th. do§ §from China§ §Duke of Richmond§ §5th do§ §from England§ §Princess Royal§ §7th do§ §from China§	*Houghton*, from Madras, 3 April 1771. *Calcutta*, from England, 3 April 1771. *Latham*, from China, 4 April 1771. *Duke of Richmond*, from England, 5 April 1771. *Princess Royal*, from China, 7 April 1771. **Interpretations** Two ships came out from England in the first week of April 1771. The year before, the outward ships *British King* and *Harcourt* arrived on 8 and 9 May 1770, and the Council had complained two days earlier that the storeships came too late and asked for earlier sailings. That complaint left the island on 7 May 1770 and could have reached London by the late summer, in time to influence the dispatch of the next season's ships. The *Calcutta* and the *Duke of Richmond* arrived about five weeks earlier in the year than their predecessors. The letter did not say that they were the storeships or that the Court acted on the request, but the timing was consistent with both. An arrival at the start of April still fell in the busy weeks of the homeward season, with seven other ships in the road within nine days, so the crowding that delayed the *British King* was not avoided. All four foreign China ships of the season called within six days. The letter of 8 March 1771 counted two Swedish and two Danish ships at Canton, and each of them was now recorded at St Helena with her tonnage, guns and crew. They were large vessels of 1,100 to 1,300 tons, bigger than the Dutch and French ships noted in earlier letters, and all carried the same cargo of tea, porcelain and silk. They reached the island ahead of every Company China ship of the season except the *Earl of Middlesex*. Tea that arrived first in Europe sold best, and four of the Company's own ships had missed the season altogether, so the northern companies held an advantage that year which the Court would have noted from these figures. The Council used both Danish ships as carriers. The *Fredericksborg* took the letter of 26 March 1771 and the *King of Denmark* its duplicate, so the acknowledgement of the warship's orders went home twice by foreign vessels sailing together. Company ships were at hand by then, the *Lord Camden* from 25 March 1771, and the duplicate could have waited for one. The Council evidently judged that confirming receipt of those orders by the earliest possible conveyances mattered more than keeping to its own shipping. The new letter repeated the fact a third time, and for the first time by a Company ship. The *Kent* arrived four days after the *Lord Camden*, as her parting from that ship near the Cape on 3 March 1771 suggested she would. The *Latham* and the *Princess Royal* were among the four ships that Captain Rogers reported as due to leave China at the beginning of January 1771. The *Houghton* was last mentioned at Bengal in September 1770, in Captain Owen's report of 6 January 1771, and now came in from Madras.
287	280	Hawke§ §from China§ §Valentine from China§ §Duke of Kingston from Bengal§ §8th. April§ §Royal Captain 10th do§ §Duke of Glocester 13th do§ §from China§ §His Majesty's Ship Swallow§ §30th. April§ §from England§ §His Majesty's Ship Endeavour§ §1st. May§ §from the Cape§	The list of arrivals continued with eight more ships. *Hawke*, from China, 7 April 1771. *Valentine*, from China, 8 April 1771. *Duke of Kingston*, from Bengal, 8 April 1771. *Royal Captain*, from China, 10 April 1771. *Duke of Gloucester*, from China, 15 April 1771. The King's ship *Swallow*, from England, 30 April 1771. The King's ship *Endeavour*, from the Cape, 1 May 1771. *Europa*, from Bengal and last from the Cape, 7 May 1771. 5: The Council was very glad to hear that all the Company's ships of the previous season arrived

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		§Europa§ §7th. May§ §from Bengal last from do.§ §5 It gives us very great pleasure to hear all your§ §Ships of last Season arrived safe we hope the like success will§ §attend those of this Year —§ §6 The Orders received from the Gentlemen of§ §the Secret Committee or any three of them will be paid proper§ §Attention to —§ §7 We dispatched the Ships Calcutta and§ §Duke of Richmond upon the expiration of the ten working Days§ §as you will please to observe by our Consultations of the 16 and§ §18th April last, these Ships proceeded on their respective Voyages§ §on the 25 of that Month —§ §8 By our Letter to the Gentlemen at§ §Canton entered in Consultation of 16th. April last we found it§ §necessary to make some alteration in our China Indent§ §agreeable to your permission for so doing —§ §9 The supplies we have already received§ §together with those your Honors intend sending us by the Ship§ §Pigot we hope will fully answer all the demands of the Island§ §10 The Gunny Bags you have directed the§ §President and Council of Fort William to send us in room of the§ §Sand Bags Indented for last Year we flatter ourselves will§ §answer the intended purpose, there is no Gunny Bags remaining§ §in Store and they are always wanted for other uses neither would§ §those we receive with Rice and Paddy answer for Sand Bags§ §as the texture of them are much too open for holding Sand or fine§ §Earth —§	safely, and hoped those of the current year would be as fortunate. 6: Orders from the gentlemen of the Secret Committee, or from any three of them, would receive proper attention. 7: The *Calcutta* and the *Duke of Richmond* were given their dispatch when the ten working days expired, as the consultations of 16 and 18 April 1771 showed. Both ships continued their voyages on 25 April 1771. 8: A letter to the Company's representatives at Canton was entered in the consultation of 18 April 1771. It showed that the Council found some change to the island's order from China necessary, as the Court allowed. 9: The supplies already received, together with those the Court intended to send by the *Pigot*, were expected to meet all the island's needs. 10: The Court directed the President and Council of Fort William to send gunny bags in place of the sandbags ordered the previous year. The Council trusted they would serve the purpose. No gunny bags remained in store, and they were always wanted for other uses. The bags that arrived holding rice and paddy would not do as sandbags, since their weave was far too open to hold sand or fine earth. **Interpretations** Gunny was the coarse cloth woven in Bengal from jute, made up into sacks for carrying grain and other bulk goods. Paddy was rice still in the husk. The island received both rice and paddy from Bengal in such sacks, and the empties were put to general use. Sandbags were a different article. Filled with earth and stacked, they formed quick breastworks, repaired parapets and protected gun crews, and the Council ordered them from England the year before as part of the same effort that completed the batteries at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley. The Court substituted a cheaper supply from India, with Bengal ships calling at the island on their way home. The Council accepted the change but drew a careful distinction. Grain sacks were loosely woven because grain did not sift through, and they could not hold sand. The bags from Fort William would answer only if made for the purpose, and the Council put that condition on record before any arrived. The exchange resembled the proposal of 30 May 1770 to bring bricks from Bengal as ballast: the island's needs met from India at little cost in freight. This letter was the Council's reply to the Court's yearly orders, and it followed the letter of 30 May 1770 almost item by item. The paragraphs on the safe arrival of the previous season's ships and on obedience to the Secret Committee were close repetitions of the fifth and third paragraphs of that letter. The Court evidently opened its annual letter with the same matters each year, and the Council answered in the same order. The renewed mention of the Secret Committee showed that its authority over the island continued into a second year. The two outward ships were cleared far faster than their predecessors. The *Calcutta* arrived on 3 April 1771 and the *Duke of Richmond* on 5 April 1771, and both sailed on 25 April 1771, about three weeks after anchoring. The *British King* and the *Harcourt* took five weeks in 1770 and left on 13 June, and the *British King* afterwards lost her passage to China. The ships of 1771 got away seven weeks earlier in the year. The road was at least as crowded, with 14 other arrivals between 29 March and 15 April 1771, so the improvement came from the earlier start and from prompt unloading. The ten working days were again observed on paper, with the formal dispatch given in the consultations of 16 and 18 April 1771. Three King's ships called within six weeks: the *Portland* from England on 24 March 1771, the *Swallow*

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			from England on 30 April 1771 and the *Endeavour* from the Cape on 1 May 1771. No ship of the Royal Navy appeared at the island in the previous 20 months of these records. Two warships sent out from England in succession, the first carrying sealed orders for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, indicated that the government at home was taking a direct interest in the island and the homeward trade that passed it. The *Pigot* was named as a further supply ship still to come. She was at St Helena homeward bound from China a year earlier, sailing on 7 April 1770, and was now on a fresh outward voyage with stores for the island. The *Duke of Kingston* completed a long and troubled voyage, having refitted in Brazil before reaching the Cape in December 1769.
288	281	11 We have received 64 Recruits by the Ship§ §Calcutta and 60 by the Duke of Richmond, Nicholas Skies and§ §Edward Lester dying on the passage, Edward Bryce Wm. Parker§ §and Peter Detty having deserted from the Duke of Richmond, they appear to be good Men and§ §will compleat our Establishment —§ §12 We are glad you have been pleased to comply§ §with our Indent for Gun Carriages as we were much in want of§ §that Article owing to the disappointment we met with in those§ §expected from Bombay the omission of not describing the dimentions§ §of the Carriages as mentioned in the 17th Paragraph of your General§ §Letter dated 23 November last we do not rightly understand as on§ §our examining the Copy of the Indent sent home we find the§ §Carriages specifyed for the respective Weight of Metal as 32, 24,§ §18 &ca Pounders which has been always the usual method of§ §making out our Indents for Gun Carriages apprehending the§ §Scantlings of said Carriages are ascertained from the Size of each§ §Cannon and shall be more particular in future to mention whether§ §Trucks will be wanted or not —§ §13 Copy of the last Will of Mrs. Mary Hunt§ §who died at Bengal being Registred last Year in the Secretary's§ §Office here we are Obliged to your Honors for taking that§ §precaution of securing that Estate to the poor of this Island in§ §case of the Decease of Charles Bloner —§ §14 It is with pleasure we find your Orders§ §with respect to Foreigners going into the Country were not meant§ §to restrain those Gentlemen who had behaved with honor in§ §your Service, all such Gentlemen that may call here in future§ §shall agreeable to your permission be allowed to go into the§ §Country —§ §15 We have received the printed Copies of the§ §Deed of Covenant made between the Honble Company and the§ §Right Honorable Lord Clive respecting the institution of a§ §Fund§	The island received 6[...] recruits by the *Calcutta* and 60 by the *Duke of Richmond*. Nicholas S[...] and Edward Lester died on the passage, and Edward Bryce, William Parker and Peter D[...] deserted from the *Duke of Richmond*. The men who arrived looked like good soldiers and brought the garrison up to its full establishment. 12: The Council was glad that the Court agreed to supply the gun carriages ordered, which were badly needed after the disappointment over those expected from Bombay. The seventeenth paragraph of the Court's general letter of 23 November 1770 complained that the order failed to state the dimensions of the carriages. The Council did not fully understand the objection. A check of the copy kept on the island showed the carriages specified by the weight of shot of each gun, as 32, 24, 18 pounders and so on. Orders for gun carriages had always been drawn up that way, on the understanding that the size of each cannon settled the dimensions of the timbers. In future the Council would take more care to say whether trucks were wanted. 13: A copy of the will of Mrs Mary Hunt, who died at Bengal, was registered in the Secretary's office on the island the previous year. The Council thanked the Court for its care in securing her estate to the poor of the island in the event of the death of Charles Bl[...]. 14: The Council learned with pleasure that the Court's orders about foreigners going into the interior were never meant to restrict gentlemen who served the Company honourably. All such men calling at the island in future would be allowed into the countryside, as the Court permitted. 15: Printed copies arrived of the deed of covenant between the Company and Lord Clive concerning the establishment of a fund. **Interpretations** The Court granted both of the requests on which the Council had acted or argued most firmly. The gun carriages were ordered from England on 4 August 1770, after two years of silence from Bombay, on the ground that the island's situation would not bear delay. The Court's letter of 23 November 1770 agreed to send them, less than four months after the order left St Helena, which showed the urgency was accepted in London. The standing order of 1751 against foreigners entering the interior was questioned on 30 May 1770, with the plea that foreign-born officers in the Company's service resented being treated as strangers. The Court replied that the order was never intended to cover such men. The Council thus gained a discretion it lacked before, limited to those who had "served honourably", while the bar remained for foreigners in other employ, the French above all. The exchange over dimensions turned on how guns and their mountings were described. A cannon was classed by the weight of the iron ball it fired, so a

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			24 pounder threw a shot of 24 pounds. The Council assumed that naming the class was enough, since a carriage maker knew the timber sizes proper to each. The Court wanted measurements. Guns of the same class differed in length and girth according to their age and pattern, and a carriage built to a standard might not fit an old or irregular piece. The Council defended its practice as the customary one and conceded only a smaller point. Trucks were the small solid wheels on which a garrison carriage ran back under recoil, and whether they were needed with each carriage had been left unstated. The mild disagreement showed the Court's officers scrutinising the order closely, as the Council asked them to do with the flints on 12 June 1770. The general letter of 23 November 1770 was one of the two brought by the King's ship *Portland* on 24 March 1771 in a packet addressed to the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Its seventeenth paragraph dealt with gun carriages, so the letter ran to routine business at length and was answered here by the Council as a whole. The warship thus carried the Court's ordinary annual instructions as well as whatever called for a naval conveyance. The recruits filled the garrison. The Council asked for 100 on 4 August 1770, and about 120 landed from the two ships after two deaths and three desertions. The statement that the establishment was complete marked the end of a shortage that ran through the previous year, when the Council enlisted deserters from Bombay and from the *Earl of Ashburnham* to make up numbers. The naming of the dead and the deserters followed the practice of 30 May 1770, accounting for every man the Court was told to expect. Mrs Hunt's will left her estate so that it passed to the poor of the island if a named beneficiary died. The island's parish kept a fund for the poor, from which the vestry voted £450 0s 0d for a schoolhouse, as the letter of 17 September 1769 recorded. A bequest of that kind made by a woman who died in Bengal had to be proved and enforced far from the island, and the Court used its authority to protect the parish's future interest. Registering the will in the Secretary's office gave the island its own legal record of the claim. Lord Clive's fund was created by an agreement between him and the Company, and printed copies were circulated to the settlements. The Council told the Court on 16 June 1770 that the Company had no establishment for half pay, when it pensioned the blind Lieutenant Frost on its own authority. A fund set up by covenant and notified to every station was a provision of the kind that had been lacking.
289	282	Fund established for the Relief and maintenance of European§ §Officers Soldiers &ca. you may be assured we shall pay due§ §attention to your Orders in granting Certificates to any§ §Officer or Soldier, and shall take care to acquaint all such§ §who are discharged at their own request that they are not§ §intitled neither are they to expect any relief from this generous§ §Institution —§ §16 We acknowledge we were guilty of a great§ §omission in not particularly mentioning by Letter the§ §Desertion of seven of the Garrison Men the 28th July last; and§ §we are likewise sorry that you think it mentioned in a§ §slight and cursory manner in our Consultation as we are well§ §assured that every circumstance upon our fullest	The fund set up with Lord Clive was for the relief and support of European officers and soldiers. The Council promised to follow the Court's orders carefully when granting certificates to any officer or soldier. Every man discharged at his own request would be told that he had no claim on that generous institution and should expect no relief from it. 16: The Council admitted a serious omission. Seven men of the garrison deserted on 28 July 1770, and no letter reported the fact in detail. The Council regretted that the Court found the entry in the consultation slight and hasty, and was confident that every circumstance uncovered by the fullest enquiry was set down there. It acknowledged again that it deserved blame for not describing in its general letter the orders and precautions taken to prevent a repetition. Soldiers necessarily worked in the longboats, and the Council saw only one way to stop them from attempting the same escape. The rudder and sails of each boat were to be brought ashore and

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		enquiry§ §relative to said desertion was therein stated yet must again§ §acknowledge that we were highly to blame in not having§ §been particular in our General Letter in mentioning to you§ §the Orders and precautions We took to prevent the like§ §accidents happening again, as we considered that no other§ §means on our part could prevent those Soldiers whom we are§ §under the necessity of employing in the Long Boats from§ §devising the like expedients of desertion but by Ordering§ §the Rudder and Sails to be brought on shore and secured§ §whilst the Boats lay unemployed which Orders were§ §immediately given and have hitherto been in force —§ §17 Mr. Philip Mahoney shall be paid the§ §additional Salary you have been pleased to Order for which§ §favour He begs leave to return your Honors his sincere thanks —§ §18 Edward Daniels the Master Mason shall be§ §allowed the sum you direct for the Labour of his Son and paid§ §£120. pr Annum the usual Salary, and as there is no House§ §belonging to your Honors to accommodate him he has hired one§ §for the present at £20. pr Annum which from your positive§ §instructions§	locked up whenever the boat lay idle. That order was given at once and remained in force. 17: Mr Philip Mahoney would be paid the additional salary ordered by the Court, and returned his sincere thanks for the favour. 18: Edward Daniels, the master mason, would receive the sum the Court directed for his son's labour and the usual salary of £120 0s 0d a year. The Company owned no house in which to lodge him. For the time being he rented one at £20 0s 0d a year. **Interpretations** Seven soldiers took a longboat and fled the island on 28 July 1770, and the Council said nothing of it in its letters. The general letter of 4 August 1770, written a week after the event, reported shipping news, bills, a request for 100 recruits, unfit gun carriages and window glass. The request for recruits and the description of the island's "situation" as too precarious to wait for carriages from Bombay were both written with the desertion fresh, yet neither mentioned it. The Court found the episode in the consultations, judged the entry inadequate and rebuked the Council. A mass desertion by boat from a garrison under the Secret Committee's orders was exactly what the Court expected to be told plainly. Men who escaped could carry knowledge of the defences to a foreign port, and their success showed others the way. The Council's reply conceded the main charge twice over and defended only its record. It did not explain why the letter was silent. It offered instead the remedy already applied, and the remedy showed how the escape was made. Soldiers manned the longboats that served the shipping, so they had lawful access to seaworthy craft with sails and steering gear aboard. Stripping the rudder and sails from every idle boat left a hull that could not be taken to sea. The measure cost nothing and removed the means without removing the men from work the island could not do without. Those boats were the link with every ship in the road, and had carried more of the island's business since French vessels were supplied by boat alone from September 1769. The admission was unusual in tone. Elsewhere in these letters the Council answered criticism with argument, as over the dimensions of gun carriages in the same letter, or anticipated it with explanation, as over the delay to the storeships on 16 June 1770. Here it accepted blame in so many words. The Court's displeasure was evidently sharp, and a Council that had concealed a failure of discipline had little ground to stand on. Lord Clive's fund supplied the pension scheme that the Company lacked. The Council stated on 16 June 1770 that there was no establishment for half pay when it pensioned Lieutenant Frost. The fund now provided for European officers and soldiers who could no longer serve, on the strength of a certificate from their own government. The exclusion of men discharged at their own request drew the line between those worn out or disabled in the service and those who simply chose to go home when their time expired. The Council shipped many of the second kind as crew in homeward ships, 15 of them on 6 and 7 April 1770, and was now bound to warn each that he left without any claim. A master mason arrived at last. The Council asked for one on 30 May 1770 and again on 9 August 1770, when it described the second mason, Preston, as a drunkard it could not keep. Edward Daniels came out at £120 0s 0d a year, four times the Company's salary for the schoolmaster, with a separate allowance for his son working under him. The rate reflected what it cost to draw a skilled tradesman from England to so remote a station. The two houses approved in 1770 and the fortifications

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			then had a qualified man to direct the stonework. The Clerk of the Peace, whose petition was received on 30 July 1770 and referred home without comment, obtained the increase of salary he evidently sought.
290	283	instructions to Us to provide him with proper accommodations, we§ §have agreed to pay the said House Rent for him, though we beg leave§ §to observe to you that all your other Servants that are not provided§ §with Houses belonging to your Honors are only allowed £10. pr Annum§ §19 We have transmitted you in the Packet§ §Certificates of the quantity of Flour that was landed at this Island§ §from the Ships Duke of Richmond and Calcutta and shall not§ §fail to send Duplicates by the next Opportunity —§ §20 We have only received three of the Cow Yearlings§ §of the eight Cattle you were pleased to put on board the Ships Duke§ §of Richmond and Calcutta the other five dying on the passage —§ §21 Your Honors may be assured we shall pursue§ §every method in our power to put the Island in the best posture of§ §Defence, we are now Walling up the Leward Vallys and repairing§ §the Merlons of Purlings Battery and purpose finishing those§ §works before we go on with any other as we look upon them to be§ §most essential to be first compleated —§ §22 As the Madeira Wine sent from Fort§ §William last Year came so high that it was impossible your§ §Servants here could afford to buy it at the Invoice price with§ §the 30 pr Cent added thereto we are much Obliged to your Honors§ §for directing your President and Council of that Settlement to§ §discontinue the practice of putting 30 pr Cent advance on the prime§ §Cost and shall observe your Orders with respect to what§ §remains in store as likewise what we may receive in future§ §from that place —§ §23 In the 7th paragraph of your Letter dated 2d§ §January 1771 you are pleased to censure Us for not writing by the§ §Dutch Ship Westfriesland that sailed from hence in September§ §last particularly with regard to the Arrival of your Ships and the§ §state of your Settlements and Affairs in general that Ship came§ §directly from Batavia where none of your Ships had been§ §neither§	The Court gave firm instructions that the master mason was to have proper lodging, and the Council therefore agreed to pay his house rent of £20 0s 0d a year. It pointed out all the same that every other servant without a Company house received an allowance of only £10 0s 0d a year. 19: Certificates of the quantity of flour landed on the island from the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Calcutta* went home in the packet. Duplicates would follow by the next ship. 20: The Court put eight cattle aboard the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Calcutta*. Only three yearling cows reached the island, and the other five died on the passage. 21: The Court could be sure that the Council would use every means in its power to put the island in the best state of defence. Work was in hand on walling up the leeward valleys and repairing the merlons of P[...]ling's Battery. The Council meant to finish those works before starting any others, regarding them as the most urgent. 22: The Madeira wine sent from Fort William the previous year was priced so high that the Company's servants on the island could not afford it at the invoice price with 30 per cent added. The Council thanked the Court for directing the President and Council there to stop adding 30 per cent to the prime cost. It would follow the Court's orders for the wine still in store and for any received from Bengal in future. 23: The seventh paragraph of the Court's letter of 2 January 1771 censured the Council for its letter by the Dutch ship *West Friesland*, which sailed in September 1770. The Court complained that it said too little, particularly about the arrival of the Company's ships and the state of its settlements and affairs in general. The Council answered that the Dutch ship came directly from Batavia, where none of the Company's ships had been. **Interpretations** The Court's ruling on the wine confirmed the Council's suspicion. The letter of 9 August 1770 reported that Bengal invoiced Madeira at £39 3s 0d a pipe, that the standing 30 per cent raised it to £50 17s 11d, and that Bengal had probably added the advance already. The Court's answer was to order Fort William to stop adding 30 per cent to the prime cost. Bengal had indeed been charging the advance before shipment, so the island's buyers were asked to pay it twice. The Council did not cut the price itself in August 1770 and left the wine unsold for the better part of a year until the instruction came. The remark that the Company's servants could not afford it showed who bought from the stores: salaried officers and writers purchasing for their own tables, for whom an inflated price was a real hardship. The censure over the Dutch ship was the second in the same letter, after the rebuke about the seven deserters. The letter of 12 September 1770 was four short paragraphs with no shipping news. The Court evidently expected any letter, by whatever carrier, to include the usual intelligence. The Council's defence was a matter of fact. No Company ship called between 9 August 1770 and 6 January 1771, so there were no arrivals to report, and a Dutchman straight from Batavia brought no word of the Company's settlements. The criticism showed how much the Court relied on St Helena as a relay of news. A letter that told it nothing about its ships was a disappointment even when nothing had happened. It also showed that the Dutch captain delivered the

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			letter, since the Court quoted the name of his ship and the month of sailing. The defence works described were of two kinds. The leeward valleys were the ravines running down to the sea on the sheltered side of the island, each a possible landing place and a path inland. Building a wall across the mouth of a valley closed it to boats and to troops, and required only stone and labour, which the island had. Merlons were the solid sections of a battery's parapet between the openings through which the guns fired. Their repair restored cover for the gunners. The Council stated an order of priority: these works first, others afterwards. The arrival of a master mason in April 1771 made that programme practicable, and the paragraph answered an instruction on defence that came with the Court's letters. The batteries at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley were reported complete on 7 March 1771, so the effort had moved on to the remaining gaps. Three of eight breeding cattle survived the voyage, the same result as the year before. The letter of 30 May 1770 reported three landed out of eight and still urged that the scheme continue. The Court repeated the shipment and lost five animals again. The island had lost some 700 head to drought by January 1771, and six breeding cows in two years were all that the programme added. The comment on the mason's rent was a quiet objection. The Council obeyed a direct order but noted that Edward Daniels received twice the housing allowance of any other servant, on top of a salary of £120 0s 0d. Other officers and writers would notice the difference, and the Council put the comparison on record so that any resentment could not be laid at its door. The flour certificates recorded what the two ships delivered against what they were sent with. Flour was a staple the island could not produce in quantity, and the Council reported on 30 May 1770 that a trial of wheat was to be made. Certificates in duplicate gave the Court the means to check the commanders' accounts of a cargo easily damaged or diverted on a long passage.
291	284	neither could the Captain give us any intelligence of the situation§ §of your Affairs in India, Dutch news in general is but little§ §to be relied on and the Commanders by no means communicative§ §or intelligent and as nothing came to our knowledge with§ §respect to your Settlements and commercial Affairs we could§ §not possibly give you any information by that conveyance, your§ §Honors may be assured we never omit making all the enquiry§ §we possibly can from the Captains of your and Foreign Ships and§ §every thing that occurs to us relative to your Affairs in general we§ §constantly communicate to you by every opportunity that offers§ §24 We are sorry to acquaint your Honors that§ §at least one third of the Black Cattle on the Island have§ §died since January 1770 consequently the Return this Year§ §for Slaughter small only 199 being given in by the Planters§ §for killing and those very lean and indifferent which has§ §obliged us to allow the healthy Ships this Season only two Cattle§ §and the Ships that touched at the Cape not one the	The Dutch captain could give no information about the state of the Company's affairs in India either. Dutch news in general deserved little trust, and their commanders were neither forthcoming nor well informed. Nothing came to the Council's knowledge about the Company's settlements or trade, so it had nothing to report by that ship. The Court could be sure that the Council always questioned the captains of Company and foreign ships as closely as it could. Everything learned about the Company's affairs was passed on by every ship that offered. 24: At least a third of the cattle on the island died after January 1770. The number returned for slaughter that year was small in consequence. The planters put forward only 199 animals for killing, and those were very thin and poor. The Council was forced to ration what ships received. Healthy ships, 2 cattle each Ships that called at the Cape, 0 cattle Outward-bound ships, 7 cattle each Ships with sick crews, 7 cattle each The charterparty allowance of beef was cut to one eighth. The King's ship *Portland* was allowed fresh provisions on one day a week, in place of the three days she demanded. Even with good rains from that time on, the Council was certain that the island would be in the same distress the following year without a supply of sheep from the Cape. Cattle were still dying, and few or no calves were being born. The failure of the seasons for two years running was a great misfortune, and recovery would take some time. The market was supplied with one small beast a

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		outward§ §bound and unhealthy Ships seven Each, the Charter party§ §Beef we have been under the necessity to Reduce to 1/8 part§ §and to allow his Majesty's Ship Portland only one day pr week§ §fresh provision instead of three what they demanded, and§ §should the Rains from this time prove favourable we are very§ §certain without a supply of sheep from the Cape that the§ §Island next year will be in the same distressed situation,§ §as the Cattle still continue to dye and few or no increase the§ §failure of the Seasons for two Years together makes it very§ §unfortunate for the Island and it will take some time before§ §it can possibly recover the Market is now supplied with only§ §one small Beast a Week being under the necessity of striking§ §off the Bullock sent thither every fortnight for some time past§ §which makes it extremely difficult for the Gentlemen in the§ §Company's Service to get fresh provisions, every thing else being§ §equally§	week. The bullock sent there every fortnight had to be withdrawn some time earlier, which made fresh provisions extremely hard to come by for the gentlemen in the Company's service. **Interpretations** The Council distributed a shortage according to need. With 199 thin animals to last a season in which more than 20 ships had already called, an equal share for each would have helped nobody. The Council sorted the ships into classes. Those with sick crews received seven cattle, since fresh meat was the remedy for scurvy and men could die without it. Outward-bound ships also received seven. They faced months at sea before their next port, and the two that came from England carried about 120 recruits between them. Healthy homeward ships, within a few weeks of home, received two. Ships that had called at the Cape received none, having taken on fresh food there a few weeks before. The scale put the island's stock where it would save most lives and denied it where the want was least. It also gave commanders a reason to provision at the Cape, the same end the Council sought on 9 August 1770 in asking for 100 sheep from every homeward ship. The allowance under the charterparty fell again. The letter of 6 January 1771 reported a cut from one third to one quarter, and it now stood at one eighth, well under half of what the Company's contracts with the shipowners provided. The Council set aside a term of those contracts twice in four months on its own authority and reported each step. It had no alternative supply to offer, and the figures it sent home were its justification. A ship of the Royal Navy was refused what she asked. The *Portland* demanded fresh provisions three days a week and was given one. A King's captain was not bound by the Company's arrangements and could complain to the Admiralty, and she was the ship that brought the Court's sealed orders. The Council applied the rationing to her regardless and told the Court plainly, so that any complaint from the Navy would find the facts already on record. The firmness matched its treatment of commanders who landed arrack without duty or arrived short of fuel. The state of the market showed the effect on the island's own people. The Council regulated a public market at which a bullock was killed for sale at fixed intervals. Supply dropped from an animal every fortnight in addition to the weekly beast to a single small one each week. The Company's officers and writers bought their fresh meat there, and the Council named them as the sufferers. The garrison and the poorer inhabitants, lower in the order of purchase, can have had very little. The losses were now given as a proportion. The letter of 6 January 1771 counted 150 head lost by the Company and 550 by the planters. A third of all the cattle dead in 16 months implied a herd of rather more than 2,000 before the drought. With breeding almost stopped, the stock was still shrinking, and the Council's forecast rested on that fact: rain could restore the grass within a season, but cattle took years to replace. Six breeding cows landed in two years were no answer on that scale. The reply on the Dutch letter turned from defence to a general assurance. The Council's low opinion of Dutch commanders as sources explained why it sent so little by the *West Friesland*. The promise to question every captain described what these letters showed it doing throughout, in the reports from Captains Jones, Haggis, Payne, Elphinston and others.
292	285	equally scarce and notwithstanding your recommendations to§ §the Captains that touch at the Cape to bring down	Everything else was just as scarce as beef. The Court had recommended captains calling at the Cape to bring sheep, wheat and other supplies for the

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		Sheep, Wheat§ §&ca. for the use of this Island we have not received a Sheep or§ §any thing else this Season§ §25 Captn. John Lauder applying to Us to pay§ §£130. into your Cash which we have received and given§ §him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors for that Sum§ §payable to himself (or Order) drawn at ninety days sight and dated§ §the 3 instant —§ §26 Capt Petty informs us he was dispatched from§ §Bengal the 25th January last and that your Ships Worcester§ §and Verelst would probably sail from that place about a Month§ §after him and the Lord Mansfield very late the Vansittart he§ §informs Us had sailed for Madrass, and the Egmont was taking in§ §her Cargoe and would be dispatched the latter end of April or§ §beginning of May to fill up at the aforesaid place, he further§ §acquaints Us the Ponsborne arrived at the Cape the 16. April§ §very sickly —§ §27 The Passengers on board these Ships are as§ §follow vizt. Rich Becher Esqr. & Mrs. Becher Mr Sampson & Messrs§ §Cox and Grant on board the Europa Mr. Maynard on the Ship§ §Hawke, Mr. Browne on the Latham Capt. Leith & his Wife§ §and Mrs. Reyley on the Admiral Pocock Colonel Kenwood§ §and his Wife Lt. Clarke Mr. Bell & Mrs. Cunningham on board§ §the Houghton Captn. Hallen and Messrs. Gosling, Brown,§ §Broadbank and Mr. Crawford onboard the Duke of Kingston —§ §28 At the request of Capt. Nathaniel Smith§ §we have supplied him with 10 half puncheons Beef and ten half§ §puncheons Pork amounting to £142.10. which with the§ §none delivery of his Powder makes the Balance of his Ships§ §Account amount to £143.5. which Sum is agreed at his§ §request to be paid to your Honors by his Owners in England —§	island, yet not one sheep nor anything else arrived by that route during the season. 25: Captain John Lauder applied to pay £130 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court for that amount, payable to himself or his order. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 3 May 1771. 26: Captain [...]lly reported that he was sent away from Bengal on 25 January 1771. The Company's ships *Worcester* and *Verelst* were expected to sail about a month after him, and the *Lord Mansfield* very late. The *Vansittart* had left for Madras. The *Egmont* was loading and was due to leave at the end of April or the beginning of May 1771, to complete her cargo at Madras. He added that the *Ponsborne* reached the Cape on 16 April 1771 with a great deal of sickness aboard. 27: Richard Becher Esquire, Mrs Becher, Mr Sampson and Messrs Cox and Grant were passengers in the *Europa*. Mr Maynard travelled in the *Hawke* and Mr Browne in the *Latham*. Captain Leith, his wife and Mr [...]ley were in the *Admiral Pocock*. Colonel [...]wood, his wife, Lieutenant Clarke, Mr Bell and Mr Cunningham sailed in the *Houghton*. Captain Hallen, Messrs Gosling, Brown and Broadbank and Mr Crawford were in the *Duke of Kingston*. 28: Captain Nathaniel Smith asked for salt provisions, and the Council supplied them from the island's stores at a cost of £142 10s 0d. Salt beef, 10 half puncheons Salt pork, 10 half puncheons With the charge for the gunpowder he did not deliver, the balance of his ship's account came to £143 5s 0d. At his request that sum was to be paid to the Court by his owners in England. **Interpretations** The flow of salt provisions reversed. In April 1770 the island took surplus salt meat from homeward ships: Captains White, Jackson and Hardwicke sold their unused stock under the Court's order, and the *Earl of Lincoln* alone landed 719 pieces. A year later a homeward commander asked the island for 20 casks to feed his crew, and the Council supplied them. Captain Smith commanded the *Lord Camden*, which arrived from China on 25 March 1771. A healthy homeward ship was allowed two cattle under the rationing set out in the same letter, far too little to carry a crew to England. The reserve built up the year before thus served a purpose nobody planned when it was bought. It let the Council send ships away fed while keeping the remaining cattle for the sick and the outward-bound. A half puncheon was a cask of roughly 40 gallons, the common size for packing salt meat. The Court's recommendation to bring livestock from the Cape produced nothing at all. In the season of 1770 four commanders landed 132 sheep, a result the Council called inadequate on 9 August 1770 when it asked for binding orders to be left at the Cape. In 1771 not one animal came. The Council's request for a compulsory 100 sheep a ship left the island in August 1770 and could not have reached London, been approved and travelled out to the Cape in time for that season's fleet. The failure of persuasion was therefore complete in the very year the island needed it most, which gave the strongest support to the Council's case for an order. Captain Smith settled nothing on the island. His account showed two debts: the provisions and a small charge of 15s 0d for gunpowder not delivered. Ships calling at St Helena were evidently required to hand over a quantity of powder for the island's magazine, and a commander who failed to do so was charged its value. The whole balance was transferred to England, where the ship's owners would pay the Company. The arrangement mirrored the certificates given to

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			commanders the year before, with the direction of the debt reversed. In both cases no money changed hands at St Helena and the account was closed in London. The *Ponsborne* was reported at the Cape with a sickly crew. A ship in that condition fell into the class the Council favoured with seven cattle, but as a ship that had touched at the Cape she belonged to the class given none. The letter did not say how the two rules were reconciled, and her arrival would test the scale. The commander who brought the Bengal news left on 25 January 1771 and reached the island on 7 May 1771, the date the *Europa* arrived from Bengal by way of the Cape. He was therefore her captain. Two of the ships he named, the *Worcester* and the *Lord Mansfield*, were first reported at Bengal in the letter of 7 March 1771.
293	286	29 As we were informed that Captn. Petty had§ §the Measles on board his Ship, and that disorder having§ §never been on the Island before and being of a Contagious nature§ §we thought it necessary to send Captn. Petty an Order to§ §prevent any of the persons infected, or their Linen coming on§ §shore as entered in our Consultation of the 6th instant —§ §30 During the stay of the Portland here we have§ §been obliged to supply her in part with Beef from your§ §Honors Stock owing to the very short return of the slaughtering§ §List of this Year and as they have paid Cash for the same§ §We shall give you Credit for it in Plantation Account —§ §31 The Endeavour Bark arrived here 1st. May§ §with Mr. Banks and Doctor Solander on board they were§ §perfectly healthy until their touching at Batavia where they§ §lost a great many of their Men but recovered much at the Cape§ §of good Hope and proceed in Company with the Convoy —§ §32 Thos. Williams Esau Nowland Alexander§ §Henderson of the Artillery Company and James Beard of the§ §second Company were found absent from their Barracks and on§ §Report of the same immediate Orders were given for a general§ §search onboard all the Ships in the Road, the three latter were§ §found, Beard on board his Majesty's Ship Portland, Nowland§ §and Henderson on the Duke of Kingston, and§ §notwithstanding the strictest search Williams has not yet§ §been heard of and we have reason to suppose among the§ §Number of Seamen that pass the Centrys they have taken that§ §opportunity in the night to escape disguised as a Sailor the§ §Centrys having the strictest Orders to Examine all Garrison§ §Men when any Ships are under dispatch —§ §33 This Letter waits on you by the Ship Lord§ §Camden which Sails from hence in Company with His§ §Majesty's Ships Portland and Endeavour and your	Captain Pelly's ship had measles aboard, as the Council learned. The disease was never known on the island before, and it was contagious. The Council therefore thought an order to Captain Pelly necessary, forbidding any infected person or their linen to come ashore. The order was entered in the consultation of 8 May 1771. 30: The Council was obliged to supply the *Portland* with part of her beef from the Company's own stock during her stay, since the list of cattle for slaughter that year was so short. Her people paid cash for it, and the sum would be credited in the plantation account. 31: The bark *Endeavour* arrived on 1 May 1771 with Mr Banks and Doctor Solander aboard. Her company stayed perfectly healthy until she called at Batavia, where a great many of her men died. They recovered a good deal at the Cape of Good Hope, and she went on in company with the convoy. 32: Four soldiers were found missing from their barracks: Thomas Williams, Esau Nowland and Alexander Henderson of the artillery company and James Beard of the second company. Orders went out at once for a general search of every ship in the road. Three of them were found. Beard was aboard the King's ship *Portland*, and Nowland and Henderson were in the *Duke of Kingston*. Williams was not heard of again despite the strictest search. The Council had reason to think he slipped past the sentries at night among the many seamen going by, disguised as a sailor. The sentries were under the strictest orders to examine all garrison men whenever ships were about to sail. 33: The letter went by the *Lord Camden*, which sailed in company with the King's ships *Portland* and *Endeavour* and the Company's ship *Kent.* **Interpretations** The Council imposed a quarantine against measles. In England the disease was a common childhood illness, always present, and nobody thought of excluding it. Quarantine there was reserved for plague and applied to ships from infected ports. St Helena was differently placed, and the Council understood why. A population that had never met the infection had no resistance to it, and the Council stated that fact as its ground. Among people of every age with no previous exposure, measles could spread through settlers, soldiers and slaves alike and kill on a scale unknown where it was familiar. The order was precise. It barred the sick and also their linen, on the belief that clothing and bedding carried contagion. It did not close the island to the ship or her healthy people, which would have meant refusing water and provisions to a Company vessel. The island's isolation, described on 7 May 1770 as its great hardship, was here its protection, and the Council acted to keep it.

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		Ships§ §Kent§	Three soldiers were caught hiding in ships and a fourth got away. The episode came nine months after seven men escaped in a longboat on 28 July 1770, and three weeks after the Court's rebuke for under-reporting that event reached the island. The Council had since ordered rudders and sails taken out of idle boats. With that route closed, men turned to the ships themselves, where a homeward commander short of hands might ask few questions. The Council reported this attempt in full and at once, naming each man, his company and where he was found. The detail was itself an answer to the censure. It also showed the limits of control. Seamen passed the sentries in numbers when ships were preparing to sail, and one soldier in sailor's clothes was indistinguishable in the dark. One deserter was found in a King's ship. The Company had no authority over the Royal Navy, and a naval captain needing men had every reason to keep a willing recruit. The search of the *Portland* therefore depended on her captain's consent, and Beard was given up. The Council recorded the fact without comment, a week after refusing the same ship two thirds of the fresh provisions she demanded. The word "convoy" explained the gathering of ships. The *Portland* came out from England with orders for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, stayed more than six weeks and sailed with the homeward fleet under her protection. Merchant ships were escorted in that way when war was feared, and in no other circumstances. The 20 months of reports about French and Spanish forces, the Secret Committee's authority and the urgent works of defence all led to this point: the government sent a warship to bring the season's China and India ships home together. The *Endeavour*, a naval vessel returning from a distant voyage with her crew weakened, joined them for the same security. The beef sold to the *Portland* came from the Company's own herd, kept on its plantations under the Lieutenant Governor as Company's Husband. Ships were ordinarily supplied from the planters' cattle on the slaughter list. That list held only 199 thin animals, so the Company's stock made up the difference for the warship, and the cash was credited to the account of its farms. The Navy paid on the spot where Company commanders settled through their owners in London. Mr Banks and Doctor Solander were named as passengers of note, in the way these letters marked persons the Court would wish to hear of. Batavia's reputation for deadly fevers was borne out again. The *Duke of Albany* lost her captain at Bencoolen, another unhealthy station in the same seas, as the letter of 18 May 1770 reported.
294	287	Kent, Admiral Pocock, Houghton, Latham, Princess Royal,§ §Hawke, Valentine, Duke of Kingston, Royal Captain, Duke of§ §Glocester and Europa, As time will not permit Us to send a Letter§ §by each Ship, we have put a Duplicate of this on board of his§ §Majesty's Ship Portland, and a Triplicate on the Duke of§ §Kingston —§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants —§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw. Purling§ §St. Helena§	The Company ships sailing in the convoy with the *Lord Camden* were eleven in number. *Kent* *Admiral Pocock* *Houghton* *Latham* *Princess Royal* *Hawke* *Valentine* *Duke of Kingston* *Royal Captain* *Duke of Gloucester* *Europa* Time did not allow the Council to send a letter by every ship. A duplicate was therefore put aboard the King's ship *Portland* and a third copy aboard the *Duke of Kingston*. The letter closed at St Helena on 4 May 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe

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		§4th. May 1771§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §pr Ship Lord Camden dated 4th. May 1771 vizt. —§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils General Letter dated 4th. May 1771§ §2 Do. & do. do. dated 4th do. do. relating to Law§ §matters§ §3 Duplicate do. & do. dated 17th March 1771§ §4 Triplicate do. & do. dated 26 do. do.§ §5 Consultations from 18th March to 3 May do.§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Duke of Cumberland§ §7 First do. for a small paper do. pr Ship Greenwich§	Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Lord Camden*, dated 4 May 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 4 May 1771 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 4 May 1771 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 March 1771 4: Third copy of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 March 1771 5: Consultations from 18 March to 3 May 1771 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Cumberland*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Greenwich*. **Interpretations** Twelve Company ships and two King's ships left the island together. Nothing on that scale appeared earlier in these records, where ships sailed singly or in groups of two to four as each was ready. The *Lord Camden* arrived on 25 March 1771 and the *Kent* on 29 March 1771, and both were still in the road on 4 May 1771. In the previous season a China ship was sent on within a week or two. Here the earliest arrivals waited about six weeks until the whole fleet had assembled and the *Portland* was ready to escort it. Holding valuable cargoes at anchor for so long, against the Company's constant pressure for quick dispatch, was done only under orders, and the orders were evidently those the warship brought on 24 March 1771. The intention was that the season's trade from China and India should cross the Atlantic as one protected body. The cost to the island was severe, and it explained the rationing described in the same letter. Fourteen ships lay at St Helena together for weeks during the worst shortage of cattle on record, each with a crew to feed and the planters able to offer only 199 thin animals for the year. The Council's scale of two cattle for a healthy ship, none for a ship that had called at the Cape and one day's fresh provisions a week for the *Portland* was drawn up with that fleet in the road. Twenty casks of salt meat went to the *Lord Camden* from the reserve bought the year before. The drought and the convoy thus fell on the island at the same moment. The date of the letter fixed several events. The consultations in the packet ended on 3 May 1771, and the order keeping Captain Pelly's sick and their linen from the shore was entered on that day. Captain Lauder's bills carried the same date. The *Europa*, Captain Pelly's ship, was already at the island when the letter closed, and sailed with the convoy only days after arriving with measles aboard. Her short stay suited the Council's purpose, since the less time she lay in the road the smaller the risk of the infection landing. The usual way of spreading copies was adapted to the occasion. When three or four ships sailed in company the Council gave one the packet and the others a copy of the letter. With twelve ships that was impracticable, so three copies went in all. One of the three was given to the warship. A King's ship was the best-armed and, as the escort, the vessel likeliest to arrive, and she had carried the Court's own orders out. The Council thus used the Navy as a carrier for the Company's correspondence, which it had never done before in these records. A third copy of the letter of 26 March 1771 went in the packet. The original and the duplicate left by the Danish ships *Fredericksborg* and *King of Denmark*. This was the first copy of that acknowledgement to travel by a Company vessel, and the Council sent it

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			although two had already gone, since neither Dane was under the Court's control.
295	288	8 First Receipt for a small Paper Packet pr Dane Ship Fredericksborg§ §9 First do. for do. pr Dane Ship King of Denmark§ §10 Second do for the do pr Ship E of Middlesex§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Muster Rolls of do.§ §13 Captn. Carrs Second Receipt for £20§ §14 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Duke of Cumberland§ §15 Cash Account from 18th to 31st March 1771§ §16 do for the Month of April do§ §17 do. from 1st to the 4th. May do§ §18 Duplicate of the 17th March do.§ §19 Ship Lord Camden's Account§ §20 Ship Kents do.§ §21 Ship Admiral Pocock's do.§ §22 Ship Houghton's do.§ §23 Ship Duke of Glocester's do§ §24 Ship Princess Royals do§ §25 Ship Valentine's do§ §26 Ship Hawke's do§ §27 Ship Latham's do§ §28 Ship Royal Captain's do§ §29 Ship Duke of Kingston's do.§ §30 Ship Europa's do§ §31 Ship Duke of Richmonds do.§ §32 Ship Calcutta's do§ §33 Duplicate Ship Duke of Cumberland's Account§ §34 do. Ship Greenwiches do§ §35 do. Surgeons Certificate of five Invalid Soldiers§ §36 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §37 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Lord Camden, Kent,§ §Admiral Pocock, Houghton, Duke of Glocester, Princess§ §Royal, Valentine, Hawke, Latham, Royal Captain, Duke§ §of Kingston, and Europa —§	The packet sent by the *Lord Camden* on 4 May 1771 also held the following papers. 8: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship *Fredericksborg*. 9: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship *King of Denmark*. 10: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Earl of Middlesex*. 11: Effective state of the garrison 12: Muster rolls of the garrison 13: Captain Carr's second receipt for £20 0s 0d 14: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Cumberland*. 15: Cash account from 18 to 31 March 1771 16: Cash account for April 1771 17: Cash account from 1 to 4 May 1771 18: Duplicate cash account for 17 March 1771 19: Account of the ship *Lord Camden*. 20: Account of the ship *Kent*. 21: Account of the ship *Admiral Pocock*. 22: Account of the ship *Houghton*. 23: Account of the ship *Duke of Gloucester*. 24: Account of the ship *Princess Royal*. 25: Account of the ship *Valentine*. 26: Account of the ship *Hawke*. 27: Account of the ship *Latham*. 28: Account of the ship *Royal Captain*. 29: Account of the ship *Duke of Kingston*. 30: Account of the ship *Europa*. 31: Account of the ship *Duke of Richmond*. 32: Account of the ship *Calcutta*. 33: Duplicate account of the ship *Duke of Cumberland*. 34: Duplicate account of the ship *Greenwich*. 35: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for five invalid soldiers 36: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 37: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Lord Camden*, *Kent*, *Admiral Pocock*, *Houghton*, *Duke of Gloucester*, *Princess Royal*, *Valentine*, *Hawke*, *Latham*, *Royal Captain*, *Duke of Kingston* and *Europa*. **Interpretations** Fourteen ships' accounts went home in one packet, more than in any earlier dispatch. Each recorded what the island supplied to a ship and what the ship owed or delivered in return. In an ordinary year they were routine. In this one they were the evidence for the rationing reported in the letter of 4 May 1771. The Council told the Court that healthy ships received two cattle, ships that had called at the Cape none, and outward-bound or sickly ships seven, and that the charterparty allowance of beef stood at one eighth. The accounts let the Court see the scale applied ship by ship, and gave it the figures to answer any owner who claimed his vessel was sent to sea short of what the contract promised. The account of the *Lord Camden* also carried the 20 casks of salt meat and the balance of £143 5s 0d that her owners were to pay in England. Two of the accounts belonged to the outward ships *Duke of Richmond* and *Calcutta*, which sailed on 25 April 1771. They were the ships entitled to seven cattle each as outward-bound, and their accounts recorded the stores, flour and recruits they landed. Both Danish captains signed receipts for the letters they carried. The Council took the same acknowledgement from Captain Mooy of the Dutch *West Friesland* in September 1770, and the Court's letter of 2 January 1771 showed that he delivered what he was given. The practice of requiring a receipt from every carrier, whatever his flag, was thus kept up, and the receipts now went home by a Company ship as proof of what was sent and by whom.

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			The abstract of cargoes listed twelve ships, the whole Company fleet in the convoy. Together they made up most of a season's imports from China, Bengal, Madras and Bombay, gathered at one anchorage and about to sail under one escort. A single document summarising them gave the Court advance notice of what the year's sales would contain, weeks before the ships themselves could reach the Thames.
296	289	38 Certificate of Flour§ §39 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on 10th April 1771§ §40 Governor & Lieut. Govrs. Letter to the Secret Committee —§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you by his Majesty's§ §Ship Portland which sailed from hence the 4th instant with§ §the Endeavour Bark and your Honors Ships Lord Camden Kent§ §Admiral Pocock, Houghton, Duke of Glocester, Princess§ §Royal, Valentine, Hawke, Latham Royal Captain Duke of§ §Kingston, and Europa under her Convoy —§ §2 On the 21st instant arrived a Dane Ship§ §from Bengal called the Carolina, Matilda, Capt. Shifter§ §burthen 500 Tons carrys 20 Guns and 60 Men loaden with§ §Bengal Goods bound to Copenhagen, the Capt. acquaints Us§ §he left Bengal 17th January last —§ §3 The 24th of this Month arrived your Ship§ §Resolution from China, Capt. Poynting acquaints Us Capt.§ §Athens dyed the 5th instant that they left Canton the 6th§ §February last the Huntingdon and Prime there, the former§ §was to sail the day after, he further tells Us, he parted Company§ §with the Bridgewater the 21st of last Month in the Latitude§ §of 35.10 South and that he fell in with the Vansittart 6th. April§ §in the Latitude of 30.12 South and parted Company with her§ §11th of the same Month —§ §4 As Captain Shifter informs Us he§ §proposes§	The packet sent by the *Lord Camden* on 4 May 1771 also held the following papers. 38: Certificate of flour 39: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 10 April 1771 40: The Governor and Lieutenant Governor's letter to the Secret Committee The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went by the King's ship *Portland*, which sailed on 4 May 1771. The bark *Endeavour* and twelve Company ships left under her convoy. *Lord Camden* *Kent* *Admiral Pocock* *Houghton* *Duke of Gloucester* *Princess Royal* *Valentine* *Hawke* *Latham* *Royal Captain* *Duke of Kingston* *Europa* 2: A Danish ship from Bengal, the *Carolina Matilda* under Captain Sh[...], arrived on 21 May 1771. She measured 800 tons, carried 20 guns and 60 men, and was bound for Copenhagen with a cargo of Bengal goods. Her captain left Bengal on 17 January 1771. 3: The Company's ship *Resolution* arrived from China on 24 May 1771. Captain Poynting reported that Captain A[...] died on 5 May 1771. The ship left Canton on 6 February 1771, when the *Huntingdon* and the *Prime* were still there, and the *Huntingdon* was to sail the following day. He parted company with the *Bridgewater* on 21 April 1771 in latitude 35 degrees 10 minutes south. He met the *Vansittart* on 6 April 1771 in latitude 30 degrees 12 minutes south and parted from her on 11 April 1771. **Interpretations** Item 40 was a letter to the Secret Committee from the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor jointly. The packet that the *Portland* brought on 24 March 1771 was addressed to those two officers, and their reply went back in the same restricted form. On 14 May 1770 and 23 May 1770 the Governor wrote to the committee alone. The Lieutenant Governor's name was now joined to his, which showed that the committee's orders of that winter were directed to both men and that both were answerable for carrying them out. The third member of the Council, Matthew Purling, signed the general letter but had no part in this one. The island's government was thus divided for the purpose: ordinary business went through the Governor and Council to the Court, and the confidential matter through the two senior officers to the committee. The contents stayed out of the general correspondence entirely. The letter stated in terms that the fleet sailed "under her convoy". The *Portland* came out with orders, waited six weeks and took twelve Company ships and a naval bark home under her guns. That confirmed the reading suggested by the long detention of the *Lord Camden* and the *Kent*. Escorting a whole season's trade was a wartime measure, and its use in May 1771 showed that the government at

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			home still treated a rupture with a European power as a real possibility. The *Resolution* reached the island 20 days after the convoy left. Captain Rogers reported in the letter of 8 March 1771 that she and the *Bridgewater* were due to leave China towards the end of January 1771, and she in fact sailed on 6 February. Ships that arrived after 4 May 1771 had no escort and were sent on in the ordinary way. The protection offered by the warship therefore covered only the earlier part of the season's shipping. The *Huntingdon*, the *Prime* and the *Bridgewater* were still to come. A captain died at sea and the ship came in under another officer. Captain A[...] died on 5 May 1771, less than three weeks before the *Resolution* anchored, and Captain Poynting made the report. The chief mate succeeded to the command on the death of a commander, and took the title with it. The *Duke of Albany* arrived in the same condition on 16 May 1770 after her captain died at Bencoolen. The Danish ship was the second of that nation from Bengal in these records, after the *Countess of Moltke* on 3 June 1770. Both carried "Bengal goods" for Copenhagen and both had crews of 60, a small complement for their size. The Danish station on the Hooghly thus sent home one ship a year by this route, in addition to the two China ships that called in March 1771. The quarterly court of 10 April 1771 continued the regular sequence after those of 3 October 1770 and 9 January 1771, and its proceedings accompanied a letter on law matters as before. The certificate of flour was the one promised in the letter of 4 May 1771 for the quantity landed from the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Calcutta*.
297	290	proposes going up the British Channel we take the opportunity§ §of conveying this Letter to you —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and§ §humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §Mattw Purling§ §St. Helena§ §26 May 1771§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed you last the 26th instant by the§ §Dane Ship Carolina Matilda —§ §2 Yesterday arrived your Ships Bridgewater§ §and Huntingdon from China —§ §3 By this Opportunity we transmit you our§ §Indents for Stores wanted for the use of this Island next Year§ §together with the List of Remains &c. As the furniture in the§ §Castle is extremely old, and bad, and very little of it the Governor has§ §Indented for some Chairs, Tables, and Glasses which he requests§ §you will be pleased to send out next Season —§ §4 Mr. William Roberts Town Adjutant§ §Petitioned Us in Consultation of the 27th instant to be put upon the§ §same allowance in point of Salary as a Lieutenant, as he has§ §behaved§	Captain Sh[...] of the *Carolina Matilda* intended to sail up the British Channel, and the Council took the chance to send its letter by him. The letter closed at St Helena on 26 May 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling The Council began its next letter by recalling the previous one, sent on 26 May 1771 by the Danish ship *Carolina Matilda*. 2: The Company's ships *Bridgewater* and *Huntingdon* arrived from China the day before the Council wrote. 3: The island's orders for the stores it needed the following year went home by the same ship, together with the list of remaining stock and related papers. The furniture in the Castle was extremely old and poor, and there was very little of it. The Governor added some chairs, tables and looking glasses to the order and asked that they be sent out the next season. 4: Mr William Roberts, Town Adjutant, petitioned the Council at the consultation of 27 May 1771. He asked to be placed on the same footing as a lieutenant in point of salary. **Interpretations** The Council used a foreign ship for the third time, and the letter it sent differed from the first. The letter of 12 September 1770 by the Dutch *West Friesland* ran to four brief paragraphs with no shipping news, and the Court censured it in the seventh paragraph of its letter of 2 January 1771 for saying too little about the Company's ships and affairs. That rebuke reached the island on 24 March 1771. The letter of 26 May 1771 by the Danish ship reported the sailing of the convoy with all twelve Company ships named, the arrival of the *Resolution*, the death of her captain, her date of leaving Canton and the positions of three other ships met at sea. The Council thus gave a foreign carrier exactly the kind of

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			intelligence the Court said it wanted. A Company ship lay in the road, the *Resolution* having arrived two days earlier, but she needed time to water and the Dane was ready to leave. The choice of carrier followed the practice of 26 March 1771, and the fuller contents followed the Court's instruction. The yearly order for stores went home with its inventory at the end of May. The previous one left on 12 June 1770 with inventories made up to 30 April 1770. The outward ships came five weeks earlier in 1771, arriving on 3 and 5 April, so the stock could be counted sooner and the next order sent about a fortnight earlier. Each gain of that kind shortened the cycle of supply the Council described on 7 May 1770 as too slow for the island's safety. The Castle was the fortified building that held the Company's offices, stores and treasury, and the Governor's official quarters. Its furnishing was a Company charge. The request for chairs, tables and looking glasses was made in the Governor's own name within the general order, which marked it as his personal requisition and distinct from the stores wanted for the service. The Court approved a new house for the Governor in 1770, and its windows, sashes and balusters were requested from England in the letter of 30 May 1770. Furniture for the existing building suggested that the new house was still some way from being habitable. Visiting commanders and passengers of rank were received at the Company's table, and three King's ships had lately called, so the state of the rooms touched the settlement's standing as well as the Governor's comfort. The Town Adjutant was the officer who managed the daily routine of the garrison: guards, parades, orders and the discipline of the town. He escorted the French officer who waited on the Governor in the letter of 4 April 1770. His petition showed that the post carried less pay than a lieutenant's commission, although its holder exercised authority over the whole garrison's duty. The Council recorded the request in the consultation and brought it before the Court, as it did with Lieutenant Frost's petition on 16 June 1770. The *Bridgewater* and the *Huntingdon* came in together, as Captain Poynting's report implied. He parted from the *Bridgewater* on 21 April 1771, and the *Huntingdon* was to leave Canton a day after the *Resolution*. Of the ships Captain Rogers listed on 8 March 1771 as still to leave China, only the *Prime* remained unaccounted for.
298	291	behaved himself in his Station very well and as we are sensible§ §that what he sets forth in his Petition of having a great deal of§ §duty as Town Adjutant is really the case we therefore beg leave (as his§ §request appears reasonable to Us) to submit the same to your§ §consideration and recommend it to your favour —§ §5 On the 17 instant we visited all the Leward§ §Valleys and in Consultation of the 20 we entered our remarks and§ §observations thereupon to which we beg leave to refer you —§ §6 The Captains of the Ships Earl of Middlesex, Duke§ §of Cumberland and Greenwich having applied to borrow the Company's§ §Long Boats Cable and in the service of the said Ships rendered the§ §same useless the aforesaid Captains promised the Governor that the§ §Owners of their respective Ships would pay the Company for the§ §said Cable in London the price of which as it stands upon the§	The Council supported Mr Roberts's petition. He conducted himself very well in his post, and his statement that the Town Adjutant carried a great deal of duty was true. His request seemed reasonable, and the Council submitted it to the Court with its recommendation. 5: The Council inspected all the leeward valleys on 14 May 1771. Its remarks and observations on them were entered in the consultation of 20 May 1771, to which the Court was referred. 6: The captains of the *Earl of Middlesex*, the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Greenwich* asked to borrow the cable of the Company's longboat. It was worn out in the service of those ships and left useless. The three captains promised Governor Skottowe that the owners of their ships would pay the Company for it in London. The cable stood in the books at £39 14s 5d. 7: The Council granted three sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to John Caillaud Esquire, dated 27 May 1771, £200 0s 0d Captain Henry Bazett, payable to Mr Richard Bodman, dated 31 May 1771, £108 6s 8d

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		§Books is £39.14.5 —§ §7 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One Set to Daniel Corneille Esqr for £208.§ §payable to John Caillaud Esqr. dated 27th instant One set to Capt.§ §Henry Bazett for £408.6.8 payable to Mr. Richard Bodman§ §and one Set to Captain Thomas Poynting for £260. payable§ §to himself dated this day and all drawn at ninety days sight —§ §8 Captain Poynting applied to us for leave to touch§ §at Ascension to get Turtle for the refreshment of his Ships Company§ §we have permitted him to call there for that purpose —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §31st. May 1771§	Captain Thomas Poynting, payable to himself, dated 31 May 1771, £260 0s 0d 8: Captain Poynting applied for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to feed his crew. The Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose. The letter closed at St Helena on 31 May 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Council and the Governor went in person to every valley on the leeward coast. Those ravines were the possible landing places on the sheltered side of the island, and the letter of 4 May 1771 reported that work was in hand on walling them up as the most urgent of the defence works. An inspection by the whole government, ten days after the convoy sailed, showed the priority given to that programme. The findings went into the consultation and were kept out of the general letter. A written survey of where the island could and could not be assaulted was the most sensitive paper the Council produced, and the consultations travelled under the same cover as the letters to the Secret Committee. The visit also followed the arrival of a master mason in April 1771, so the Council was deciding what to build with the means at last available. The ruined cable arose from the island's difficult anchorage. The three ships were in the road together in March 1771, the first arrivals after seven months without a Company vessel. A cable was the heavy rope by which a boat or ship rode at anchor, and the longboat's was evidently used to help moor or shift the ships and was chafed through in the process. The Council treated the loss as a debt owed by the ships. Each captain gave his word to the Governor, and the owners were to pay in London at the book value. No money was taken on the island, the same method used for the salt provisions supplied to the *Lord Camden* on 4 May 1771. The report served as the Court's authority to collect. The longboats mattered more than their cost suggested. The Council asked for hawsers and mooring chain for them on 14 September 1769 and for curved timbers to repair them on 12 June 1770, and they were the craft from which seven soldiers deserted on 28 July 1770. The Council handled the Town Adjutant's petition by recommendation and left the decision to the Court. A year earlier it pensioned Lieutenant Frost on its own authority and asked for approval afterwards, as the letter of 16 June 1770 recorded. An increase of salary for a serving officer had no such urgency, and the Council had since been censured twice in the Court's letters for other matters. Its endorsement was nonetheless firm: it vouched for both the man's conduct and the truth of his claim about the weight of his duties. The date of the letter placed the arrival of the *Bridgewater* and the *Huntingdon* on 30 May 1771. Captain Poynting, who succeeded to the *Resolution* when her commander died on 5 May 1771, took bills for £260 0s 0d payable to himself and asked leave for Ascension, acting in every respect as her captain within a month of taking over. Captain Henry Bazett's payee, Mr Richard Bodman, was the same man named in his bills of 24 July 1769. Daniel Corneille again paid John Caillaud Esquire, to whom his £110 16s 11d was payable on 5 June 1770.
299	292	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr Ship§ §Resolution dated the 31st. May 1771 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Lettr. dated 31st. May 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do. & do. dated 4th do. do.§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Resolution*, dated 31 May 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 31 May 1771

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		§3 Do. Do. & do. dated 26th do. do.§ §4 Do. Do. & do. dated 4th do. do. relating to Law Matters§ §5 Consultations from the 6th to the 31st. May 1771§ §6 Duplicate do. from the 18th March to the 3d. May Do.§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Lord Camden§ §8 First do. for a small paper do. pr Ship Duke of Kingston§ §9 First do. for do. pr Dane Ship Carolina Matilda§ §10 Second do. for do. pr Ship Duke of Cumberland§ §11 Second do. for a small paper do. pr Ship Greenwich§ §12 Second do. for Do. pr Dane Ship Fredericksborg§ §13 Second do. for Do. pr Dane Ship King of Denmark§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Lord Camden§ §16 Cash Account from 5th to 31st. May 1771§ §17 Duplicate do. from from 18th to 31st. March 1771§ §18 Do. do. for the Month of April do.§ §19 Do. do. from 1st to 4th May do.§ §20 Ship Resolutions Account§ §21 Duplicate Lords Camden's do.§ §22 Do. Kents do.§ §23 Do. Admiral Pocock's do.§ §24 Do. Houghton's do.§ §25 Do. Duke of Glocesters do.§ §26 Do. Princess Royals do.§ §27 Do. Valentine's do.§ §28 Do. Hawke's do.§ §29 Do. Lathams do.§ §30 Do. Royal Captains do.§	2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 May 1771 3: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 May 1771 4: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's letter dated 4 May 1771 relating to law matters 5: Consultations from 6 to 31 May 1771 6: Duplicate consultations from 18 March to 3 May 1771 7: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Lord Camden*. 8: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Duke of Kingston*. 9: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship *Carolina Matilda*. 10: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Duke of Cumberland*. 11: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Greenwich*. 12: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship *Fredericksborg*. 13: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship *King of Denmark*. 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Lord Camden*. 16: Cash account from 5 to 31 May 1771 17: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 31 March 1771 18: Duplicate cash account for April 1771 19: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 4 May 1771 20: Account of the ship *Resolution*. 21: Duplicate account of the ship *Lord Camden*. 22: Duplicate account of the ship *Kent*. 23: Duplicate account of the ship *Admiral Pocock*. 24: Duplicate account of the ship *Houghton*. 25: Duplicate account of the ship *Duke of Gloucester*. 26: Duplicate account of the ship *Princess Royal*. 27: Duplicate account of the ship *Valentine*. 28: Duplicate account of the ship *Hawke*. 29: Duplicate account of the ship *Latham*. 30: Duplicate account of the ship *Royal Captain*. **Interpretations** The receipts accounted for two of the three copies of the letter of 4 May 1771 and were silent on the third. The *Lord Camden* signed for the packet and the *Duke of Kingston* for the small paper packet holding the third copy. The duplicate went aboard the King's ship *Portland*, as that letter stated, and no receipt for it appeared in the list. A Company commander gave a receipt because he was the Court's servant and answerable for what he carried. A captain of the Royal Navy stood outside that discipline. He took the Company's letters as a courtesy and could not be asked to sign for them in the same form, so the copy in the warship travelled on trust alone. The Danish captains, strangers to the Company, did sign, since they carried letters as a private favour and had no rank to stand on. The duplicates of the convoy ships' accounts followed the originals within four weeks. All twelve ships and the warship sailed together on 4 May 1771, so every original copy of those accounts was in one body of ships exposed to the same weather. Sending the duplicates by a ship that left a month later, alone, gave the Court a second set that could not be lost in the same storm. The accounts documented the rationing of cattle during the drought and the debt of £143 5s 0d owed by the owners of the *Lord Camden*, both matters on which the Council's word might be challenged. The consultations from 6 to 31 May 1771 covered the business of the weeks after the convoy left. They held the Council's survey of the leeward

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			valleys, entered on 20 May 1771, and the Town Adjutant's petition of 27 May 1771. The defence survey therefore went home once only at this stage, by a single ship sailing without escort.
300	293	31 Duplicate Ship Duke of Kingston's Account§ §32 Do. Europa's do.§ §33 Do. Duke of Richmonds do.§ §34 Do. Calcutta's do.§ §35 Do. Certificate of Flour§ §36 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1772§ §37 Do. of Medicines for Do. Do.§ §38 List of Stores remaining in the Honble Company's Ware Houses§ §31 March 1771§ §39 Do. of Garrison Do. remaining Do. Do. Do.§ §40 Do. of Artillery Do. from 1st Octr. 1770 to 31st March Do.§ §41 Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on 10th§ §April 1771. —§ §42 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §43 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Resolution, Huntingdon and§ §Bridgewater —§ §To the Honble &ca.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on you the§ §31st of May by the Ship Resolution —§ §2 On the 6th instant arrived your Ship§ §Vansittart from Madrass (last from the Cape) the 7th arrived the§ §Northington from Bombay and this day the Worcester from§ §Bengal, Capt. Irwin acquaints Us he left Madrass the 8th.§ §February last, but none of your Ships there, Capt. Sealy tells Us§ §he Sailed from Bombay the 8th February, and left your Ships§ §True Briton, and Duke of Portland at that place, the former he§ §says was to sail for Europe the latter End of April, and it was§ §reported§	The packet sent by the *Resolution* on 31 May 1771 also held the following papers. 31: Duplicate account of the ship *Duke of Kingston*. 32: Duplicate account of the ship *Europa*. 33: Duplicate account of the ship *Duke of Richmond*. 34: Duplicate account of the ship *Calcutta*. 35: Duplicate certificate of flour 36: Order for stores wanted for the service of the year 1772 37: Order for medicines wanted for the service of the year 1772 38: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 31 March 1771 39: List of garrison stores remaining on 31 March 1771 40: List of artillery stores from 1 October 1770 to 31 March 1771 41: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 10 April 1771 42: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 43: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Resolution*, *Huntingdon* and *Bridgewater*. The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went on 31 May 1771 by the *Resolution*. 2: The Company's ship *Vansittart* arrived on 6 June 1771 from Madras, having last called at the Cape. The *Northington* came in from Bombay on 7 June 1771, and the *Worcester* arrived from Bengal on the day the Council wrote. Captain [...]win reported leaving Madras on 8 February 1771, when none of the Company's ships lay there. Captain Sealy sailed from Bombay on 8 February 1771 and left the Company's ships *True Briton* and *Duke of Portland* in port. The *True Briton* was to sail for Europe towards the end of April 1771. **Interpretations** The inventories were made up to 31 March 1771, a month earlier than the year before. Those sent on 12 June 1770 were dated 30 April 1770, nine days before the storeships of that year arrived. In 1771 the outward ships *Calcutta* and *Duke of Richmond* came in on 3 and 5 April, and the count was taken three days ahead of them. In both years the stock was measured at its lowest point, immediately before the new cargo landed. The Council evidently timed the inventory to the expected arrival of the ships and not to a fixed date in the calendar, so that the order for the following year always rested on what remained after a full twelve months of issues. The whole cycle moved forward with the ships. The order for 1772 left on 31 May 1771, where the order for 1771 left on 12 June 1770. The artillery return covered exactly six months, from 1 October 1770 to 31 March 1771, against seven months in the previous year. That half year took in the completion of the batteries at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley and the start of work on the leeward valleys, so the return recorded the powder, shot and stores drawn for a period of unusual activity. The shipping news filled gaps left by earlier reports. Captain Pelly stated in the letter of 4 May 1771 that the *Vansittart* had sailed from Bengal for Madras and that the *Worcester* was to leave Bengal about a month after him. Captain Poynting then met the *Vansittart* at sea between 6 and 11 April 1771. Both ships now reached the island within days of each other. The *True Briton* and the *Duke of Portland* were first reported missing from Bombay in the letter

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			of 7 March 1771 and then sighted off Cochin in December 1770. Captain Sealy found them safe at Bombay in February 1771, which closed the question of their whereabouts. The *Northington* was in port at Bombay on 4 December 1770, according to Captain Savage's report of 7 March 1771. She left two months later and took four months to reach the island. The Bombay, Madras and Bengal ships arriving in June 1771 were the tail of the season, sailing home without the escort that took the main fleet on 4 May 1771.
301	294	reported Capt. Hasell was to go to Madrass to fill up, he§ §likewise tells us, he spoke with Capt. Simmons off the Cape, the§ §11th May last, and with Capt. Clack the 13th of the same Month,§ §all well. Captain Hall informs Us he left Bengal the 4th March§ §in company with the Verelst, and parted with that Ship three§ §Weeks after, and that he spoke with the Swallow Sloop of War§ §off Cape La Gullas —§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to John Skottowe Esqr. for £500. payable to Capt§ §Nicholas Skottowe And one Set to Mr. Richd. Bagley for £99.§ §payable to Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick both drawn at ninety§ §days sight, and dated the 3 instant —§ §4 The Passengers on board the Northington are§ §Major Bign Capt. Wilder & Schaffar, & Ensign Ballas, and§ §Mrs. Pearch, Lieut Colonel Leslie and Messrs Taylor, and Wilkens§ §on the Worcester, and Major Fitzgerald and Messrs. Briggs§ §Moses, Orton, Bowles, Landell, Fowler, Churchill and Adams§ §Mrs. Rose, and Mettle, on board the Vansittart —§ §5 We have given Capt. Irwin an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship James Newport a discharged Soldier towards§ §compleating the Vansittarts Company —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §8th June 1771§	Captain Sealy added a report that Captain Hasell was to go on to Madras to complete his cargo. He exchanged news with Captain S[...] off the Cape on 11 May 1771 and with Captain Cl[...] on 13 May 1771, and all was well with both. Captain Hall left Bengal on 4 March 1771 in company with the *Verelst* and parted from her three weeks later. He spoke with the sloop of war *Swallow* off Cape Agulhas. 3: The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 5 June 1771. Governor Skottowe, payable to Captain Nicholas Skottowe, £500 0s 0d Mr Richard Bagley, payable to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, £[...]99 0s 0d 4: The passengers aboard the *Northington* were Major B[...], Captains Wilder and Sch[...] and Ensign Ba[...]. Mr Peach, Lieutenant Colonel Leslie and Messrs Taylor and Wilkins travelled in the *Worcester*. Major Fitzgerald sailed in the *Vansittart* with Messrs Briggs, Moses, Orton, Bowles, Landell, Fowler, Churchill and Adams, Mrs Rose and Mrs Me[...]. 5: Captain Lewin received an order to take James Newport, a discharged soldier, aboard his ship to help fill out the crew of the *Vansittart*. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 June 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The Governor changed his payee. His three earlier remittances in these records, on 24 July 1769, 4 September 1769 and 5 June 1770, all went to Robert Wood Esquire, who was evidently his agent in London. The £500 0s 0d of 5 June 1771 was payable to Captain Nicholas Skottowe, a man of his own surname and so almost certainly a relation. The bill was either a family payment or the settlement of a private account between the two. It brought the Governor's remittances in these letters to more than £1,500, about the same order as the sums sent home by his two colleagues on the Council over the same period. Richard Bagley continued to pay Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, as he did on 17 July 1769 and 5 June 1770. Three bills in favour of one ship's captain across two years pointed to a standing commercial connection. The captain probably supplied goods on each voyage for Bagley to sell on the island, and was paid through the Company's treasury in London. The sloop of war *Swallow* was the King's ship that arrived at St Helena from England on 30 April 1771, as the letter of 4 May 1771 recorded. Captain Hall met her afterwards off Cape Agulhas, the southern tip of Africa, so she had gone on eastward after calling at the island. The *Portland* turned back with the convoy while the *Swallow* continued towards the Indian Ocean. A second warship sent beyond the Cape, at the time the homeward trade was being escorted, showed the Navy extending its presence along the whole route to India. The date of the letter fixed the arrival of the *Worcester* on 8 June 1771, two days after the *Vansittart*

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			and one after the *Northington*. Captain Hall was her commander and Captain Lewin commanded the *Vansittart*. The three ships came from Bengal, Bombay and Madras and reached the island within three days of one another, each without company on the last stage of the passage. One discharged soldier went as a hand in the *Vansittart*. After the arrival of about 120 recruits in April 1771 the garrison stood at its full establishment, as the letter of 4 May 1771 stated, and time-expired men could again be released without weakening it. Under the terms announced with Lord Clive's fund, a man discharged in this way left with no claim to relief.
302	295	List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §pr Ship Vansittart dated 8th June 1771 vizt. —§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils Genl Letter dated 8th June 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do. & Do. dated 31st May do§ §3 Consultations from the 3d to 8th June Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. from 6th to the 31st May do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Resolution§ §6 Second do. for Do. pr Ship Lord Camden§ §7 Second do. for a small paper do. pr Ship Duke of Kingston§ §8 Second do. for do. do. pr Dane Ship Carolina, Matilda§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Resolution§ §11 Cash Account from 1st to 8th June 1771§ §12 Duplicate Do. from 5th to 31st. May do.§ §13 Ship Vansittarts Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Resolutions Account§ §15 do. Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1772§ §16 do. do. of Medicines for Do. Do.§ §17 do. List of Stores remaing. in the Honble Company's Ware§ §Houses 31st March 1771§ §18 do. of Garrison do. remaing Do. Do. Do.§ §19 do. of Artillery do. from 1st Octr. 1770 to 31st March Do.§ §20 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §21 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Vansittart and Worcester§ §Capt. Sealy has no Bill of Lading of the Ship Northington§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Vansittart*, dated 8 June 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 8 June 1771 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 31 May 1771 3: Consultations from 3 to 8 June 1771 4: Duplicate consultations from 6 to 31 May 1771 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Resolution*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Lord Camden*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the ship *Duke of Kingston*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship *Carolina Matilda*. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Resolution*. 11: Cash account from 1 to 8 June 1771 12: Duplicate cash account from 5 to 31 May 1771 13: Account of the ship *Vansittart*. 14: Duplicate account of the ship *Resolution*. 15: Duplicate order for stores wanted for the service of the year 1772 16: Duplicate order for medicines wanted for the service of the year 1772 17: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 31 March 1771 18: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 31 March 1771 19: Duplicate list of artillery stores from 1 October 1770 to 31 March 1771 20: Time of the arrival of ships' boats at Banks's 21: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships *Vansittart* and *Worcester*. Captain Sealy held no bill of lading for the ship *Northington*. **Interpretations** The note on the *Northington* explained a gap in the papers and showed how the cargo abstracts were made. Three ships arrived between 6 and 8 June 1771, yet the abstract covered only two. The Council compiled each abstract from the bill of lading a commander carried, the signed list of the goods loaded into his ship and the terms of their delivery. Captain Sealy had none to show. The Council could not describe a cargo for which it had no document, and it would not rely on a captain's word for the contents of his hold. It recorded the reason so the Court would not take the omission for carelessness, a point on which it had cause for care after two censures in the Court's letters of that year. The absence was itself worth the Court's notice. A ship from Bombay ought to have carried a bill of lading issued there when she was loaded. A commander without one could not be held to an agreed list of goods on arrival in the Thames, which weakened the Company's check against loss or

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			private dealing on the voyage. The fault might have lain with the Bombay government for failing to supply the document or with the captain for failing to produce it. The Council stated the fact and left the enquiry to London, where the Bombay copy could be compared when it arrived by another ship. The order for 1772 and its inventories went home a second time eight days after the first, by the next ship to sail. The same was done with the order for 1771, sent on 12 June 1770 and repeated on 16 June 1770. Neither copy of the new order travelled with the convoy, since the fleet left on 4 May 1771, before the order was ready.
303	296	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed you last on the 8th instant by the§ §Ship Vansittart —§ §2 Being in great want of Hour Glasses for the§ §use of the out Guards which were forgot to be mentioned in the§ §Indent; Request you will please to send out next year, one dozen§ §for the purpose abovementioned —§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One Set to Mrs. Elizabeth Dent, for £109.§ §payable to Mr. William Douglass, and one Set to Mr. Matthew§ §Bazett for £600. payable to John Blake Esqr. both drawn§ §at ninety days sight and dated the 10th instant —§ §4 We have given Captain Nicholas Skottowe§ §a permission to receive on board his Ship, William Jones Corporal,§ §and carry him to England —§ §5 This Letter waits on you by the Ship§ §Huntingdon, which Sails from hence in Company with the§ §Bridgewater —§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §M Purling§ §St. Helena§ §14th June 1771§	The Council opened a short letter by recalling its previous one, sent on 8 June 1771 by the *Vansittart*. 2: The outlying guards were in great need of hourglasses, which were forgotten when the order for stores was drawn up. The Council asked for one dozen to be sent the following year for that use. 3: The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 10 June 1771. Mrs Elizabeth D[...], payable to Mr William Douglass, £109 0s 0d Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to John Blake Esquire, £600 0s 0d 4: Captain Nicholas Skottowe was given permission to take William Jones, a corporal, aboard his ship and carry him to England. 5: The letter went by the *Huntingdon*, which sailed in company with the *Bridgewater*. The letter closed at St Helena on 14 June 1771 over three signatures. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Purling **Interpretations** The hourglasses were instruments of discipline. A sentry stood a fixed turn of duty and was then relieved, and at a post far from the town there was no clock or bell to mark the time. A sand glass turned at each relief gave the guard its only measure, so that no man stood too long and none was left unwatched through a missed change. The outlying guards were the small detachments at the batteries and landing places away from the Castle. Their number and importance grew with the works of the previous two years: the batteries at Munden's Point and Lemon Valley, reported complete on 7 March 1771, and the walls then being built across the leeward valleys. A dozen glasses pointed to about that many posts needing one. The matter was small enough to be left out of the yearly order, and the Council thought it worth a separate paragraph within a fortnight. The robbery of 12 March 1771, in which the sentry at the stores and his reliefs were the suspects, had shown how much turned on the changing of a guard. Captain Nicholas Skottowe proved to be the commander of a Company ship. The Governor's bill of 5 June 1771 for £500 0s 0d was payable to him, and he was now named as receiving a soldier aboard "his ship". He commanded either the *Huntingdon* or the *Bridgewater*, both of which arrived from China on 30 May 1771 and sailed together after 14 June 1771. A commander of the Governor's surname, in the road for a fortnight and the payee of a large bill, was almost certainly a close relation. The bill was then a transaction within the family, made while the captain was at the island in person. The wording about the corporal differed from the usual forms. Discharged men were "ordered" aboard to complete a crew, and invalids were sent with a fare and a surgeon's certificate. Here the captain was given "permission" to take a named corporal and "carry him to England", with no

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			mention of discharge, illness, a fare or service as a hand. The initiative came from the commander, and the man went as something other than crew. The letter gave no reason. A non-commissioned officer released as a favour to the Governor's kinsman was an arrangement the Council recorded for the sake of the muster rolls and left unexplained. A woman appeared among the remitters for the first time in these records. Mrs Elizabeth D[...] paid £109 0s 0d into the treasury on her own account, which showed a widow or independent woman of the settlement with money to send home. Matthew Bazett's £600 0s 0d added a third member of that family to the bills, after Captain Henry Bazett and the Lieutenant Thomas Bazett who assisted in the works.
304	297	[The left-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena pr§ §Ship Huntingdon dated 14th June 1771 vizt. —§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 14th June 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do. & do. dated 8th do. do.§ §3 Consultation of the 10th June Do.§ §4 Duplicate Do. from 3d to the 8th June Do.§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Vansittart§ §6 Second do. for Do. pr Ship Resolution§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Vansittart§ §9 Cash Account from 9th to 14th June 1771§ §10 Duplicate do. from 1st to 8th do. do.§ §11 Ship Bridgewaters Account§ §12 Ship Huntingdons do.§ §13 Duplicate Ship Vansittarts do.§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Northington§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on you the 14th§ §instant by the Ship Huntingdon, which Sailed from hence in§ §Company with the Bridgewater —§ §2 This day Arrived your Ship Harcourt, from§ §Bencoolen —§ §3 The Passengers on board the Harcourt, are§ §Mr. Herbert, and Messrs. Bailey, Baker, Heavy, and Howes —§ §4 We have given Capt. Sealy a permit to§ §receive§	The Company's packet from St Helena by the *Huntingdon*, dated 14 June 1771, held the following papers. 1: Governor Skottowe and Council's general letter dated 14 June 1771 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's general letter dated 8 June 1771 3: Consultation of 10 June 1771 4: Duplicate consultations from 3 to 8 June 1771 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Vansittart*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the ship *Resolution*. 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship *Vansittart*. 9: Cash account from 9 to 14 June 1771 10: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 8 June 1771 11: Account of the ship *Bridgewater*. 12: Account of the ship *Huntingdon*. 13: Duplicate account of the ship *Vansittart*. 14: Abstract of the cargo of the ship *Northington*. The Council opened its next letter by noting that the previous one went on 14 June 1771 by the *Huntingdon*, which sailed in company with the *Bridgewater*. 2: The Company's ship *Harcourt* arrived from Bencoolen on the day the Council wrote. 3: Mr Herbert and Messrs Bailey, Baker, He[...]y and Ho[...]s were the passengers aboard the *Harcourt*. **Interpretations** The *Harcourt* returned to the island a year after leaving it. She was one of the two outward ships that arrived in May 1770 and sailed on 13 June 1770, and she took 38 condemned iron guns aboard as ballast. Captain Paul signed bills of lading on 22 May 1770 binding himself and his owners to deliver them when the ship reached the Thames. Her reappearance from Bencoolen showed the route by which she was to get there. She went on from St Helena to the Company's settlement in Sumatra, loaded pepper and was only now homeward bound. The guns therefore travelled halfway round the world and back as ballast before they could be landed in England. The arrangement cost the Company no freight, as the Council said at the time, but it also meant the scrap iron spent well over a year at sea. The two bills of lading sent home on 23 May 1770 and 30 May 1770 had been in the Court's hands for most of that time, waiting for the ship. Her consort of 1770 fared worse. The *British King* sailed from the island on the same day and was reported on 8 March 1771 as having lost her passage to China. The *Harcourt*, bound for a nearer destination on the west coast of Sumatra, completed her voyage and returned within twelve months. The abstract of the cargo of the *Northington* went home six days after the Council explained that it could not be made. The packet list of 8 June 1771

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			noted that Captain Sealy held no bill of lading. An abstract was now supplied all the same, which meant the particulars were obtained in the interval from some other source, probably the ship's own books or her officers' account of what was stowed. The Council thus repaired the omission as far as it could, having first put on record that the proper document was missing. Three of the tail-end ships had by then been dispatched. The *Vansittart* took the packet of 8 June 1771, and the *Huntingdon* and the *Bridgewater* sailed together after 14 June 1771 with the Governor's kinsman in command of one of them. The *Northington* and the *Worcester* remained in the road, and the new letter was written for one of them or for the *Harcourt*.
305	298	[The right-hand edge is irregularly lost along its length.] receive on board his Ship, John Moyer a discharged Soldier, and§ §John Grant a Man left here out of the Ship Admiral Pocock§ §and carry them to England —§ §5 We have given Captain Hall an Order, to receive§ §on board his Ship, Edward Cockes, John Shaw John Lemon, William§ §Rowland, Thos. Hunt, John Wallis, Thos. Baillee William§ §Emmerson, James Royer John Butterick James Westbroke and§ §Thomas Watson, twelve Invalid Soldiers, the four first, Edward Cockes§ §John Shaw, John Lemon, and William Rowland, are recommended§ §to be put upon the Military Fund, on account of their long Services§ §Age, and Infirmitys, appearing to Us to be proper Objects of that§ §Charity, we have given them Certificates authenticated in the§ §manner you have been pleased to direct, And have paid Capt Hall§ §five pounds for each of their Passages, together with the eight§ §other Invalids beforementioned, his Receipt for the same goes§ §herewith, Copys of the Certificates we transmit you in the Packet —§ §6 The Governor gave out in Orders, the Conditions of§ §the Covenant, as well as the Regulations respecting the Military§ §Fund, that all the Garrison may be acquainted with the§ §conditions, that will entitle them to the benefit of the said Fund§ §and likewise directed a Copy of the same to be fixed up in the§ §Barracks, for their Information —§ §7 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to John Skottowe Esqr. Governor for £168.5.§ §payable to Captain Nicholas Skottowe. One Set to Mr. Jonathan§ §Doveton for £76.12. payable to Mr. George Ritherdon; and§ §one Set to Captain Richard Hall for £60. payable to§ §himself, all drawn at ninety days sight, and dated this day —§ §8 Captains Hall, and Sealy, requests we would§ §permit them to touch at Ascension to get Turtle for the further§ §refreshment of their Ships Company, we have given them§ §leave to call there for that purpose —§ §9 This Letter waits on you by the Ship§ §Worcester§	Captain Sealy was given a permit to take two men aboard his ship and carry them to England. John Mo[...], discharged soldier John G[...], a man left on the island from the ship Admiral Pocock The ship named in that entry was the Company's *Admiral Pocock*. 5: Captain Hall received an order to take twelve invalid soldiers aboard his ship. Edward Co[...]er, invalid soldier, recommended to the Military Fund John Shaw, invalid soldier, recommended to the Military Fund John Lemon, invalid soldier, recommended to the Military Fund William Rowland, invalid soldier, recommended to the Military Fund Thomas Hunt, invalid soldier John Wallis, invalid soldier Thomas Baillie, invalid soldier William Emmerson, invalid soldier James Ro[...], invalid soldier John Bul[...]ck, invalid soldier James Westbroke, invalid soldier Thomas Watson, invalid soldier The first four were recommended for the Military Fund on account of their long service, age and infirmities, which made them fitting objects of that charity in the Council's view. Each received a certificate authenticated in the manner the Court directed. The Council paid Captain Hall £5 0s 0d for the passage of each of the twelve. His receipt went home with the letter, and copies of the certificates travelled in the packet. 6: The Governor published in garrison orders the terms of the covenant and the regulations of the Military Fund, so that every soldier knew the conditions that would entitle him to its benefit. A copy was also posted at the barracks for the men's information. 7: The Council granted three sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the day of the letter. Governor Skottowe, payable to Captain Nicholas Skottowe, £168 5s 0d Mr Jonathan Doveton, payable to Mr George [...]therden, £76 12s 0d Captain Richard Hall, payable to himself, £60 0s 0d 8: Captains Hall and Sealy asked for leave to call at Ascension for turtle, to give their crews more fresh food. The Council allowed them to stop there for that purpose. 9: The letter went by the *Worcester*. **Interpretations** The Military Fund was put to use for the first time. This was the fund established by covenant with Lord Clive, whose printed terms reached the island in April 1771 and were acknowledged in the letter of 4 May 1771. The Council sent twelve invalids home

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			and recommended four of them. The remaining eight were just as unfit to serve, since all twelve went with a paid passage as invalids, yet they received no certificate. The Council named the grounds on which it chose: long service, age and infirmity together. A man disabled early in his engagement had no long service to plead, and the fund was meant for soldiers worn out in the Company's employment. The Council thus acted as gatekeeper, and its certificate was the document on which a discharged man's claim in England depended. Copies went home separately in the packet, so that a claimant could not alter his paper or present one the Council never gave. Publishing the terms served discipline as much as fairness. The Governor had the conditions read in orders and posted at the barracks, where every soldier could see what earned a pension and what forfeited one. The letter of 4 May 1771 stated that men discharged at their own request were excluded. A soldier now knew that serving on until age or injury ended his usefulness brought support for life, while leaving when his time expired brought nothing. The garrison had lost seven men by desertion in a longboat on 28 July 1770 and four more had tried to stow away in May 1771. A visible reward for long and faithful service gave the men a reason to stay that orders and sentries could not supply. Twelve invalids in one ship was the largest number in these records, after nine in two ships in March 1771. The arrival of about 120 recruits in April 1771 allowed the Council to clear the garrison of men past service, and the fund gave it a way to do so without casting the oldest of them adrift. The fare stayed at £5 0s 0d a head, as in every case since 19 July 1769. The second man in Captain Sealy's charge was a seaman left behind by the *Admiral Pocock*, which sailed with the convoy on 4 May 1771. He was probably landed sick and unable to rejoin before she left. Captain Sealy received a "permit" for both men, the same form of words used for the corporal carried home by Captain Nicholas Skottowe on 14 June 1771, and no fare was mentioned. The Governor drew a second bill in favour of Captain Nicholas Skottowe, for £168 5s 0d, after the £500 0s 0d of 5 June 1771. The captain had sailed some days earlier, so the bill was sent after him for collection in London. Jonathan Doveton's payee was the Mr George [...]itherden named in his bill of 4 September 1769. Captain Hall commanded the *Worcester* and Captain Sealy the *Northington*, and the two were dispatched together.
306	299	Worcester which sails in Company with the Northington§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §17th June 1771§ §Your most obed & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §[...] Barling§ §List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St Helena [...] Ship§ §Worcester dated the 17th June 1771 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 17th June 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do of Do dated 14th do do§ §3 Consultation of the 17th June do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 10th Do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Huntingdon§ §6 First do for a small paper Do [...] Ship Bridgewater§ §7 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Van Sittart§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§	The letter closed by noting that the *Worcester* sailed in company with the *Northington*. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed it at St Helena on 17 June 1771. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Worcester*, dated 17 June 1771. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 17 June 1771. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 14 June 1771. 3: Consultation of 17 June 1771. 4: Duplicate consultation of 10 June 1771. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Huntingdon*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Bridgewater*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Van Sittart*. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Huntingdon*. 10: Cash account from 15 to 17 June 1771.

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		§9 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Huntingdon§ §10 Cash Account from 15 to 17th June 1771§ §11 Duplicate Do from 9th to 14th do do§ §12 Ship Worcesters Account§ §13 Ship Northingtons Do§ §14 Duplicate Ship Bridgewaters Account§ §15 Do Ship Huntingdons Do§	11: Duplicate cash account from 9 to 14 June 1771. 12: Account of the *Worcester*. 13: Account of the *Northington*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Bridgewater*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Huntingdon*. **Interpretations** The packet shows how the island guarded its correspondence against loss at sea. Each homeward ship carried the fresh papers together with duplicates of what the previous ship took, so the letter of 14 June 1771 and the consultation of 10 June 1771 travelled a second time in the *Worcester*. Had an earlier vessel been wrecked or captured, the Company would still have received a complete record. The receipts served as proof of delivery. A commander signed for each packet he took on board, and the island forwarded those receipts home by a different ship, allowing the Company to hold a named captain answerable for any packet that failed to arrive. Numbering them first and second indicates that more than one copy of each receipt was signed, so that copies could travel separately. The effective state of the garrison was a return of the soldiers actually fit and present for duty, as distinct from the nominal strength on the books. The ships' accounts recorded what each vessel owed for water, provisions and other supplies taken at the island. The cash accounts covered very short spans, 9 to 14 June 1771 and 15 to 17 June 1771. Each appears to have been closed at the date of a departing ship, giving the Company a running statement of the treasury brought up to the moment of sailing.
307	300	No 16. Time of the Arrival of Ship Harcourts Boat at Banks's§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoe of Do§ §18 Capt. Halls first Receipt for £60§ §19 Govr & Councils Certificates of four Invalid Soldiers recommended§ §to be put upon the Military Fund§ §20 Surgeons Certificate of Eight Invalid Soldiers§ §21 Govr & Lieut Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. We addressed you the 17th of last Month by the§ §Ship Worcester which left this Place in company with the§ §Northington§ §2. On the 29th of June Arrived your Ship§ §Egmont from Madrass which place Captain Mears acquaints Us§ §he left the 22d of March last§ §3 By the Ship Harcourt we received a Letter§ §from your President and Council of Fort Marlborough mentioning§ §the sending back Nagudate Poculim the Mallay Prisoner, the§ §aforesaid Letter is inserted on Consultation of 24th June to which§ §we beg leave to refer you, and request you will be pleased to give Us§ §directions next Year whether the said Man is to be permitted to§ §return to Bencoolen, or continue on the Island, if the former§ §we beg to know whether his Expences here carried to Account of§ §Fort Marlborough on our Books is to be wrote off to Account§ §Current London, or draw on that Settlement for the amount of§ §them.§	The list of papers in the packet continued with six further items. 16: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Harcourt* at Banks's. 17: Abstract of the cargo of [...]. 18: First receipt from Captain Hall for £60 0s 0d. 19: Certificates from the Governor and Council for four invalid soldiers recommended for the Military Fund. 20: Surgeon's certificate for eight invalid soldiers. 21: Letter from the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the Secret Committee. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 17 June 1771 by the *Worcester*, which left the island together with the *Northington*. 2: The *Egmont* arrived from Madras on 29 June 1771. Captain Mears reported leaving that port on 22 March 1771. 3: The *Harcourt* brought a letter from the President and Council of Fort Marlborough about the return of Nagudale Poulim, the Malay prisoner. The Council copied that letter into its consultation of 24 June 1771 and referred the Court to it there. Instructions were requested for the following year on whether the man should go back to Bencoolen or stay on the island. If he was to go back, the Council also asked how to treat his costs, which stood in the island's books as a charge against Fort Marlborough. Those costs could either be written off to the London current account or recovered by drawing on that settlement. 4: The *Egmont* also brought the Council a letter. **Interpretations** The Council chose to refer the prisoner's future to London and wait a full year for an answer. Fort Marlborough's letter had already raised his return, and a ship bound for Sumatra could have carried him without further authority. Holding him instead kept the island clear of responsibility for a decision that

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		§4 We likewise received a Letter by the Egmont§ §from§	belonged to another settlement, and it tied his release to the unsettled question of who would bear the cost of keeping him. That cost question shows how the Company's settlements accounted with one another. St Helena recorded the prisoner's maintenance as a debt owed by Fort Marlborough. Writing it off to the London current account would have passed the expense to the Company at home, while drawing on Fort Marlborough meant issuing a bill that the Sumatran settlement had to honour from its own funds. Fort Marlborough was the Company's settlement at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra. St Helena served it as a place of exile for troublesome local figures, remote enough to prevent any return without the Company's consent. Banks's was the battery on the north-eastern coast that homeward ships passed before reaching the anchorage. A ship sent its boat ahead to report there, and noting the time of that arrival gave the Company a record of when the vessel first made contact with the island. The Military Fund supported soldiers no longer fit to serve. Admission needed both a medical finding and the government's recommendation, which explains the two sets of certificates. The surgeon certified eight men as invalids, while the Governor and Council put forward only four for the fund. The letter to the Secret Committee travelled outside the general correspondence. That committee of the Court handled confidential matters, and only the Governor and Lieutenant Governor signed to it, not the full Council.
308	301	from the President and Council of Fort St. George with respect§ §to sending here three Deserters. The said Letter is entered in our§ §Consultation of the 1st instant for your perusal, We have detained§ §the said Deserters to serve their respective times in this Garrison§ §5 The Passengers on board the Ship Egmont are§ §Captn Dent, Captn Nixon. The Honble Mr. Stewart, Mr. Stratton§ §& Messrs. Ewer, W. Wright & Nash.§ §6 We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One set to Lieut. Thomas Bazett for seventy six pounds twelve§ §shillings payable to Capt. Robert Carr, and one set to Mr. William§ §Wrangham for one thousand pounds payable to Capt. John Cotton§ §both dated the 1st instant. One set to Mr. Matthew Purling for one§ §hundred and thirty three pounds, eleven shillings, and seven pence§ §payable to Messrs. Cotton and Sons, Merchants in London. One set to§ §Captn Nathaniel Paul for six hundred and fifty pounds payable to§ §himself. And one set to Capt. Eccles Nixon for three hundred pounds§ §payable to himself, dated this day, and drawn at ninety days sight.§ §7 As the last Quarters Accounts will not be§ §laid before Us until the 15th instant, we for this reason cannot§ §transmit any other Cash Account by this conveyance, than the§ §Duplicate of the last§ §8 Patrick Elliott a Man left sick here out of§ §the Ship Northington, dying on the 22d of last Month, We Ordered§ §his Effects to be sold at Publick Auction, and the Balance§	The letter brought by the *Egmont* came from the President and Council of Fort St George and concerned three deserters sent to the island. The Council copied it into the consultation of 1 July 1771 for the Court to read. The three men were kept on the island to serve out their terms in the garrison. 5: The passengers aboard the *Egmont* were Captain Dent, Captain Nixon, the Honourable Mr Stewart, Mr Stratton and Messrs Ewer, Wright and Nash. 6: The Council issued five sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. The first two were dated 1 July 1771 and the other three bore the date of the letter. Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, payable to Captain Robert Carr, £76 12s 0d Mr William Wrangham, payable to Captain John Cotton, £1,000 0s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to Messrs Cotton and Sons, merchants in London, £133 11s 7d Captain Nathaniel Paul, payable to himself, £650 0s 0d Captain Eccles Nixon, payable to himself, £300 0s 0d 7: The accounts for the previous quarter were not due before the Council until 16 July 1771. No cash account could therefore go by this ship except the duplicate of the earlier one. 8: Patrick Elliott, a man left behind sick by the *Northington*, died on 22 June 1771. The Council had his belongings sold at public auction. The balance of £18 7s 7d went into the Company's cash and was credited to the London current account. The sale account and related papers were entered in the consultation of 24 June 1771. 9: Andrew Tedrick, a matross, confessed before the Council at the consultation of 22 June 1771. He admitted breaking into the Company's stores on 12 March 1771 and said nobody helped him in the act itself. He named Stephen Swartson, another matross, as the man who encouraged and advised him. **Interpretations**

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		§being eighteen pounds seven shillings and seven pence paid into§ §your Cash and wrote off to Account Current London, the§ §Account Sales &c. are entered in Consultation of the 24th June§ §9 Andrew Sedrick Matross having confessed§ §before Us in Consultation of 22d last Month that he was the§ §person who broke open your Honors Stores on the 12th of March§ §last without any Accomplice in the Act, but that Stephen§ §Swartson another Matross, was an abettor and adviser, also a§ §Sharer§	The bills of exchange were the means by which people on the island sent money to England. A buyer paid cash into the Company's treasury at St Helena and received a bill ordering the Company in London to pay the named person. Payment fell due 90 days after the bill was presented there. The arrangement spared the buyer the risk of shipping coin and kept the island's treasury supplied with cash for its running costs. Bills were issued in sets of several copies sent by different ships, and only the first to arrive was paid. Elliott's estate was handled in the same way. Crediting the £18 7s 7d to the London current account meant the island kept the cash while the Company at home became answerable for that sum to his heirs, who could claim it in England. The deserters from Madras could have been returned to Fort St George for punishment or sent on to England. The Council instead put them into its own garrison for the remainder of their terms, which turned another settlement's offenders into soldiers for an island that depended on passing ships for recruits. A matross was an artillery soldier ranking below a gunner, who assisted in loading, firing and sponging the guns. Tedrick's confession separated the break-in itself from the encouragement behind it. By insisting that he acted alone while naming Swartson as adviser, he exposed a second man to prosecution as an accessory without lessening his own guilt as the one who committed the theft.
309	302	sharer of the Money with the said Sedrick, in consequence of which§ §we determined to bring them both to their Tryals at the next§ §Quarterly Sessions, and as you will observe that the Money found§ §in two seperate parcels only amounts to one hundred and sixty§ §five pounds, twelve shillings and upon the strictest enquiry from§ §each of the aforesaid Men, they can only account from their memory§ §of laying out at different times, the Sum of between thirty and§ §forty pounds each, and supposing their Accounts to be just, still§ §leaves a great deficiency of the original Sum stole, And as Sedrick§ §in his confession gives us great reason to think, that Swartson§ §had a Confederate with him unknown to Sedrick, as he Sedrick§ §observed upon his going to look at the Money the second time the§ §bag lighter than it was before, having shown to the said§ §Swartson before that period where it was hid, but upon our§ §urging the same to Swartson, he absolutely denied having§ §taken any of the Money out before they divided it between them§ §or had any other Accomplice with him but Sedrick, and as§ §he would not confess any thing further we must wait the Issue§ §of their Tryals as perhaps that may lead to a further discovery§ §of the deficiency, for further particulars we beg leave to refer you§ §to the aforesaid Consultation of 22d last Month for our proceedings§ §in this Affair, And after the Tryal shall bring the	Tedrick also named Swartson as the man who took a share of the stolen money with him. The Council therefore decided to try both men at the next quarterly court. The money recovered lay in two separate parcels and came to only £165 12s 0d. Under close questioning, each man could recall spending no more than between £30 0s 0d and £40 0s 0d at various times. Even if those figures were accurate, a large part of the stolen sum remained missing. Tedrick's confession gave the Council strong grounds to suspect that Swartson had a second partner whom Tedrick did not know. Tedrick had shown Swartson where the money was hidden. On his second visit to the hiding place he found the bag lighter than before. The Council pressed Swartson on this point. He flatly denied removing any money before the two men divided it and denied having any partner other than Tedrick. Swartson admitted nothing more, so the Council waited for the outcome of the trials in the hope that they would reveal where the rest went. The Court was referred to the consultation of 22 June 1771 for the full proceedings. Once the trials ended, the Council intended to credit the Company's account with the money already recovered and with any further sum that came to light. 10: Captains Mears and Paul asked for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed them to call there for that purpose. 11: The letter went by the *Egmont*. **Interpretations** The Council held the recovered £165 12s 0d outside the Company's books until after the trials. The money was Company property taken from its own stores on 12 March 1771, and returning it to the account at once was the plain course. Keeping it apart preserved the two parcels as evidence for the court and allowed a single entry once the full amount recovered was known. Tedrick's observation about the lighter bag carried weight because of its timing. Only Swartson had been shown the hiding place before the second

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		Money we§ §have already got with what further sum we may find or discover§ §duly to the Company's Account§ §10 Capt. Mears & Paul requesting leave to touch§ §at Ascension to get Turtle, we have permitted them to call there for§ §that purpose.§ §11 This Letter goes by your Ship Egmont Copy§	visit, so any loss between the two visits pointed to him or to someone he told. This turned the confession from a simple admission into the main evidence against his fellow soldier, and it explains why the Council questioned Swartson again without result. The quarterly court was the island's regular criminal sitting, held four times a year. Serious charges waited for it instead of being dealt with by the Council at an ordinary consultation, which is why two men who had already confessed or been accused in June still awaited trial. Ascension, an uninhabited island to the north-west on the homeward route, was a breeding ground for green turtles. Ships took them alive on board as a supply of fresh meat for the remaining voyage. Company commanders were expected to make their passage without unauthorised stops, so the two captains needed the Council's permission before calling there.
310	303	of which we have put on board the Harcourt§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §3d July 1771§ §Your most Obed. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Matt Purling§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Egmont dated the 3d July 1771 vizt.§ §1 Governor & Councils Genl Letter dated the 3d July 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 17th June Do§ §3 Consultations from 22 June to 3d July Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of 17th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Worcester§ §6 First Do for a small paper Packet [...] Ship Northington§ §7 First Do for the Govr & Lieut Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §8 Second Do for the Packet [...] Ship Huntingdon§ §9 Second Do for a small paper packet [...] Ship Bridgewater§ §10 Capt. Halls second Receipt for £60§ §11 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §12 Effective State of Do§ §13 List of Officers & Servants taken 3d July 1771§ §14 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Worcester§ §15 Do Cash Account from 15th to 17th June 1771§ §16 Ship Egmonts Account§	A copy of the letter also went aboard the *Harcourt*. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Purling signed it at St Helena on 3 July 1771. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Egmont*, dated 3 July 1771. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 July 1771. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 17 June 1771. 3: Consultations from 22 June to 3 July 1771. 4: Duplicate consultation of 17 June 1771. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Worcester*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Northington*. 7: First receipt for the letter from the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the Secret Committee. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Huntingdon*. 9: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Bridgewater*. 10: Second receipt from Captain Hall for £60 0s 0d. 11: Muster rolls of the garrison. 12: Effective state of the garrison. 13: List of officers and servants taken on 3 July 1771. 14: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the Worcester. 15: Duplicate cash account from 15 to 17 June 1771. 14: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Worcester*. 16: Account of the *Egmont*. **Interpretations** The second receipts for the *Huntingdon* and *Bridgewater* packets completed a pattern visible in the packet of 17 June 1771, which carried the first receipts for those same two ships. Each commander signed more than one copy on taking a packet aboard, and the island spread those copies across successive departures. The loss of any single ship therefore could not destroy the proof that a named captain had accepted the papers. The muster rolls listed every soldier by name and company, while the effective state gave only the numbers fit for duty. Sending both let the Court compare the men it was paying against the men actually able to serve. The list of officers and servants did the same for the civil establishment, fixing who held each post on the day the letter was signed. Only a duplicate cash account went home, as the letter itself explained: the previous quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 16 July 1771.

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311	304	No 17 Ship Harcourts Account§ §18 Duplicate Ship Worcesters Do§ §19 Do Ship Northingtons Do§ §20 Time of the Arrival of Ship Egmonts Boat at Banks's§ §21 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Egmont§ §22 Duplicate Surgeons Certificate of 8 Invalid Soldiers§ §To the Honble &c.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. Our last Advices waited on you by§ §the Ship Egmont, which left this Place the 3d July, in company with§ §the Harcourt.§ §2 On the 5th instant arrived your Ship Prime from§ §China, the 7th Lord Mansfield from Bengal, and the 20th True Briton§ §from Bombay. Capt. Broadley acquaints Us he Sailed from thence§ §the 10th April and left your Ship Northumberland there, the Duke of§ §Portland he says was daily expected at that place, he likewise tells§ §Us he heard at Tellicherry that the Morse arrived at Madrass§ §about the middle of April last.§ §3 The 26th of this Month arrived your Ship§ §Pigot, by which conveyance we received your Letter of the 17th May last,§ §and you may be assured we shall expedite all in our power the§ §unloading this Ship and dispatch her in the time limitted.§ §4 Mr. Lauchlan Leslie, shall be paid the§ §Salary and is appointed to his Rank Agreeable to your Orders. In§ §Consultation of the 1st April 1771 We mentioned our having appointed§ §Mr.§	The list of papers in the packet continued with six further items. 17: Account of the *Harcourt*. 18: Duplicate account of the *Worcester*. 19: Duplicate account of the *Northington*. 20: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Egmont* at Banks's. 21: Abstract of the cargo of the *Egmont*. 22: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for 8 invalid soldiers. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Egmont*, which left the island on 3 July 1771 together with the *Harcourt*. 2: Three ships reached the island in the same month. The *Prime* arrived from China on 5 July 1771, the *Lord Mansfield* from Bengal on 7 July 1771 and the *True Briton* from Bombay on 20 July 1771. Captain Broadley reported sailing from Bombay on 16 April 1771 and leaving the *Northumberland* there. He added that the *Duke of Portland* was expected at that port any day. News had also reached him at Tellicherry that the *Morse* arrived at Madras about the middle of April 1771. 3: The *Pigot* arrived on 26 July 1771 and brought the Court's letter of 17 May 1771. The Council promised to do everything possible to speed her unloading and send her away within the time allowed. 4: The Council undertook to pay Mr Lauchlan Leslie his salary and confirmed his appointment to his rank, as the Court ordered. An appointment made by the Council was mentioned in the consultation of 1 April 1771. **Interpretations** The shipping news in paragraph 2 served the Court as intelligence. A homeward captain's report of which vessels lay at Bombay, which were expected and which had reached Madras gave London its earliest word on ships it would not hear from directly for months. Tellicherry, a Company trading post on the Malabar coast, was a usual port of call for Bombay ships loading pepper, which explains how Captain Broadley picked up news of a vessel on the opposite side of India. The *Pigot* was an outward-bound ship carrying the Court's letter and stores for the island, unlike the homeward vessels listed before her. The Company's charter terms allowed such a ship only a fixed stay for unloading, after which the owners could claim compensation for delay. The Council's assurance about her dispatch answered that financial risk. The duplicate surgeon's certificate repeated the one for eight invalid soldiers sent in the packet of 17 June 1771, following the island's practice of sending each paper twice by different ships.
312	305	Mr. Richard Powell a Cadet, and according to his future good§ §behaviour to promote him an Officer on this Establishment, the§ §vacancy of a Second Lieutenant by the permission we gave to§ §Lieutenant Frost to retire not being filled up by your Honors by§ §your General Letters [...] Calcutta & Duke of Richmond we intended§ §the said Commission for Mr. Powell, yet determined not to appoint§ §him untill the arrival of Pigot, in case you thought proper to fill§ §up the same, And as Mr. Lauchlan Leslie has been appointed by§ §your Honors to that Vacancy we are thereby prevented from§	The appointment mentioned in the consultation of 1 April 1771 was that of Mr Richard Powell as a cadet, with a promise of promotion to officer on the island's establishment if he continued to behave well. A second lieutenant's post fell vacant when the Council allowed Lieutenant Frost to retire. The Court's general letters by the *Calcutta* and the *Duke of Richmond* did not fill it, and the Council meant the commission for Powell. No appointment was made before the *Pigot* arrived, in case the Court chose to fill the post itself. The Court then gave the vacancy to Mr Lauchlan Leslie, which left the Council unable to help Powell. Powell served as a cadet for five months and did his duty steadily throughout. The Council judged that he showed spirit, earned credit for himself and gave full satisfaction. His father was a very old and faithful servant of the Company. The Governor and Council

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		§serving the said Richard Powell who has behaved himself§ §perfectly well and constantly done his Duty as Cadet for these§ §five Months past, with Spirit and Credit to himself, and very much§ §to our satisfaction, and beg leave further to offer that he is a Son of a§ §very old and faithful Servant of yours and was recommended by the§ §Governor & Council to your favour as a writer in the Year 1764, but§ §then thought too Young by the Court of Directors for their Service§ §now in consideration of what we have set forth with respect to the§ §Young Mans Character and his former disappointment, together§ §with the present. We request your Honors will permit Us to§ §appoint the said Richard Powell a Supernumerary Second§ §Lieutenant on this Establishment until a vacancy happens§ §5 The Orders received from the Gentlemen of the§ §Secret Committee or any three of them, shall be punctually obeyed§ §6 We shall want the next Year sixty Recruits§ §to complete our Establishment, which we request you will be pleased§ §to send Us§ §7 The Passengers on these Ships are Mr. Sharpe on§ §the Prime, Mr. Skelton on the Lord Mansfield, and Messrs. [...] and§ §Cockall§	of the day recommended the young man for a writer's post in 1764, but the Court of Directors then thought him too young. In view of his character, that earlier disappointment and this fresh one, the Council asked permission to appoint him a supernumerary second lieutenant until a vacancy occurred. 5: The Council promised to obey punctually any orders received from the Secret Committee or from any three of its members. 6: Sixty recruits were needed the following year to bring the garrison up to its full establishment, and the Council asked the Court to send them. 7: The passengers on these ships included Mr Sharpe on the *Prime* and Mr Skelton on the *Lord Mansfield*. **Interpretations** The Council held back a commission it was free to grant. Frost's retirement left a post open, Powell was on the spot and the Council had already marked him for it. Waiting for the *Pigot* deferred to the Court's right to name officers from London, and the caution proved justified when the letter of 17 May 1771 gave the place to Leslie. An appointment made earlier would have had to be undone. A supernumerary officer held rank above the fixed number of posts allowed to the garrison. The request therefore asked the Court to accept an extra officer for a time, with Powell stepping into the first regular vacancy. The Council could not create such a post on its own authority, since the size of the establishment was set in London. A cadet was a young man serving with the garrison in expectation of a commission, without yet holding an officer's rank. A writer was the most junior grade of the Company's civil service, a clerk who could rise through the civil ranks. Powell had thus been put forward first for the civil line in 1764 and later for the military one. The case rested as much on the father's long service as on the son's conduct. Patronage within the Company ran through such family claims, and the Council presented two failed applications as a debt the Court might now settle.
313	306	Crockatt on board the True Briton.§ §8 The long stay of the Ship Prime at this Place§ §has been owing to the sickly condition she arrived in the scurvy§ §having attacked his people in a very severe manner, many of§ §which he lost between the Cape and this Place, and nine Men§ §since here, but Captain Eglinton informs Us, he shall be ready§ §some time next Week to proceed on his Voyage.§ §9 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One Set to Danl Corneille Esqr for nineteen pounds§ §seven shillings, payable to Messrs. Stainforth Giberne and§ §Stainforth dated the 12th instant; Three Sets to Mr. Matthew§ §Purling, one for four hundred & fifty pounds payable to John§ §Purling Esqr. One for sixty nine pounds, eleven shillings and§ §two pence payable to Messrs. Jonas Cotton and Sons Merchants in§ §London, and one for fifty four pounds, eight shillings and ten pence§ §payable to Captn. Charles Mears. One Set to Digby Dent Esqr.§ §for two hundred pounds payable to himself. One Set to Mr.§ §William Wrangham for fifty two pounds ten shillings and ten§	The passenger list closed with Messrs Dodwell and Crockatt, who travelled aboard the *True Briton*. 8: The *Prime* stayed at the island far longer than usual because of the sickly state in which she arrived. Scurvy struck her crew very severely. Many died between the Cape and St Helena, and nine more men died after she anchored. Captain Eglinton told the Council that the ship would be ready to resume her voyage some time in the following week. 9: The Council issued seven sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. The first was dated 12 July 1771 and the other six were dated 26 July 1771. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to Messrs Stainforth, Giberne and Stainforth, £19 7s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £450 0s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to Messrs Jonas Cotton and Sons, merchants in London, £69 11s 2d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to Captain Charles Mears, £54 8s 10d Digby Dent Esquire, payable to himself, £200 0s 0d Mr William Wrangham, payable to Mr John Morgan, £52 10s 10d Hugh Jones, payable to John Robins, £250 0s 0d 10: Captain Willson applied for leave to call at Ascension to collect turtle as further fresh food for his crew. **Interpretations** Scurvy, caused by a long want of fresh food, was the chief killer on the passage home from China. The

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		§pence, payable to Mr. John Morgan, and one Set to Hugh Jones§ §for two hundred and fifty pounds, payable to John Robins, all§ §dated the 26 instant, and drawn at ninety days sight.§ §10 Captain Willson applied for liberty to call§ §at Ascension to get Turtle for the further refreshment of§	*Prime* arrived on 5 July 1771 and was still at anchor at the end of the month. Her losses explain the delay: a ship that buried many of her men before the island and nine more in the road lacked the hands to work her safely. The weeks at St Helena gave the survivors fresh meat, greens and water, and gave the captain time to make up his crew. The deaths after arrival show how far gone some of the men were when they landed. The same concern lay behind Captain Willson's request. Live turtle taken at Ascension kept a crew in fresh meat for weeks on the last leg to England, and Captains Mears and Paul obtained the same permission in the letter of 3 July 1771. The bills show the island's officials using the treasury to remit their own money. Matthew Purling, a member of the Council, took three sets on one day worth £574 0s 0d in all, and Daniel Corneille took another. One of Purling's bills was payable to Captain Charles Mears, who commanded the *Egmont* and left the island on 3 July 1771. That bill probably settled a private debt for goods bought from the captain during his stay, since commanders carried trade goods of their own for sale at the island.
314	307	his People, we have permitted him to touch there for that purpose§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §29th August 1771§ §Your most Obed. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...]§ §Ship Lord Mansfield dated the 29th August 1771. vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils Genl Letter dated 29th August 1771§ §2 Do & Do & Do Do Do relating to Law§ §matters§ §3 Duplicate Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated 3d July 1771§ §4 Consultations from 15th July to the 26th August Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from 22d June to 3d July Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Egmont§ §7 First Do for a small paper Do [...] Ship Harcourt§ §8 Second Do for the Packet [...] Ship Worcester§ §9 Second Do for a small Paper Packet [...] Ship Northington§ §10 Second Do for the Govr. & Lieut. Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Egmont§ §13 Cash Account from 18th to the 30th June 1771§ §14 Do for the Month of July Do§	The Council allowed Captain Willson to call at Ascension for that purpose. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 29 August 1771. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Lord Mansfield*, dated 29 August 1771. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 29 August 1771. 2: Letter from the Governor and Council dated 29 August 1771 relating to law matters. 3: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 July 1771. 4: Consultations from 15 July to 26 August 1771. 5: Duplicate consultations from 22 June to 3 July 1771. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Egmont*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Harcourt*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Worcester*. 9: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Northington*. 10: Second receipt for the letter from the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the Secret Committee. 11: Effective state of the garrison. 12: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Egmont*. 13: Cash account from 18 to 30 June 1771. 14: Cash account for the month of July 1771. **Interpretations** The letter began after the *Pigot* arrived on 26 July 1771 and its bills carried that date, yet it was signed on 29 August 1771. The consultations enclosed with it ran to 26 August 1771. The Council therefore appears to have drafted the letter in late July and held it for a month until a ship was ready to carry it, dating it only at the point of dispatch. A separate letter on law matters travelled beside the general one. Keeping legal business apart allowed the Court to pass that letter to its own legal advisers without circulating the island's general correspondence. The cash accounts resumed with this packet. The letter of 3 July 1771 explained that the previous quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 16 July 1771, so only a duplicate went home then. The account from 18 to 30 June 1771 closed that quarter, and the account for July 1771 opened the next.
315	308	No. 15 Cash Account from the 1st to the 29th August§ §16 Ship Lord Mansfields Account§ §17 Duplicate Ship Egmonts Do§	The list of papers in the packet continued with seven further items. 15: Cash account from 1 to 29 August 1771.

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		§18 Do Do Harcourts Do§ §19 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Bankses§ §20 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Prime, Lord Mansfield and§ §True Briton§ §21 Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on 10th July 1771§ §To the Honble &c.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We Addressed you the 29th of last Month by the§ §Ship Lord Mansfield.§ §2 On the 13 of July last Mr. Bearcroft signifyd§ §to the Governor and Council that Andrew Sedrick then under§ §Sentence of Condemnation, had mentioned to him seemingly§ §with much contrition his knowledge of some malicious &§ §ill designing Persons on this Island, harbouring in their Breasts§ §the Malignant and Diabolical design of setting fire to, and§ §blowing up the Grand Magazine of Powder, in this Valley,§ §intending first to kill the Sentry posted over it. In consequence§ §of which intelligence the Governor and Council took the§ §necessary precautions to secure the same for the present, and§ §next Morning went to examine the said Magazine, with the§ §Engineer and as the side Walls of the different passages§ §leading to the first Chamber of said Magazine were only built§ §with small Stones & Dirt Mortar, and in our opinions very§ §unsafe, directed the Engineer to remove all the Powder out of§ §said§	16: Account of the *Lord Mansfield*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Egmont*. 18: Duplicate account of the *Harcourt*. 19: Time of arrival of the ships' boats at Banks's. 20: Abstract of the cargoes of the *Prime*, the *Lord Mansfield* and the *True Briton*. 21: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 10 July 1771. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 29 August 1771 by the *Lord Mansfield*. 2: Mr Bearcroft brought a warning to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 13 July 1771. Andrew Tedrick, then under sentence of death, had spoken to him with every sign of deep remorse. Tedrick claimed to know of certain ill-intentioned people on the island who planned to set fire to the main powder magazine in the valley and blow it up. They meant to kill the sentry posted over it first. The Governor and Council took immediate steps to secure the magazine for the time being. They went with the engineer the following morning to inspect it. The walls of the passages leading to its first chamber were built only of small stones and mud mortar, and the Council judged them very unsafe. The engineer was ordered to move all the powder out. **Interpretations** Tedrick was the matross who confessed on 22 June 1771 to breaking into the Company's stores on 12 March 1771. The quarterly court of 10 July 1771, whose proceedings went home in this packet, evidently condemned him, since he was under sentence of death three days later. A condemned man had an obvious motive to offer information that might earn mercy, and the letter's remark on his apparent remorse suggests the Council weighed that possibility. Mr Bearcroft was probably the island's chaplain, the person a prisoner awaiting execution would most naturally confide in. The Council acted on the word of a convicted thief without waiting to test it. Treating the story as a bid for a reprieve and leaving the powder where it lay was the easier course. The inspection changed the question: walls of small stones bound with mud were a danger whether or not any plot existed, so the removal was justified by the building's own weakness. The main magazine held the garrison's reserve of gunpowder. Its position in the valley, beside the town and the fort, meant an explosion threatened the settlement itself as well as the island's means of defence.
316	309	said Magazine to the one in the Castle, and to rebuild the interior§ §Walls with Lime Mortar and large Stones, and the outward one of§ §Purbeck Stone laid in Lime and crampt with Iron, a Door added, &§ §the outward one of all faced with Copper all which we have now§ §completed, and are satisfied that it is made as secure as Art can§ §make it, the above diabolical scheme we are at a loss what Idea§ §to form of it, as the said Sedrick constantly from the day of his§ §Condemnation to the day of Execution kept to the same Story, and§ §accused the undernamed People of being privy to the above. Godfrey§ §Smith of the Artillery, Peter Buckman and [...] of the§ §Marching Companys, but at the Gallows denyed the whole§ §positively asserting that it was all a scheme of his own§	The engineer moved the powder from the valley magazine to the one in the castle. He rebuilt the inner walls with lime mortar and large stones. The outer wall was built of Purbeck stone laid in lime and cramped with iron. A door was added, and the outer door was faced entirely with copper. All this work was finished, and the Council was satisfied that the magazine was as secure as skill could make it. The Council did not know what to make of the plot itself. From the day of his sentence to the day of his execution Tedrick held to the same story. He accused Godfrey Smith of the artillery, Peter Buckman and [...] of the marching companies of knowing about the plan. At the gallows he withdrew everything and declared firmly that he made the whole story up. The Council questioned the accused men again. Each denied any part in such a plan or any thought of it. Buckman, however, was a man of thoroughly bad character, and the Council decided to discharge him from the garrison. The others were warned that only their future conduct could persuade the Council that Tedrick's charge was false.

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		§invention. We further examined the above Men who denyed ever§ §being concerned or ever had any such diabolical intention, however§ §as Buckman one of the four is a Man of a most infamous§ §Character we have determined to discharge him the Garrison§ §and have cautioned the others how much it stands them upon§ §that their future conduct may convince Us of the falsity of§ §Sedrick's Accusation,§ §3 We have given Captain Eglington an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship John Langton, William England, John§ §Whittingdale, John Thorpe, Timothy Avery, James McGuire and§ §George Oliver, seven Invalid Soldiers. George Oliver we recommend§ §as a proper object to be put on the Military Fund, on account of§ §his Phrensy and having received a hurt at Mundens Point by§ §a fall of a Rock. We have given him Certificates authenticated§ §in the manner you have been pleased to direct, and have§ §paid Captain Eglington thirty five pounds for the Passages of§ §the seven Invalids, his receipt together with Olivers Certificate§ §goes in the Packet§ §4 We have likewise given Capt. Eglington an§ §Order to receive John McAllister and the above John Buckman§ §two discharged Soldiers towards completing the Princes§ §Company§	3: Governor Skottowe and the Council ordered Captain Eglinton to take seven invalid soldiers aboard his ship. John Langton William England John Whittingdale John Thorpe Timothy [...] James McGrew George Oliver The Council recommended George Oliver as a fit person for the Military Fund. He suffered from pleurisy and was injured at Munden's Point when a rock fell on him. He received certificates authenticated in the way the Court directed. Captain Eglinton was paid £35 0s 0d for the passage of the seven invalids. His receipt and Oliver's certificate went in the packet. 4: Captain Eglinton was also ordered to take John McAllister and John Buckman, two discharged soldiers, to help make up the crew of the *Prime*. **Interpretations** The Council discharged Buckman although the only evidence against him was withdrawn at the gallows. Tedrick's retraction cleared all the accused equally, and keeping every man in the ranks under warning was the consistent course. Buckman's bad name set him apart. Removing him cost the garrison one soldier and rid the island of a man it distrusted, without any need to prove the plot. The Buckman sent aboard the *Prime* appears with the first name John, while the accused man is called Peter, though the letter treats them as the same person. That discharge also met a practical need. The *Prime* lost many men to scurvy, as the letter of 29 August 1771 recorded, and two discharged soldiers went some way towards filling the gaps in her crew. The island thus exported an unwanted man as a working hand. The warning to the remaining accused left them under open suspicion with no charge to answer. Their own behaviour became the test of their innocence, a form of control that needed no trial. The rebuilding shows what the Council thought a secure magazine required. Lime mortar set hard where mud mortar crumbled. Purbeck stone, a durable limestone from Dorset, must have come out as cargo or ballast from England. Iron cramps tied the blocks together against being prised apart. Copper was chosen for the door because it does not strike sparks as iron does, a standard precaution wherever powder was stored. The passage money came to £5 0s 0d for each invalid. Munden's Point was the fortified headland on the eastern side of the anchorage, where work on the batteries exposed soldiers to falling rock from the cliffs above.
317	310	Company and have put onboard that Ship Peter Sidington and§ §Peter White, two Seamen left sick here out of the Ship Northington,§ §the former was in the Hospital fifty three days at seven pence§ §[...] day amounting to £1.10.11. and the latter thirty seven days§ §amounting to £1.1.7. We advise you of the same, that you may§ §be repaid those Sums from the Owners of the Ship Northington§ §5. The Merlons of Purling's Battery being out of§ §repair, occasioned by the composition they are made of not§ §standing the Salt Air, we have directed the Engineer to face the§ §Cheeks of the Embrassures with Stone, which will	The Council also put Peter Sidington and Peter White aboard the *Prime*, two seamen whom the *Northington* left behind sick. Both were treated in the hospital at 7d a day. Peter Sidington, 53 days in hospital at 7d a day, £1 10s 11d Peter White, 37 days in hospital at 7d a day, £1 1s 7d The Court was told of these charges in order to recover both sums from the owners of the *Northington*. 5: The merlons of Purling's Battery fell out of repair because the material they were made of could not withstand the salt air. The engineer was ordered to face the cheeks of the embrasures with stone, which would secure them effectively. The battery's guard room also needed rebuilding. While workmen were there, the Council proposed to mount two guns

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		effectually§ §secure them. And as the Guard Room of that Battery requires§ §to be rebuilt. We propose when at Work there to place two Guns &§ §a Mortar on the point above the said Battery being fully§ §convinced of the Utility of them in Annoying Ships coming§ §round that Point as there are but two at present on that Battery§ §that can be pointed at Ships rounding the Sugar Loaf. And as§ §we are convinced of its being a commanding situation, and that§ §it can be executed at small expence and Labour, therefore flatter§ §ourselves it will meet with your Honors approbation, and§ §shall defer doing any thing to that Work except repairing the§ §Embrassures, until we receive your directions thereupon,§ §6 We have given Capt. Eglington a permit to receive§ §on board his Ship John Robins late Armorer and his Family &§ §carry them to England§ §7 We are under great apprehensions from the§ §present appearance of the Weather that our Spring Rains will§ §again fail, if that should prove the case, the Island will be in a§ §terrible situation, and we shall be able to give the Ships of next§ §Season but very little refreshment, without we receive a Supply§ §of Sheep from the Cape, which we hope from our repeated requests§ §you may have given the necessary Orders to your early Ships§ §of next Year§	and a mortar on the point above the battery. Only two guns on the battery itself could be trained on ships rounding the Sugar Loaf, and the Council was convinced that the new pieces would be useful in harassing vessels coming round that point. The position commanded the approach and the work needed little money or labour. The Council hoped for the Court's approval and undertook to do nothing beyond repairing the embrasures until instructions arrived. 6: Captain Eglinton received a permit to take John Robins, formerly the armourer, and his family aboard his ship and carry them to England. 7: The look of the weather gave the Council serious fears that the spring rains would fail again. In that event the island faced a terrible situation and could offer the following season's ships very little fresh food unless sheep arrived from the Cape. The Council had asked for such a supply repeatedly and hoped the Court gave the necessary orders to its early ships of the next year. **Interpretations** The Council repaired the embrasures at once and held back the new guns for London's approval. Mounting two guns and a mortar while the workmen were already on the spot was the convenient course, and the Council plainly believed in the scheme. The line it drew separated maintenance, which lay within its own authority, from an addition to the island's fortifications, which did not. Stressing the low cost was a way of asking the Court to agree quickly. A merlon was the solid part of a battery's parapet between two gun openings, and the cheeks were the side faces of each opening, or embrasure. These took the blast of the guns as well as the weather, so a soft or crumbling material failed there first. The Sugar Loaf was the conical hill at the island's northern point, which ships from the Cape rounded closely to reach the anchorage. Guns able to bear on that turn could engage an enemy before he reached the road. The hospital charges show how the island recovered the cost of sick seamen. A ship's owners remained liable for men left ashore, so the Council billed their keep at a fixed daily rate and reported the sums home, where the Company deducted them from what it owed the owners for freight. Sidington's stay of 53 days and the death of Patrick Elliott on 22 June 1771 indicate that the *Northington* left several sick men behind when she sailed with the *Worcester* in June. The fear for the spring rains reflected the island's southern seasons, in which spring fell in the months immediately following the letter. Pasture depended on those rains, and the island's ability to supply ships with fresh meat depended on its pasture. The word "again" shows that an earlier season had already failed. Sheep from the Cape were the remedy because the Dutch settlement there was the nearest source of livestock, and outward-bound Company ships calling at the Cape could carry them on to St Helena. John Robins was named as payee of the £250 0s 0d bill taken by Hugh Jones on 26 July 1771. The former armourer thus sent his savings ahead through the Company's treasury before sailing home with his family.
318	311	8 Captain Tippet having Addressed a Letter to Us as§ §entered in this days Consultation, requesting an Allowance of Candles,§ §setting forth that it is customary to Gentlemen in his Department in§ §your other Settlements, we have therefore refered the same to your§ §consideration, and as he has further applyed to us for a piece of§ §Ground to build himself a House upon we are	8: Captain Tippet wrote to the Council asking for an allowance of candles, and his letter was entered in the consultation of the same day. He argued that officers in his department customarily received one at the Company's other settlements. The Council passed the request to the Court for a decision. Tippet also applied for a piece of ground on which to build himself a house. The Council felt bound to refuse. The Company bought that ground some years earlier for its own use, and it might later

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		obliged to refuse him§ §that request as the said Ground was purchased some Years ago for§ §the Honble Company's Use, and are of Opinion that it may hereafter§ §be of great Utility for erecting Ware Houses &c. yet at same time as§ §we are well convinced how much he is distressed, we are of§ §Opinion that there ought to be a House for an Engineer and§ §with your approbation we purpose building one for that§ §Department as soon as the more essential Works are completed§ §9 We this day received a Letter from the Reverend§ §Mr. Bearcroft inclosing one Addressed to your Honors requesting us§ §to forward the same which we have sent home in the Packet§ §and as we find that the contents of his Letter is for an augmentation§ §of his Salary we refer the same to your consideration, and in justice§ §to Mr. Bearcroft we assure you that he is a very deserving Man as§ §a Clergyman and Gentleman.§ §10 We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to Mr. Robert Barclay for £[...].16.8 payable to the§ §Reverend Mr. Elias Thackeray. One Set to Capt. Anthony Eglington§ §for £271 payable to Robert Child Esqr. And one Set to§ §Captn. John Broadley for £70 payable to Henry Broadley§ §Esqr. all drawn at ninety days sight and dated this day.§ §11 Captains Eglington and Broadley applying to Us§ §for Liberty to call at Ascension to get Turtle for the further§ §refreshment of their People, we have permitted them to touch there§ §for that purpose.§ §12 This Letter waits on you by the Prime (which§ §Sails§	prove very valuable as a site for warehouses and similar buildings. The Council nonetheless recognised how badly he was placed for lodging and thought an engineer ought to have a house. With the Court's approval, one would be built for that department as soon as the more essential works were finished. 9: The Reverend Mr Bearcroft sent the Council a letter that day enclosing another addressed to the Court, which he asked to have forwarded. It went home in the packet. His letter sought an increase in salary, and the Council left that question to the Court. In fairness to him, the Council described Mr Bearcroft as a very deserving man, clergyman and gentleman. 10: The Council issued three sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the same day as the letter. Mr Robert Barclay, payable to the Reverend Mr Elias Thackeray, £[...] 16s 8d Captain Anthony Eglinton, payable to Robert Child Esquire, £221 0s 0d Captain John Broadley, payable to Henry Broadley Esquire, £170 0s 0d 11: Captains Eglinton and Broadley applied for leave to call at Ascension to collect turtle as further fresh food for their crews. The Council allowed them to stop there for that purpose. 12: The letter went by the *Prime*. **Interpretations** The Council refused Tippet the ground and offered him a Company house instead. Granting a plot to an officer willing to build at his own cost was the cheap answer to his want of lodging. It would also have put land bought for the Company into private hands, on a site the Council wanted kept for warehouses. A house built for the engineer's department stayed Company property and passed to each successor, so the proposal met his need without giving up the land. Captain Tippet was evidently the engineer who rebuilt the powder magazine and was to repair Purling's Battery. Neither the candles nor the chaplain's salary lay within the Council's power to grant. Allowances were fixed in London, so both requests went home, each with a different degree of support. Tippet's claim rested on the custom of other settlements and was forwarded without comment. Bearcroft's came with a warm testimonial, the nearest the Council could come to backing a rise it could not itself award. Candles were a recognised perquisite of office, issued in kind to officials whose duties involved writing or drawing after dark. An allowance of them was in effect an addition to pay. The letter confirms that Mr Bearcroft was the island's clergyman, as his role in receiving Tedrick's story on 13 July 1771 suggested.
319	312	Sails in company with the True Briton) Copy of which we§ §transmit you by that Ship§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obed. & hble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §St Helena§ §7th September 1771§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St Helena§ §[...] Ship Prime dated 7th September 1771 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl Letter dated 7th September 1771§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 29th August Do§ §3 Do Do & Do dated 29 Do Do relatg to Law	The *Prime* sailed together with the *True Briton*, and a copy of the letter went by that second ship. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed it at St Helena on 7 September 1771. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Prime*, dated 7 September 1771. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 7 September 1771. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 29 August 1771. 3: Duplicate letter from the Governor and Council dated 29 August 1771 relating to law matters. 4: Consultations from 2 to 7 September 1771. 5: Duplicate consultations from 15 July to 26 August 1771. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Egmont*.

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		matters§ §4 Consultations from 2d to 7th September 1771§ §5 Duplicate do from 25th July to 26th August Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Lord Mansfield§ §7 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Egmont§ §8 Second Do for a small paper do [...] Ship Harcourt§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Lord Mansfield§ §11 Cash Account from 30th to 31st August 1771§ §12 Do from 1st to 7th Septr. do§ §13 Duplicate Do from 18th to 30th June do§	8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Harcourt*. 9: Effective state of the garrison. 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 11: Cash account from 30 to 31 August 1771. 12: Cash account from 1 to 7 September 1771. 13: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 30 June 1771. **Interpretations** The duplicate consultations appear in this list as running from 25 July to 26 August 1771, whereas the packet list of 29 August 1771 gave the same set as starting on 15 July 1771. The earlier date is the more probable, since a duplicate repeated the original set in full. The cash account of 30 to 31 August 1771 covered only two days. The account sent by the *Lord Mansfield* stopped at 29 August 1771, the day that ship's packet closed, so this short statement finished the month before the September account began. Each account was thus cut off at a sailing date and the remainder carried into the next packet, leaving the Court with an unbroken record of the treasury.
320	313	No 14 Duplicate Cash Account for the Month of July 1771§ §15 Do Do from 1st to the 29th August Do§ §16 Ship Prime Account§ §17 Do True Briton's Do§ §18 Duplicate Ship Lord Mansfield's Account§ §19 Do Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessions held on 10th July 1771§ §20 List of nine discharged Soldiers§ §21 Surgeons Certificate of six Invalid Soldiers§ §22 Govr. & Councils Do of George Oliver Invalid recommended to be put§ §upon the Military Fund§ §23 Capt. Eglinton's First Receipt for £35.§ §24 The Reverend Mr. Bearcrofts Letter to the Honble Court of§ §Directors.§ §To the Honble &c.§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. Our last Letter waited on you under date§ §of 7th Sept. 1771 by the Ship Prime, which Sailed from hence with§ §the True Briton§ §2 On the 13th last Month arrived your Ship§ §Duke of Portland from Madrass, which Place Capt. Hasell acquaints§ §Us he left the 23d July, and His Majesty's Ships Dolphin and§ §Swallow, & your Ships Queen, Salisbury, York, Grosvenor, & Horsenden§ §there, We are likewise informed that a Dane Ship arrived at Fort St.§ §George§	The list of papers in the packet continued with 11 further items. 14: Duplicate cash account for the month of July 1771. 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 29 August 1771. 16: Account of the *Prime*. 17: Account of the *True Briton*. 18: Duplicate account of the *Lord Mansfield*. 19: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 10 July 1771. 20: List of 9 discharged soldiers. 21: Surgeon's certificate for 6 invalid soldiers. 22: Certificate from the Governor and Council for George Oliver, an invalid recommended for the Military Fund. 23: First receipt from Captain Eglinton for £35 0s 0d. 24: Letter from the Reverend Mr Bearcroft to the Court of Directors. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 7 September 1771 by the *Prime*, which left the island together with the *True Briton*. 2: The *Duke of Portland* arrived from Madras on 13 October 1771. Captain Hasell reported leaving that port on 23 July 1771. He left two of the King's ships there, the *Dolphin* and the *Swallow*, along with the Company's ships *Queen*, *Salisbury*, *York*, *Grosvenor* and *Horsenden*. The Council also learned that a Danish ship reached Fort St George. **Interpretations** The surgeon certified six invalid soldiers, while the letter of 7 September 1771 named seven men sent home in the *Prime* at a passage cost of £35 0s 0d. George Oliver accounts for the difference. His case went forward under a separate certificate from the Governor and Council, because a recommendation to the Military Fund needed the government's backing as well as a medical finding. The other six were simply returned to England as unfit, with no claim on the fund. The list of nine discharged soldiers recorded men released from the garrison in the same weeks, among them John McAllister and the Buckman accused by Tedrick, both put aboard the *Prime* as hands. Nine discharges and seven invalids in a single packet show the scale of the loss behind the request for 60 recruits made in the letter of 29 August 1771.

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			Captain Hasell's report of the shipping at Madras again served the Court as intelligence. The presence of two royal warships beside five Company vessels told London what naval force lay on the Coromandel coast in July 1771. The arrival of a Danish ship mattered because the Danes traded from their own settlement at Tranquebar and competed with the Company for cargoes on that coast.
321	314	George the day the Duke of Portland Sailed that four English Men were§ §on board her who said they had belonged to the Verelst, which Ship was§ §unfortunately lost on the Island of Mauritius, but that the greatest part§ §of the Crew were saved, but kept Prisoners on that Island, the aforesaid§ §four Men made their Escape on board the Dane Ship, we are also told§ §that the French detained the said Dane Ship three weeks having§ §unshipped her Rudder§ §3 We are concerned to acquaint you that on the 30th of Sept.§ §information was given to the Governor, that six Men of the Garrison§ §vizt. John Moore Sergeant, Willm. Harper Gunner, & Robert Johnson§ §Private of Lemon Valley Guard, & William Harrison Patron of one of§ §the Long Boats, together with John Coulson & Nicholas Dennis two§ §of her Crew, had formed a Conspiracy to desert in one of your Long§ §Boats, but a Party of Soldiers being immediately detached from the§ §Garrison under the Command of Capt. Tippet, & Lieut. Thos. Bazett,§ §as soon as the Governor received intelligence thereof, they succeeded in§ §securing the Long Boat and from the Representation to Us of their§ §conduct it appears they did their utmost, though unsuccessful to§ §prevent the Desertion, those Men we suppose upon finding§ §their intentions frustrated, and their case being desperate, went off§ §in one of your Yawls, with a design we imagine to board the Long§ §Boat to Windward, but the Wind & Sea that night being very high it§ §was impracticable for a small Boat to live to Windward, we suppose§ §they drove out to Sea and inevitably perished. This disagreeable§ §circumstance hath been attended with a remonstrance from Captain§ §Tippet to the Board against the Lieut Governor alledging that he§ §thought himself ill treated in being Reprimanded by Mr. Corneille§ §upon§	The Danish ship reached Fort St George on the day the *Duke of Portland* sailed. Four Englishmen were aboard her who claimed to belong to the *Verelst*, a ship wrecked on Mauritius. Most of her crew survived but were held prisoner on that island, and these four escaped in the Danish vessel. The Council also heard that the French detained the Danish ship for three weeks and unshipped her rudder. 3: Governor Skottowe received word on 30 September 1771 that six men of the garrison planned to desert in one of the Company's longboats. John Moore, sergeant of Lemon Valley guard William Harper, gunner of Lemon Valley guard Robert Johnson, private of Lemon Valley guard William Harrison, patron of one of the longboats John Coulson, member of that longboat's crew Nicholas Dennis, member of that longboat's crew A party of soldiers under Captain Tippet and Lieutenant Thomas Bazett left the garrison as soon as the Governor heard the news. They secured the longboat. Their report to the Council showed that they did everything possible to stop the desertion, though without success. The Council supposed that the six men, finding their plan blocked and their position desperate, put off in one of the Company's yawls. Their aim was probably to board the longboat lying to windward. The wind and sea ran very high that night, and no small boat could survive in that direction. The men were presumed to have been driven out to sea and drowned. This unhappy affair led Captain Tippet to lodge a protest with the Council against the Lieutenant Governor. He considered himself badly treated in being reprimanded by Mr Corneille. **Interpretations** The conspiracy joined the two groups a seaborne escape required. The sergeant, gunner and private formed the guard at Lemon Valley, a landing place on the leeward coast west of the town, and were the very men posted to prevent such an attempt. The patron was the man in charge of a longboat, and he brought two of his crew to handle her. A guard that included its own sergeant left nobody at the post to raise the alarm, which is probably why the warning reached the Governor from elsewhere. The longboats were the Company's largest open boats at the island, used for fishing and for carrying stores and water around the coast. One of them could make an ocean passage with luck, whereas a yawl, a small ship's boat, could not. Seizing the longboat therefore ended any real chance of escape, and the men's flight in the yawl was an act of desperation. The Council could only infer their fate, since no boat or body was reported found. The French took the rudder off the Danish ship to make sure she could not leave Mauritius without their consent. Holding the *Verelst*'s crew as prisoners in peacetime, and delaying a neutral vessel for three weeks, told the Court how jealously the French guarded that island against foreign visitors. Captain Tippet's protest turned a failed pursuit into a dispute between officers. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, evidently blamed him for the men's escape, while the Council's own account credited Tippet and Bazett with doing their utmost. A

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			formal complaint to the Council placed the quarrel on record for the Court to judge.
322	315	upon his returning with the Party he was Ordered out with, by the§ §Governor on the first intelligence of the above Conspiracy; to which§ §complaint as well as to other Papers delivered in by Capt. Tippet§ §Mr. Corneille hath given Answers. The whole proceedings in this§ §affair together with the Governors & Mr. Purlings Opinions thereon§ §are entered on our Consultations of 7th 14th 21st & 28th of last Month, to§ §which we beg leave to refer you for a more particular account of§ §this transaction; the determination thereof by the Govr. & Mr. Purling's§ §Opinions is refered to your Honors.§ §4. On the 19 of last Month an information was also§ §given of another combination in the Garrison to Desert in one of§ §the Duke of Portlands Boats, but on the discovery proper measures§ §were fallen upon which effectually prevented their carrying their§ §design into execution. The delinquents have since been tryed by a§ §General Court Martial and sentenced a punishment their Crime§ §merited which we hope will be a means together with the Reward§ §we have given the informers effectually to deter others from engaging§ §in such enormous Combinations in future; The aforesaid Court§ §Martial is herewith transmitted, We imagine the cause of those§ §Men Deserting have been greatly owing to a Report spread here by§ §a Black Woman who returned to the Island in the Ship Pigot, she it§ §seems has said she saw & conversed in London with some of the Men§ §who Deserted from the Island the 23d July 1770, this Report prevailing§ §in the Garrison, has certainly put those Men upon making these§ §desperate Attempts.§ §5 The Passengers on board the Ship Duke of Portland§ §are Colonel Campbell, & Messrs. McNamara, Paget, Foley, Froud§ §Snow§	The reprimand came when Captain Tippet returned with the party that Governor Skottowe sent out on first news of the conspiracy. Mr Corneille answered that complaint and the other papers Tippet handed in. The whole proceedings were entered in the consultations of 7, 14, 21 and 28 October 1771, together with the opinions of the Governor and Mr Purling. The Council referred the Court to those entries for a fuller account. The Governor and Mr Purling gave their opinions, and the final decision was left to the Court. 4: A second plot came to light on 19 October 1771, when men of the garrison were reported to be planning to desert in one of the boats of the *Duke of Portland*. Steps taken on its discovery stopped the attempt completely. A general court martial tried the offenders and sentenced them to the punishment their crime deserved. The Council hoped that this punishment and the reward paid to the informers would discourage others from such dangerous schemes. The court martial proceedings went home with the letter. The Council traced these desertions largely to a story spread by a black woman who came back to the island in the *Pigot*. She apparently claimed to have seen and spoken in London with some of the men who deserted from the island on 23 July 1770. Her story circulated through the garrison and, in the Council's view, drove the men to these desperate attempts. 5: The passengers aboard the *Duke of Portland* included Colonel Campbell and Messrs McNamara, Paget, Foley and Froud. **Interpretations** The dispute between Tippet and Corneille went to London undecided. A Council of three normally settled such matters by majority, but Corneille was himself the party complained against and answered as a defendant. That left only the Governor and Mr Purling to give opinions, and they chose to record their views and leave the ruling to the Court instead of passing judgement on the island's second-ranking officer. Four successive weekly consultations were taken up with the affair, a measure of how seriously it divided the small government. The woman's story mattered because it turned desertion from a gamble into a proven route. The men who left on 23 July 1770 were not known on the island to have survived. A report that they were alive and at liberty in London showed soldiers that an open boat could reach safety and that deserters went unpunished afterwards. The Council's reading explains why two plots followed within three weeks, the first on 30 September 1771 and the second on 19 October 1771, soon after the *Pigot* arrived on 26 July 1771. The second plot targeted a boat belonging to a visiting ship. After the loss of the men from Lemon Valley, the Company's own longboats were presumably under closer watch, and the *Duke of Portland*, which anchored on 13 October 1771, offered a fresh opportunity. Punishment and reward worked as a pair. A general court martial was the highest military tribunal available in the garrison and could impose severe corporal sentences. Paying the informers gave every soldier a reason to betray a plot, which made conspiracy among several men far more dangerous to attempt.
323	316	Snow, Savage, Logan, Jones, Wilson, Simpson, & Willson.§ §6. We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§	The passenger list for the *Duke of Portland* closed with Messrs Snow, Savage, Logan, Jones, Wilson, Simpson and Willson.

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		§vizt. One Set to Danl Corneille Esqr. for one hundred pounds payable§ §to John Caillaud Esqr. One Set to Mr. Matthew Purling for six§ §hundred pounds, payable to John Purling Esqr. both dated the 21st of§ §last Month, and one Set to Colonel Donald Campbell for four hundred§ §pounds payable to himself dated 4th instant, all drawn at ninety§ §days sight.§ §7 On the 27th of September the Ship Pigot proceeded§ §on her Voyage.§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §10th November 1771§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §signed§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §[...] Ship Duke of Portland dated 10th Novembr. 1771 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 10th November 1771§ §2 Do Do Do do Do relatg to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate do & do dated 7th Sept. do§ §4 Consultations from 9th Sept. to 4th November do§ §5 Duplicate do from 2d to 7th September do§	6: The Council issued three sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight. The first two were dated 21 October 1771 and the third was dated 4 November 1771. Daniel Corneille Esquire, payable to John Caillaud Esquire, £100 0s 0d Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £600 0s 0d Colonel Donald Campbell, payable to himself, £400 0s 0d 7: The *Pigot* resumed her voyage on 27 September 1771. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 10 November 1771. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Duke of Portland*, dated 10 November 1771. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 November 1771. 2: Letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 November 1771 relating to law matters. 3: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 7 September 1771. 4: Consultations from 9 September to 4 November 1771. 5: Duplicate consultations from 2 to 7 September 1771. **Interpretations** The *Pigot* arrived on 26 July 1771 and sailed on 27 September 1771, a stay of two months. The letter of 29 August 1771 promised to unload her and send her off within the time allowed, since delay to an outward-bound ship exposed the Company to claims from her owners. Reporting the sailing date gave the Court the figure it needed to judge whether that promise was kept. Matthew Purling sent a further £600 0s 0d to John Purling, after the £450 0s 0d remitted to the same payee on 26 July 1771. A councillor moving £1,050 0s 0d home to a relative within three months points to substantial private earnings on the island, far beyond what a salary alone would supply. Colonel Campbell, a passenger in the *Duke of Portland*, used the treasury in the same way as the ships' captains did, paying in cash at the island and collecting it in London.
324	317	No 6 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Prime§ §7 First do for a small Paper do [...] Ship True Briton§ §8 Second do for the Packet [...] Ship Lord Mansfield§ §9 List of Familys taken 30th Sept. 1771§ §10 Do of Rents Do 30th do do§ §11 Do of the Honble Companys Slaves taken 30th Sept. 1771§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Muster Rolls of Do§ §14 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Prime§ §15 Cash Account from 8th to 30th Sept. 1771§ §16 Do Do for the Month of October do§ §17 Do Do from 1st to 10th November do§ §18 Duplicate Do from 30th to 31st August do§ §19 Do Do from 1st to 7th Sept. do§ §20 Ship Pigots Account§ §21 Ship Duke of Portlands Account§ §22 Duplicate Ship Primes Do§ §23 Do Do True Britons Do§ §24 Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessions held on 9th October 1771§ §25 Duplicate Surgeons Certificate of six Invalid Soldiers§ §26 Capt. Eglintons second Receipt for £35§ §27 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Duke of Portland§ §28 Time of the Arrival of Ship Do Do Boat at Banks's§ §29 Genl. Court Martial held on 24th October 1771§	The list of papers in the packet continued with 25 further items. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Prime*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *True Briton*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Lord Mansfield*. 9: List of families taken on 30 September 1771. 10: List of stock taken on 30 September 1771. 11: List of the Company's slaves taken on 30 September 1771. 12: Effective state of the garrison. 13: Muster rolls of the garrison. 14: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Prime*. 15: Cash account from 8 to 30 September 1771. 16: Cash account for the month of October 1771. 17: Cash account from 1 to 10 November 1771. 18: Duplicate cash account from 30 to 31 August 1771. 19: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 7 September 1771. 20: Account of the *Pigot*. 21: Account of the *Duke of Portland*. 22: Duplicate account of the *Prime*. 23: Duplicate account of the *True Briton*. 24: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 9 October 1771.

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		§30 Duplicate of the Revd. Mr. William Bearcrofts Letter to the Court of§ §Directors§	25: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for 6 invalid soldiers. 26: Second receipt from Captain Eglinton for £35 0s 0d. 27: Abstract of the cargo of the *Duke of Portland*. 28: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Duke of Portland* at Banks's. 29: General court martial held on 24 October 1771. 30: Duplicate of the letter from the Reverend Mr William Bearcroft to the Court of Directors. **Interpretations** Three returns were all taken on 30 September 1771: the families, the stock and the Company's slaves. Together they formed a yearly census of the island, counting the free households, the cattle and other animals they kept and the slaves the Company itself owned. The Court used such returns to judge how many people the island had to feed and how much fresh meat it could spare for shipping. The stock list carried particular weight that year, since the letter of 7 September 1771 warned that a second failure of the spring rains would leave little to offer the next season's ships. The general court martial of 24 October 1771 sat five days after the second desertion plot was reported on 19 October 1771. This was the trial described in the letter of 10 November 1771, and its speed shows how urgently the Council wanted an example made while the *Duke of Portland*, whose boat the men meant to take, still lay at anchor.
325	318	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. We addressed you last by the Ship Duke§ §of Portland under date 10th November 1771§ §2 On the 2d instant arrived His Majesty's§ §Ship Stagg last from the Cape. We are informed that your§ §Ship Hampshire sailed from that place some time in§ §September last, and the Lapwing Packet the beginning of§ §December. We likewise hear that the Ponsborne and Morse§ §were arrived at Bengal. And are also told that your§ §Presidency of Fort St. George are engaged in a War with§ §the King of Tanjour; that General Smith who Commands§ §the Army, had reduced his Country, and was laying Siege to§ §his Capital, when the Stagg sailed from Madrass; when Sir§ §John Lindsay left the Cape there were three French Men of§ §War at that Place, from Mauritius taking in Provisions for§ §the Islands and we further hear the Dutch have refused§ §supplying them with Wheat any longer.§ §3 Mr. Matthew Purling applied to Us to pay§ §one thousand six hundred Pounds into your Cash, which we§ §have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your§ §Honors for that Sum, payable to John Purling Esqr. at ninety§ §days sight, and dated the 3 instant.§ §4 We had some favorable Rain the latter end§ §of the Winter Season, but as the weather has been extremely dry§ §the two last Months, we are very apprehensive the Island will§ §be in a terrible situation if the Summer Rains do not fall§ §soon, the Return of Cattle for Slaughter this Year is	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 10 November 1771 by the *Duke of Portland*. 2: The King's ship *Stagg* arrived on the second day of the month, coming last from the Cape. She brought word that the *Hampshire* left the Cape some time in September 1771 and the *Lapwing* packet at the beginning of December 1771. The *Ponsborne* and the *Morse* were reported safe at Bengal. The Council also heard that the Presidency of Fort St George was at war with the King of Tanjore. General Smith, who commanded the army, overran that ruler's country and was besieging his capital when the *Stagg* sailed from Madras. Three French warships from Mauritius lay at the Cape taking in provisions for that island when Sir John Lindsay left. The Dutch were further reported to have refused to supply the French with wheat any longer. 3: Mr Matthew Purling applied to pay £1,600 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court for that sum, payable to John Purling Esquire at 90 days' sight and dated the third day of the month. 4: Some useful rain fell towards the end of winter. The two months before the letter were extremely dry, however, and the Council feared a terrible situation for the island unless the summer rains came soon. The return of cattle fit for slaughter that year came to only 237 head. So small a number made it impossible to supply the market and the hospital. **Interpretations** The count of 237 cattle for slaughter was the figure on which the island's whole provisioning turned. The same herd had to feed the townspeople through the market, the sick in the hospital and the crews of calling ships, and the Council judged that it could not meet even the first two. The warning of 7 September 1771 that the spring rains might fail was thus borne out: the late winter rain gave brief relief, and two dry months followed. In the island's

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		only two§ §hundred and thirty seven, this small number renders it§ §impossible for Us to supply the Market, Hospital, and give§ §the§	southern seasons those dry months fell in spring, when pasture should have recovered. Purling's remittance of £1,600 0s 0d was by far his largest. He sent £450 0s 0d to John Purling on 26 July 1771 and £600 0s 0d on 21 October 1771, so the three bills together moved £2,650 0s 0d to the same payee in under six months. The letter records this one as a formal application, perhaps because a sum of that size from a sitting councillor needed the Council's express consent. Sums on this scale point to private trade or lending on the island well beyond any official salary. The news from the Cape bore directly on the island's own position. Mauritius depended on the Dutch settlement for grain, and a refusal of wheat put the French island under strain. St Helena looked to the same settlement for sheep, as the letter of 7 September 1771 showed, so any tightening of Dutch supply touched both islands. Three French warships provisioning there also told the Court what naval strength France kept in those waters. Tanjore was a wealthy Hindu kingdom in the south of India, inland from the Coromandel coast. The campaign reported here was fought by the Madras army, and news of it reached the Court by this route months before the official dispatches from Fort St George could arrive. A packet, in the case of the *Lapwing*, was a small fast vessel employed to carry dispatches, as distinct from the large ships that carried cargo.
326	319	the Ships of this Season proper refreshment, without we receive§ §some Sheep from the Cape by the early Ships, the failure of§ §the Rains, the two last Years, having reduced the Stock of the§ §Island so low, that should the Seasons prove favorable hereafter§ §it will take some Years before the Island can recover the loss§ §sustained by the former bad Seasons§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §4th February 1772§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. Our last Letter waited on your Honors§ §under date of 4th February 1772, by His Majesty's Ship Stagg§ §2 On the 28th of last Month, arrived your§ §Ship British King from China, Capt. Hoare acquaints Us§ §he left that place the 25th November, & your Ships Earl of Elgin§ §Stafford, Bute, Northumberland, Glatton, Sea Horse,§ §Calcutta, Cruttenden, Thames, York, Horsendon, Pacifick§ §Grenville, Duke of Richmond, Salisbury, Queen, Grosvenor§ §Talbot§	The shortage of cattle also left the island unable to give that season's ships proper fresh food unless sheep came from the Cape by the early ships. Two years of failed rains reduced the island's livestock severely. Even with good seasons afterwards, the Council expected recovery from those losses to take some years. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 4 February 1772. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 4 February 1772 by the King's ship *Stagg*. 2: The *British King* arrived from China on 28 February 1772. Captain Hoare reported leaving China on 25 November 1771. The Company's ships *Earl of Elgin*, *Stafford*, *Bute*, *Northumberland*, *Glatton*, *Sea Horse*, *Calcutta*, *Cruttenden*, *Thames*, *York*, *Horsenden*, *Pacific*, *Grenville*, *Duke of Richmond*, *Salisbury*, *Queen* and *Grosvenor* were among those he left there. **Interpretations** The Council sent its letter of 4 February 1772 by a royal warship. Company correspondence normally waited for a Company ship, whose commander signed a receipt for the packet. The *Stagg* was the first vessel to call since the *Duke of Portland* took the letter of 10 November 1771, and the homeward China fleet was still weeks away. Using her got the warning about livestock to London in time for the Court to order sheep by its early ships, which a later letter could not have done. That warning had hardened over five months. The letter of 7 September 1771 feared that the spring rains would fail again. By February the Council was reporting two failed years and a herd that would need several good seasons to rebuild, with only 237 cattle available for slaughter. The island's value to the Company lay in feeding ships on the long passage home, so a lasting shortage of meat threatened the purpose for which it was held. The 17 ships named at China show the scale of the fleet due to call at the island in the following months. Each expected fresh provisions for a crew weakened by the passage, as the losses of the *Prime* to

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			scurvy in July 1771 demonstrated. Captain Hoare's list therefore gave the Court shipping intelligence and at the same time measured the demand about to fall on an island that could not supply its own market and hospital.
327	320	Talbot, & Ankerwyke there, he also tells Us there were§ §two English Country Ships, one Dane, one Swede, four§ §Dutch, and two French, and a Snow from Mauritius at§ §China this Season, and that the Earl of Elgin, Stafford,§ §Bute, and Northumberland were to Sail about a fortnight§ §after he left Canton. On the 4th instant arrived your Ship§ §Ponsborne from Bengal, (last from the Cape) Capt. Hough§ §acquaints Us he Sailed from Bengal the 3d December§ §last in Company with the Morse, which Ship arrived at§ §the Cape some days before he Sailed, he further informs Us§ §he left at Bengal the Lord North, Asia, Speke, Rochford§ §and Lord Holland, that the Lord North was to Sail soon after§ §to fill up at the Coast, he also tells Us that there were three§ §French Men of War, and two Transports at the Cape when he§ §left that place, and that it was reported that the French Men§ §of War were to wait there until they received Orders from§ §Europe§ §3 We have the pleasure to acquaint you that§ §all the Leeward Valleys are Walled up & completed, and that§ §the Masonry of the Officers Barracks is nearly finished which§ §when completed, we purpose setting about building the Church§ §4 We take this opportunity of transmitting you§ §the General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30th September§ §last.§ §5 The Passengers on these Ships are Captain§ §Burnet, on board the British King, & Messrs. Edelile, Hadley§ §& Bird, Mr. Williams & Mrs. Hadley on the Ponsborne§	Captain Hoare's list of Company ships at China closed with the *Talbot* and the *Ankerwyke*. Foreign and private shipping was also there that season: two English country ships, one Danish ship, one Swedish, four Dutch, two French and a snow from Mauritius. The *Earl of Elgin*, *Stafford*, *Bute* and *Northumberland* were due to sail about a fortnight after he left Canton. The *Ponsborne* arrived from Bengal on the fourth day of the month, coming last from the Cape. Captain Hough reported sailing from Bengal on 3 December 1771 together with the *Morse*, which reached the Cape some days before he left it. He left the *Lord North*, *Asia*, *Speke*, *Rochford* and *Lord Holland* at Bengal, and the *Lord North* was to sail soon afterwards to complete her cargo on the Coast. Three French warships and two transports lay at the Cape when he departed. Report had it that the warships would wait there for orders from Europe. 3: Governor Skottowe and the Council reported with satisfaction that every leeward valley was walled up and the work complete. The masonry of the officers' barracks was nearly finished. Once it was done, the Council intended to start building the church. 4: The general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September 1771, went home with the letter. 5: The passengers on these ships were Captain Burnet aboard the *British King*, and Messrs Edwith, Hadley and Bird, Mr Williams and Mrs Hadley aboard the *Ponsborne*. **Interpretations** The Council put the church last in its building order. Fortification came first, then housing for the officers, and only afterwards the place of worship, although the island had a resident clergyman in Mr Bearcroft. The letter of 7 September 1771 applied the same ranking when it promised the engineer a house only after "the more essential works" were done. Defence and the garrison's needs governed how the island's few masons were used. Walling up the leeward valleys closed the island's weak points. The coast was cliff almost everywhere, and the narrow valleys running down to the sheltered north-western shore were the only places where an enemy could land from boats. A masonry wall across each valley mouth, with guns behind it, turned those gaps into defended lines. The same walls made it harder for soldiers to reach the shore unseen, a matter of fresh concern after the desertion plot at Lemon Valley on 30 September 1771. Country ships were privately owned vessels trading between Asian ports under the Company's licence, as distinct from the Company's own ships sailing to and from Europe. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel, smaller than a ship. The count of foreign vessels at Canton told the Court how much competition its supercargoes faced for that season's teas. The French squadron at the Cape appeared for the second time. The letter of 4 February 1772 reported three warships there provisioning for Mauritius, and they were now joined by two transports and said to be awaiting orders from Europe. A force held ready on the route home was of direct concern to an island that lay on the same route and had just finished its sea defences. The "Coast" meant the Coromandel coast of south-eastern India. A ship that could not load a full cargo at Bengal called there to take in the remainder before sailing for England.

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328	321	6 This day arrived a Dane Ship from China§ §called the Queen Sophia Magdalena Captain Nomp, Burthen§ §about eleven hundred Tons carrys twenty six Guns & one hundred§ §& sixty Men loaden with Tea China Ware, & Silk, bound to§ §Copenhagen§ §7 Captain Hough applied to Us to touch at§ §Ascension to get Turtle we have permitted him to call there for§ §that purpose§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §10th March 1772§ §Your most Obedient and§ §humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §[...] Ship Ponsborne dated the 10th March 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 10th March 1772§ §2 Do Do & Do dated do do relatg to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Do Do dated 10th November 1771§ §4 Do Do & Do dated 4th Feby 1772§ §5 Do Do & Do dated 10th Novr. 1771 relating to Law matters§ §6 Consultations from 11th November 1771 to 9th March 1772§ §7 Duplicate do from 9th September to 4 November 1771§	6: A Danish ship from China arrived on the day of the letter. She was the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, Captain Nomus, of about 1,100 tons, carrying 26 guns and 160 men. Her cargo was tea, chinaware and silk, and she was bound for Copenhagen. 7: Captain Hough applied for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to call there for that purpose. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 10 March 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Ponsborne*, dated 10 March 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 March 1772. 2: Letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 March 1772 relating to law matters. 3: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 November 1771. 4: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 4 February 1772. 5: Duplicate letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 November 1771 relating to law matters. 6: Consultations from 11 November 1771 to 9 March 1772. 7: Duplicate consultations from 9 September to 4 November 1771. **Interpretations** The description of the Danish ship was a piece of commercial intelligence. Her tonnage, guns, crew and cargo told the Court exactly what a rival company was bringing to Europe from Canton that season. Tea, chinaware and silk were the same goods the Company's own China ships carried, and much of the tea landed at Copenhagen was smuggled on into Britain, where heavy duties made the Company's tea dear. The Danish vessel seen by Captain Hoare at China, reported earlier in the same letter, was probably this ship. The packet carried duplicates of two general letters, those of 10 November 1771 and 4 February 1772. No Company ship left the island between the *Duke of Portland* in November and the *Ponsborne* in March, and the February letter went by the King's ship *Stagg* without the usual enclosures. The *Ponsborne* was therefore the first vessel able to carry second copies of both, along with four months of consultations in a single set.
329	322	8 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Duke of Portland§ §9 Second do for do [...] Ship Prime§ §10 Second do for a small Paper do [...] Ship True Briton§ §11 List of Officers and Servants taken 10th March 1772§ §12 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Duke of Portland§ §13 Do Do of Familys taken 30th September 1771§ §14 Do Do of Rents 30th do do§ §15 do do of Slaves 30 do do§ §16 Effective State of the Garrison§ §17 Muster Rolls of do§ §18 Cash Account from 11th to 30th November 1771§ §19 do for the Month of December 1771§ §20 do for the Month of January 1772§ §21 do for the Month of February do§ §22 do from the 1st to the 10th March do§ §23 Duplicate Cash Account from the 8th to the 30th Sept. 1771§ §24 do do for the Month of Octr. do§ §25 do do from the 1st to 10th November do§ §26 Ship Ponsbornes Account§	The list of papers in the packet continued with 27 further items. 8: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Portland*. 9: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Prime*. 10: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *True Briton*. 11: List of officers and servants taken on 10 March 1772. 12: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Duke of Portland*. 13: Duplicate list of families taken on 30 September 1771. 14: Duplicate list of stock taken on 30 September 1771. 15: Duplicate list of slaves taken on 30 September 1771. 16: Effective state of the garrison. 17: Muster rolls of the garrison. 18: Cash account from 11 to 30 November 1771. 19: Cash account for the month of December 1771. 20: Cash account for the month of January 1772.

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		§27 Duplicate Ship Duke of Portlands Account§ §28 do do Pigots do§ §29 Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on 8th Jany. 1772§ §30 Duplicate Do do Do held on 9th Octr. 1771§ §31 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Ponsborne & British King§ §32 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §33 Courts Martial from 4th March 1771 to 2d March 1772§ §34 General Books of Accounts§	21: Cash account for the month of February 1772. 22: Cash account from 1 to 10 March 1772. 23: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 30 September 1771. 24: Duplicate cash account for the month of October 1771. 25: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 10 November 1771. 26: Account of the *Ponsborne*. 27: Duplicate account of the *Duke of Portland*. 28: Duplicate account of the *Pigot*. 29: Proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 8 January 1772. 30: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 9 October 1771. 31: Abstract of the cargoes of the *Ponsborne* and the *British King*. 32: Time of arrival of the ships' boats at Banks's. 33: Courts martial from 4 March 1771 to 2 March 1772. 34: General books of accounts. **Interpretations** The courts martial went home as a single yearly set covering 4 March 1771 to 2 March 1772. The general court martial of 24 October 1771 travelled separately in the packet of 10 November 1771, because the Council wanted the Court to see at once how the second desertion plot was punished. The annual set gave London the full record of military discipline, from which it could judge how often and how severely the garrison's officers resorted to trial. The general books of accounts were the island's complete ledgers, balanced to 30 September 1771 as the letter of 10 March 1772 stated. The short cash accounts sent with every ship showed only money received and paid out. The general books set out every head of expense and every debt owed to or by the island, and allowed the Company's accountants in London to audit the year as a whole.
330	323	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. We addressed you last the 10th instant by the§ §Ship Ponsborne§ §2 We have given Captain Hoare an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship John Marsh, John Robinson, Stephen§ §Ridding, Thomas Pearce, William Phillips, William Children§ §Jasper Jasperman, John Johnson, James Hadley, Henry Bayfield§ §John Eastman and Murdock McCleod, twelve Invalid Soldiers§ §Murdock McCleod we recommend as a proper object to be put§ §upon the Military Fund on account of his long Service and§ §having lost the use of his left Arm, We have given him the§ §proper Certificates, and have paid Captain Hoare sixty pounds§ §for the passage of these twelve Invalids, his Receipt, together§ §with McCleod's and the other Invalids Certificates goes§ §enclosed also an Instrument in Writing, that they will not§ §demand any Wages for their Passage home§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One Set to Capt. Daniel Griffiths Hoare for§ §thirteen hundred pounds payable to himself, and one Set to Mr.§ §James Farrel for one hundred pounds payable to himself both§	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 10 March 1772 by the *Ponsborne*. 2: Governor Skottowe and the Council ordered Captain Hoare to take 12 invalid soldiers aboard his ship. John Marsh John Robinson Stephen Redding Thomas Pearce William Phillips William Children Jasper Jasperman John Johnson James Hadley Henry Bayfield John Eastman Murdock McCleod The Council recommended Murdock McCleod as a fit person for the Military Fund because of his long service and the loss of the use of his left arm. He received the proper certificates. Captain Hoare was paid £60 0s 0d for the passage of the 12 invalids. His receipt went in the packet with the certificates for McCleod and the other invalids. A written undertaking was also enclosed, in which the men agreed to claim no wages for the voyage home. 3: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the same day as the letter. Captain Daniel Griffiths Hoare, payable to himself, £1,300 0s 0d Mr James Farrel, payable to himself, £100 0s 0d

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		§drawn at ninety days sight, and dated this day§ §4 Captain Hoare applied for liberty to§ §call at Ascension to get Turtle, we have permitted him§ §to§	4: Captain Hoare applied for leave to call at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council gave him permission. **Interpretations** The written undertaking closed off a claim the invalids might otherwise have made. Soldiers sent home as passengers sometimes helped to work a short-handed ship and then demanded seamen's wages from her owners on arrival. The Company paid £5 0s 0d a head for these men, the same rate as for the seven invalids sent in the *Prime* on 7 September 1771, and that fare covered their passage in full. A signed paper sent ahead to London gave the owners and the Company a defence against any later demand. No such document accompanied the invalids of September 1771, which suggests that a dispute of this kind had arisen in the meantime or that the Court asked for the safeguard. Twelve invalids in one ship was the largest group sent home in this run of letters, after seven in September 1771. Added to the nine soldiers discharged in the same period and the six men lost from Lemon Valley on 30 September 1771, the departures show why the Council asked on 29 August 1771 for 60 recruits. Captain Hoare's bill for £1,300 0s 0d was payable to himself. A commander homeward bound from China sold his private trade goods at the island for cash, and paying that cash into the treasury turned it into a claim on the Company in London without the risk of carrying coin for the rest of the voyage.
331	324	to touch there for that purpose.§ §We are§ §St. Helena§ §12th March 1772§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §from St. Helena§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet, [...] Ship British§ §King dated 12th March 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 12th March 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 10th do do§ §3 Do Do & Do dated 10th do do relating to§ §Law matters§ §4 Consultation of 12th March 1772§ §5 Duplicate Do from 11th November 1771 to 9th March 1772§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Ponsborne§ §7 Second do for Do [...] Ship Duke of Portland§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Ponsborne§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 11th to 12th March 1772§ §11 Duplicate Do from 11th to 30th November 1771§ §12 Do Do for the Month of Decr. do§ §13 Do Do for the Month of January 1772§	Captain Hoare was allowed to stop at Ascension for that purpose. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 12 March 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *British King*, dated 12 March 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 12 March 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 March 1772. 3: Duplicate letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 March 1772 relating to law matters. 4: Consultation of 12 March 1772. 5: Duplicate consultations from 11 November 1771 to 9 March 1772. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Ponsborne*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Duke of Portland*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Ponsborne*. 9: Effective state of the garrison. 10: Cash account from 11 to 12 March 1772. 11: Duplicate cash account from 11 to 30 November 1771. 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of December 1771. 13: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1772. **Interpretations** The *British King* left two days after the *Ponsborne*, and her packet was built almost wholly of duplicates. Only the letter of 12 March 1772, a single consultation and a cash account covering two days were new. The Council nonetheless sent a full second set of four months' consultations and accounts by her. Two ships sailing so close together offered the best chance of getting both copies home quickly by separate vessels, after a winter in which no Company ship called between November and March.
332	325	No 14 Duplicate Cash Account for the Month of Feby 1772§	The list of papers in the packet continued with 10 further items.

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		§15 Do Do from the 1st to the 10th March Do§ §16 Ship British King's Account§ §17 Duplicate Ship Ponsbornes Do§ §18 Do Proceedings of a Genl. Quarterly Sessions held on 8th Jany. 1772§ §19 List of twelve discharged Soldiers§ §20 Surgeons Certificate of eleven Invalid Soldiers§ §21 Govr. & Councils Do of Murdock McCleod Invalid recommended§ §to be put upon the Military Fund§ §22 Instrument in Writing from 12 Invalid Soldiers§ §23 Capt. Hoare's first Receipt for £60§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed your Honors Yesterday by the Ship§ §British King and we now take the opportunity by the same§ §Ship to acquaint you that the Morse is just arrived from the Cape§ §but we have not heard any thing more from that place than§ §what we wrote you by the Ship Ponsborne.§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §13th March 1772§ §Your most Obed. & humb. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§	14: Duplicate cash account for the month of February 1772. 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 10 March 1772. 16: Account of the *British King*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Ponsborne*. 18: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly court held on 8 January 1772. 19: List of 12 discharged soldiers. 20: Surgeon's certificate for 11 invalid soldiers. 21: Certificate from the Governor and Council for Murdock McCleod, an invalid recommended for the Military Fund. 22: Written undertaking from 12 invalid soldiers. 23: First receipt from Captain Hoare for £60 0s 0d. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. The Council wrote to the Court on 12 March 1772 by the *British King* and used the same ship a day later to add a short note. The *Morse* had just arrived from the Cape. She brought no news from that place beyond what the Council reported by the *Ponsborne*. Governor Skottowe and Daniel Corneille signed the letter at St Helena on 13 March 1772. **Interpretations** The Council wrote a separate letter for a single piece of news. The *British King* had not yet sailed, and the arrival of the *Morse* could have waited for the next packet. Captain Hough reported on 10 March 1772 that three French warships and two transports lay at the Cape awaiting orders from Europe. The Court would want to know whether a ship leaving the Cape later brought any change, so a note saying that nothing further was known had real value as intelligence. The surgeon certified 11 invalids while 12 men signed the undertaking to claim no wages. Murdock McCleod made up the difference, as George Oliver did in the packet of 7 September 1771. His recommendation to the Military Fund went under the government's own certificate, and the other 11 were returned simply as unfit.
333	326	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §By the Ship British King that sailed§ §Yesterday we addressed you just to inform your Honors of the§ §arrival of the Ship Morse. This day arrived a Swede Ship§ §from China, the Officer that came on shore in the Boat,§ §acquaints Us they left your Ship Earl of Elgin at Princes's§ §Island the 16 January last, that she was so very leaky they§ §were obliged to keep the Pumps going day and Night, he§ §also tells Us they left Canton the 21 Decr. & that the Stafford§ §was to Sail from thence in a day or two after them, this§ §Letter waits on you by the Dane Ship Queen Sophia§ §Magdalena.§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §14th March 1772§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obed. & humb. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §[...] Purling§	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. The Council wrote to the Court by the *British King*, which sailed on 13 March 1772, simply to report the arrival of the *Morse.* A Swedish ship from China arrived on 14 March 1772. The officer who came ashore in her boat reported leaving the *Earl of Elgin* at Princes Island on 16 January 1772. That ship leaked so badly that her crew kept the pumps working day and night. The Swedish vessel left Canton on 21 December 1771, and the *Stafford* was due to sail from there a day or two later. The letter went by the Danish ship *Queen Sophia Magdalena*. Governor Skottowe and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 14 March 1772. **Interpretations** The Council entrusted this letter to a foreign ship. Company correspondence normally waited for a Company vessel, whose commander signed a receipt for the packet, and the Danes were commercial rivals bound for Copenhagen, not London. The *British King* had sailed the day before and no other Company ship lay in the road. News that the *Earl of Elgin* was in danger of foundering could not wait, since the Court and the ship's owners and insurers needed the earliest possible warning. The letter held nothing confidential, so the risk of sending it through foreign hands was small. The report on the *Earl of Elgin* changed the picture given four days earlier. Captain Hoare stated in the letter of 10 March 1772 that she was to sail from Canton about a fortnight after he left on 25

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			November 1771. By 16 January 1772 she had got only as far as Princes Island and was kept afloat by constant pumping, with the whole passage across the Indian Ocean and round the Cape still ahead of her. Princes Island lay in the Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. Homeward ships from China stopped there for wood and water before entering the Indian Ocean, which made it the last place in the eastern seas where one vessel could gather news of another.
334	327	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. Our last Letter waited on you by the Dane Ship that§ §sailed on the 14th instant§ §2. The Passengers on board the Morse are Messrs. Russell,§ §Kelsall, May, Palmer, Chester, and Mrs. May§ §3. Captain Watson purchased at the Cape 40 Head of Black§ §Cattle on your Account, twenty one of which he landed here, the others§ §dying on the Passage, he informs us he has drawn on your Honors§ §for the Amount Copy of the Account is entered in our Consultation§ §of the 16th inst.; We are sorry we are obliged to observe to you§ §notwithstanding our repeated request, and your recommendation to§ §the Captains of your homeward bound Ships to bring us Sheep§ §instead of Cattle from the Cape; from our known experience that§ §the former answers so much better than the latter, serving Us for§ §immediate use, when the Cattle are a great expence from the§ §numbers dying in the Passage as well as after their landing on§ §the Island, and even what does live are in such bad condition§ §that they cannot be Slaughtered for 18 Months or 2 Years after they§ §are received, and further we have reason to suppose that the§ §disorder on the Island has been introduced by the Cattle having§ §been brought from the Cape, as that disorder was not known here§ §before we received those Cattle, Captn. Hoare although an early Ship did§ §not touch at the Cape, and Captn. Hough that called there brought§ §us no kind of supply for the use of this Island§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obed. & hble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl. Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §St Helena§ §19th March 1772§	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the Danish ship that sailed on 14 March 1772. 2: The passengers aboard the *Morse* were Messrs Russell, Kelsall, May, Palmer and Chester and Mrs May. 3: Captain Watson bought 40 head of black cattle at the Cape on the Company's account. Only 21 were landed at the island, and the rest died on the passage. He told the Council that he drew on the Court for the cost. A copy of his account was entered in the consultation of 16 March 1772. The Council regretted having to raise the matter of Cape livestock once more. It had asked repeatedly for sheep, and the Court recommended its homeward captains to bring sheep from the Cape instead of cattle. Experience showed that sheep suited the island far better, since they could be used at once. Cattle proved very costly because so many died at sea and more died after landing. The survivors arrived in such poor condition that they could not be slaughtered for 18 months or two years. The Council also had grounds to suspect that cattle from the Cape introduced the disease then present on the island, which was unknown there before those animals came. Captain Hoare, though commanding an early ship, did not call at the Cape. Captain Hough did call there and brought no supplies of any kind for the island. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 19 March 1772. **Interpretations** Captain Watson bought cattle where the Council and the Court both wanted sheep. The Court's wish reached its captains only as a recommendation, which left the choice to each commander, and the letter shows three of them using that freedom in three ways. Hoare bypassed the Cape, Hough called and brought nothing, and Watson brought the wrong animal. The Council's complaint was therefore aimed less at Watson than at the weakness of an instruction that bound nobody. Setting the three cases side by side made the argument for a firm order. The purchase was also poor value on its own terms. Watson drew on the Court for all 40 animals, so the Company paid for 19 that died at sea. The 21 landed could not be eaten for up to two years and needed pasture in the meantime. That pasture was already failing: the letter of 4 February 1772 reported two years of poor rains and only 237 cattle fit for slaughter. Lean cattle added mouths to a starved range, whereas sheep could go straight to the market, the hospital and the ships. The suspicion about disease added a further charge. An infection brought in with Cape cattle threatened the island's own herd, the stock on which recovery depended. The Council offered this as a reasoned inference from timing, since the disorder appeared only after such cattle were received, and did not claim proof.

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			Black cattle was the ordinary term of the period for horned cattle of any colour kept for beef, as distinct from horses or sheep. Drawing on the Court meant that Watson paid the Cape sellers with a bill which the Company in London had to honour, so the cost fell on the Company at home and never passed through the island's treasury.
335	328	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Morse dated 19th March 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 19th March 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 12th Do Do§ §3 Do Do & Do dated 13th Do Do§ §4 Do Do & Do dated 14th Do Do§ §5 Consultation of the 16th March Do§ §6 Duplicate Do of 12th Do Do§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship British King§ §8 First do for a small paper Do [...] Do Do§ §9 First do for a Do Do [...] the Dane Ship§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship British King§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Cash Acct. from 13th to 19th March 1772§ §13 Duplicate Do from 11th to 12th Do Do§ §14 Ship Morse Account§ §15 Duplicate Ship British Kings Do§ §16 Do Surgeons Certificate of 11 Invalid Soldiers§ §17 Captain Hoare's Second Receipt for £60§ §18 Second Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Ponsborne§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Morse§ §20 Time of the Arrival of Ship Morse's Boat at Banks's§	A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Morse*, dated 19 March 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 19 March 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 12 March 1772. 3: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 March 1772. 4: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 14 March 1772. 5: Consultation of 16 March 1772. 6: Duplicate consultation of 12 March 1772. 7: First receipt for the packet sent by the *British King*. 8: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *British King*. 9: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship. 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *British King*. 11: Effective state of the garrison. 12: Cash account from 13 to 19 March 1772. 13: Duplicate cash account from 11 to 12 March 1772. 14: Account of the *Morse*. 15: Duplicate account of the *British King*. 16: Duplicate surgeon's certificate for 11 invalid soldiers. 17: Second receipt from Captain Hoare for £60 0s 0d. 18: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Ponsborne*. 19: Abstract of the cargo of the *Morse*. 20: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Morse* at Banks's. **Interpretations** The Danish captain signed a receipt for the letter of 14 March 1772, just as a Company commander would. The Council thus applied its own safeguard to a foreign carrier over whom the Company held no authority. The receipt could not make a Danish officer answerable in London, but it gave the Court proof that the letter left the island and by which ship. A duplicate of that letter travelled in the *Morse* as well, so the news of the leaking *Earl of Elgin* did not depend on the goodwill of a rival company. Three short letters written on 12, 13 and 14 March 1772 all went home again in this packet. Each first travelled alone, two by the *British King* and one by the Danish ship, and the *Morse* was the earliest vessel able to carry second copies of all three.
336	329	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed you the 19th of last Month by your§ §Ship Morse.§ §2 On the 28th of March Arrived the Northumberld.§ §from China, last from the Cape. The 2 instant arrived your Ship§ §Bute & last night the Stafford both from China. Capt. Rees§ §acquaints Us he saw a Ship under English Colours as he was§ §coming round the Cape of Good Hope going into that Place, and a§ §French Snow homeward bound this side of the Cape§ §3 A French Brigadier General from the Cape and§	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 19 March 1772 by the *Morse*. 2: The *Northumberland* arrived from China on 28 March 1772, coming last from the Cape. The *Bute* arrived on the second day of the following month and the *Stafford* on the night before the letter, both from China. Captain Lell reported seeing a ship under English colours entering the Cape as he rounded it. He also saw a homeward-bound French snow on the St Helena side of the Cape. 3: A French brigadier general from the Cape and a supercargo from China came to the island as passengers in the *Northumberland*. The Governor of

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		§a Supra Cargoe from China came Passengers here upon the Ship§ §Northumberland. As the Governor of Mauritius will not permit any of§ §our Gentlemen to go on shore at that Place We have for this reason§ §observed the same conduct with respect to those Gentlemen, especially§ §the Brigadier General who we are told is a very good Engineer§ §consequently an improper Person to be allowed to come on shore§ §4 The Surf having been remarkably high of late§ §has made several breaches from the Wharf to the Landing Place§ §which we are under a necessity of having repaired as soon as possible§ §5 We have given Capt. Mitford an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship Edward Steventon Henry Earnshaw and Joseph§ §West three discharged Soldiers to complete her Company & have§ §likewise put on board the Northumberland William Freeman Carpenters§ §Mate who received a hurt in his Breast, as you will please to§ §observe by his Petition Entered in our Consultation of the 16 last§ §Month transmitted you by the Ship Morse to which Consultation§ §we beg leave to refer you, as this Man came here a Soldier and§ §was lately discharged the Garrison upon being appointed Carpts. Mate§ §and has behaved himself extremely well during his stay of five§ §Years on the Island We hope he will be entitled to your protection§ §we§	Mauritius allowed no Company gentleman to go ashore at that island. Governor Skottowe and the Council therefore treated these two passengers in the same way and kept them aboard. The brigadier general in particular was reported to be a very good engineer, which made him an unsuitable person to let ashore. 4: Unusually high surf in recent weeks made several breaches in the wharf leading to the landing place. The Council had no choice but to repair them as soon as possible. 5: Captain Rutford was ordered to take three discharged soldiers aboard his ship to make up her crew. Edward Steventon Henry Earnshaw Joseph [...] The Council also put William Freeman aboard the *Northumberland*. He was a carpenter's mate who suffered an injury to his chest, as his petition showed. That petition was entered in the consultation of 16 March 1772, which went home by the *Morse*, and the Council referred the Court to it. Freeman came to the island as a soldier and was recently discharged from the garrison on his appointment as carpenter's mate. He behaved extremely well during his five years on the island, and the Council hoped the Court would consider him deserving of its protection. **Interpretations** The Council confined two passengers to their ship, although travellers from homeward vessels normally came ashore to recover during a stay. Two reasons appear in the letter. The first was reciprocity: the French shut Company men out of Mauritius, and the letter of 10 November 1771 recorded how they held the crew of the *Verelst* and disabled a Danish ship there. The second was specific to the brigadier general. A trained engineer walking through the town could judge the batteries, the newly walled leeward valleys reported on 10 March 1772 and the rebuilt powder magazine. With French warships reported at the Cape awaiting orders from Europe, the Council would not give such an observer a view of the defences. A supercargo was the merchant who travelled with a ship to manage the buying and selling of her cargo. This one was returning from Canton, and both men were evidently making their way to Europe by an English ship. The wharf was the island's only practical landing. The anchorage lay open to the ocean swell, and periods of heavy surf, known locally as rollers, could make landing dangerous and damage the masonry. Every cask of water, every bullock and every passenger passed over it, so breaches there interrupted the supply of ships at the start of the busy homeward season. Freeman's case rested on the Council's good word. A man hurt in the Company's service on the island had no automatic claim once discharged from the garrison, since the Military Fund served soldiers. Asking for the Court's protection invited it to grant him some relief as a favour, on the strength of five years' good conduct.
337	330	we have paid Capt. Mitford £5 for his Passage his Receipt§ §together with the Instrument Freeman has signed that he will§ §not demand any Wages for his Passage home goes enclosed in the§ §Packet.§ §6. We cannot transmit you any other Cash§ §Account by this conveyance than the Duplicate of the last as the§ §Quarters Accounts will not be laid before Us until the	The Council paid Captain Rutford £5 0s 0d for Freeman's passage. His receipt went in the packet together with a paper signed by Freeman, in which he agreed to claim no wages for the voyage home. 6: No cash account could go by this ship except the duplicate of the earlier one. The quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 20 April 1772. 7: Captain Rutford asked for leave to call at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose.

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		20 instant§ §7 Captain Mitford requests leave to call at§ §Ascension to get Turtle, we have permitted him to touch there§ §for that purpose.§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §6 April 1772§ §Yr. most obed. & humb. Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Northumberland dated the 6 April 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Gen Letter dated 6 April 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 19th March Do§ §3 Consultations from 19th March to 6th April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of 16 March Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Morse§ §6 Second do for Do [...] Ship British King§ §7 Do Do for a small paper Do [...] Do§ §8 Do Do for Do Do [...] the Dane Ship§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Morse§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Muster Rolls of Do§ §12 Duplicate Cash Account from 13th to 19th March 1772§	Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 6 April 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Northumberland*, dated 6 April 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 6 April 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 19 March 1772. 3: Consultations from 19 March to 6 April 1772. 4: Duplicate consultation of 16 March 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Morse*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *British King*. 7: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *British King*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the Danish ship. 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Morse*. 10: Effective state of the garrison. 11: Muster rolls of the garrison. 12: Duplicate cash account from 13 to 19 March 1772. **Interpretations** Freeman signed the same kind of undertaking as the 12 invalids sent home in the *British King* on 12 March 1772. His case shows why the safeguard mattered. A carpenter's mate was a skilled hand whom a short-handed ship could put to work, and the *Northumberland* was taking three discharged soldiers at the same time to fill out her crew. The fare of £5 0s 0d, the rate paid for each invalid, marked him as a passenger carried at the Company's cost. His signed paper prevented any later claim on the owners for seaman's pay. The gap in the cash accounts repeated the one explained on 3 July 1771, when the quarter's accounts were not due until 16 July 1771. At each quarter's end the Council sent no fresh statement until the accounts were formally laid before it, so a ship sailing in the first weeks of a new quarter carried only a duplicate.
338	331	No. 13 Ship Northumberlands Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Morses Do§ §15 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Northumberland, Bute & Stafford§ §16 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §17 Capt. Mitfords first Receipt for £5§ §18 Instrument in Writing from William Freeman§ §19 List of three discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. By the Ship Northumberland that Sailed§ §from hence on the 6th instant we wrote last to you.§ §2 On the 8th of this Month arrived the Ship Earl§ §of Elgin from China in a leaky condition she came to off§ §Munden's Point, but the Wind blowing very hard she drove off to§ §sixty fathom Water where she now lays at Anchor§ §3 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt. One Set to Mr. William Wrangham for fifty pounds§ §payable to John May Esqr. And one set to the Reverend Mr.§ §William Bearcroft for one hundred and forty five pounds sixteen§ §shillings, payable to Captain John Mitford, both drawn at§ §ninety days sight, and dated this day.§ §4 Captain Maitland applied to Us for§ §leave to touch at Ascension to get Turtle we have permitted§ §him to call there for that purpose.§	The list of papers in the packet continued with seven further items. 13: Account of the *Northumberland*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Morse*. 15: Abstract of the cargoes of the *Northumberland*, the *Bute* and the *Stafford*. 16: Time of arrival of the ships' boats at Banks's. 17: First receipt from Captain Rutford for £5 0s 0d. 18: Written undertaking from William Freeman. 19: List of 3 discharged soldiers. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Northumberland*, which left the island on 6 April 1772. 2: The *Earl of Elgin* arrived from China in a leaky state on the eighth day of the month. She came to off Munden's Point, but a very strong wind drove her out into 60 fathoms of water, where she lay at anchor. 3: The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange, both drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the same day as the letter. Mr William Wrangham, payable to John May Esquire, £50 0s 0d The Reverend Mr William Bearcroft, payable to Captain John Rutford, £145 16s 0d 4: Captain Maitland applied for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to call there for that purpose. 5: The boat of the *Glatton* arrived as the letter was being written. **Interpretations**

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		§5 Just now arrived the Glattons Boat, the§ §Officer§	The *Earl of Elgin* survived a passage that the Council had reason to fear she would not. The letter of 14 March 1772 reported her at Princes Island on 16 January 1772, kept afloat by pumping day and night. Her arrival answered that alarm, though her position remained poor. Sixty fathoms was far deeper than the usual anchorage close under the town, and a ship lying so far out was hard to reach by boat for water, provisions or repairs. A leaking vessel with a tired crew thus lay exposed at the edge of the road, in a season when heavy surf had already breached the wharf. Mr Bearcroft's bill was payable to Captain Rutford, the commander who carried the previous packet. The clergyman probably bought goods from the captain's private trade during the ship's stay and settled the debt through the treasury, as Matthew Purling did with Captain Mears on 26 July 1771. A purchase of £145 16s 0d sits beside his request for a higher salary, forwarded to the Court on 7 September 1771.
339	332	Officer that came on shore acquaints Us they have not seen§ §any Ship on their Passage.§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §10th April 1772§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obed. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §[...] Ship Bute dated 10th April 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Governor & Councils Genl. Letter dated 10th April 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 6th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of 10th April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 23 March to 6th April Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Northumberland§ §6 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Morse§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Northumberland§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Butes Account§ §10 Duplicate Ship Northumberlands Account§ §11 Time of the arrival of Ship Earl of Elgins Boat at Banks's§ §12 Captain Mitfords Second Receipt for £5§	The officer who came ashore from the *Glatton* reported that her crew saw no ship during the passage. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 10 April 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Bute*, dated 10 April 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 April 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 6 April 1772. 3: Consultation of 10 April 1772. 4: Duplicate consultations from 23 March to 6 April 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Northumberland*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Morse*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Northumberland*. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Account of the *Bute*. 10: Duplicate account of the *Northumberland*. 11: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Earl of Elgin* at Banks's. 12: Second receipt from Captain Rutford for £5 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The duplicate consultations appear here as running from 23 March to 6 April 1772, whereas the packet list of 6 April 1772 gave the original set as starting on 19 March 1772. The earlier date is the more probable, since a duplicate repeated the original set in full. No cash account of any kind travelled in this packet. The letter of 6 April 1772 explained that the quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 20 April 1772, and the only available duplicate had already gone by the *Northumberland* four days earlier.
340	333	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. Our last Letter waited on you by the Ship§ §Bute that Sailed from hence the 11 instant§ §2 We have given Capt. Lyell an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship William Metcalf, John Willson§ §and Joseph Purdy, three discharged Soldiers towards completing§ §the Staffords Company.§ §3 James Flagg late Carpenters Mate§ §dying Intestate, We this day received into your Cash	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Bute*, which left the island on 11 April 1772. 2: Governor Skottowe and the Council ordered Captain Lell to take three discharged soldiers aboard his ship to help make up the crew of the *Stafford*. William Metcalf John Willson Joseph Purdy 3: James Hogg, formerly carpenter's mate, died without leaving a will. The Council received £53 4s

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		fifty§ §three pounds four shillings & four pence the produce of his§ §Effects, after paying his Debts and Ordered it to be wrote off§ §to Account Current London.§ §4 Capt. Lyell requests liberty to call at§ §Ascension to get Turtle, we have permitted him to touch there§ §for that purpose.§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §13th April 1772§ §Your most obed. and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§	4d into the Company's cash on the day of the letter. That sum was what his belongings raised after his debts were paid, and it was credited to the London current account. 4: Captain Lell asked for leave to call at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and [...] Purling signed the letter at St Helena on 13 April 1772. **Interpretations** Hogg's estate followed the route used for Patrick Elliott's on 22 June 1771. With no will and no executor on the island, the government acted as administrator: it sold the dead man's goods, paid his local creditors first and kept the remainder. Crediting £53 4s 4d to the London current account left the cash in the island's treasury and made the Company at home answerable to whoever proved a claim as next of kin in England. Creditors on the island were thus paid in full before any heir, and the heirs had to apply in London. Hogg's death probably explains William Freeman's recent appointment as carpenter's mate, recorded in the letter of 6 April 1772. Freeman was discharged from the garrison to take that post, was then injured and went home in the *Northumberland*, so the island lost two holders of the same skilled post within a short time. The *Stafford* was the third ship in this run of letters to make up her crew from discharged soldiers, after the *Prime* on 7 September 1771 and the *Northumberland* on 6 April 1772. Ships arriving short-handed from China gave the Council a ready means of sending home men whose service had ended, at no cost in passage money.
341	334	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Stafford, dated 13th April 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 13th April 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 10th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 13th April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 10th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Bute§ §6 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Northumberland§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Bute§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Staffords Account§ §10 Duplicate Ship Butes Do§ §11 Time of the arrival of Ship Glattons Boat at Banks's§ §12 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships E of Elgin & Glatton§ §13 List of three Discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you on the 13th instant§ §by the Ship Stafford§ §2 On the 15th of this Month arrived the Dutton§ §from Bombay, (last from the Cape) and the same day the§ §Ship Lord Camden from England, by which opportunity§ §we received a Packet from your Honors, which we opened and§ §read your Orders, and instructions to Us. And agreeable to the§ §17th Paragraph of your Letter Mr. Matthew Bazett took his seat§ §at§	A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Stafford*, dated 13 April 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 April 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 April 1772. 3: Consultation of 13 April 1772. 4: Duplicate consultation of 10 April 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Bute*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Northumberland*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Bute*. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Account of the *Stafford*. 10: Duplicate account of the *Bute*. 11: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Glatton* at Banks's. 12: Abstract of the cargoes of the *Earl of Elgin* and the *Glatton*. 13: List of 3 discharged soldiers. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 13 April 1772 by the *Stafford*. 2: Two ships arrived on 15 April 1772. The *Dutton* came from Bombay, last from the Cape, and the *Lord Camden* came from England. The second brought a packet from the Court, which the Council opened to read the orders and instructions it contained. Mr Matthew Bazett then took his seat, as paragraph 17 of the Court's letter directed. **Interpretations** The Court's packet changed the membership of the island's government. Mr Matthew Bazett took a seat by order from London, set out in a numbered paragraph of the Court's letter, and not by any choice of the Governor and Council. Appointments to the Council lay with the Court alone, as the letter of 29 August 1771 showed for military commissions when

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			the vacancy meant for Richard Powell went to Lauchlan Leslie. A Lieutenant Thomas Bazett served in the garrison and helped pursue the Lemon Valley deserters on 30 September 1771, so the new member perhaps belonged to a family already established on the island.
342	335	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Stafford, dated 13th April 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 13th April 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 10th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 13th April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 10th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Bute§ §6 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Northumberland§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Bute§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Staffords Account§ §10 Duplicate Ship Butes Do§ §11 Time of the arrival of Ship Glattons Boat at Banks's§ §12 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships E of Elgin & Glatton§ §13 List of three Discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you on the 13th instant§ §by the Ship Stafford§ §2 On the 15th of this Month arrived the Dutton§ §from Bombay, (last from the Cape) and the same day the§ §Ship Lord Camden from England, by which opportunity§ §we received a Packet from your Honors, which we opened and§ §read your Orders, and instructions to Us. And agreeable to the§ §17th Paragraph of your Letter Mr. Matthew Bazett took his seat§ §at§	Mr Matthew Bazett joined the Council as its fourth member and offered the Court his humble thanks for the favour shown him. The ships then in the road sailed so soon after the *Lord Camden* arrived that no reply to the Court's letter could go by them. The Council promised an answer by the first convenient ship. 3: Captain Rice reported leaving Bombay on 25 December 1771, with the Company's ships *Shrewsbury*, *Hampshire* and *Godfrey* still there. He met a homeward-bound French ship at sea in latitude 33 degrees. Four French warships lay at the Cape, bound for France with a large number of troops from Mauritius aboard. The *Nottingham* and the *Earl of Lincoln* were at the Cape when he left. He saw an English ship entering Table Bay on the day he came out but did not speak with her. 4: The passengers aboard the *Dutton* were Colonels Keating and Kay, Mr and Mrs Nowland, Mr and Mrs Smith and Messrs Pemberton, Loubard, Crandale and Scott. Mr Barlow travelled aboard the *Earl of Elgin*. 5: Captains Rice and Wilkinson applied for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed them to call there for that purpose. 6: The letter went by the *Dutton*, and a copy went by the *Earl of Elgin*. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 19 April 1772. **Interpretations** The Council sent the ships away without answering the Court's letter. Holding the *Dutton* and the *Earl of Elgin* for a few days would have allowed a full reply, since the packet arrived on 15 April 1772 and the letter was signed four days later. Detaining homeward ships exposed the Company to claims for delay, however, and the *Earl of Elgin* was a leaking vessel lying in 60 fathoms off an open road. The Council therefore sent only an acknowledgement and the seating of the new member, and left the substance for a later ship. Captain Rice's report resolved the question raised by earlier letters. French warships were noted at the Cape on 4 February 1772 and again on 10 March 1772, when they were said to be waiting for orders from Europe. Four of them were now bound for France carrying many troops from Mauritius. A squadron taking soldiers home pointed to a reduction of French strength in the Indian Ocean, not a gathering of it, which was welcome news for an island that had kept a French engineer aboard his ship on 6 April 1772. Bazett's seat as fourth of Council enlarged a government of three. The dispute between Captain Tippet and the Lieutenant Governor in October 1771 showed the weakness of so small a body, since only the Governor and Mr Purling could give opinions when the third member was himself accused. A fourth councillor made a working majority possible in such a case.
343	336	List of the Honble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...]§ §Ship Dutton dated 19th April 1772 vizt.§ §No 1 Govr. & Councils Genl. Letter dated 19th April 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 13th Do Do§ §3 Consultation of the 16th Do Do§	A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Dutton*, dated 19 April 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 19 April 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 13 April 1772. 3: Consultation of 16 April 1772.

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		§4 Duplicate Do of the 13th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Stafford§ §6 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Bute§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Stafford§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Earl of Elgins Account§ §10 Ship Duttons Do§ §11 Duplicate Ship Staffords Do§ §12 Time of the Arrival of Ship Dutton's Boat at Banks's§ §13 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Dutton§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1. We addressed you Yesterday by the Ship Dutton§ §Copy of which we transmitted [...] the Earl of Elgin§ §2. We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt. One Set to Mr. Matthew Purling for four hundred and sixty§ §pounds payable to John Purling Esqr. One Set to Capt. Richard§ §Dowton for one thousand pounds payable to himself. One Set to Capt.§ §Henry Rice for two hundred pounds payable to himself, and one Set§ §to§	4: Duplicate consultation of 13 April 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Stafford*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Bute*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Stafford*. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Account of the *Earl of Elgin*. 10: Account of the *Dutton*. 11: Duplicate account of the *Stafford*. 12: Time of arrival of the boat of the *Dutton* at Banks's. 13: Abstract of the cargo of the *Dutton*. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council wrote to the Court on 19 April 1772 by the *Dutton* and sent a copy by the *Earl of Elgin*. 2: The Council issued several sets of bills of exchange, of which the first three were as follows. Mr Matthew Purling, payable to John Purling Esquire, £460 0s 0d Captain Richard Doveton, payable to himself, £1,000 0s 0d Captain Henry Rice, payable to himself, £200 0s 0d **Interpretations** Matthew Purling's bill for £460 0s 0d was his fourth to John Purling in nine months. He sent £450 0s 0d on 26 July 1771, £600 0s 0d on 21 October 1771 and £1,600 0s 0d in the letter of 4 February 1772, so the four together moved £3,110 0s 0d to the same payee. Sums of that size from one councillor point to private trade or lending on the island on a considerable scale, with the Company's treasury serving as his channel for sending the proceeds home. The packet carried no cash account, original or duplicate. The letter of 6 April 1772 explained that the quarter's accounts were not due before the Council until 20 April 1772, one day after this packet closed.
344	337	to Mr. John Brown for one hundred pounds payable to himself all§ §drawn at ninety days sight and dated this day§ §3 We have given Captain Dowton a Permit to§ §receive on board his Ship Arundel Carnes and John Perry two§ §discharged Soldiers, and carry them to England they have signed§ §an Instrument that they will not demand any Wages for their§ §passage which goes enclosed in the Packet§ §4 We cannot transmit you by this Conveyance to§ §days Consultation as the Quarters Accounts are inserted therein§ §5 Capt. Dowton requests leave to touch at§ §Ascension to get Turtle we have permitted him to call there for§ §that purpose.§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St. Helena§ §20th April 1772§ §Your most Obed. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §[...] Bazett§	The fourth set of bills went to Mr John Brown for £100 0s 0d, payable to himself. All four sets were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated the same day as the letter. 3: Captain Doveton received a permit to take two discharged soldiers, Arundel Cairnes and John Perry, aboard his ship and carry them to England. Both men signed a paper agreeing to claim no wages for the passage, and it went in the packet. 4: The consultation held on the day of the letter could not go by this ship, because the quarter's accounts were entered in it. 5: Captain Doveton asked for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to call there for that purpose. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 20 April 1772. **Interpretations** The Council held back a consultation that would normally have travelled with the letter of the same date. The letter of 6 April 1772 stated that the quarter's accounts were due before the Council on 20 April 1772, and they were duly laid that day and written into the minutes. A consultation carrying a full quarter's accounts was probably too long to copy fair before the ship sailed. Sending the letter alone avoided delaying a homeward vessel, and the minutes could follow by the next ship. Cairnes and Perry went home on different terms from the other discharged soldiers in these letters. The men put aboard the *Prime*, the *Northumberland* and the *Stafford* were sent by order to make up short crews, and so worked their passage as hands. These two travelled by permit as passengers. The

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			undertaking to claim no wages, first used for the 12 invalids on 12 March 1772 and again for William Freeman on 6 April 1772, was therefore extended to them. No passage money was recorded, which suggests that the captain agreed to carry them without charge to the Company.
345	338	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Glatton dated 20th April 1772 vizt.§ §No. 1 Govr. & Councils Gen Letter dated 20th April 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do Do dated 19th Do Do§ §3 Do Consultation of 16th Do Do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Dutton§ §5 Do Do for a small paper Do [...] Ship Earl of Elgin§ §6 Second Do for the Packet [...] Ship Stafford§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Dutton§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Glattons Account§ §10 Duplicate Ship Dutton's Do§ §11 Do Ship Earl of Elgin's Do§ §12 List of two discharged Soldiers§ §13 Instrument in writing of Do§ §14 Cash Account from 20th to 31st March 1772§ §15 Do Do from 1st to 20th April Do§ §16 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter waited on your Honors§ §the 19th April by the Ship Glatton§ §2 We are glad to hear all your Ships of the§ §last season Arrived safe, the like success we hope will attend those§ §of this Year§ §3 Your honors will please to Observe by§	A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Glatton*, dated 20 April 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 20 April 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 19 April 1772. 3: Duplicate consultation of 16 April 1772. 4: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Dutton*. 5: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin*. 6: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Stafford*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Dutton*. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Account of the *Glatton*. 10: Duplicate account of the *Dutton*. 11: Duplicate account of the *Earl of Elgin*. 12: List of 2 discharged soldiers. 13: Written undertaking from the 2 discharged soldiers. 14: Cash account from 20 to 31 March 1772. 15: Cash account from 1 to 20 April 1772. 16: Letter from the Governor to the Secret Committee. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 20 April 1772 by the *Glatton*. 2: News that every Company ship of the previous season arrived safely pleased the Council, which hoped for the same good fortune for the ships of the current year. **Interpretations** The cash accounts resumed with this packet. The last account sent home ran to 19 March 1772, and the letters of 6 and 10 April 1772 carried no new one because the quarter's accounts were not yet laid before the Council. Once that was done on 20 April 1772, the statements for the rest of March and for April to date could go at once, leaving no gap in the Court's record of the treasury. The letter to the Secret Committee came from Governor Skottowe alone. The earlier one, listed in the packet of 17 June 1771, was signed by the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor together. Confidential correspondence bypassed the full Council in both cases, but here it bypassed Daniel Corneille as well. The Court's packet by the *Lord Camden* arrived five days before, and the Governor was perhaps answering secret instructions addressed to him personally. The packet list identifies Captain Doveton's ship. The two discharged soldiers and their undertaking, described in the letter of 20 April 1772, travelled in the *Glatton*, so Doveton commanded her. His bill for £1,000 0s 0d payable to himself matches the pattern set by Captain Hoare on 12 March 1772, a China commander turning the proceeds of his private trade at the island into a claim on the Company in London.
346	339	Our Consultation of the 29th of April that We dispatched the Ship Lord§ §Camden, upon the Expiration of the ten working days§ §4 Agreable to your permission we have made some§ §Addition to Our China Indent for Tea, Sugar & Candy, as you will§ §please to observe by Our Letter to the Gentlemen at Canton Entered§	The Council sent the *Lord Camden* on her way as soon as her ten working days ran out, as the consultation of 29 April 1772 recorded. 4: With the Court's permission, the Council added to its China order for tea, sugar and candy. The details appeared in a letter to the Company's representatives at Canton, entered in the consultation of 29 April 1772.

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		§in Consultation of the 29th of last Month§ §5 The Supplies you have been pleased to Send Us§ §this Season, we hope will fully Answer the demands of the Island§ §for the ensuing Year§ §6 It gives Us pleasure to find, that your Honors§ §have been pleased to inforce your Orders to the Commandrs. of§ §your Freighted Ships in case they should touch at the Cape§ §homeward-bound, to purchase Sheep and Corn for the use of this§ §Island; which we hope will be a means of Our being supplied§ §better for the future, Yet are sorry to inform you, notwith=§ §standing your repeated injuctions to them for so doing. We have§ §hitherto been the sufferers by their neglect, as few this Year§ §have touch at the Cape, and of those only Capt. Watson brought§ §Us Black Cattle and Capt. Rice Sheep on Acct. of the Company.§ §And on Our particular desire Capt. Hough and Mitford spared§ §Us a few for the immediate use of the Sick in the Hospital§ §7 We received by the Lord Camden three Calves &§ §make not the least doubt they will answer the intended purpose§ §of improving the Breed of Black Cattle on this Island and hope§ §that you will be pleased to continue the same measure§ §8 Your Orders respecting the Prices of Issuing the§ §Store goods to the Planters & Inhabitants, have been made known§ §to them by a Publick Advertisement, and they beg leave to return§ §you thanks for the Indulgence§ §9 We acquainted the Revd. Mr. Wm. Bearcroft§ §with your Honors Orders respecting his keeping a Register of all§ §Births, Christenings, Marriages & Burials on this Island. And§ §as both he and his Predecessors have always kept a regular§ §Register§	5: The Council hoped that the supplies sent out that season would fully meet the island's needs for the coming year. 6: The Council welcomed the Court's decision to enforce its orders to the commanders of chartered ships. Any who called at the Cape on the way home were to buy sheep and corn for the island, and the Council hoped for better supplies in future as a result. The island had nonetheless suffered until then from the commanders' neglect of repeated instructions. Few ships called at the Cape that year. Among those that did, only Captain Watson brought black cattle and Captain Rice sheep on the Company's account. Captains Hough and Rutford each spared a few animals at the Council's special request, for immediate use by the sick in the hospital. 7: Three calves arrived by the *Lord Camden*. The Council had no doubt that they would serve their purpose of improving the island's breed of black cattle, and hoped the Court would continue sending such animals. 8: The Court's orders on the prices at which store goods were issued to the planters and inhabitants were announced by public notice. The islanders offered the Court their thanks for the concession. 9: The Council informed the Reverend Mr William Bearcroft of the Court's orders that he keep a register of all births, christenings, marriages and burials on the island. Both he and his predecessors always kept a regular register. **Interpretations** The ten working days were the time the charter allowed an outward-bound ship to unload at the island. Beyond that limit the owners could claim compensation for each day of delay. The *Lord Camden* arrived on 15 April 1772 and was cleared by 29 April 1772, exactly within her allowance. The *Pigot*, by contrast, arrived on 26 July 1771 and did not sail until 27 September 1771. Citing the consultation gave the Court a dated record that this time the island met the terms. The Court's letter turned a recommendation into an enforced order. The Council's complaint of 19 March 1772 showed why a mere recommendation failed: Captain Hoare bypassed the Cape, Captain Hough brought nothing for the island and Captain Watson bought cattle, of which 19 out of 40 died at sea. The present paragraph softened that account in one respect. Hough and Rutford did hand over a few animals, though only when asked and from their own ships' stock, not as a purchase for the Company. Corn was now added to sheep, a sign that two years of failed rains left the island short of grain as well as meat. The three calves from England served a different end from the Cape livestock. They were breeding animals, meant to raise the quality of the island's herd over time, whereas Cape stock was wanted for slaughter. They also came from a source free of the disease that the Council suspected Cape cattle of introducing. The China order was the island's yearly requisition on the Company's agents at Canton, who shipped the goods by homeward vessels calling at St Helena. Candy meant sugar candy, sugar crystallised into large hard lumps, a regular Chinese export that kept well in a damp sea climate. The Council needed leave to enlarge the order because such goods were bought with the Company's money and sold on the island from its stores. Those stores were the islanders' main source of imported goods, and the Court set the prices. The thanks returned for a concession indicate that the new prices were lower, a relief to planters whose own income from livestock had fallen with the drought.

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347	340	Register thereof, we shall by two conveyances annually§ §transmit you his attested Copy of the same§ §10 Agreeable to your permission we have discharged§ §William Dowsing Gunner and shall put him on board the Africa§ §towards Compleating her Company, And in consequence of his§ §Majesty's Free Pardon to Stephen Swartson, we on receipt thereof§ §discharged him from Goal and shall send him to England upon§ §the abovementioned Ship, which Sails in a few days§ §11 Mr. Powell a Cadet whom you have been pleased§ §to Appoint a Supernumerary Lieut. has been acquainted therewith§ §for which he begs leave to return your Honors his humble§ §thanks for this favour§ §12 We have acquainted Noequedah Pocollum§ §with your Permission for his return to his Native Country§ §which he seems at present to decline§ §13 Agreeable to your Orders Mr. M Bazett took§ §his Seat at the Board as fourth of Council & shall be paid the§ §Additional Salary you are pleased to direct, he begs leave§ §to return you his most sincere thanks for this favour, And§ §will endeavour by a Faithful and diligent discharge of his§ §duty to Merit your Honors approbation. As Mr. Bazetts§ §promotion to Council has made a Vacancy in the Offices, We§ §have appointed him Accompt. Mr. Brick Alex. Wright Factr.§ §to be Secretary and Mr. John Goodwin the other Factr. Collector§ §of Your Customs; And as Mr. Matt. Purling has for a Long§ §time Conducted the Business in the Accountants Office he§ §assures Us that whenever his Assistance in that or any other§ §Department should be wanted, He will [...] readily give it§ §14 Mr. John Bazett Writer for Bengal shall§ §agreeable to your directions Proceed thither in his way to§ §Bencoolen upon the Ship Earl of Sandwich without any§ §Expence to the Company§ §15 Mr. Thomas Stroud whom you have appointed§ §a§	The Council undertook to send the Court an attested copy of Mr Bearcroft's register every year by two separate ships. 10: With the Court's permission, the Council discharged William Dowsing, a gunner, and intended to put him aboard the *Africa* to help make up her crew. The King's free pardon for Stephen Swartson also arrived. The Council released him from gaol on receiving it and planned to send him to England in the same ship, which was due to sail within a few days. 11: Mr Powell, the cadet whom the Court appointed a supernumerary lieutenant, was told of his promotion and offered his humble thanks. 12: Nagudale Poulim was informed that the Court allowed him to return to his own country. He appeared for the moment to decline. 13: Mr Matthew Bazett took his seat as fourth member of the Council, as the Court ordered, and was to receive the additional salary it directed. He sent his sincere thanks and promised to earn the Court's approval by faithful and diligent service. His promotion left a gap among the offices, which the Council filled as follows. Mr Matthew Bazett, accountant Mr [...] Alexander Wright, factor, secretary Mr John Goodwin, factor, collector of customs Mr Matthew Purling had long managed the accountant's office. He assured the Council that he would readily help in that or any other department whenever needed. 14: Mr John Bazett, a writer appointed to Bengal, was to travel there by way of Bencoolen aboard the *Earl of Sandwich*, as the Court directed and at no cost to the Company. **Interpretations** Swartson's pardon closed the case that began with the break-in at the Company's stores on 12 March 1771. Andrew Tedrick named him on 22 June 1771 as adviser and sharer in the stolen money, and both men went before the quarterly court of 10 July 1771. Tedrick was hanged. Swartson remained in gaol for some nine months until the King's pardon came, which shows that the Council did not carry out whatever sentence the court passed on him and referred his case to England instead. Executing both men was the course open to it. Tedrick's own insistence that he broke in alone, and his later invention and retraction of the magazine plot, probably made the Council unwilling to hang a second man on his word. The pardon freed Swartson but did not restore him to the garrison, and he left the island by the first ship. The Court's reply on Nagudale Poulim made the Council's accounting question of 3 July 1771 irrelevant for the time being. That letter asked whether his costs should be written off in London or charged to Fort Marlborough if he went back to Bencoolen. A prisoner of state who preferred exile to release suggests that return held more danger for him than St Helena did, and his maintenance continued as a charge on the island's books. The appointments show how the island's offices were shared out. Councillors held the senior executive posts in addition to their seats, so a new councillor brought a reshuffle. Factor was the civil rank above writer, and two factors took the posts of secretary and collector of customs. The accountant's office passed from Purling to Bazett. Purling had run the island's accounts during the months in which he remitted £3,110 0s 0d to John Purling through the same treasury, a combination of roles the Company's system permitted. Powell's commission granted the request made on 29 August 1771, when the Council pleaded his

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			five months of good service and his father's long record after the vacancy went to Lauchlan Leslie. The Court accepted an extra officer above the fixed establishment on those grounds. John Bazett was the third of that surname in these letters, after Lieutenant Thomas Bazett and the new councillor. A writer's post in Bengal was among the most sought-after openings in the Company's service, and the family evidently had the interest in London to secure it. Travelling at his own cost meant that the favour extended only to the appointment. Sending the register by two ships applied the island's rule for all official papers to its parish records. An attested copy in London gave the Company legal proof of births, marriages and deaths, which mattered when the estates of men such as Patrick Elliott and James Hogg were claimed by heirs in England.
348	341	a Surgeon of this Island shall succeed Mr. Barclay to the§ §Pay and Emoluments of the same, whenever Mr. Barclay thinks§ §proper to resign your Service, But as Mr. Stroud may be§ §possibly some time on this Island before Mr. Barclay's§ §departure, we agreed to allow him the full use of Medicine§ §Chest, for his Practice during that Period§ §16 John Fortune the Man Slave, who was forced§ §from the Island in One of your Long Boats, has been delivered§ §up to his Mistress, and you may be assured that he will not§ §be punished, as we look upon his leaving the Island, as no§ §volentary Act of his own§ §17 On the 28th of last Month Arrd. the Speke from§ §Bengal, the same day the Sea Horse from China, the 29th the§ §Asia from Bengal, and the 30th the Thames from China, Captn.§ §Jackson acquaints Us he left Bengal the 2d of Feby. and your§ §Ships Lord Holland, Rochford, Clive & Colebrooke there, Captn.§ §Baker informs Us that he spoke with the Granby about two§ §day's after that Ship left the Cape of good hope, all well§ §18 We transmit you herewith a Receipt for your§ §Europe Packets [...] Speke, which was Enclosed to Us by Mistake in§ §the Letter we received by that Ship from the President & Council of§ §Bengal§ §19 We this day granted Mr. Jonn. Dowton a set of§ §Bills of Exchange for £147.15 payable to Captn. Richd. Dowton§ §or Order§ §20 The Passengers on board the Speke are Miss Poole§ §Joseph Jekell Esqr. Thos. Forbes Esqr. Captn. Mestayr & Goodyar§ §Messrs. Allen, Hayden, Edwards & Parker, And Major Grant§ §Captns. Geary & Warren & Messrs. Watts, Irvine & Young on board Ship§ §Asia§ §21 Capts. Dampier & Baker applied to Us for leave§ §to touch at Assension to get Turtle, we have permitted them to call§ §there for that Purpose§	15: The Court appointed Mr Thomas Stroud a surgeon of the island, to take over Mr Barclay's pay and allowances whenever Barclay chose to resign from the Company's service. Stroud might spend some time on the island before Barclay left. The Council therefore agreed to give him full use of the medicine chest for his practice during that period. 16: John Fortune, the slave who was carried off from the island by force in one of the Company's longboats, was handed back to his mistress. The Council assured the Court that he would not be punished, since it regarded his departure as no act of his own will. 17: Four ships arrived within three days. The *Speke* came from Bengal and the *Sea Horse* from China on 28 April 1772, the *Asia* from Bengal on 29 April 1772 and the *Thames* from China on 30 April 1772. Captain Jackson reported leaving Bengal on 2 February 1772, with the *Lord Holland*, *Rochford*, *Clive* and *Colebrooke* still there. Captain Baker spoke with the *Granby* about two days after that ship left the Cape of Good Hope and found all well aboard. 18: A receipt for the Court's Europe packets sent by the *Speke* went home with the letter. The President and Council of Bengal enclosed it by mistake in their letter to the island by that ship. 19: The Council that day issued a set of bills of exchange to Mr [...] Doveton for £147 15s 0d, payable to Captain Richard Doveton or to his order. 20: The passengers aboard the *Speke* were Miss Poole, Joseph Jekyll Esquire, Thomas Forbes Esquire, Captains Mestayer and Goodyear and Messrs Allen, Hayden, Edwards and Parker. Major Grant, Captains Geary and Warren and Messrs Watts, Irvine and Young travelled aboard the *Asia*. 21: Captains Dampier and Baker applied for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed them to call there for that purpose. **Interpretations** The Council chose not to punish a slave who left the island. A slave found to have gone off in a boat was ordinarily treated as a runaway, and running away by sea was among the gravest offences a slave could commit there. Fortune's case turned on force. The deserters of 23 July 1770, whom the letter of 10 November 1771 reported as later seen in London, perhaps took him with them as an extra hand for the boat. His return from overseas, and the Court's evident interest in his treatment, fit that reading. Declaring his absence involuntary cleared him of the offence, and he was restored to his owner as her property. Stroud arrived with a promise of a post that was not yet vacant. The Court named him as successor, leaving the timing to Barclay, so he drew no surgeon's pay in the meantime. Access to the Company's medicine chest was the Council's answer to that gap. It let him treat private patients for fees and so

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			support himself, at the cost only of medicines the Company supplied. A Mr Robert Barclay took a bill of exchange in the letter of 7 September 1771 and was probably this surgeon. The misplaced receipt shows the packet system at work across settlements. Bengal obtained a signed receipt from the commander of the *Speke* for the packets he carried to London, and that paper should have gone home by another ship. Having received it in error, the island simply passed it on, which served the same purpose of separating proof of dispatch from the packet itself. A bill payable to a named person "or to his order" could be signed over to someone else. Captain Richard Doveton sailed in the *Glatton* on 20 April 1772, so the bill followed him by a later ship, and he could collect the money in London or transfer it to a creditor. The buyer shared his surname and was probably a relative living on the island.
349	342	22 This Letter waited on your Honors by the Ship§ §Sea Horse, Copy of which we transmit you [...] Ship Cruttenden§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble§ §Servants§ §(signed) John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §[...] Bazett§ §St. Helena§ §3d. May 1772§ §List of the Honoble Compys. Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Sea Horse dated the 3d May 1772 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Council General Letter dated the 3d May 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do Do the 20th April Do§ §3 Consultations from the 20th April to the 2d May Do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Glatton§ §5 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Dutton§ §6 Do Do for a small Paper Packet [...] Ship Earl of Elgin§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Glatton§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Ship Cruttenden's Account§ §10 Do Sea Horses Do§ §11 Duplicate Do Glatton's Do§ §12 Cash Account from the 21st to the 30th April 1772§ §13 Do from the 1 to the 3d May Do§ §14 Duplicate Do from the 20th to the 31st March Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1st to the 3d Apr. Do§	22: The letter went by the *Sea Horse*, and a copy went by the *Cruttenden*. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 3 May 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Sea Horse*, dated 3 May 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 May 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 20 April 1772. 3: Consultations from 20 April to 2 May 1772. 4: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Glatton*. 5: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Dutton*. 6: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Earl of Elgin*. 7: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Glatton*. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Account of the *Cruttenden*. 10: Account of the *Sea Horse*. 11: Duplicate account of the *Glatton*. 12: Cash account from 21 to 30 April 1772. 13: Cash account from 1 to 3 May 1772. 14: Duplicate cash account from 20 to 31 March 1772. 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 3 April 1772. **Interpretations** The consultation of 20 April 1772 travelled in this packet as the first of the set. The letter of that date explained that it could not go by the *Glatton* because the quarter's accounts were entered in it. Thirteen days later the copy was ready, and the Court received the quarter's accounts together with the minutes that followed them. This letter was also the full reply promised on 19 April 1772, when the Council acknowledged the Court's packet by the *Lord Camden* but had no time to answer it. Its paragraphs took the Court's orders in turn, from the dispatch of that ship to the surgeon's succession, and it went by two vessels at once to make sure the answer arrived. The last duplicate cash account appears as running from 1 to 3 April 1772. The original, listed in the packet of 20 April 1772, covered 1 to 20 April 1772, and that longer span is the more probable for its duplicate.
350	343	16 Captn. Jackson's Receipt for one Large & one Small Packet directed§ §to the Honoble the Court of Directors§ §17 Abstracts of the Cargoes of Ships, Sea Horse, Speke, Cruttenden,§ §Asia & Thames§ §18 Time of Ships Boats Arrd. at Banks's§	The list of papers in the packet continued with three further items. 16: Receipt from Captain Jackson for one large and one small packet addressed to the Court of Directors. 17: Abstracts of the cargoes of the *Sea Horse*, the *Speke*, the *Cruttenden*, the *Asia* and the *Thames*.

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		§To the Honoble &c.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1. We wrote last to your Honors by the Ship Sea§ §Horse Copy of which we transmitted [...] the Cruttenden§ §2. On the 3d instant Arrived the Calcutta from China§ §(last from the Cape) and the 5th the Pacific from China, Captn. Thomson§ §Acquaints Us, he heard in the Streights of Sunda the 19th Febry that the§ §Ship Pigot had Arrived at Batavia and that your Honors Ships§ §Lioness & Royal Henry were at the Cape when he Arrived there,§ §The Former Sailed the 9th of April and the Latter the 19th of the same§ §Month§ §3. We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt. One§ §Set to Mr. Matt Bazett for £130 payble. to Miss Mary Bazett§ §One Set to Mr. Robert Barclay for £140.12.6 payble to Capt.§ §Robert Preston, One Set to Capt. John Reddall for £500§ §payable to himself, And One Set to Mr. Sober Hall for £337.10§ §payble. to himself, All drawn at ninety day's Sight and dated§ §the 6th instant§ §4. The Passenger on Board the Calcutta is Capt.§ §Russell§ §5. Agreeable to what we mentioned in Our last Letter§ §We§	18: Time of arrival of the ships' boats at Banks's. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the *Sea Horse* and sent a copy by the *Cruttenden*. 2: The *Calcutta* arrived from China on 3 May 1772, coming last from the Cape, and the *Pacific* arrived from China on 5 May 1772. Captain Thomson heard in the Sunda Strait on 19 February 1772 that the *Pigot* reached Batavia. He found the Company's ships *Lioness* and *Royal Henry* at the Cape when he arrived there. The first sailed on 9 April 1772 and the second on 19 April 1772. 3: The Council issued four sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 6 May 1772. Mr Matthew Bazett, payable to Miss Mary Bazett, £130 0s 0d Mr Robert Barclay, payable to Captain Robert Preston, £140 12s 6d Captain John Reddall, payable to himself, £500 0s 0d Mr Sober Hall, payable to himself, £337 10s 0d 4: The passenger aboard the *Calcutta* was Captain Russell. **Interpretations** Captain Jackson's receipt was the paper that the President and Council of Bengal enclosed by mistake in their letter to the island, as the letter of 3 May 1772 explained. Jackson commanded the *Speke* and signed at Bengal for one large and one small packet addressed to the Court. The island forwarded the receipt by the *Sea Horse*, a different ship from the one carrying those packets, which restored the separation between proof of dispatch and the papers themselves. The report on the *Pigot* gave the Court its first news of that ship since she left St Helena on 27 September 1771. Batavia, on Java, was the headquarters of the Dutch company in Asia, and ships bound for China often called there. Word picked up in the Sunda Strait travelled home by this roundabout route faster than any direct report from the ship could. Mr Barclay's bill was payable to a ship's commander, as Mr Bearcroft's was on 10 April 1772 and Matthew Purling's on 26 July 1771. Such bills probably settled purchases from a captain's private trade goods. The surgeon was awaiting his own departure, since the letter of 3 May 1772 named Mr Stroud as his successor whenever he chose to resign.
351	344	We have put on board the Asia, Willm. Dowsing and Stephen§ §Swartson to compleat that Ships Company§ §6. Capts. Jackson Preston and Clarke requesting§ §leave to touch at Assension to get Turtle for the further refreshment of their§ §Ships Companys, we have permitted them to call there for that§ §Purpose§ §7. This Letter waits on you by the Asia Copys§ §of which we transmit you [...] Ships Speke and Thames§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obt. & humble Servts.§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §[...] Bazett§ §St. Helena§ §7th May 1772§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Asia dated the 7th May 1772 vizt.§	5: The Council put William Dowsing and Stephen Swartson aboard the *Asia* to make up her crew, as the previous letter proposed. 6: Captains Jackson, Preston and Clarke asked for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle as further fresh food for their crews. The Council allowed them to call there for that purpose. 7: The letter went by the *Asia*, and copies went by the *Speke* and the *Thames*. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 7 May 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Asia*, dated 7 May 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 7 May 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 3 May 1772. 3: Consultations from 4 to 6 May 1772. 4: Duplicate consultations from 20 April to 2 May 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Sea Horse*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Cruttenden*.

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		§No 1. Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 7th May 1772§ §2. Duplicate Do & Do Do 3 Do Do§ §3. Consultations from the 4th to the 6th Do Do§ §4. Duplicate Do from the 20th April to the 2d Do Do§ §5. First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Sea Horse§ §6. Do Do for a small Paper Do [...] Ship Cruttenden§ §7 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Glatton§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Sea Horse§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10. Ship Speke's Account§ §11 Ship Asia's Do§ §12 Ship Thames Do§	7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Glatton*. 8: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Sea Horse*. 9: Effective state of the garrison. 10: Account of the *Speke*. 11: Account of the *Asia*. 12: Account of the *Thames*. **Interpretations** Swartson left the island as a working hand. The King's pardon, reported in the letter of 3 May 1772, freed him from gaol but gave him no place in the garrison, and the Council sent him away by the first ship that needed men. The same method removed Buckman in the *Prime* on 7 September 1771 after Tedrick accused him of the magazine plot. In both cases a man the Council no longer wanted filled a gap in a short-handed crew, and the Company paid no passage money. Three ships sailed together, and the letter travelled in all of them. The Council normally sent an original and one copy by separate vessels. A third copy cost only a clerk's time when the *Asia*, the *Speke* and the *Thames* left in company, and it gave the Court's correspondence a further margin of safety.
352	345	13 Duplicate Ship Cruttenden's Account§ §14. Do Sea Horses Do§ §15. Cash Account from 4th to 7th May 1772§ §16. Duplicate Do Do from 21st to the 30th Apr. Do§ §17. Do Do from 1 to the 3d May Do§ §18 Abstracts of the Cargoes of Ships Calcutta & Pacific§ §19 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §To the Honorable &c.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1. Our last Address waited on your Honors the 7th§ §inst. by the Ship Asia, that sailed from hence the 8th instant§ §in Company with the Speke & Thames§ §2. We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §One set to Capt. Charles Barkley for £167.12 payble. to himself§ §And two sets to Capt. Wm. Thomson, One for £600 and the other§ §for £500 both payable to himself, all drawn at ninety§ §day's sight and dated the 9th inst.§ §3. Yesterday Your Ship Lord Camden proceeded§ §on her Voyage, to China§ §4. We have given Capt. Barkley an Order to§ §receive on board the Pacific towards compleating her Company§ §William Hill a discharged Soldier & Nicholas Swats and John§ §Whiteman two Seaman left here, the former from the Ship§ §Cruttenden & the latter from the Ship Speke§ §5. Captain Barkley applied to Us for leave to§ §touch at Assension to get Turtle, We have permitted him to call§ §there for that Purpose§ §6. This Letter waits on your Honors by the Pacific§ §Copy§	The list of papers in the packet continued with seven further items. 13: Duplicate account of the *Cruttenden*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Sea Horse*. 15: Cash account from 4 to 7 May 1772. 16: Duplicate cash account from 21 to 30 April 1772. 17: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 3 May 1772. 18: Abstracts of the cargoes of the *Calcutta* and the *Pacific*. 19: Time of arrival of the ships' boats at Banks's. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 7 May 1772 by the *Asia*, which left the island on 8 May 1772 together with the *Speke* and the *Thames*. 2: The Council issued three sets of bills of exchange, all drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 9 May 1772. Captain Charles Barkley, payable to himself, £107 12s 0d Captain William Thomson, payable to himself, £600 0s 0d Captain William Thomson, payable to himself, £500 0s 0d 3: The *Lord Camden* resumed her voyage to China on the day before the letter. 4: Governor Skottowe and the Council ordered Captain Barkley to take three men aboard the *Pacific* to help make up her crew. William Hill, discharged soldier Nicholas Swats, seaman left behind by the Cruttenden John Whiteman, seaman left behind by the Speke 5: Captain Barkley applied for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to call there for that purpose. 6: The letter went by the *Pacific*. **Interpretations** The two seamen show how the island redistributed stray hands among the homeward fleet. A ship that sailed without a sick man left him in the Company's care, as the *Northington* left Peter Sidington and Peter White in June 1771. Once recovered, such men were placed in the next vessel short of crew, whoever her owners were. The *Cruttenden* and the *Speke* both left within the previous week, so Swats and Whiteman waited only days before the *Pacific* took them.

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			The *Lord Camden* stayed about three and a half weeks in all. She arrived on 15 April 1772 and the letter of 3 May 1772 recorded her as cleared when her ten working days ended on 29 April 1772, yet she remained in the road for some days more. The Council's care to date her clearance protected the island from any claim that it held her beyond the allowed time, since her later stay was the commander's own affair. Captain Thomson took his £1,100 0s 0d in two separate sets instead of one. Each set was a distinct claim on the Company in London, so splitting the sum let him assign one bill to a creditor or partner and keep the other for himself.
353	346	Copy of which we transmit you by the Calcutta§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your Most Obt. humble Servants§ §(signed) John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §[...] Bazett§ §St. Helena§ §10th May 1772§ §List of the Honoble Company's from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §Pacific dated the 10th May 1772 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 10th May 1772§ §2. Duplicate Do & Do Do 7th Do Do§ §3. Consultation of the 9th Do Do§ §4. Duplicate Do from the 4th to ye. 6th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Asia§ §6. Do Do for a small Paper Do [...] Ship Speke§ §7. Do Do Do [...] Ship Thames§ §8 Second Do for the Packet [...] Ship Sea Horse§ §9. Do Do for a small Paper Do [...] Ship Cruttenden§ §10. Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Asia§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Ship Calcutta's Acct.§ §13. Ship Pacific's Do§ §14. Ship Lord Camden's Do§ §15. Duplicate Ship Speke's Do§ §16. Do Ship Asia's Do§ §17. Do Ship Thames Do§ §18. Cash Acct. from 8th to the 10th May 1772§ §19 Duplicate Do from 4th to 7th Do Do§	A copy of the letter went by the *Calcutta*. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed it at St Helena on 10 May 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Pacific*, dated 10 May 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 May 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 7 May 1772. 3: Consultation of 9 May 1772. 4: Duplicate consultations from 4 to 6 May 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Asia*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Speke*. 7: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Thames*. 8: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Sea Horse*. 9: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Cruttenden*. 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Asia*. 11: Effective state of the garrison. 12: Account of the *Calcutta*. 13: Account of the *Pacific*. 14: Account of the *Lord Camden*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Speke*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Asia*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Thames*. 18: Cash account from 8 to 10 May 1772. 19: Duplicate cash account from 4 to 7 May 1772. **Interpretations** The receipts explain what a small paper packet was. The letter of 7 May 1772 went by the *Asia* with copies by the *Speke* and the *Thames*. This list holds a receipt for the packet by the *Asia* and receipts for small paper packets by the other two. The full packet, with consultations, accounts and returns, thus travelled in one ship, while each companion vessel carried only a copy of the letter under separate cover. Every commander signed for what he took, however slight, so that even a single copied letter could be traced to a named captain. The date of the letter fixes the sailing of the *Lord Camden* at 9 May 1772. Her account went home in this packet, the first after her departure, giving the Court the charges she ran up during her stay alongside the Council's record that her unloading finished within the ten working days.
354	347	To the Honoble &c.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1. By the Ship Pacific that sailed from hence in§ §Company with the Cruttenden we addressed you last under§ §date of the 10 instant§ §2. On the 13th of this Month arrived your Ship§ §Horsendon from China (last from the Cape) and Yesterday the§ §York also from China, Captn. Jameson acquaints Us	A new general letter to the Court of Directors began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 10 May 1772 by the *Pacific*, which left the island together with the *Cruttenden*. 2: The *Horsenden* arrived from China on 13 May 1772, coming last from the Cape, and the *York* arrived from China on 14 May 1772. Captain Jameson reported that the *Earl of Ashburnham* lay at

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		that the§ §Earl of Ashburnham was at the Cape when he left it, and was to§ §sail the 26th of last Month§ §3. We have granted a Set of Bills to Lieut. T Bazett§ §for £100 payable to Capt. Wm. Thomson drawn at ninety§ §day's sight and dated the 15th instant§ §4. We have given Capt. Jameson an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship the following Seamen vizt. Nichs. Swats§ §and Michael Calleghan to Compleat her Company, the former§ §left here out of the Cruttenden and the latter out of the Lord§ §Camden§ §5. The Passengers on board the Horsendon are Mr. [...]§ §D Castros§ §6. In compliance with Capt. Jameson's request§ §we have permitted him to touch at Assension to get Turtle for§ §the refreshment of his Ships Company§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obt. & humble Servts.§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §[...] Bazett§ §St. Helena§ §15th May 1772§	the Cape when he left and was due to sail on 26 April 1772. 3: The Council issued a set of bills of exchange to Lieutenant Thomas Bazett for £100 0s 0d, payable to Captain William Thomson. The bills were drawn at 90 days' sight and dated 15 May 1772. 4: Governor Skottowe and the Council ordered Captain Jameson to take two seamen aboard his ship to make up her crew. Nicholas Swats, seaman left behind by the Cruttenden Michael Callaghan, seaman left behind by the Lord Camden 5: The passenger aboard the *Horsenden* was Mr [...] De Castro. 6: Captain Jameson asked for leave to stop at Ascension to collect turtle as fresh food for his crew, and the Council granted it. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 15 May 1772. **Interpretations** Nicholas Swats appears a second time. The letter of 10 May 1772 recorded an order placing him aboard the *Pacific*, yet five days later he was still on the island and assigned to Captain Jameson's ship. He evidently did not sail in the *Pacific*, perhaps because he was not yet fit when she left. The Council simply reissued the order for the next vessel short of hands. Callaghan's case differed from the others in one respect. The *Lord Camden* was outward bound for China, so a man she left behind could not rejoin her. Sending him home in a returning ship was the only practical course, and it gave Jameson a seaman at no cost. Lieutenant Bazett's bill was payable to Captain Thomson, who took bills for £1,100 0s 0d on his own account on 9 May 1772. The lieutenant probably owed him for goods bought from his private trade, as the bills of Mr Barclay, Mr Bearcroft and Matthew Purling to other commanders suggest. Thomson's ship had already left, so the bill followed him home by a later vessel.
355	348	List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena§ §[...] Ship Horsendon dated the 15th May 1772 vizt.§ §No. 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 15th May 1772§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated the 10th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from the 11th to the 15th Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 6th Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Pacific§ §6 Do Do for a small Papr. Do [...] Ship Calcutta§ §7 Second Do for the Do [...] Ship Asia§ §8 Do Do for a small Papr. Do [...] Ship Speke§ §9 Do Do Do Do [...] Ship Thames§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Pacific§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Cash Account from the 11th to the 15th May 1772§ §13 Duplicate Do from the 8th to the 10th Do Do§ §14 Ship Horsendon's Acct.§ §15 Duplicate Ship Pacific's Do§ §16 Do Do Calcutta's Do§ §17 Do Do Lord Camden's Do§ §18 Abstract of the Cargo's of Ships Horsendon & York§ §19 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §To the Honoble &c.§ §Honoble Sirs§ §1. We wrote last to you on the 15th instant by the§ §Ship Horsendon§ §2. We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §One set to Mr. Matthew Purling for £412.17 payble. to John§	A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *Horsenden*, dated 15 May 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 15 May 1772. 2: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 10 May 1772. 3: Consultations from 11 to 15 May 1772. 4: Duplicate consultation of 9 May 1772. 5: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Pacific*. 6: First receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Calcutta*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Asia*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Speke*. 9: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Thames*. 10: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Pacific*. 11: Effective state of the garrison. 12: Cash account from 11 to 15 May 1772. 13: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 10 May 1772. 14: Account of the *Horsenden*. 15: Duplicate account of the *Pacific*. 16: Duplicate account of the *Calcutta*. 17: Duplicate account of the *Lord Camden*. 18: Abstract of the cargoes of the *Horsenden* and the *York*. 19: Time of arrival of the ships' boats at Banks's. A new general letter to the Court of Directors then began. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on 15 May 1772 by the *Horsenden*.

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		§Purling Esqr. dated the 18th inst. And One set to Capt. Geo. Hay§ §for§	2: The Council issued further bills of exchange. One set went to Mr Matthew Purling for £512 17s 0d, payable to John Purling Esquire and dated 18 May 1772. **Interpretations** Matthew Purling's bill was his fifth to John Purling in ten months. The earlier four, dated 26 July 1771, 21 October 1771, early February 1772 and 20 April 1772, came to £3,110 0s 0d. This one raised the total to £3,622 17s 0d. The bills clustered at the height of the shipping season, when homeward vessels crowded the road and their commanders and passengers spent freely on the island. That timing supports the view that his money came from trade with the ships. The packets left at short intervals in these weeks, on 3, 7, 10 and 15 May 1772. Each cash account therefore covered only a few days, and each packet carried the previous one's papers again as duplicates. The Court received an almost daily record of the treasury during the busiest part of the year.
356	349	for £69 payable to himself dated this day, both drawn§ §at 90 day sight§ §3. Captn. Hayter requesting Liberty to call at§ §Assension to get Turtle, we have permitted him to touch§ §there for that purpose§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. & humble Servants§ §(signed) John Skottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §[...] Purling§ §[...] Bazett§ §St. Helena§ §21st May 1772§ §List of the Honoble Company's Packet from St. Helena [...] Ship§ §York dated the 21st May 1772 vizt.§ §1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 21st May 1772§ §2 Do and Do Do the 21st Do Do relatg. to Law§ §matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do Do the 15th Do Do§ §4 Consultation of the 18th Do Do§ §5 Duplicate Do of the 11th to 15th Do Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet [...] Ship Horsendon§ §7 Second Do for Do [...] Ship Pacific§ §8 Do Do for a small Paper Do [...] Ship Calcutta§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet [...] Ship Horsendon§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Acct. from the 16th to the 21st May 1772§ §12 Duplicate Do from the 11th to the 15th Do Do§ §13 Ship Yorks Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Horsendon's Do§ §15 Proceedings of the last Quarterly Sessions held on the 29th Apl. 1772§	The second set of bills went to Captain Thomas Hayter for £69 0s 0d, payable to himself and dated the same day as the letter. Both sets were drawn at 90 days' sight. 3: Captain Hayter asked for leave to call at Ascension to collect turtle, and the Council allowed him to stop there for that purpose. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 21 May 1772. A list followed of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the *York*, dated 21 May 1772. 1: General letter from the Governor and Council dated 21 May 1772. 2: Letter from the Governor and Council dated 21 May 1772 relating to law matters. 3: Duplicate general letter from the Governor and Council dated 15 May 1772. 4: Consultation of 18 May 1772. 5: Duplicate consultations from 11 to 15 May 1772. 6: First receipt for the packet sent by the *Horsenden*. 7: Second receipt for the packet sent by the *Pacific*. 8: Second receipt for a small paper packet sent by the *Calcutta*. 9: Duplicate list of the packet sent by the *Horsenden*. 10: Effective state of the garrison. 11: Cash account from 16 to 21 May 1772. 12: Duplicate cash account from 11 to 15 May 1772. 13: Account of the *York*. 14: Duplicate account of the *Horsenden*. 15: Proceedings of the last quarterly court, held on 29 April 1772. **Interpretations** The letter on law matters travelled with the proceedings of a quarterly court, as each of its predecessors did. The law letter of 29 August 1771 accompanied the court of 10 July 1771, that of 10 November 1771 the court of 9 October 1771 and that of 10 March 1772 the court of 8 January 1772. The pairing shows what the separate letter was for. After every quarterly sitting the Council reported on the cases tried and sent the record with it, so the Court's legal advisers could review the island's justice without reading the general correspondence. The court of 29 April 1772 sat later in its quarter than the other three, which all met in the second week of the opening month. April was crowded with other business: the Court's packet arrived on 15 April 1772, a fourth councillor was seated, the quarter's

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			accounts were laid on 20 April 1772 and homeward ships came in almost daily.
357	350	Blank page	
358	351	Blank page	
359	352	Blank page	
360	353	Blank page	
361	354	Book cover	
362	355	EAP 1364 St Helena§ §Document Name and Date§ §St. HELENA LETTERS TO ENGLAND 1766-1772§ §Dimensions§ §(height x width x depth) (cm)§ §39 cm x 26cm x 5cm§ §No. written pages:§ §349§ §No. blank pages:§ §1§ §Spine and cover§ §GOOD CONDITION§ §Inside pages§ §FOXING PRESENT THROUGHOUT VOLUME§ §PAGES NUMBERED IN PENCIL ON§ §LEFT SIDE PAGES§ §Additional comments§ §Time taken to photograph§ §(hours)§ §3 hours§	