St Helena Records 1767-1768

Introduction: This is the 46th volume in the series of *St Helena Records*, which summarises the proceedings of official meetings held by the island's Governor and Council, during which matters of government, defence, supplies, justice and discipline were discussed and recorded.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-46.

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

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

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

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

Pagination: The pages are not numbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 10 is designated as page 1 (location 10/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 11 May 1767, with the final meeting occurring on 18 April 1768. All the sessions were convened during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The record ran from the gunner's account for April 1767 and the consultation of 11 May 1767 to the consultation of about 25 April 1768, with a building account opening on 1 July 1764. Governor John Skottowe sat at the Castle in Jamestown, about weekly from 11 May 1767, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, William Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. They signed the previous minutes,

logged every ship and examined the gunner's, steward's and cash accounts monthly and the storekeeper's, paymaster's, plantation and livestock accounts quarterly, all written for the Court of Directors in London. [Film No. 10–12, 35, 58, 60–61, 65, 71, 103, 310, 410, 467]

Governance and Administration
Paragraph 33 of the directors' general letter questioned the cost of repairing the Castle, quoting the engineer Captain Archibald Mitchell's quarterly letters of April and July 1766. The master mason and carpenter had found the roof in danger of collapse after Governor Hutchinson left, and on 2 July 1764 the Council resolved to repair it thoroughly. Accounts entered on 7 June 1767 put stores at £281 10s 9½d and cash, mostly wages, at £500 16s 5d for 1 July 1764 to 30 June 1766, timber alone costing £195 14s 4½d; iron issued to the armourer could not be traced to the work, so the true cost exceeded the recorded £782 7s 2½d. [Film No. 33–36, 39]

Skottowe answered on 7 June 1767 that he had overseen the work almost daily, yet the Castle became habitable only weeks before the storeship arrived, still lacking porch windows and a staircase door. The engineer had offered the master mason and six plasterers from Sandy Bay to finish it, and the directors had commended the Castle and Plantation House to his care. Skottowe had furnished the Castle at his own expense apart from 20 deal chairs, blamed delays on Council orders diverting labourers to the chaplain's and other servants' houses and to brickmaking, and called the report sent to London malicious. [Film No. 36–37]

Each member entered his own minute on 7 June 1767. Corneille had arrived after the reroofing; the inner work was finished during 1765 except the porch, and he had not been consulted about the new flagstaff, the removal of the parapet before the Castle or the ornamenting of the offices and mount. He had moved the order of 12 March 1765/6 confining the engineer to the fortifications, and Mitchell's letter of 18 July 1766 stated that he acted only on the Governor's orders. Purling supported the 1764 resolution, had not been consulted later and left judgement to the directors. Kirkpatrick defended the Governor, treating the later work as completion of the 1764 resolution, and declined to judge the parapet's removal. [Film No. 38–40]

Mitchell's letter of 7 June 1767 gave labour costs of £38 17s 3d for 1 January 1765/6 to 31 March 1766 and £83 8s 6d for the next quarter, for a porch enclosing the staircase, a levelled mount, a new flagstaff, lesser offices and the demolition of the parapet and merlons, which he said served no purpose and blocked the sea view. The sub-accountant William Wrangham gave £42 17s 3d for the first quarter. The repairs account for the quarter ending 30 June 1767 came to only £6 4s 3d, for small jobs at the Castle, the secretary's house, Plantation House and the artillery laboratory. The repairs account came to £9 9s 11d in the December quarter, mostly for thatch at Plantation House, and £5 2s 5d in March 1768, mostly for Plantation House and the Castle. [Film No. 35, 40–41, 102–103, 337, 343, 436]

The civil establishment drew modest basic salaries made up by allowances and second posts. Each quarter Skottowe drew £125 0s 0d with £31 14s 9d for servants and Corneille £62 10s 0d with a £25 0s 0d table allowance. Purling's £15 0s 0d as councillor rose to £62 10s 0d with £17 10s 0d as accountant, £15 0s 0d table allowance and a £15 0s 0d gratuity, while Kirkpatrick drew only £10 0s 0d as councillor because he received £45 12s 6d as captain of the first company. Mitchell drew £77 10s 0d as engineer and £45 12s 6d as captain of artillery, £123 2s 6d in all, exceeded only by the Governor. The chaplain drew £55 0s 0d, the secretary Matthew Bazett and the storekeeper James Powell £35 0s 0d each, factors £7 10s 0d in salary and writers £5 0s 0d, Wrangham £30 0s 0d with £10 0s 0d as assistant to the Governor and Jonathan Doveton £22 10s 0d with £5 0s 0d as assistant storekeeper. These figures were unchanged from April 1767 to March 1768. [Film No. 104, 106, 254–256, 348, 350, 362, 444–445]

Lesser officials in 1767 included the master mason William Holbrooke at £30 0s 0d a quarter, the carpenter John Robinson at £25 0s 0d, the armourer John Robins at £15 0s 0d, the cooper John Drawwater at £8 15s 0d, the surgeon Robert Barclay at £22 5s 0d with John Pritchard as his mate at £18 15s 0d, the gardener James Black and John Bazett as superintendent of the Company's slaves at £10 0s 0d each, the steward George Bazett at £7 10s 0d and the clock and instrument cleaner Samuel Perry at £1 5s 0d. Between the June and September quarters of 1767 the second coxswain Thomas Tyler fell from £7 10s 0d to £5 0s 0d

and the marshal and gaoler John Price rose to £7 10s 0d, without stated reason; the first coxswain, entered as John Cupwell and then John Crisswell, drew £7 10s 0d. Thomas Bazett drew £13 13s 0d, named superintendent only in the March 1768 list, and the overseers Samuel Alexander £7 10s 0d and John Worrall £15 0s 0d. [Film No. 105, 255, 348–350, 356, 445–446]

Offices concentrated in few hands. Matthew Bazett was secretary and, from 7 June 1767, sheriff; Henry Bazett commanded the second company; Thomas Bazett was a lieutenant of the third; and John Bazett was a sergeant as well as superintendent of slaves. Richard Beale was captain of the third company, judge advocate at £12 10s 0d and schoolmaster at £7 10s 0d, £65 12s 6d in all; Phillip Mahony a sergeant and clerk of the peace at £10 0s 0d; Thomas Byne a sergeant and overseer of the Company's workmen; and Robert Allum a sentinel and the Castle groom at £2 0s 0d. John Dobson was paid for eight days as armourer and enlisted as a sentinel on 13 April 1767. Britannicus Wright, a writer whose term expired on 7 July 1767, was placed on the establishment as a factor on 4 July. [Film No. 59, 70, 104–107, 109, 348–349, 353, 356, 446]

Purling's minute of 27 July 1767 required that no re-enlistment bounty be paid until the Council had seen a list of men whose terms had expired, with their dates of first engagement, together with the adjutant's book, kept in a set form by Council order; the paymaster was to enter the start of each renewed term in his pay account. The Council adopted the method, admitting that mistakes over re-enlistment had already occurred in both records, though all had been corrected. [Film No. 133–134]

Corneille's letter of 10 August 1767 showed that each sentinel received a quarter of his yearly £15 4s 2d at 10d a day, £3 16s 0½d, whatever the quarter's length, so men were overpaid 1s 0½d in the quarter of 90 days and 2½d in that of 91, and docked 7½d in each quarter of 92. He proposed paying by actual days, £3 15s 0d, £3 15s 10d, £3 16s 8d and £3 16s 8d, removing fractions, and the Council adopted it from the first quarter of 1768. In the leap year 1768 a private accordingly drew £3 15s 10d for the 91 days to 31 March, sergeants £7 11s 8d and corporals £5 6s 2d. [Film No. 140–142, 256–257, 446–447]

Phillip Mahony petitioned at the consultation of 20 July 1767 after nearly eight years' service, five as clerk of the peace while a sergeant, complaining that his pay could not keep him as a gentleman and that the two posts conflicted. The Council agreed the clerk ought to be free of any military post, having kept him a sergeant only because the clerk's fees were very small, and recommended a salary to the directors. John Drawwater petitioned on 9 November 1767 that £35 0s 0d a year could not keep him where everything was extremely dear, having agreed his terms without knowing the island's prices; the Council judged the salary very small and recommended an increase to the Company. [Film No. 130–132, 282–283]

On 31 August 1767 a notice required every inhabitant to send the secretary a signed account of family, land and cattle by 20 September and to pay rents and dues at the Castle on 1 October; the stores closed from 1 September to 1 October while Corneille and Kirkpatrick took stock. Kirkpatrick was absent ill on 7 September, when three members signed the bills. The storekeeper's waste account for the year to 30 September 1767, presented on 26 October, charged £54 10s 8d to profit and loss for leakage of arrack, short weight in sugar, rice, candles and soap and broken porcelain and glass, sugar and sugar candy taking £19 9s 1d; the Council accepted it on the storekeeper's declaration that it was unavoidable. On 2 November 1767 Purling reported the general books balanced to 30 September, and the Council ordered a fair copy made quickly for London. [Film No. 158–160, 162–164, 279–281]

On 21 September 1767 the Governor appointed Barnard Millard, sergeant major, to act as adjutant during Solomon Jacobs's suspension on the adjutant's pay, giving up his sergeant's pay meanwhile, and informed the Council afterwards. The September pay list paid Jacobs to his suspension and Millard from 18 September, and Millard drew £29 13s 1½d as adjutant for October to December. On 21 March 1767/8 the Council restored the adjutant, entered as John Jacobs, to duty and pay with a warning, and the allowance for January to March 1768 was split between him and Millard, who returned to his sergeant's place. [Film No. 180, 256–257, 262, 350, 405, 446, 451]

A notice of 28 March 1768 summoned the inhabitants to vestry at the chapel in Jamestown valley on Easter Monday, 4 April 1768, to name three leading inhabitants for sheriff and elect a constable. They nominated

William Wrangham, Jonathan Doveton and Richard Goodwin for sheriff, four men for two churchwardens' places, two for each division's overseer and Joseph Chamberlain as constable. The Council appointed Wrangham sheriff, James Greentree and Samuel Alexander churchwardens, passing over Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice and Matthew Bazett, and George Hayes, John Alexander and Benjamin Seale overseers of the East, West and South Divisions, the first man named in each. Wrangham and Chamberlain were sworn on about 25 April 1768. [Film No. 409, 416, 467]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison account for the quarter ending 30 June 1767 clothed 294 sentinels, 16 corporals, 16 sergeants and 14 drummers of infantry with 62 artillerymen, 42 of them matrosses; the annual clothing issue cost £743 15s 9d of a garrison total of £1,144 5s 8d. Recruits received a blanket, wooden bowl and platter, 51 of each, with pork, flour and arrack on landing; train oil and tea went to the guard posts, ochre, whiting and logwood to belts and hats; deals and nails went to coffins. The July to September account came to £55 6s 9d, chiefly 86 blankets at £24 18s 3d marked with the Company's sign in linseed oil and ochre, and the October to December account to £44 12s 7d, including 102½ gallons of train oil for guardhouse lamps at £17 1s 8d and 26½ gallons of arrack for drams at muster. Fishing lines were issued for whips, 24 in the September quarter and 30 in the March quarter. [Film No. 91–93, 220–221, 333–335, 437–438]

The establishment comprised four companies of foot and one of artillery. A captain drew £45 12s 6d a quarter and a lieutenant £27 11s 10½d with diet money and house rent. Before 1768 a sentinel drew £3 16s 0½d, an infantry sergeant £7 12s 1d and a corporal £5 6s 5½d, while an artillery sergeant drew £9 2s 6d, a corporal or bombardier £6 16s 10½d, a gunner £6 1s 8d and a matross £4 11s 3d. The fourth company under Captain John Howard had only one lieutenant, Henry De Laune, from October 1767 to March 1768. The pay list came to £3,092 5s 6d for the quarter ending 30 June 1767, £3,010 13s 8½d for September, £3,004 2s 10d for December, signed by D Thomas, and £3,005 11s 10½d for March 1768. Names such as John Christopher Strife, Henry Ophenrin, Henry Herringburgh and Frederick William Beard suggested German or Low Countries recruits beside many Scots and Irish. [Film No. 106–120, 270, 350–351, 357, 359, 362, 446–458]

Recruits came by sea and from the island. William Ashman was paid £6 10s 0d for the care of 25 recruits and an armourer on the *Cuffnells*, enlisted on 9 April 1767, among them Jeremiah Conner. The Council paid £10 0s 0d bounties to 24 soldiers re-enlisting for five years in the quarter ending 30 June 1767, including John Cunningham, discharged on 15 June and re-enlisted on 22 June, and £5 0s 0d to David Seaf, against £2 10s 0d for a new recruit; eight more re-enlisted at £10 0s 0d between July and September, beginning with John Christian Strife, Godfrey Smith, Edward Germain and John Webbley on 6 July. John Vaughan re-enlisted on 2 November 1767, Roger Watson on 18 January 1767/8, Anthony Reynolds on 23 February 1767/8 and Robert Brown on 21 March 1767/8. [Film No. 110–111, 116, 122, 124, 272, 366, 460, 462]

Men taken from ships filled further places in 1767 and 1768. Christian Peterson enlisted on 21 May 1767. Robert Hardy of the *Anson* enlisted on 3 August with £5 0s 0d, though he remained on her roll; Hatton Walker, James Walter and George Washington, seamen left sick from the *Nottingham*, joined on 31 August at £3 0s 0d each, though the roll paid two of them from 30 August; and Benjamin Pool and Peter Higgins, discharged soldiers from Bombay listed as seamen on the *Devonshire*, enlisted on 9 September at £3 0s 0d. Samuel Willson, a Dane who left the *Lord Holland* after Purling's muster of 16 January 1767/8, received 6d a day for five days and enlisted on 25 January for £3 0s 0d. Such recruits received clothing, hats, shoes, shirts and stockings from the garrison stores. [Film No. 114, 138, 148, 158, 163, 166, 220–221, 263, 265, 267–268, 274, 370, 455, 460]

Island-born men entered the ranks. John Wyrill enlisted as a fifer on 24 August 1767 for £2 10s 0d, and a drummer's coat was issued; James Greentree, enlisted as a sentinel on 26 June 1767, was a cadet on a sergeant's rate by September. Francis Seale enlisted on 9 November 1767 for £5 0s 0d and Joseph Whaley on 30 November for £10 0s 0d, George Seale on 4 January 1767/8 for £5 0s 0d and Sutton Isaacke on 25 January for £5 0s 0d, each paid from the day he joined. A John Brown was made drummer in the second company on 24 August 1767 in place of Robert Davis, and the drum major drew £1 0s 0d a quarter for teaching the young drummers. [Film No. 156, 220, 256–259, 262, 284, 296, 310–311, 448, 460]

Promotion followed demotion within a day. James York was reduced from sergeant on 21 April 1767, William Clifton raised from corporal on 22 April and William Gordon from the ranks; Daniel Cormain was reduced on 29 June, Thomas Ferris and Thomas Kyllock rising, and John Brilliett replaced the discharged corporal William Mitchell on 16 June. Kyllock was reduced on 27 July with William Blackman promoted, and Evan Nowland was reduced from bombardier on 18 August, David Dennis and William Stapleford each rising a rank; John Hilliard replaced Gordon as corporal on 26 July and Thomas Jones rose to gunner on 10 July. Corneille had warned on 8 June 1767 that labour on the works was ruining discipline. [Film No. 112–113, 115–116, 133, 263, 265–266, 268–270]

Changes continued from October 1767. On 7 October Sergeant John Simcox and Corporal William Blackman were reduced, and the next day Richard Moreton was made sergeant and James Ive and George West corporals; Corporal Thomas Renwick was reduced on 9 November and John Allum made corporal on 16 November. William Hodges fell from gunner to matross and Sedgwick Wetherall rose for the last 10 days of 1767. Thomas Townsend was reduced and William Burn restored as corporal on about 10 January 1767/8, Sergeant John Watson was reduced on about 11 January with Fisher Gamble and Adam Scott rising, John Deale lost a corporal's place after 10 days, and Jonathan Burden lost his to William Hunt on about 29 February 1767/8. William Halsall transferred from the first company to the artillery on about 8 January 1767/8, his pay rising from 10d to 1s 0d a day. [Film No. 350, 359–364, 447, 449–451, 454, 456–457]

Deaths thinned the garrison. Edward Terry died on 8 April 1767, the matross John Searcher on 3 April, John May on 3 May and John Bowers, enlisted on 7 May, on 13 May. On 3 May the matross John Bower was reloading a saluting gun after the salute to the *Lioness* when burning powder lodged in its pitted barrel fired it; he lost one arm and the other hand and died on 15 May, though the roll stopped his pay on 6 May, and the Council made no recorded provision for him. William Carr died on 16 May, the matross Isaac Buck on 17 May after long illness and Avery Trueman on 4 June after falling from the rocks. [Film No. 13–14, 22–23, 107–108, 112–113, 119–120]

Losses continued through the year. The gunner Eustace White died on 10 July 1767, entered on the roll as 9 July, and William Gordon, a corporal, hanged himself on 25 July. The matross Christian Patterson, entered in the consultation as Christopher Patterson, died on 11 September, Jeremiah Conner drowned fishing from the rocks on 27 September and George Nelson died on 4 October. Andrew Barton, a private, died on 17 November 1767 by the pay list and 19 November by the consultation, and the matross James Bottomly on 1 January 1767/8. Thomas Adams died on 8 March 1767/8 and William Hayes of the second company on 14 April 1768. The sexton was paid £2 7s 6d for garrison burials in the December quarter and 7s 6d for three soldiers in the March quarter. [Film No. 65–66, 133, 166–167, 185, 260, 269–270, 287, 362, 366, 422, 449, 462]

Desertion and discharge drew men off. Edmund Corner deserted on 10 April 1767 and John Hones on 7 May, presumed aboard the *Hatton*. On 15 June 1767 the Council let the sickly matross Samuel Spencer exchange places with John Smith, whose term had ended, and discharged a corporal, a drummer, a matross and 12 sentinels, most of whom sailed on the *Duke of Albany*, though three were not on her roll; Thomas Price and John Taylor followed on 29 June. James Henry was discharged on 13 April 1767, Henry Ophenius, evidently Henry Ophenrin, on 27 July and Roderick Shaffer on 10 August. John Lemon was retired on 6 July 1767 after ten years' service, a falling stone having dislocated his ankle and broken his fibula on 15 July 1766, on a pension of 9d a day, about £13 13s 9d a year, "as has been formerly practised"; the invalid John Simon drew the same rate. [Film No. 47–48, 57, 59, 64, 107–109, 119, 133, 143, 255–256, 261, 264, 446]

Engagements expired together from March 1768. Sergeant Richard Moreton was discharged on 21 March 1767/8, Sergeant Thomas Ferris left on about 24 March, George Copling on about 16 March and Thomas Wansell on 28 March 1768. Three men were discharged on 2 April and seven on 4 April, and nine more on about 25 April, including Sergeant Fisher Gamble, the drummer George Wills and four matrosses, 21 men in all since 21 March. [Film No. 405, 408, 414, 453–454, 467]

The gunner's accounts recorded salutes, alarms and practice. April 1767 used 251 guns and 448 lb 8 oz of powder; Robert Palk, former Governor of Madras, received 23 guns on landing on 22 April. May used 348 guns and 453 lb 6 oz: Lord Clive, General Carnac and Colonel Champion received 51 guns on 18 May, Palk and Charles Crommelin 19 each on going aboard, Banks's fired a shot at each of two Dutch ships on 13 and 14 May, and 20 round shot were fired at practice on 30 May, though the account totalled 32 shot. On 4 June 56 guns marked George III's birthday, used to scale all the island's artillery, alarms followed on 9, 12 and 21 June and the month used 185 lb 15 oz with 77 round shot at practice. Stores for a 32-pounder, an 18-pounder at Banks's and 13-inch mortar fuses were listed. [Film No. 11–12, 45, 68]

July 1767 used 51 guns and 203 lb 4 oz, with alarms on 29 and 30 July and practice with 13-inch and 8-inch mortar fuses; August used 64 guns but 493 lb 4 oz, 419 lb 14 oz at practice at Longwood including a 13-inch shell and 47 fuses; and September 52 guns and 88 lb 13 oz, with an 8-inch howitzer at practice and Major Kirkpatrick saluted with 13 guns on 10 September. On 25 October 21 guns marked George III's accession, 19 nine-pounder round shot and a 10-inch grape shot were fired at practice and 22 handspikes were used moving guns from Munden's Point. November 1767 fired no gun and used 113 lb 9 oz with an 8-inch carcass. In December three 24-pounders were fired at Munden's Point with 36 lb 12 oz of a month's 150 lb 4 oz. [Film No. 143, 165, 191, 283, 303, 312, 347]

Alarms at Prosperous Bay and Turk's Cap greeted the *Lord Holland* on 12 January 1767/8, and Banks's fired two shot at the *Hector* on 11 February 1767/8. A double alarm on 17 February marked six Dutch ships, saluted with 11 guns on 18 February, and sundry services used 199 lb of powder in January and 350 lb 14 oz in February. March 1768 used 173 guns and 803 lb 3 oz, 537 lb 7 oz on sundry services, with seven alarms, a double alarm on 20 March 1767/8 for three ships that passed and nine guns for each Company ship. Lead balls for shooting goats were issued monthly, 6 lb in July 1767, 2 lb 13 oz in August, 4 lb 3 oz in September, 5 lb 3 oz in October and 5 lb 9 oz in March 1768. [Film No. 143, 165, 191, 283, 371–372, 378, 396–397, 419]

Signal and lookout duty linked the posts. John Hewston, a re-enlisted soldier, was paid in the quarter ending 30 June 1767 for flags for the Main Fort, the Alarm House, Prosperous Bay, Sugar Loaf, Munden's Point and Fort Hill, and Robert Cunningham made a jack flag for mortar practice on 19 August. Garrison men were paid £7 0s 0d for express reports of ships to windward in the June quarter, £3 15s 0d in September and £3 5s 0d in March 1768, and a soldier 5s 0d on 25 January 1767/8 for an express from Banks's of a ship off South West Point. Roads to Banks's and Ladder Hill were repaired with 75½ days' labour in the September quarter. [Film No. 124, 126, 272, 274, 276, 460, 462]

Fortification and Public Works

After Bower's death the Council ordered the guns inspected on 11 May 1767. Mitchell reported on 18 May that all but three guns on the saluting curtain were dangerous even for salutes, reduced the charges and proposed ordering 21 guns firing 6 lb shot for the curtain and its two half-bastions and nine firing 24 lb shot for a new battery at Munden's Point. [Film No. 13–14, 23–24, 45–46]

On 8 June 1767 Corneille reported that the fortifications kept nearly a third of the garrison labouring 12 hours a day, Sundays alone free, so the men could not be drilled as paragraph 57 of the directors' general letter of 1766 required; most had laboured for over a year, and 28 soldiers then worked as labourers. He proposed drawing them equally from the marching companies and proportionally from the artillery, relieved every three months, and the Council approved, relieving half the men the next quarter and half the quarter after. [Film No. 43–44]

Mitchell's quarterly letter, read on 6 July 1767, reported every task at Sandy Bay done: a wall behind the revetment, a vaulted magazine beneath the rampart and the cavalier, a raised gun platform inside the line and a bank in front cleared for earth for the rampart. The revetment of the flanking line, the parapet and banquette of the main line and walls closing the gully and small bay on the right remained. The Council praised his constant attendance, hoped to finish by Christmas and approved his change turning the rampart left of the cavalier into a flank swept by musketry and wall pieces at no extra cost. It deferred his wish to move guns from Munden's Point to Sandy Bay, pending nine 24-pounders from England, until the gunners finished the annual practice at Longwood. [Film No. 61–64]

Stores issued at Sandy Bay cost £180 16s 5d without wages in the quarter ending 30 June 1767, including stone saws, mauls, 12 iron crows, 24 shovels, 12 pickaxes, wheels for 30 wheelbarrows and iron, steel and melting ladles for a forge, and an officer lived at the works with his own candles and a fishing boat. Between July and September they cost £165 11s 1d, chiefly £62 16s 2d for 32 chaldrons of coal to burn lime and a smith's bellows at £5 5s 5½d with over 400 lb of iron and oak plank for portcullises. On 17 August 1767 the Council hired John Dobson at 1s 6d a day to direct the portcullises, the armourer John Robins having been too ill to work since arriving, though Robins drew his full pay. [Film No. 61, 100–102, 152, 228–229, 255, 257]

Labour costs dominated. In the quarter ending 30 June 1767 Sandy Bay took 6,773¼ labourers' days at 1s 0d, 163¾ planters' stonelayers' days at 2s 6d and 808 days of stone blowers, masons, smiths and carpenters at 1s 6d, £419 14s 7½d in wages; 913 of the labourers' days were paid to planters. In the September quarter it took 7,767½ labourers' days, 678 of them planters', 351¼ stonelayers' days and 833 skilled days, with lime burners, £494 15s 3d, and lime worth £7 8s 9d was sold to inhabitants. In the December quarter soldiers earned 1s 0d a day as labourers and 1s 6d as masons, smiths, carpenters, lime burners and stone blowers; Sandy Bay took about £290 0s 0d including 4,985 labourers' days, Munden's Point about £73 0s 0d and Banks's about £35 0s 0d, and planters were paid for 125½ masons' days and 56 labourers' days. An assistant surgeon served at Sandy Bay throughout 1767. [Film No. 126, 128, 274, 276–277, 366, 368]

Mitchell reported on 5 October 1767 that the flanking line's revetment, retaining wall and parapet, with embrasures for three 6-pounders, and the main line's rampart, parapet and banquette were complete, the gully walled up and Fishing Cove nearly done; the flanking rampart, a passage over the rock, sea protection for the glacis and gun platforms remained. Stone for the embrasures at Munden's Point was cut at the quarry, and more than 9 cwt of cordage and 10 baulks had gone there to rig tackles for lowering guns, with arrack for the hill rollers. Riga timber and oak built practice platforms at Longwood and a rail on the Mount and cuffers made targets; the fortifications account for the quarter came to £24 9s 0d. The Council recorded that he had pressed the work as fast as its heaviness allowed. [Film No. 185–187, 213–215, 227]

Mitchell wrote on 23 November 1767 that Sandy Bay would be finished within weeks and laid plans for batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point, departing from those the directors had approved. At Munden's Point he proposed uniting guns and mortars on a higher site, because the rock behind the old one would shower gunners with splinters; at Banks's a semicircular front for a wide arc of fire; and building both together, since each site held few men. The Council raised objections and ordered a written answer within a week. [Film No. 288–289]

His reply of 30 November 1767 argued that height would put the battery beyond ships' broadsides, which had usually prevailed against low batteries. He listed the objections that shells from so high would be uncertain, steep depression would wreck the carriages and ships becalmed beneath the point could not be hit, admitted he had never seen guns fired from such a height, claimed two guns could cover the foot of the point and proposed a trial. Sandy Bay would be finished the next week. [Film No. 290–293]

Corneille's minute, entered under 30 November 1767 but citing a trial on the 4th of the month, evidently 4 December, opposed the change. He proposed cutting the rock above the old battery to a slope and blasting a catch-ditch six or seven feet deep and eight feet wide behind the guns, a remedy he had seen at Gibraltar. The old battery stood over 80 feet above the sea; the new would stand 150 to 160 feet up and nearly 200 feet back, needing depressions of 12 degrees on the flanks and 19 on the front. Four ships in five were becalmed beneath the point and passed within 100 to 150 yards. The trial fired a ranging shot towards Sugar Loaf and shots at 10 and 18¼ degrees, measured at the breech and so overstated. The directors had ordered the approved plan in paragraph 37 of their general letter of 1765 and in their letter of 1764, and he held the Council had no authority to change it. [Film No. 293–295]

On 7 December 1767, after twice viewing the site and watching two guns fired at the required angle, the Council voted. On the merits Kirkpatrick and Corneille said no; Purling preferred the new flanks and height but feared the steep fire and the front guns' distance from the water, where ships were taken aback by the wind down James's Valley, and would have accepted the battery brought lower and nearer the point by

blasting. On authority all agreed there was none, Purling citing the directors' orders by the *Salisbury* against alterations or new works and the impossibility of an answer before the storeship of 1769. Skottowe praised Mitchell's skill and the cheaper site but upheld the orders, and all regretted the late proposal. The Council ordered the approved plan built with all speed, allowed the semicircle at Banks's as a change of shape, agreed that both works proceed together and kept Lieutenant Thomas Bazett as resident overseer at Mitchell's request. [Film No. 297–301]

On 14 December 1767 the Council recorded Sandy Bay entirely complete, having inspected it on Sunday 13 December. Mitchell submitted a plan for Munden's Point on the old site placing three 13-inch mortars and two guns in its long front, where guns alone could fire on passing ships only for minutes, and moving other guns to the flank defending the road; the Council approved it as saving a separate mortar platform on the summit. [Film No. 306–308]

In the quarter ending 31 December 1767 Sandy Bay drew £28 16s 8d in stores, including stone saws, 556 lb of cordage and black lead against rust, Banks's £4 9s 9d, chiefly baskets, shovels and 20 masons' tools, and Munden's Point £31 7s 2d, including 40 gads, eight borers, pole picks, sledgehammers and 629 lb of cordage, with 48 labourers' baskets among the three. A yawl was staved carrying lime to Banks's and replaced from Captain Henry Bazett on 4 January 1767/8 for £3 13s 0d, entered by the paymaster as £3 15s 0d on 11 January. Mitchell reported on 4 January 1767/8 that cut stone for the new batteries had been carried from the quarry and that he was preparing a plan of Sandy Bay for the directors. [Film No. 310–311, 344–347, 460]

On 29 February 1767/8 Corneille reported using the stone layers to repair the Company's slaves' houses in the country, fallen almost to ruin, and beginning a gateway and fence at the pastures against sheep and goats from the common until rain halted it. Mitchell reclaimed the stone layers for three or four months, and the Council hired two planters' stone layers for about a fortnight to finish the fence. [Film No. 382]

Mitchell reported on 4 April 1768 that foundations on the steep rock at both batteries were finished and large stocks of materials carried. At Munden's Point the only storage was the old battery's full platforms, so he had begun masonry, levelled part of the foundation and raised one flank nearly to platform height, and the stone layers would move to Banks's, where materials were ready. The Council told him he had done as much as could be expected. In the March quarter Munden's Point took 4,874 labourers' days, 304¾ masons' days, 348½ stone layers' days and 46 days' lime burning, £296 10s 4½d in wages, and Banks's 2,431½ labourers' days, 174 stone blowers' days and 45 days' lime burning, £149 7s 6d. Stores came to £18 19s 2d at Munden's Point, including two crowbars, 489 lb of iron, blocks and 204 lb of cordage, £11 11s 4d at Banks's, including 186 lb of cordage, blocks and three wheelbarrows; and £1 19s 8d elsewhere, including plate iron aprons for the guns at Sandy Bay. Thomas Tyler was paid 5s 0d on 25 January 1767/8 for diving to recover a 10-inch shell lost landing from the store ship. [Film No. 414–416, 442–444, 460, 462, 464]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

The Governor and Council acted as the court of probate. Isaac Buck made his will on 12 April 1767, signing with his mark before Thomas Bates and William Stapleford, and left his clothes and arrears to his friend John Carfoot, a matross, as sole executor; the Council proved it on 25 May. On 7 June 1767 Matthew Bazett was sworn as sheriff and George Bird as constable. On 22 June the widow and executors of Thomas Greentree produced an inventory valued on oath by Bazett, Orlando Bagley senior and Benjamin Mason, the widow swearing she had concealed nothing, and the Council ordered it registered. [Film No. 22–23, 42, 52, 119]

Eustace White, a gunner, made his mark on his will on 8 July 1767, witnessed by John Woods and George Roe, and the Council proved it on 13 July. He left £1 1s 0d to the chaplain William Bearcroft to have his body carried to church, 10s 6d to the parish clerk, his nankeen clothes, two white waistcoats and six cheque shirts to William Chisold, perhaps the sentinel William Clissold, and the residue to his executor William Jenkins. [Film No. 65–66, 107–108, 117, 120]

In the quarter ending 30 June 1767 the clerk of the peace was paid 19s 2d for the information, committal, indictment, swearing of four witnesses and verdict against John Pinchback, the charge unrecorded, and the

clerk of the arraigns and crier drew 12s 6d a quarter. James Powell sat as coroner on Avery Trueman for £1 5s 0d and on William Gordon in the September quarter for the same fee. Harry, a slave of the Company, was tried in the September quarter, the Company paying Mahony £1 2s 8d for information, warrant, committal, indictment, two witnesses sworn on the indictment, four at trial and recording the verdict, neither charge nor verdict entered. The gaoler drew £1 7s 6d for committals and punishments in the December quarter and £1 8s 6d in March 1768; iron and 37 deals repaired the prison house between July and September 1767, and four deals made blinds for its windows early in 1768. [Film No. 122, 126, 128, 213, 215, 272, 276, 366, 435, 462]

Nobody left without the Council's leave. On 18 May 1767 John Bland, stating that he had settled his affairs, petitioned for a passage home with his wife and family, and Captain Pierce took them on the *Earl of Ashburnham* despite great inconvenience. The mason Thomas Townsend, released on 29 June 1767 on condition that he and his wife left, was ordered on 10 August to sail on the *Pigot*; he replied that his wife refused and that he would not go unless forced, and the constable held him until he was put aboard, the Company paying Captain George Richardson £5 0s 0d for his passage on 15 August. Mary Townsend, a native, petitioned on 15 August that the order arose from her husband's bad behaviour, that she had no friends or relations in England and that she could support herself without burdening the parish; she made her mark, and the Council let her stay. [Film No. 23, 55–56, 150–151, 272]

On 14 September 1767 the garrison's captains complained that the adjutant Solomon Jacobs had acted unlike a gentleman in charging the Dutch captain William Grove more than he had paid for supplies. David Allen, third mate of the *Devonshire*, had seen the captain's bill while watering the Dutch ship, copied it aboard on 8 September with the captain's leave and gave a sworn statement on 10 September before sailing. At the hearing on 17 September Mitchell, Captains Beale and Howard and Lieutenant St Maurice testified that Allen's copy differed from the one Jacobs produced, St Maurice adding that Jacobs had claimed on 8 September that the captain still owed him 14s 0d. [Film No. 166, 168–170]

Jacobs's copy totalled £52 16s 6d against £56 8s 6d on the bill receipted on 8 September 1767: boat hire £8 10s 0d at 17s 0d a day against £6 0s 0d, the cooper £1 0s 0d against 10s 0d and bread £5 0s 0d against £4 0s 0d, with lodging for the captain, his second mate and the parson, one bullock from the planter Richard Bagley and one from Purling, and 16 goats against the 20 ordered. The longboats were the Company's. Allen swore that the captain gave Jacobs 34 bags of paddy, 14 bags of rice and eight or ten Spanish dollars or half-dollars and that Jacobs took about 12 lb of the ship's beef. [Film No. 160, 169, 171]

On 18 September 1767 Jacobs called two potato bags a mistake and the dearer greens wild celery and purslane, which Corneille said never cost over 1s 6d or 2s 0d a bag. He said he paid the coxswains £4 0s 0d and £3 3s 0d; John Crisswell confirmed £3 3s 0d, Thomas Tyler swore to £5 0s 0d, and both were paid only on or just before 8 September, while the cooper John Drawwater received 10s 0d that day and 10s 0d more on the morning of the hearing. Jacobs explained the bread as a 20s 0d loan to a Dutch seaman whom his Dutch-speaking slave boy took to Shortly's shop. In writing he said Allen and the captain could not understand each other, claimed only 46 small sheaves of paddy and ten 20 lb bags of rice, called the beef a rib exchanged for ducks, bread and eggs, said he had lent the captain 14s 3d and pleaded long service and age; asked why he signed as adjutant, he said it was habit. [Film No. 172–174]

Kirkpatrick, captain of Jacobs's company, found the charge not fully proved and proposed one month's suspension, Purling four months without pay or office, and Corneille, finding part fully proved and the rest as far as the evidence allowed, six months. The Governor's agreement with Corneille carried six months' suspension from office and salary from 18 September 1767, at a cost of nearly £60 0s 0d on his £22 16s 3d quarterly salary and £6 16s 10½d diet money. [Film No. 175–176]

On 17 August 1767 the Council found five men who had hidden ashore when the *Nottingham*, *Anson* and *Pigot* sailed the day before, Benjamin Burnett and James Macdonald of the *Nottingham* and William Troop, Anthony Dight and Martin Steel of the *Anson*, Troop and Dight being invalids from India. They received subsistence at 6d a day, four and two days respectively, and were set to work on the fortifications at 1s 0d a day, buying their own food, until a ship could take them home. [Film No. 145–149, 152, 274]

On 22 February 1767/8 the Council found the soldiers William Jenkins, a matross, and Francis Soane guilty of buying cabbages and milk from a planter's slave. The standing fine was £5 0s 0d for each offence; treating it as a first offence, the Council fined them £5 0s 0d together, Jenkins paying £3 10s 0d and Soane £1 10s 0d, entered in the March cash. A proclamation of 28 February 1767/8 ordered the constable and marshal to stop and search slaves carrying their masters' goods or stolen property to Jamestown on Saturday evenings and Sundays. On Saturday evenings a slave needed his owner's note listing the goods on pain of forfeiture, and nothing could be sold on Sundays, though householders could bring necessaries from their own plantations. [Film No. 378, 384, 457, 465]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Building and land use faced shortages. The engineer postponed the Castle porch in 1765 in the hope that an island brickmaking experiment would succeed, and it failed; timber came from the Baltic by way of England, and goats, released by the Portuguese in the 16th century, had stripped much of the native vegetation. [Film No. 33, 38, 46]

Michael Frost, a lieutenant, petitioned on 3 August 1767 to renew his expired lease in James's Valley, executed on 31 August for a plot 40 feet wide and 70 feet deep at 15s 0d a year. On 17 August Gabriel Isacke's lease of 8 acres in Lemon Valley was renewed at 5s 0d an acre. St Maurice sought on 12 October adjoining ground to shorten his fence and keep common cattle off his fields, and Corneille reported on 19 October that the first piece, rocky and furze-covered, harmed no neighbour; it was leased at 3s 0d an acre. The Council refused the second, below the road to Plantation House, because its furze would spread over the barren common and destroy the inhabitants' fuel. [Film No. 138, 154, 158, 192, 278]

The Company owned all land and granted it by lease, renewed on petition after inspection. On 21 September 1767 Henry Bazett replaced two dead nominees in his lease for lives of 5 acres called Taylor's with Jonathan and John Doveton, sons of the widow Mary Doveton, paying a fine of 7s 6d and receiving a new lease. Richard Goodwin registered a bill of sale for his house, and John Worrall, an overseer, renewed his 28 acres at Francis's. The executors of Thomas Greentree, James Greentree and Henry Bazett, renewed his 12½ acres in Sandy Bay Valley, executed on 5 October 1767 at 5s 0d an acre. Robert Ballard renewed house ground in James's Valley, 14 by 74 feet at 5s 0d a year, before it expired on 14 October; St Maurice renewed 6 acres in the western division at 1s 0d an acre in place of a peppercorn; and Mary Doveton leased 1 acre of cabbage-tree land in the eastern division at 5s 0d. On 12 October the Council refused Sergeant John Shirley a strip 10 by 8 feet beside the parish house because it interfered with the workhouse. [Film No. 177–178, 181, 187–189, 192–193, 268]

The rents and dues paid on 1 October 1767 totalled £593 9s 4d, comprising £593 1s 10d of rent on 2,205 acres of free land and 2,983 of lease land and Bazett's fine. Lease land paid 1s 0d to 4s 0d an acre, Margaret Alcock 20s 0d on 6½ acres. Richard Bagley held nearly 250 acres and paid £49 12s 11d, Purling 308½ acres for £36 6s 3d and Wrangham 160 acres, while Elizabeth Greentree, Margaret Harper and Sarah Fungs held land in their own right; Roderick Merchant paid 2s 6d for a house plot. The roll carried forward 732 acres of lease land but brought forward 832. [Film No. 182–184]

John Worrall petitioned on 2 November 1767 for waste beside his land to shorten his fence and for renewal of an expired lease; the renewal was granted and the waste inspected. On 16 November leases were executed to him at Francis's of 32¼ acres at 5s 0d an acre and 6¼ acres at 6d, and to Benjamin Mason of 10¾ acres in the western division at 5s 0d. On 23 November 1767 Worrall obtained leave to sell his right to the 38½ acres at public auction. On 30 November James Greentree, executor of John Swaits, renewed leases in Sandy Bay of 4 and 13½ acres at 5s 0d an acre, and Mary Swaits renewed 4 acres at Highams in the southern division at 1s 0d. On 7 December Gabriel Harper sought land in Sandy Bay between the widow Harper and George Alexander, and the Council ordered it inspected. [Film No. 281, 285, 287, 296, 302]

On 14 December 1767 Orlando Bagley senior, executor of Thomas Harper, sought half an acre of waste in Powell's Valley for its water, and inspection was ordered; Simon Whaley surrendered 3 acres of almost barren ground in the East Division and received a new lease of 3 acres in all at 5s 0d an acre, renewed on 1 February 1767/8. On 29 February 1767/8 Margaret Alcock petitioned for waste beside her holding at Sandy Bay, and John Scott's request for about 30 acres at Green Saddle, between the widow Harper and

Captain Bazett, was refused because she had applied first. On 7 March 1767/8 Samuel Alexander petitioned that the Sandy Bay settlers had sown the ground with grass and used it as a common and that a grant would hem in his land and that of Thomas Harper's orphans; after Kirkpatrick's inspection, noting the South Division's lack of common, the Council made no grant and referred the question to the directors. [Film No. 305–306, 371, 383–384, 388–389]

On 28 March 1768 Henry Bazett was allowed to register bills of sale and other papers, and Simon Whaley was allowed to sell at auction his right to a house and 11¼ acres in the East Division. On 11 April 1768 the Council renewed Bazett's lease of ground in Jamestown valley and the joint lease of George Bryan Hayes and William Hayes for 4 acres in the East Division, executed on 18 April at 5s 0d an acre. [Film No. 409–410, 420–421, 466]

The Company's stock account, signed by Corneille as councillor over the farms, showed cattle falling from 296 to 282 between 1 April and 30 June 1767, steers from 79 to 53 and sheep from 617 to 573, while goats rose from 238 to 250; 26 cattle and 44 sheep were killed, 14 cattle and 18 sheep died, 12 sheep went to Governor Palk and 18 to Captain Haldane. In the September quarter cattle rose to 293, sheep to 693 and goats to 293, with 177 lambs, 83 kids and 27 calves; seven steers were killed, three hogs bought, one of two asses died, the *Mercury* took two steers, five sheep, 30 fowls and 17 turkeys and poultry fell from 119 fowls and 55 turkeys to 23 and 18. The three hogs, 155 lb, were bought from John Worrall at 4d a lb on 9 September 1767 for breeding. [Film No. 67, 190, 274]

In the December quarter cattle rose to 301 with three killed, sheep fell to 685 and goats rose to 297; 40 goat wethers and 25 sheep wethers were killed, five piglets raised the hogs to eight, an old sorrel horse was traded for a breeding mare, making ten horses, and 24 turkeys died against 30 killed. Between 1 January 1767/8 and 31 March 1768 cattle rose to 336 and sheep to 775, goats fell to 294, and seven cattle, 56 sheep and 25 goats were killed. Captain Graham Nairn's account of 23 December 1767 charged for 21 young bullocks and 54 sheep bought at the Cape, 354 rix dollars 2 schellings including 88 rix dollars 6 schellings for straw, barley, labour and boat hire, converted at two rupees a rix dollar and 2s 3d a rupee; the Council paid £79 13s 0d on 16 January 1767/8 against £79 14s 1½d at his rates, though only 19 cattle and 52 sheep were received. [Film No. 313, 317, 418, 460]

Captain John Williams of the *Hector* billed the ship's owners for eight bullocks from the Cape at 19 rix dollars each, reckoned at 4s 0d, on 20 February 1767/8, and was paid £30 8s 0d on 23 February; all eight arrived on 17 February. Captain John Hasell's bill of 21 April 1768 charged nine bullocks landed at 18 rix dollars and three dead on board at 15, at 5s 0d the rix dollar, £55 15s 0d, signed for him by Thomas Hodgson on 25 April. [Film No. 377, 418, 460, 467]

The plantation account cost £40 2s 8d in the quarter ending 30 June 1767, equipping the garden at Plantation House with hoes, rakes, scythes, ditching shovels, turfing irons, watering pots, 12 labourers' baskets, pruning and budding knives and 13 rat traps; cordage tied arbours at Longwood, paddy fed poultry and horses, rice went to the overseers and the Malays' garden was gated. The September quarter cost £20 10s 9d, with tools for the Maldivia garden near Jamestown and the Fort garden, a padlock for the gate at Horse Point, two pairs of ox yokes and bows for the wood cart, an iron pot and white bunting for the dairy and red paint for gates at Longwood and the Maldivia garden. The December quarter cost £33 8s 0d, including 74 cwt of paddy, a pair of cart wheels at £4 4s 7d, pickaxes for Longwood and arrack, pork and sugar for mowers and sheep shearers. The March 1768 quarter cost £39 6s 11d, including 57 cwt of paddy, two ox yokes, eight wheelbarrows for Plantation House at £6 4s 0d and two pairs of cart wheels at £8 9s 1d. Thomas Wansell earned 1s 8d a day for 33 days' haymaking, paid on 11 January 1767/8. [Film No. 96–97, 223–224, 339–340, 439–440, 460]

Supply and Provisioning

Passing ships supplied the island. On 11 May 1767 the Council bought 876 lb of salt meat and some rice from Captain William Larkins for £43 15s 2d by the minute, while the paymaster paid him £93 15s 2d for rice, 475 pieces of salt meat and 401 of pork. On 16 May it engaged John Drawwater, cooper of Captain Morrison's ship, the island having lacked a cooper since James Torbett died. On 25 May, with none in store,

it ordered copper from Captain Dewar and four bags of the Company's pepper from the *Speaker*'s cargo. [Film No. 10, 19, 26, 31–32, 124]

The *Plassey* landed sugar and Bohea, Congou and Singlo tea from Canton, bought for 221 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 5 cash at 17, 22 and 25 taels a picul; the *Britannia* rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles and Batavia arrack from Bengal for 1,250 rupees 6 annas 9 pies, landing charges adding nearly 7 per cent; and the *Speaker* beaten rice and paddy from Bombay for 529 rupees 1 quarter 59 reas including export duty. On 22 June 1767 the *Duke of Albany* landed similar Bengal goods with salt pork and beef for 5,645 rupees 7 annas 9 pies. [Film No. 15, 21–22, 51–52]

The President and Council of Bengal wrote from Fort William on 16 February 1766/7, addressing Skottowe as Deputy Governor, that the directors had told homeward commanders to carry enough provisions to spare some for the island, and sent salt beef and pork by the *Duke of Albany* as an experiment, with more by the *Nottingham*. The letter gave 13 puncheons of beef and 12 of pork, the invoice four puncheons and nine hogsheads of beef. On 29 June 1767 the storekeeper found the beef very bad and the pork middling, and on 4 July the surgeon Robert Barclay boiled samples, finding the pork sound and the beef wholly rotten; the Council ordered the beef thrown into the sea. [Film No. 51, 56–57, 60–61]

The *Nottingham* arrived from Bengal on 29 July 1767 with rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles, arrack and 25 puncheons of salt beef and pork, invoiced at 6,351 rupees 1 anna 3 pies with charges, sloop hire on the Hooghly taking 324 rupees, almost half. The *Anson* arrived from Madras on 30 July with long cloth, arrack, rice and paddy and the *Pigot* on 3 August with rice, paddy and arrack, priced at 12 and 42 pagodas a leaguer respectively, probably one a copying error. The *Devonshire* arrived from Bombay on 29 August with rice, batty and chelloes, the cloth taking 1,053 rupees of 1,509 rupees 3 quarters 10 reas. [Film No. 135–140, 157]

The *Lord Holland* arrived from Bengal by way of the Cape on 12 January 1767/8 with rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles at 70 rupees a maund and Batavia arrack for 1,245 rupees 11 annas 9 pies, Calcutta labour adding almost a tenth. The *Hector* from Madras, arriving on 11 February 1767/8, brought 24 tablecloths, 12 lots of napkins, 50 pairs of Indian cotton stockings, arrack, rice and paddy worth 405 pagodas 25 fanams 14 cash, about £160 0s 0d, invoiced by John Call; the linen went to the Castle at £34 16s 0d. The *Norfolk* from Bengal on 10 March 1767/8 brought the same assortment as the *Lord Holland* for 1,487 rupees 0 annas 3 pies, her arrack costing over twice as much. On 14 March 1767/8 Captain John Sandys of the *Norfolk* offered 20 casks of beef and pork, declined because the stores held plenty. [Film No. 314–315, 374–375, 389–390, 398–399, 426, 435]

The Canton supercargoes, Thomas Fitzhugh and ten others, signed invoices on 21 December 1767 for porcelain and 84 chests of sugar split among the *Osterley*, *Northumberland*, *Triton* and *Earl of Lincoln*, each packed to 292 lb gross, about 22,400 lb net at 4 taels 5 mace a picul. The *Osterley* landed over 600 pieces of blue and white porcelain, including 232 pint sneakers, and over 5,300 lb of sugar for about £83 0s 0d. The *Europa* arrived from Bengal on 13 April 1768 with rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles, arrack and 30 casks holding 4,222½ lb of beef for 2,513 rupees 3 annas, charges of 605 rupees for casks, salt, coopers and 194 rupees' sloop hire making nearly a third. [Film No. 386–387, 391, 401–403, 407–408, 422–423]

James Powell weighed every delivery against its invoice. On 18 May 1767 both chests of Singlo were missing from the *Plassey*; on 22 May the *Britannia*'s goods were short, including 2 cwt 2 qr 17 lb of wax candles and 11½ gallons of arrack; on 25 May the *Speaker*'s rice was short and 50 cwt 2 qr 15 lb of paddy reduced; and on 29 June the *Duke of Albany*'s sugar, paddy and arrack were short, though 302 gallons were entered as received against 284 gauged. On 14 August 1767 he recorded shortfalls from the *Nottingham*, *Anson* and *Pigot*, each leaguer of arrack 6 to 10 gallons short and the *Anson* a whole leaguer fewer than invoiced; on 5 September the *Devonshire*'s rice was 4 cwt 1 qr 24 lb short, paddy was entered at an impossible 39 cwt 3 qr 30 lb and 22 damaged pieces of chelloes were returned to her captain. [Film No. 22, 29–30, 55, 149–150, 162]

On 16 January 1767/8 Powell reported the *Lord Holland*'s paddy, sugar and candles slightly short and one leaguer of arrack 8½ gallons short, the other 54 of 140, leaving 220 gallons, countersigned by Captain Nairn.

On 22 February 1767/8 the *Hector*'s arrack lacked 17 gallons; the *Northumberland* lost 43 of about 400 pieces of china, against 2 per cent allowed at Canton, the *Osterley* 28 of over 600, and the *Triton*'s sugar was 13 lb short on 28 March 1768. [Film No. 316, 380, 386, 395–396, 404–405, 408]

The inventory of 30 September 1767 valued over 350 hogsheads of English pork and beef and the remaining Bengal meat at £5,031 6s 4d and 352 casks of flour, over 52 tons, at £1,027 15s 7d, with nearly 35 tons of rice and paddy, almost 15 tons of sugar and sugar candy and damp-damaged peas and beans. [Film No. 232, 235, 251, 253]

The Company's table cost £22 15s 0¾d in April 1767, £27 3s 1d in May, £25 3s 1½d in June, £25 9s 2d in July, £26 17s 4d in August, £25 10s 5d in September, £24 15s 4d in October, £24 10s 7d in November, £25 0s 1d in January 1767/8, £30 7s 6d in February and £27 10s 3d in March 1768. Mutton and beef led, with about 90 bottles of arrack a month until 1768, when it became 30 gallons at £7 10s 0d, beside port, Lisbon and Mountain wine and beer; the September 1767 entries were misplaced, one lamb at £4 8s 4d and 20 gallons of arrack at 5s 9d. The steward valued arrack at 5s 0d a gallon and the storekeeper about 2s 1½d. Dry stores for the table cost £31 2s 9d in the June quarter, including 50 lb of coffee, £28 19s 0d in September, including 279 lb of sugar candy, £39 7s 3d in December, including 450 lb of sugar candy, and £39 15s 0d in March 1768, including 410 lb. The paymaster bought for the Governor's table John Mitford's hams, cheese, butter, preserved damsons, currants, raisins and porter for £64 9s 11d, a cask of beer from Matthew Bazett for £5 10s 0d, 304 lb of beef and 12 Muscovy ducks in the June quarter, 444½ lb of beef, pigs, six geese, eggs and almonds in September and 456 lb of beef at 5d, seven pigs, 100 lb of raisins and 3,000 almonds in March 1768, and 400 lemons from John De Fountain for 10s 0d. [Film No. 12–13, 46, 69, 85, 126, 128, 143–144, 166, 192, 217, 274, 284, 303–304, 312, 333, 366, 373, 397, 420, 437, 462]

General charges of £172 5s 0d in the June quarter of 1767 furnished the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house with porcelain, glass, beds, blankets, copper pans and spices, cinnamon nearly 19s 0d a pound, equipped the fishermen of the Governor and his deputy and bought an anvil at £21 15s 11d, 139 files, vices, borax and spelter for the armourer and planes, adzes and gouges for the carpenters; candles cost over £38 0s 0d. The September charges of £108 13s 2d added 74 pieces of octagonal porcelain, 36 wine glasses, decanters, pewter water plates, dessert cutlery and a brazier's tools, with 300 lb of candles at £26 11s 3d. December charges came to £71 14s 6d, including 152⅞ gallons of arrack, 100 lb of candles for the Castle and 50 lb each for Corneille, Kirkpatrick and Purling, 375 hooks and 48 lines for Corneille's household and a sickle to cut grass from the defensive trench in Lemon Valley. The March 1768 charges came to £168 12s 4d, including 135½ gallons of arrack for men in the stores, the doctor's shop and wood hauling and 200 lb of candles for the Castle and 150 lb for the Council. [Film No. 87–90, 213, 216–217, 219, 329–332, 433–435]

The hospital drew equal weights of sugar, flour and rice for invalid diets, 161 lb each in the September quarter of 1767, 371 lb in December and 269 lb in March 1768, with train oil for night lamps. In the December quarter Barclay received £15 11s 0d for necessaries to the sick and £8 0s 0d for fresh food, and men were paid to cut rushes for the hospital. Garrison men were paid £37 7s 6d for 747½ days unloading the storeships in the June quarter of 1767, William French £2 11s 7d for sacking for 165 cots, and flour was issued in the September quarter to make signal rockets. The garrison's bread was baked by William Jackson at 12 batches a week at 1s 3d a batch in the June quarter and by William Jenkins at 117 batches at 1s 8d in the September and December quarters. [Film No. 98, 124, 126, 215, 224, 274, 337, 366, 368, 440]

Trade and Shipping

Purling, as searcher, mustered each Company ship against her roll, passengers and servants included, before she sailed and found no deserters on the *Earl of Ashburnham*, *Plassey* and *Speaker* on 16 May 1767, the *Britannia* on 18 May, the *Hawke* on 22 June, the *Duke of Albany* on 4 July, the *Nottingham*, *Pigot* and *Anson* on 15 August, the *Devonshire* before 5 September, the *Neptune* by 14 September, the *Lord Holland* on 16 January 1767/8, each ship between February and March 1768 and the *Triton* on 31 March 1768. The *Neptune*'s roll was headed with the *Devonshire*'s name. Boats rowed ahead of Company ships to Banks's to announce them, sometimes by night, as at half past nine for the *Northumberland*. [Film No. 10, 16, 19, 24–25, 52–53, 58, 145, 160, 163–164, 314, 370, 382, 385, 392, 401, 407, 411]

Danish ships came and went in April 1767. The Swedish *Stockholm Slot* arrived from China on 11 May under Captain Ekeberg, 900 tons, 30 guns and 160 men, bound for Gothenburg; Dutch ships of about 700 tons and 26 guns arrived from Batavia and China between 11 and 14 May, among them the *Snoek*, and the *Stanswelfara* and *Bartha Petronella* sailed on 20 and 21 May. The French *Ajax*, 26 guns and 150 men, lay in the road from 9 to 16 June with Bengal goods from Mauritius for Lorient, arriving without salute and saluted with 13 guns on leaving, her arrival charged with 2 lb 8 oz of powder but no gun. Two French deserters, Charles De Wolfe and one Vercille, were kept 11 days at 6d a day and sent to England by Captain Cotton for £10 0s 0d, and 14 discharged soldiers were kept at 6d a day awaiting passage. [Film No. 10–11, 14, 20, 29, 47, 51, 68, 126]

The *Earl of Ashburnham* carried over 80 men, including seamen named Toussaint, Allain and Hinrick. The *Speaker* under James Dewar and the *Duke of Albany* under James Haldane, with Robert Haldane as fifth mate, had largely Scottish officers, and the *Speaker* carried Charles Crommelin, Captains Edward Hamilton and Vernon Duffield, women, children and seven servants. The *Britannia* carried 12 invalids from India and Lord Clive's party. The *Hawke* under Captain Cotton arrived on 12 June 1767 and left on 28 June, and the *Duke of Albany* arrived on 22 June and sailed on 6 July. [Film No. 16–19, 25, 58, 60–61, 68]

The snow *Mercury* arrived from Bengal on 29 July 1767 and sailed on 2 August, Nicholas Houghton being paid for three days helping to water her. The *Pigot* arrived on 3 August without saluting, and the *Nottingham*, *Anson* and *Pigot* sailed on 16 August. Their rolls showed the *Pigot*'s crew with Portuguese and Spanish names such as Antonio Rodrigues and Juan Martin and single names such as Algemore and Blanchard, 20 invalids from Bengal and Madras on the *Pigot* and 12 on the *Anson*, servants entered by first name, Domingo and Antonio on the *Nottingham* and Sophia and Massey on the *Anson*, and the *Anson*'s commander signing as John Lenox though her roll read Senex. [Film No. 135, 139, 145–149, 163, 272]

The Dutch *Elizabeth Dorothea* under Captain William Grove was brought to by a shot from Banks's on 28 August 1767, entered as 29 August by the gunner, and anchored off Lemon Valley on 30 August. The Governor ruled that no ship could be watered or supplied outside the road; she tried to round the south of the island and anchored on 4 September to leeward of South West Point with three days' water. The Council then lent two longboats, Captain Mercer of the *Devonshire* adding his own, and supplied two bullocks, 20 goats and other food, but refused to let her sell goods, including arrack consigned to the island. [Film No. 159–160, 165]

The *Devonshire* arrived on 29 August 1767 and sailed on 11 September, her roll including John Malabar, Bartholomew Gonsalvo and William Laban as carpenter and carpenter's servant. The *Neptune* arrived from China on 7 September after a gale forced her into Mauritius for repairs and sailed on 15 September, her crew including Lungberg and Block, and a ship passed at a distance that day. One ship in that quarter bought an anchor of over 34 cwt for £86 16s 1d and a cable of over 72 cwt with cordage for £233 17s 6d. No ship called in October or November 1767. [Film No. 159, 161, 164–165, 168, 191, 210–212, 286, 309]

The *Lord Holland* sailed on 19 January 1767/8, her roll ending with Portuguese names. Dutch ships passed to leeward on 27 January 1767/8, six on 18 February and four by night before 21 March. The *Hector* from Madras sailed on 24 February, her seamen including Malabar and Bomba and her passengers an invalid soldier and the Sykes household with Fanny, "a black woman", three black boys and the servant Manuel. The *Northumberland* arrived on 5 March 1767/8, the *Earl of Lincoln* on 8 March, the *Norfolk* on 10 March, the *Osterley* on 18 March and the *Triton* on 24 March, the *Earl of Lincoln* and *Norfolk* sailing on 14 March and the *Osterley* and *Northumberland* on 22 March. [Film No. 370–371, 374, 378–379, 382, 385, 389, 392, 401, 407, 419]

Those rolls named Augustine, Joseph Emanuel and John Antonio in the *Earl of Lincoln*, Antonio Mallabar, Vincent Rosario and Juan de Almeida in the *Osterley*, Ole Simonsen and Claus Johnson in the *Northumberland* and David Groundwater in the *Norfolk*. Frederick Vincent of the *Osterley* kept his own steward, cook, tailor, barber and two servants. The *Northumberland*'s commander appeared as John Milford and John Mitford, and the *Norfolk*'s roll named John Lorley though John Sandys signed it. [Film No. 392–395, 403–404]

His Majesty's ship *Dolphin* under Samuel Wallis, returning from the voyage on which she reached Tahiti in June 1767, arrived from the Cape on 17 March 1767/8 and sailed for England on 18 March, receiving 13 guns on arrival and departure and 13 each time Wallis came ashore and went aboard. The *Triton* under William Elphinstone, whose fourth mate was his brother George Keith Elphinstone, sailed on 3 April 1768; Elphinstone, short of firewood with six weeks' stock, received 10 of the engineer's 20 bushels of coal on 31 March, which the minutes recorded as given but the storekeeper sold at 40 per cent for 17s 6d. [Film No. 401, 411–414, 419, 432]

Foreign ships crowded the road in April 1768. The Danish *Queen Sophia Magdalena* from China, 1,100 tons, 26 guns and 140 men under Captain Dixon, arrived on 6 April and sailed on 13 April, and ships passed on 9 and 10 April. The Swedish *Louisa Ulrica*, 1,200 tons, 26 guns and 150 men under Captain Holmes, arrived on 12 April and left on 16 April. The Dutch *Elizabeth* from Bengal, 800 tons, 24 guns and 110 men, came on 14 April and the *Cornelia*, 1,100 tons, 32 guns and 110 men, on 16 April, both with saltpetre and pepper; the Dutch *Margaret Maria* from China, 1,000 tons, 28 guns and 120 men, on 15 April; and the Danish *Prince Frederick*, 1,300 tons, 30 guns and 170 men, on 16 April. The Company's *Europa* from Bengal arrived on 13 April and the *Earl of Middlesex* from Bencoolen by the Cape on 16 April. [Film No. 417, 422]

Jamestown had no harbour, so every cask and passenger crossed the open road in the Company's longboats. The Council bought a longboat from Captain Pierce on 18 May 1767 for £35 0s 0d, corrected in the record from £5 0s 0d, a yawl from Captain Brooke for £8 0s 0d and, on 10 August, a longboat from Captain George Richardson of the *Pigot* for £35 0s 0d after Mitchell reported one almost worn out. The boats account came to £74 2s 11d in the June quarter of 1767, including two iron-bound treble blocks at £7 14s 1d and 840¼ days' work in the longboat; £89 1s 5d in September, including a mooring cable and cordage at £52 2s 4d; £77 12s 4d in December, including 2,710 lb of cordage at £45 3s 4d and an iron chain at £10 3s 5d; and £40 2s 2d in March 1768, after the carpenter found on 22 February 1767/8 a longboat damaged by the *Hector* beyond repair and valued it at £10 0s 0d, including a 16-foot anchor stock at £6 6s 2½d and hand screws at £4 1s 9d. Brimstone burned under hulls killed shipworm, and the boat crews received arrack. [Film No. 26, 99–100, 122, 124, 128, 144, 225–226, 336–337, 441–442]

Economy: Warehouse Sales and Inventory

Warehouse sales in the quarter ending 30 June 1767 came to £1,446 0s 8d, led by flour at £318 5s 3d and some 465 gallons of Lisbon, port and Mountain wine at £147 5s 0d, with Indian long cloth about £86 0s 0d, Chinese porcelain, more than 3,000 hooks and 300 lines, fine hats, broadcloth, silver wire buttons, decanters, window glass and 145 pairs of ordinary shoes. Planters paid 2½ per cent above cost, chiefly for shoes, cloth and stockings for women and children, and a 40 per cent account of £86 5s 0d covered tea, sugar, flour, candles, soap and fishing tackle. Ships bought £127 14s 1d, chiefly pitch, tar, canvas, cordage, paint and linseed oil, with half-minute glasses, horn lantern leaves, grindstones and brimstone; a spare topmast sold at 50 per cent. [Film No. 71–85]

From July 1767 servants paid 10 per cent above cost, planters 25 per cent and others 40 per cent. In the September quarter servants bought £1,515 0s 6d, planters under £30 0s 0d and 40 per cent buyers over £101 13s 4d, entered also as £103 3s 10d; ships bought £383 4s 11d. Servants' sugar rose from 2,792 lb to 6,350 lb, tea from 381 lb to 748 lb, beef and pork from £41 10s 0d to £374 9s 4d, including 322 pieces of Bengal beef at £49 15s 4d, and porcelain from £10 16s 7d to £39 12s 3d, while flour fell below £250 0s 0d awaiting the storeship. They also bought over 500 lines and 2,800 hooks, 171 pairs of ordinary shoes, 74 sentinels' shirts, about 300 squares of window glass, deals, locks, hinges and ox bows besides a primer, a Bible, two spelling books and a prayer book; three spelling books and a Bible sold at 40 per cent. [Film No. 194–210, 232]

In the December quarter servants bought about £1,250 0s 0d, led by bread at £372 11s 0d stopped from soldiers' pay and 3,382 pieces of pork and 1,230 of beef at £453 12s 4d, with 5,715 lb of sugar, Bohea, check shirts, middling shoes, broadcloth, china and one spelling book and one Bible, while 40 per cent sales totalled £63 4s 3d; sheep shears cost a servant 1s 0d and an outsider 2s 0d. In the March 1768 quarter servants bought £1,008 3s 11d, including 6,432 lb of sugar, bread at £301 2s 8d, 101 lb of Bohea, 34 gallons of arrack, 1,490 pieces of beef and 2,370 of pork at a flat 2s 0d each, £386 0s 0d, Indian cotton stockings at over 9s 0d a pair against about 3s 2d for English thread, over 300 lots of nails, more than 1,600 hooks

and 170 lines and a girl's shoes. Sales at 40 per cent came to £53 10s 10d and to ships £22 4s 5d, mainly cordage, tar and paint; a Book of Common Prayer cost 3s 2d at 10 per cent and 4s 0d at 40, iron shovels 5s 0d and 6s 5d. [Film No. 318–328, 424–432]

The inventory taken by Corneille and Kirkpatrick on 30 September 1767 valued the stores at £11,565 2s 10d, nearly £9,600 0s 0d of it European goods. It held seven or more spare anchors at £223 1s 10d, over 14 tons of rope at £515 9s 7d, spare topmasts, a bowsprit and part of a boom at £50 10s 6d, over 3 tons of nails, 36 oars of 24 feet, more than 63,000 hooks and 4,000 lines worth over £200 0s 0d, over 900 pairs of shoe buckles, 72 gross of worsted lace, 291 pieces of chelloes, nearly 1,400 gallons of arrack, over half a ton of Bohea, nearly 900 pieces of porcelain, Indian long cloth at £636 0s 5d, ten roasting jacks and copper halfpence worth £112 2s 4d. An anchor lying on the West Rocks was valued with the rest. [Film No. 230, 232–238, 241–253]

On 13 July 1767, answering a complaint, the Council replaced the tailoring rates of 8 January 1746/7. Jeremiah Smith, Roderick Merchant and Thomas Watts became the only master tailors, charging at most £1 4s 0d for a fully trimmed suit and 18s 0d for a frock suit; other tailors had to work as their journeymen at no more than 2s 6d a day under a fine of 10s 0d a piece, and masters who overcharged faced 40s 0d on any complaint. Public-house licences yielded £18 10s 0d in June and December 1767 and £13 10s 0d in September 1767 and March 1768. [Film No. 69–70, 129, 277, 367, 465]

Finance, Currencies and Accounting

The treasury held £8,259 19s 11d on 1 April 1767 and £10,811 6s 3d on 30 April, bills and certificates bringing £2,469 4s 6d, the largest Captain John Mitford's £1,650 0s 0d. On 30 May it stood at £12,054 18s 10d, £11,515 3s 10d in coin and £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use, which remained on the books unchanged through April 1768. The Governor and three councillors counted and signed for the cash monthly. Company ships paid between £5 10s 0d and £22 12s 5d for water and fresh food. [Film No. 27–28, 41–42]

Bills on the directors at 90 days' sight carried private money home. On 16 May 1767 Kirkpatrick paid in £420 0s 0d for Captain Richard Morrison and Matthew Bazett £150 0s 0d for Larkins, entered as £151 0s 0d; Pierce remitted £500 0s 0d on 18 May and Corneille £192 7s 0d to Robert Palk on 7 June. On 15 June Skottowe remitted £52 11s 0d to Gyle and Woodhouse and Alexander Hume received £300 0s 0d. On 22 June James Greentree paid £570 0s 0d and £200 0s 0d to Captain John Cotton of the *Hawke*, Captain John Howard £175 0s 0d to Mrs Mary Hall and Henry Bazett and Wrangham jointly £100 0s 0d to John Burdett, and Thomas Allenby received £100 0s 0d on 29 June. [Film No. 20, 26, 42, 48–49, 54, 57–58, 129]

The cash account for June 1767 took in £15,376 0s 6d, including £1,547 15s 11d from Powell's sales, £42 10s 1d from plantation provisions and £22 7s 8d from the *Hawke*; Kirkpatrick, as paymaster, drew £4,152 19s 7d, spending £3,092 5s 6d on the pay list and £1,060 14s 1d on other charges, leaving £10,683 5s 11d in coin. July added £13 5s 4d from the *Duke of Albany* and William Wrangham's two bills of 27 July, £159 6s 0d to John Rutherford and £160 0s 0d to Andrew Riche, entered as £100 0s 0d though the total used £160 0s 0d, leaving £11,015 17s 3d in coin. Wrangham's factor's salary was £30 0s 0d a year. [Film No. 121–130, 134, 155]

August 1767 opened at £11,555 12s 3d and closed at £12,173 19s 2d, with the Governor's bill of 10 August for £270 0s 0d to Robert Wood, who had received £400 0s 0d in April, the *Nottingham*'s payment of £305 19s 4d, the *Pigot*'s £23 10s 6d and the *Anson*'s £13 17s 1d, leaving £11,634 4s 2d in coin. On 7 September the chaplain William Bearcroft remitted £60 0s 0d to Edward Bearcroft and Captain Howard £100 0s 0d to Captain John Oliver, and on 14 September Edwin Alcock, an islander serving as midshipman on the *Neptune*, paid in £700 0s 0d from the sale of his possessions, the Council recording its reasons. September took in £15,339 3s 6d, including rents of £593 9s 4d, Powell's £1,613 4s 4d, the *Devonshire*'s £31 19s 0d, the *Neptune*'s £16 13s 8d and £12 19s 3d from the plantation; the paymaster drew £3,714 1s 0d, £703 7s 3½d beyond the pay list, leaving £11,085 7s 6d in coin, unchanged through October and November. [Film No. 144, 162, 167, 179, 270–277, 286, 309]

December 1767 brought £1,311 15s 3d from the warehouse, £32 10s 3½d from the plantation and £2 1s 3d for lime. Kirkpatrick's advance of £3,554 0s 7½d, including sundry payments of £549 17s 9½d, left £9,435 19s 1d. Bills then became the main source of coin: Nairn £100 0s 0d on 16 January 1767/8, Corneille £200 0s 0d to Christopher Baron on 25 January, Bearcroft £100 0s 0d to Thomas and William Chesson and Williams £100 0s 0d on 22 February, and Powell £200 0s 0d payable to Williams. The treasury stood at £9,747 0s 10d on 31 January and £10,162 6s 9d on 29 February 1767/8. [Film No. 365–370, 376, 380–381, 406]

On 14 March 1767/8 Captain John Mitford offered £1,200 0s 0d of spare cash for bills to Robert Mitford, accepted because no coin was expected from England and the next quarter's pay would need about £3,500 0s 0d, the Council noting it was the first money offered. Barclay paid £371 5s 0d payable to George Martin and Sandys £100 0s 0d, £1,671 5s 0d that day, and Elphinstone £100 0s 0d on 31 March. March took in £13,090 6s 1d, including £1,061 14s 9d from sales, £36 13s 1d from the plantation and £2 11s 3d for lime, and the advance to the paymaster was entered as £3,681 17s 0d, leaving £8,868 14s 1d in coin and £9,408 9s 1d in all. Kirkpatrick's account showed £3,621 17s 0d received but £3,675 17s 0d spent, the pay list and £670 5s 1½d of sundries, and was approved on 18 April 1768. [Film No. 398–400, 413, 424, 459, 463–466]

Invoices came in several money systems. Canton reckoned in taels of 10 mace, each of 10 candareens, each of 10 cash, by the picul of about 133⅓ lb; Bengal in current and Arcot rupees of 16 annas, each of 12 pies, by bazaar and factory maunds, with batta of 8 per cent between kinds of rupee; Bombay in rupees of 4 quarters, each of 100 reas, by the Surat maund; Madras in pagodas of 36 fanams, each of 80 cash, by the garce; and the Cape in rix dollars. Copper halfpence served as small change. [Film No. 15, 21–22, 51, 135–139, 157, 232, 374, 377, 386, 390]

On 3 August 1767 the Council found pierced and defaced milled dollars in circulation, thought to come from the China ships, and published a notice, signed by Matthew Bazett, refusing any defaced coin at the stores or in payments to the Company. [Film No. 138–139]

The clerks' arithmetic erred repeatedly. The May 1767 gunner's account totalled 32 shot against 22 entered. In the September quarter hosiery was carried as £22 1s 4d and resumed as £22 11s 4d, £1,326 7s 6d became £1,325 7s 6d and £1,379 14s 3d £1,379 19s 3d, pickaxes were priced at 10s 12d, pitch and tar sold to ships totalled £14 3s 1d against items of £14 8s 1d and inventory tea was carried at £71 9s 11d against £51 9s 11d. In the December quarter £1,103 11s 1d resumed as £903 11s 1d, £1,178 13s 2d as £1,178 18s 2d and £39 14s 11d as £58 8s 11d, beef and pork of £325 4s 0d and £128 0s 0d were totalled as £453 12s 4d and starch and oars were entered free. [Film No. 45, 198, 200–202, 208, 211, 229, 233, 236, 252–253, 320–323, 327–328]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The *Britannia*'s passengers on 18 May 1767 included the bearers Robin and Chunge and two unnamed black girls. A Company slave who got aboard the *Speke* as she sailed on 12 April 1767 was brought back by a boat's crew paid 4s 6d. On 29 June the Council ordered the middling Bengal pork issued to the Company's slaves and asked the surgeon whether the bad beef was fit for them. [Film No. 21, 25, 57, 60–61, 122]

The slave account for the quarter ending 30 June 1767 came to £501 16s 11d, issuing jackets and breeches to 163 men and 28 boys, 191 Dutch caps, 326 men's shirts, 44 pairs of men's and ten of women's shoes, 12,215 lb of rice, 829 pieces of beef, 342 of pork, 1,240 hooks and 380 lines; slaves ate 71,065 yams against 7,260 fed to stock. Slaves at the Castle received shoes and worsted stockings, those at Sandy Bay 511 pieces of pork and 108 gallons of arrack, and a candle was charged for inspecting their houses at night. The farm account entered the deaths of two men, March and Corner, beside the losses of stock. [Film No. 67, 94–95, 102]

The account headed "the blacks" for July to September 1767 came to £176 2s 3d: 14,191 lb of rice, 460 pieces of Bengal pork worth £87 15s 0d, 101½ lb of tea, 224 lb of sugar, 105½ gallons of arrack for those at the fortifications, plantations and stores, salt for the artillery's slaves, 52 pairs of men's and ten of women's shoes, kersey, chelloes and worsted stockings for women, long cloth for women lying in and a key for the slaves' house; at Sandy Bay they received 238 pieces of beef and 106 of pork. Jemmy, Damon and Ruth

were born, and Chub, Frank, Ascott, Hyde and the boys James Chatham and Campo died; slaves received 38,730 yams and stock 9,840. The inventory held about 100 men's jackets and breeches, 126 boys' jackets, 122 pairs of boys' breeches, over 470 shirts, 218 Dutch caps, tubmen's yokes and 103 labourers' baskets. [Film No. 190, 221–222, 226, 228, 248, 251]

In the December quarter of 1767 Preston, Charles, Barnett, Benjar and Cato died and Robert Rich was born. The slaves' stores cost £394 0s 11d: over 334 cwt of rice at £139 4s 5d, European and Bengal beef and pork at £213 2s 11d, 52 pairs of shoes, 111½ lb of tea, 164½ gallons of arrack, flour for the sick, longcloth for women in childbirth, fishing lines, deals for coffins, cordage for thatch and a 75 lb iron pot for those at the fortifications. On 25 February 1767/8 William Hayes's fishing boat was wrecked, drowning the Company's Hannibal and Jerry and two settlers' slaves. [Film No. 313, 335–336, 340, 385]

In the March 1768 quarter Richard Grower and John Frank were born and Fortune, Hannibal and Jerry died, and 32,060 lb of yams went to the slaves and 4,400 lb to stock. Stores cost £303 5s 7d, including £233 16s 0d of salt meat, mostly Bengal pork, £36 8s 10d of rice, longcloth for childbirth, blacking for a coffin, salt for slaves from Anjengo, canvas aprons for slave armourers and chelloes and thread for slaves in the Castle. With none in store, Kirkpatrick bought 26 pairs of men's shoes at 6s 0d on 25 January 1767/8 for the slave tradesmen. Deals and paint repaired the slaves' square, and four fishermen were paid 10s 0d on 10 March for saving a Company boat adrift with a slave aboard. [Film No. 418, 435, 438–439, 460]

Planters hired out their slaves' labour. Henry Bazett received 2s 6d a day for 27 days of his stone layer in the March 1768 quarter, and Holbrooke was paid for 78 days of his apprentice. [Film No. 462]

Four Company slaves from Madagascar, Dorchester, Dixon, Bostona and Thunder, took Samuel Alexander's fishing boat from Sandy Bay on the night of Thursday 21 April 1768 to escape, but the waves drove them back onto the beach. They told the Council only that they disliked working under a black overseer. Dorchester, judged the instigator, received 150 lashes and the others 100 each; the Council moved them to Munden's Point, sent four other slaves to Sandy Bay and replaced the black overseer with a white man. [Film No. 467–468]

The Malays had separate accounts: £4 8s 6d in the June quarter of 1767 for sugar, tea, arrack, Florence oil, fine shoes and scarlet shalloon, £2 10s 6d in September, £14 9s 8d in December, including broadcloth at over £1 0s 0d a yard, silk, mohair and old china; and £2 18s 2d in March 1768. Their headman, entered as the nakhoda Cockullum and as Nequedah Pocholam, drew £1 0s 0d a quarter in house rent, an allowance of £1 12s 6d and £1 6s 0d in place of 13 pieces of salt meat to buy fresh meat. [Film No. 95–96, 122, 128, 223, 274, 338–339, 366, 439, 462]

Social Order, Religion, Education and Welfare

The widows' fund began with the founders' letter to the directors of 25 May 1766, signed by Skottowe, Corneille, Kirkpatrick and probably Purling. Palk gave £25 0s 0d on 9 May 1767, Lord Clive £50 0s 0d and General Carnac £25 0s 0d, and Harry Verelst £50 0s 0d in 1770, its rules of 8 April 1811 accepted only leases for lives and freehold as security, and a Thomas Greentree presided over its committee in 1829. [Film No. 10, 12–13, 25, 52, 56]

The chaplain John Thackeray was paid for 48 days to about 18 May 1767, and William Bearcroft drew £40 0s 0d salary and £15 0s 0d table allowance; the repairs account built a stable for "Mr Bancroft" with Company deals, nails and half a ship's boom at £2 15s 0d. Thomas Oakes was clerk of the church at £5 0s 0d until Thomas Yates replaced him in 1767, Beale kept the school and the inventory held 12 Bibles, 11 Books of Common Prayer, eight Testaments, a primer and 18 spelling books. Timber for the church roof and ceiling, 575 pieces with ironwork worth £161 10s 2d, lay in store with 46 pairs of hand screws. [Film No. 104–105, 231, 234, 240, 243, 254–255, 336–337, 348–349, 446]

William Brown, a fencer, made his will on 4 August 1767 before the corporals Fisher Gamble and John Jacks and died on 11 August; the Council proved it on 17 August. His goods barely covered his funeral, but a £300 0s 0d legacy from his father in England was to pay debts and recovery costs, the rest in six shares: four to Elizabeth, a free black woman, and one each to her sons William, free and of mixed descent, and

John, a fifer in the Company's service. His executors were Thomas Yates and Nicholas Houghton. [Film No. 145, 153]

The orphan William Gurling died on 28 September 1767, and the executors of Onesiphorus Gurling held an estate. Elizabeth, wife of the publican Roderick Merchant, died on 16 December 1767. [Film No. 167, 180, 308]

Personalities
Lord Clive landed from the *Britannia* on 18 May 1767 after his second governorship of Bengal, the Bengal Council stating that ill health forced his return and that Harry Verelst had succeeded him. He travelled with General Carnac, his secretary Henry Strachey, his brother-in-law Edmund Maskelyne and Colonel Champion. [Film No. 25, 56–57]

Conclusion
Skottowe remained Governor until 1782. George Keith Elphinstone, as Admiral Lord Keith commanding the Channel Fleet in 1815, oversaw the arrangements that sent Napoleon into exile on St Helena. [Film No. 41, 411]

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10	1	Island St. Helena At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th Day of May 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 4th May 1767. Thursday the 7th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Latham for England. Friday the 8th Arrived the Earl of Ashburnham's Boat at Banks's at one o'clock in the Afternoon Do. Do. the Honble Company's Ship Earl of Ashburnham from China. Yesterday Passed by a Ship under dutch Colours. This day Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Lord Camden Pigott, and Duke of Cumberland for England. Do. Do. Arrived a Swede Ship from China called the Stockholm Slot Captain Chr. berg, burthen 900 Tons, carrys 30 Guns and 160 Men, loaden with Tea, and China Ware, bound to Gottenbourg. Do. Do. a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Steenmeltjara Captain Hamlo burthen about 700 Tons carrys 26 Guns, and 100 Men loaden with Coffee, Tea and Spice bound to Amsterdam.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 11 May 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 4 May 1767. The Company's ship *Hatton* sailed for England on Thursday 7 May. On Friday 8 May a boat from the *Earl of Ashburnham* reached Banks's at one o'clock in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Earl of Ashburnham* arrived from China the same day. On Sunday 10 May a ship flying Dutch colours passed the island without stopping. On the day of the consultation the Company's ships *Lord Camden*, *[...]* and *Duke of Cumberland* sailed for England. A Swedish ship, the *Stockholm Slot*, arrived from China under Captain Ekeberg. She was of 900 tons, carried 30 guns and 160 men, and was laden with tea and porcelain bound for Gothenburg. A Dutch ship, the *[...]*, also arrived from Batavia under Captain Hamlo. She was of about 700 tons, carried 26 guns and 100 men, and was laden with coffee, tea and spices bound for Amsterdam. The Council bought the following salt provisions from Captain William Larkins for the Company. 876 lb of salt meat at [...] per lb, £37 12s 0d 11 cwt 1 qr 7 lb of rice, £6 3s 2d Total, £43 15s 2d **Interpretations**

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		Bought of Captain Wm. Larkins on Account of the Honble Company the following Salt Provisions, viz. Salt Meat 876 lb. @ 2½ P lb. £ 87 . 12 .. Rice 11 . 1 . 7 @ 11/ P Ct. 6 . 3 . 2 £ 93 . 1[5] . 2	The men at this table were the founders of the widows' fund. Skottowe, Corneille and Kirkpatrick signed the founders' letter to the Court of Directors on 25 May 1766, and the third signature on that letter was probably Purling's. The Governor and his Council thus established the fund for the Company's servants and governed the island in the same months. The widows' fund was not a private club that later sought the Company's favour, but an initiative of the island's government itself. The shipping record showed St Helena's role as a port of call for every European nation trading with Asia. Swedish and Dutch ships called alongside the Company's own, laden with tea from Canton and coffee and spices from Batavia, and the island supplied them with water and fresh food. The Council noted each ship's size, guns and crew because the island was a fortress as well as a port. Every arrival was assessed as a potential threat, and a well-armed foreign ship in the road was a matter for the garrison's attention. A ship's burden was its carrying capacity in tons, and the figures gave the Council a measure of the trade passing its shores. The boat from the *Earl of Ashburnham* landing at Banks's ahead of its ship showed how arrivals were announced. Banks's lay on the windward approach to Jamestown, and a boat sent ahead could report a ship's identity and needs before she anchored. The purchase of salt meat and rice from Captain Larkins worked the trade in the other direction. Homeward ships often carried surplus provisions, and the Company bought them to stock the garrison's stores. On a small island that produced little grain and depended on imported food, such purchases were a regular and necessary part of supplying the soldiers and the Company's slaves.
11	2	11th May John Hones Soldier being Missed the day after the Latham Sailed and not since heard of, we suppose he deserted on board that Ship. The Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of April last were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. Artillery Stores Expended in April 1767 Guns fired, Pr 9, Pr 4, Pr 3, Pr 2, Pr 1, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 5th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived a Dane Ship: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 6th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Duke of Cumberland: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 8th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 The Alarm Doubled: Guns fired 3, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 1, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 1, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 The Alarm Doubled at Banks's: Guns fired 1, Pr 9 1, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 8 9th Arrived the Havannah: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Do. the Earl of Middlesex: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0	Also on 11 May 1767, the Council recorded that John Hones, a soldier, had been missing since the day after the *Hatton* sailed and had not been heard of since. The Council concluded that he had deserted aboard that ship. The gunner's and steward's accounts for April 1767 were presented, examined and approved. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in April listed each occasion with the number of guns fired, the guns firing charges of 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb of powder, and the total powder used in pounds and ounces. 3 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 3 April, a Danish ship arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz 6 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *6 April, the Duke of Cumberland arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 8 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 8 April, the alarm repeated, 3 guns fired, 1 at 3 lb, 1 at 2 lb, 1 at 1 lb, powder used 6 lb 0 oz 8 April, the alarm repeated at Banks's, [...] guns fired, powder used 4 lb 8 oz *9 April, the Havannah arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* *9 April, the Earl of Middlesex arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 10 April, a Danish ship departed, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz 11 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *11 April, the Hampshire arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* *12 April, the Speke departed, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* *12 April, a signal fired to the Speke, 1 gun fired at 1 lb, powder used 1 lb 0 oz*

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		10th Departed a Dane Ship: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 11th An Alarm: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Hampshire: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 12th Departed the Sphinx: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Fired for a Signal to the Sphinx: Guns fired 1, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 0 16th An Alarm: Guns fired 1, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Deptford: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 18th An Alarm at Prosperous Bay the Ship passed by: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 The Alarm Doubled: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 And Alarm at Banks's: Guns fired 3, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 1, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 1, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Fox: Guns fired 2, Pr 9 2, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 19th An Alarm for a Ship that passed by: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 9, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 20th Departed the Deptford and Hampshire: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 An Alarm: Guns fired 13, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 13, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Carried Over: Guns fired 16[...], Pr 9 3, Pr 4 [...], Pr 3 [...], Pr 2 0, Pr 1 [...], Powder Expended lb 23[...], Powder Expended oz 8	16 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *16 April, the Deptford arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 18 April, an alarm at Prosperous Bay for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 18 April, the alarm repeated, 3 guns fired, 1 at 3 lb, 1 at 2 lb, 1 at 1 lb, powder used 6 lb 0 oz 18 April, an alarm at Banks's, [...] guns fired, powder used [...] *18 April, the Fox arrived, 9 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 19 April, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *20 April, the Deptford and Hampshire departed, 18 guns fired at 1 lb, powder used 18 lb 0 oz* 20 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 at 3 lb, 2 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 20 April, a Dutch ship arrived, [...] guns fired, powder used [...] Carried forward, [...] guns fired, powder used [...] **Interpretations** The gunner's account recorded two quite different uses of the island's cannon. An alarm was the signal fired from the lookout posts on the coast, such as Prosperous Bay and Banks's, when a sail was sighted. The guns were relayed from post to post until the Castle in Jamestown knew a ship was approaching, and a doubled alarm signalled a second sighting or a larger force. Every unknown sail was treated as a possible enemy until identified, because the island's safety depended on warning the garrison in time. A ship that passed by without stopping still cost the island 12 lb of powder. The salutes of nine guns marked the arrival or departure of a ship, Company or foreign, and were part of the courtesies between ships and a fortified port. The precise accounting of powder by the pound and ounce showed how scarce and valuable it was. Every barrel came from England by sea, and the island could not make its own. Graduated charges of 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb suited guns of different sizes and kept larger charges for the heavier pieces. In a single month of routine traffic the garrison used well over 200 lb of powder on signals and courtesies alone, and the Council examined the account each month to keep that spending in check. Hones's disappearance showed the steady leak of soldiers from the garrison through passing ships. A soldier who could slip aboard a homeward vessel, perhaps with a sympathetic crew, could escape his enlistment and the island at once. The Council could do nothing once the ship had sailed, so it simply recorded the presumed desertion. The *Hatton* had sailed on 7 May, and Hones was missed the following day.
12	3	1767 Guns fired, Pr 9, Pr 4, Pr 3, Pr 2, Pr 1, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz Brought over: Guns fired 166, Pr 9 3, Pr 4 21, Pr 3 20, Pr 2 104, Pr 1 22, Powder Expended lb 234, Powder Expended oz 8 20 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 21st Arrived the Latham: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Departed the Northumberland: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in April 1767 continued. Its columns recorded the guns fired, the number of 9-pounder, 4-pounder, 3-pounder, 2-pounder and 1-pounder guns used, and the powder used in pounds and ounces. Brought forward, 166 guns fired, 3 nine-pounders, 21 four-pounders, 20 three-pounders, 104 two-pounders, 22 one-pounders, powder used 234 lb 8 oz 20 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *21 April, the Hatton arrived, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* *21 April, the Northumberland departed, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 21 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz

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		22 Arrived the Lord Camden: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Guns fired to Salute Governor Palk coming on Shore: Guns fired 19, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 3, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 14, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 23, Powder Expended oz 0 26 Departed a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 27 Departed the Fox: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Departed the Earl of Middlesex: Guns fired 9, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder Expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 101, Powder Expended oz 0 Total: Guns fired 251, Pr 9 3, Pr 4 33, Pr 3 26, Pr 2 172, Pr 1 27, Powder Expended lb 4[...], Powder Expended oz 8 Match Expended 12 Handspikes Do. 3 Paper for the Works at Sandy Bay 12 Qrs. Rammer Heads for different Places 2 Spunge Heads for Do. 2 Spunge Staves for Do. 3 Sheepskins for Prosperous Bay 1 Trunk Nails for Do. 40 Tallow for Different Uses 10 lb (signed) Mitchell Sundries Expended at the Honble Company's Table in the Month of April 1767 viz. Bottles Port Wine 7 £ .. 10 . 6 Do. Lisbon 21 1 . 11 . 6 Do. Mountain 11 .. 16 . 6 Carried Over £ 2 . 18 . 6	*22 April, the Lord Camden arrived, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 22 April, salute to Governor Palk on coming ashore, 23 guns fired, 3 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 18 two-pounders, powder used [...] 26 April, a Dutch ship departed, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz *27 April, the Fox departed, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* *27 April, the Earl of Middlesex departed, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* Powder used on other services, 101 lb 0 oz Total, 251 guns fired, 3 nine-pounders, 23 four-pounders, 26 three-pounders, 172 two-pounders, 27 one-pounders, powder used 448 lb 8 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Slow match, 12 [...] Handspikes, 3 Paper for the works at Sandy Bay, 1 quire Rammer heads for various posts, 2 Sponge heads for various posts, 2 Sponge staves for various posts, 3 Sheepskins for Prosperous Bay, 1 Trunk nails for Prosperous Bay, 40 Tallow for various uses, 10 lb The account was signed by Mitchell. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in April 1767. 7 bottles of port wine, £0 10s 6d 21 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 11s 6d 11 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 16s 6d Carried forward, £2 18s 6d **Interpretations** The salute of 23 guns on 22 April honoured Robert Palk, the former Governor of Madras, on landing at St Helena during his voyage home. A routine arrival drew nine guns, so the larger salute marked his rank. On 9 May 1767 Palk gave £25 0s 0d to the new widows' fund, as the donations list recorded. His gift came while he was staying on the island as an honoured guest, which explained how the fund drew its early donations from passing officials of the Company in India. The stores showed how the island's guns were kept in working order. A sponge, made of sheepskin on a wooden staff, cleaned out the barrel after each shot to put out any smouldering residue before reloading. A rammer drove the charge home, and handspikes were levers for aiming and moving the gun. Slow match was a cord soaked to burn steadily, used to fire the guns. Tallow greased moving parts and protected iron against rust. Every one of these items was imported, so the gunner accounted for each sheepskin and nail as carefully as for his powder. The Company's table was the Governor's official hospitality, at which he entertained the commanders and passengers of visiting ships and the island's officials at the Company's expense. The wines reflected the island's position on the trade routes. Port and Lisbon wine came from Portugal, while Mountain was a sweet wine from Malaga in Spain. At 1s 6d a bottle, all three were cheap, because they came duty free from passing ships.
13	4	11th May Brought Over £ 2 . 18 . 6 Bottles Beer To 24 .. 5 .. Do. Arrack 9 qt. 4 . 10 .. Beef 143½ lb	The steward's account of sundries used at the Company's table in April 1767 continued. Brought forward, £2 18s 6d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 90 bottles of arrack, £4 10s 0d 143¾ lb of beef, £2 19s 8¾d 265 lb of mutton, £5 10s 3d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d

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		2 . 19 . 8¼ Mutton 265 lb 5 . 10 . 3 Lamb 1 .. 10 .. Kids 2 .. 10 .. Fowles 12 .. 18 .. Ducks 4 .. 6 .. Turkey 1 .. 5 .. Butter 27 lb 1 . 7 .. Candy 9 qt. 1 . 9 . 10 Flour 320 1 . 6 . 8 £ 22 . 15 . 0¼ On the 3d Instant, after saluting the Lioness John Bower Matross in recharging one of the Saluting Guns after having been properly Spunged and served she went off. Owing to her being much honey combed, and some Powder lodging in one of those Cavity's, by which Accident, the Man lost one Arm, and the Hand of the other, and supposed will lose the sight of both of his Eyes, from which Accident he will be rendered incapable of any future Service; Those Guns having been long in use and we apprehend very unsafe for Service. We gave Orders to the Capt. of Artillery to examine all the Guns on the Saluting Battery and report to Us accordingly. John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** Accident Saluting See 18 May	1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 27 lb of butter, £1 7s 0d 90 lb of candles, £1 9s 10d 320 lb of flour, £1 6s 8d Total, £22 15s 0¾d The Council also recorded an accident on 3 May 1767. After the guns had saluted the *Lioness*, John Bower, a matross, was reloading one of the saluting guns. It had been properly sponged and prepared, but it went off in his hands. The barrel was badly pitted by corrosion, and some burning powder had lodged in one of the cavities. Bower lost one arm and the hand of the other, and was expected to lose the sight of both eyes. He would never be fit for service again. The saluting guns had been in use for a long time, and the Council feared they were very unsafe. It ordered the Captain of Artillery to examine every gun on the saluting battery and report back. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Bower's injuries were the direct cost of the island's constant saluting. In April alone the garrison fired 251 guns, most of them salutes for ships arriving and departing. Iron guns fired so often and exposed to sea air corroded inside, and the pitting described as honeycombing left small hollows where a spark could survive the sponge. When the next charge was rammed in, the hidden ember fired it while the gunner stood at the muzzle. A matross was the lowest rank in the artillery, an assistant who did the heavy and dangerous work of loading. The Council's response came only after the accident, and the record made no provision for Bower himself. The widows' fund founded a year earlier by these same councillors covered only the families of its subscribers, and a maimed matross was not among them. The steward's account showed what the Company's hospitality cost in a single month. Meat alone came to more than £10 0s 0d, with beef and mutton at about 5d a pound, much of it from cattle and sheep raised on the island. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap or rice, brought cheaply by the ships from Asia. Ninety bottles in a month, alongside wine and beer, reflected the stream of commanders and passengers the Governor entertained. The whole table cost £22 15s 0¾d, more than a widow's pension for a year, paid by the Company as part of keeping good relations with the ships on which the island depended.
14	5	16th May At a Consultation held on Saturday the 16th Day of May 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Dan Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11th May 1767. Tuesday the 12th Arrived the Plassey's Boat at Banks's at three Quarters of an Hour past five o'clock in the morning Do. Do. The Honble Company's Ship Plassey from China, last from Bencoolen Wednesday the 13th Arrived a Dutch Ship from China, called the Bartha	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Saturday 16 May 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 11 May 1767. On Tuesday 12 May a boat from the *Plassey* reached Banks's at a quarter to six in the morning. The Company's ship *Plassey* arrived the same day from China, having called last at Bencoolen. On Wednesday 13 May a Dutch ship from China, the *[...]*, arrived under Captain Koopstad. She was of about 700 tons, carried 26 guns and 100 men, and was laden with tea and porcelain bound for Hoorn. On Thursday 14 May another Dutch ship, the *Snoek*, arrived from Batavia

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		Ploronell's Capt. Coopstead, burthen about seven hundred Tons, carrys twenty six Guns, and one hundred Men loaden with Tea and China Ware, bound to Horn Thursday the 14th Arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Snoek Captain Hendrick burthen about seven hundred Tons carrys twenty six Guns, and one hundred Men loaden with Coffee Tea and Spice bound to Zealand Yesterday Died John Bower Matross This day Sailed the Swede Ship Stockholm Slot for Gottenbourg The Ship Plassey brought Us the following Supplies viz.	under Captain Hendrick. She too was of about 700 tons, with 26 guns and 100 men, and carried coffee, tea and spices bound for Zeeland. John Bower, the matross injured on 3 May, died on Friday 15 May. On the day of the consultation the Swedish ship *Stockholm Slot* sailed for Gothenburg. The *Plassey* brought supplies for the island, which the Council then listed. **Interpretations** Bower's death 12 days after the accident confirmed what the Council had feared. A man who lost an arm and a hand to a bursting charge, with his eyes burnt as well, rarely survived the infection that followed in an age without antiseptics. The Council recorded his death in a single line among the ship movements, but it followed directly from the worn saluting guns it had ordered the Captain of Artillery to inspect. The *Plassey* had called at Bencoolen, the Company's settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, which supplied pepper and served as a base in the East Indies. Ships from Asia often brought St Helena goods picked up on the way, and the supplies she landed were evidently stores ordered for the island. The two Dutch ships, both of identical size and armament, showed the standard pattern of the Dutch East India Company's large return ships. Each carried guns enough to defend herself on the long voyage home, and the Council's careful note of every foreign ship's strength reflected the island's watchfulness over vessels that could, in time of war, become enemies.
15	6	16th May Invoice of Ship Plassey No. 1 @ 9. Nine Chests Sugar viz. No. 1 Tare 23 Gross 317 2 Tare 23 Gross 324 3 Tare 24 Gross 321 4 Tare 21 Gross 320 5 Tare 21 Gross 326 6 Tare 21 Gross 337 7 Tare 25 Gross 338 8 Tare 23 Gross 328 9 Tare 22 Gross 335 Tare 207 Gross 2965 Nett 2758 lb or Peculs 20.68 @ 4½ Ts. Ts. 92.745 No. 1 @ 4. Four Chests Bohea Tea viz. No. 1 Tare 34 Gross 195 2 Tare 38 Gross 193 3 Tare 41 Gross 186 4 Tare 39 Gross 191 Tare 152 Gross 765 Nett 613 lb or Peculs 4.59 @ 17 Ts. Ts. 78.030 No. 1 @ 2. Two Chests Congo Tea viz. No. 1 Tare 22 Gross 98 2 Tare 22 Gross 99 Tare 44 Gross 197 Nett 153 lb or Peculs 1.14 @ 22 Ts. Ts. 25.080 No. 1 @ 2. Two Do. Singlo viz. No. 1	The invoice of the goods shipped to St Helena on the *Plassey* listed each chest by number, with its tare and gross weight in pounds, followed by the net weight, its equivalent in piculs, the price per picul in taels and the cost in taels. Sugar, chest 1, tare 23 lb, gross 317 lb Sugar, chest 2, tare 25 lb, gross 324 lb Sugar, chest 3, tare 24 lb, gross 321 lb Sugar, chest 4, tare 24 lb, gross 329 lb Sugar, chest 5, tare 24 lb, gross 326 lb Sugar, chest 6, tare 21 lb, gross 337 lb Sugar, chest 7, tare 25 lb, gross 338 lb Sugar, chest 8, tare 25 lb, gross 328 lb Sugar, chest 9, tare 22 lb, gross 335 lb Sugar, 9 chests, tare 217 lb, gross 2,965 lb, net 2,748 lb or 20.61 piculs at 4 taels 5 mace a picul, 92 taels 7 mace 4 candareens 5 cash Bohea tea, chest 1, tare 34 lb, gross 195 lb Bohea tea, chest 2, tare 38 lb, gross 193 lb Bohea tea, chest 3, tare 41 lb, gross 186 lb Bohea tea, chest 4, tare 39 lb, gross 191 lb Bohea tea, 4 chests, tare 152 lb, gross 765 lb, net 613 lb 8 oz or 4.59 piculs at 17 taels a picul, 78 taels 0 mace 3 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, chest 1, tare 22 lb, gross 98 lb Congou tea, chest 2, tare 22 lb, gross 99 lb Congou tea, 2 chests, tare 43 lb, gross 197 lb, net 153 lb 8 oz or 1.14 piculs at 22 taels a picul, 25 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, chest 1, tare 19 lb, gross 89 lb Singlo tea, chest 2, tare 19 lb, gross 87 lb Singlo tea, 2 chests, tare 38 lb, gross 176 lb, net 138 lb or 1.03 piculs at 25 taels a picul, 25 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 221 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 5 cash The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed as follows. Francis Wood Benjamin Torin Thomas Smith Robert John Harrison William Rous Thomas Bevan Thomas Fitzhugh

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		Tare 19 Gross 89 2 Tare 19 Gross 87 Tare 38 Gross 176 Nett 138 lb or Peculs 1.03 @ 25 Ts. Ts. 25.750 Tales 221.605 E. Excepted (signed) Francis Wood Benj. Torin Robt. Smith Robt. John Harrison Wm. Bens Thos. Bevan Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Hillary Torriano Nathl. Garland Wm. McKenzie Stephen De Horne	Henry Revell [...] Nathaniel Garland William McKenzie [...] **Interpretations** The invoice came from Canton, where the Company's supercargoes, its trading agents in China, bought these goods for St Helena and signed for them as a body. The island depended on Asia as much as on England for its everyday supplies. Sugar and tea for the garrison, the officials and the Company's table came out of the same China trade that filled the homeward ships. Ordering through Canton meant the goods arrived on a ship already calling at the island, at no extra freight. The figures followed Chinese commercial practice. A picul was the standard Chinese unit of weight, about 133⅓ lb, and the tael was a weight of silver used as currency, divided into 10 mace, each of 10 candareens, each of 10 cash. The supercargoes weighed each chest with its contents, subtracted the tare, the weight of the empty chest, and converted the net weight into piculs to price it. Sugar cost 4 taels 5 mace a picul, but tea far more, and the three teas differed sharply in price. Bohea, the cheapest black tea, cost 17 taels. Congou, a better black tea, cost 22 taels, and Singlo, a green tea, cost 25 taels. The varieties suggest the tea was meant for different tables, the cheaper for general issue and the finer for the Governor's table and the Council.
16	7	1767 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Earl of Ashburnham, Plassey and Speaker to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none. Their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Ashburnham Thoml. Pierce Commandr. Alexr. Black Chief Mate Robt. Baldwin 2d Do. Wm. Browne 3d Do. John Niel 4th Do. Dugald Sands Surgeon Henry Harvey Purser Wm. Dickinson Carpenter James Wyburn Gunner James Gerald Boatswain Wm. Bax Midshipman & Cox. Alexr. Dyer Midshipman Thomas Wood Do. John Thompson Do. Thomas Price Do. James Powel Quarter Mr. Charles Starkes Cooper Edward Pinks Sailmaker John Guernier Boatswains Mate James Harding Midshipman Charles Nelson Surgeons Mate Thos. Fraser Carpenters Mate James Cook Gunners Do. Thoml. Peacock Boatswains Mate John Allen Do. 2d Do. Thos. Coster Quarter Mr. Thos. Hunt Coopers Do. Richd. Morley Captns. Cook Thos. Robert Ships Cook Richd. Stevens Butcher Mattw. Cooper Caulker Oliver Anderson Quartermr. John Cappleston Do. Wm. Frear Do. Alexr. Tweedie Do. Joseph Bradley Seaman Wm. Skinner	William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Earl of Ashburnham*, the *Plassey* and the *Speaker* to muster their crews and search for deserters, and had found none. The muster rolls of the three ships followed. The muster roll of the *Earl of Ashburnham* listed her crew by name and rank. Thomas Pierce, commander Alexander Black, chief mate Richard Baldwin, second mate William Browne, third mate John Neil, fourth mate Dugald Loudon, surgeon Henry Harvey, purser William Dickinson, carpenter James Wybourn, gunner James Gould, boatswain William [...], midshipman and clerk Alexander Dyer, midshipman Thomas Wood, midshipman John Thompson, midshipman Thomas Reid, midshipman James Powel, butler Charles Starks, cooper Edward Pinks, sailmaker John [...], [...] James Harding, [...] Charles Nelson, [...] Thomas Fraser, carpenter's mate James Cook, gunner's mate [...] Peacock, boatswain's mate John Allen, boatswain's mate Thomas Coster, [...] Thomas Hunt, cooper's mate Richard Morley, captain's cook Thomas Robert, ship's cook Richard Stevens, butcher William Cooper, poulterer Oliver Anderson, quartermaster John Appleton, quartermaster William Frear, quartermaster Alexander Seeger, quartermaster Joseph Bradley, seaman William Shimmo, seaman William Smith, seaman

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		Wm. Smith Robert Moriss Wm. Dennan Wm. Anderson John Petty Gregory Grant John Kennady Samuel Thomas Thomas Pell Edward Turkey Benj. Courtney Henry Duggin Malcolm McKechy Alexr. Lisely Jeremiah Pugh John McGowen Charles Laughton John Donaldson John Dobson John Danby John Allen John Hinrick Seaman John Gegg John Hayes Richard Cooper Alexr. Buffet Edward Myrick James Dickenson Christr. Murrough Thoml. Atherton Robert Moore John Duncanson John Kennedy John Berridge Daniel Eles James Brooks John Maneward John Duthy Alexr. Nicholson Wm. Bindering Peter Brunton Wm. Jones Wm. Petree Chas. Cummins John Rain Matthew Firth John Hutcheson John Jones Robt. Aldgate John Simpson	Robert Morriss, seaman William Dunnan, seaman William Anderson, seaman John Petty, seaman Gregory Grant, seaman John Kennedy, seaman Samuel Thomas, seaman Thomas Fell, seaman Edward Turkey, seaman Benjamin Courtney, seaman Henry Duggin, seaman Malcolm McKechy, seaman Alexander Lisley, seaman Jeremiah Pugh, seaman John McGowen, seaman Charles Laughton, seaman John Donaldson, seaman John Dobson, seaman John Bowly, seaman John Allen, seaman John Hinrick, seaman John Gregg, seaman John Hayes, seaman Richard Cooper, seaman Alexander Buffet, seaman Edward Myrick, seaman James Dickinson, seaman Christopher Murrough, seaman Thomas Atherton, seaman Robert Moore, seaman John Duncanson, seaman John Kennedy, seaman John Burridge, seaman Daniel Ebbs, seaman James Brooks, seaman John Manwood, seaman John Duthy, seaman Alexander Nicholson, seaman William Pindering, seaman Peter Brunton, seaman William Jones, seaman William Betred, seaman Charles Cummins, seaman John Bain, seaman Matthew Smith, seaman John Hitchener, seaman John Jones, seaman Robert Aldgate, seaman John Simpson, seaman **Interpretations** The muster served the island's own security as much as the ships'. Desertion ran in both directions at St Helena. Soldiers such as John Hones slipped aboard departing ships to escape the garrison, as the Council recorded on 11 May 1767, and seamen jumped ship to escape a voyage. Mustering each crew against its roll while the ship lay in the road showed whether a soldier had been hidden aboard, since any extra man would stand out, and whether any seaman was missing and might be sheltering ashore. Purling found the rolls complete on all three ships. The roll showed how an East Indiaman was organised as a self-contained community for a voyage of many months. Beneath the commander and four mates stood the specialist officers, the surgeon, purser, carpenter, gunner and boatswain, each with mates of his own. The butcher and poulterer looked after the live cattle, sheep and fowls carried aboard to provide fresh meat at sea, and the cooper kept the casks that held water and provisions. The quartermasters steered the ship and kept watch over the hold. The *Earl of Ashburnham* carried well over 80 men, of whom the great majority were ordinary seamen, enough to work and fight a large ship on the passage from China.

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17	8	16th May	The muster roll of the *Earl of Ashburnham*
		Wm. Oliver Seaman	continued.
		Phillip Crafts	William Oliver, seaman
		Cliff Hedrick	Phillip Craps, seaman
		Louis Fousent	Oluff Hinrick, seaman
		Francisco Allain Seaman	Louis Toussaint, seaman
		Jno. Lowdesry	Francisco Allain, seaman
		Thomas Jones	John Cordery, seaman
		Thomas Cole	Thomas Jones, seaman
		George Beatley	Thomas Cole, seaman
		James Anderson Seaman	George Beatley, seaman
		Chas. Wybourn	James Sanderson, seaman
		Simon Moore	Charles Wybourn, seaman
		Robt. Wyburne	Simon Moore, seaman
		(signed)	Robert Wybourn, seaman
		Thos. Pierce	The roll was signed by Thomas Pierce.
		Muster Roll of Ship Plassey	The muster roll of the *Plassey* followed.
		John Waddell Commandr.	John Waddell, commander
		Mr. Saml. Rogers 1st Mate	Samuel Rogers, first mate
		Mr. Peter Douglas 2d Do.	Peter Douglas, second mate
		Mr. Jordan Collins 3d Do.	Jordan Collins, third mate
		Mr. Thos. Bassett 4th Do.	Thomas Bassett, fourth mate
		Mr. Willm. Courthope 5th Do.	William Courthope, fifth mate
		Mr. Walter Gowdie Surgeon	Walter Gowdie, surgeon
		George Searl Carpenter	George Searl, carpenter
		Wm. Baker Boatswain	William Baker, boatswain
		Jos. Baker Ships Steward	Joseph Baker, ship's steward
		John Ramshaw Captns. Stewd.	John Ramsden, captain's steward
		Thos. Sanders Midshipman	Andrew Sanders, midshipman
		John Thorn Do.	John Thom, midshipman
		J. W. Majendie Do.	R. W. Majendie, midshipman
		Alexr. Stewart Do.	Alexander Stewart, midshipman
		Thomas Chambers Seaman	Thomas Chambers, seaman
		John Bateman	John Bateman, seaman
		Wm. Holdups	William Holdups, seaman
		John James	John James, seaman
		Richard Mitchell	Richard Mitchell, seaman
		Wm. Waddell	William Waddell, seaman
		John Robinson	John Robinson, seaman
		Wm. Boulton Quartermasr.	William Boulton, quartermaster
		James Owens Do.	James Owens, quartermaster
		James McLaren Do.	James McLaren, quartermaster
		David Pattison Do.	David Pattison, quartermaster
		Thoml. Todd Boatswains Mate	Francis Todd, boatswain's first mate
		Wm. Jenkins Do. 2d Do.	William Jenkins, boatswain's second mate
		Wm. Greenaway Caulker	William Greenaway, caulker
		Patrick Fitzpatrick Cooper	Patrick [...], cooper
		Wm. Jarrett	William Jarrett, [...]
		Robt. Ford Carpenters Mate	Robert Ford, carpenter's first mate
		Henry Elmore Do. 2d Do.	Henry Elmore, carpenter's second mate
		Abraham Dickson Caulkers Do.	Abraham Dickson, caulker's mate
		John Betts Armourer	John Bell, armourer
		Wm. Chapman Sailmaker	William Chapman, sailmaker
		Robt. Wright Butcher	Robert Wright, butcher
		John Chapman Poulterer	John Chapman, poulterer
		Dick Smart Captns. Cook	Dick Smart, captain's cook
		David Wild Baker	David Wild, baker
		Samuel Stackhouse Seaman	Samuel Stackhouse, seaman
		George Purford	George Barford, seaman
		Peter Geffry	Peter Giffry, seaman
		Lewis Davies	Lewis Davies, seaman
		Robt. Patrick	Robert Patrick, seaman
		Geo: Coleman	George Coleman, seaman
		Thomas Oliver	Thomas Oliver, seaman
		John Evans	John Evans, seaman
		John Davies	John Davies, seaman
		James Lofoss	James Lefoss, seaman
		Danl. Fulley	Daniel Hulley, seaman
		Wm. Frasier	William Frasier, seaman
		Mr. Griffith Rees Seaman	Griffith Rice, seaman
		John Malcolm	John Malcolm, seaman
		John Cragg	John Cragg, seaman
		Alexr. Hay	Alexander Hay, seaman
		Wm. Anderson	William Anderson, seaman
		James Simpson	James Simpson, seaman
		Francis Weatherall	Francis Weatherall, seaman

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		Christian Mohr Charles Hay Wm. Hiscock Joseph Harris Richard Jones Michael Hall Wm. Trott Thomas Hindmarsh Henry Hand John Matthews John Thompson Wm. Smith Thos. Nutt Willm. Wright Thos. Crome Henry Jockam Richd. Cole Matthew Rogers John Bosley	Christian Mohr, seaman Charles Hay, seaman William Hiscock, seaman Joseph Harris, seaman Richard Jones, seaman Michael Hall, seaman William Jewett, seaman Thomas Hindmarsh, seaman Henry Hand, seaman John Matthews, seaman John Thompson, seaman William Smith, seaman Thomas Nutt, seaman William Wright, seaman Thomas Crome, seaman Henry Jackam, seaman Richard Cole, seaman Matthew Rogers, seaman John Bosley, seaman **Interpretations** Several names on the *Earl of Ashburnham* belonged to men from outside Britain. Oluff Hinrick and John Hinrick were probably Scandinavian or German, Louis Toussaint French and Francisco Allain perhaps Portuguese or Spanish. East Indiamen lost men to disease, accident and desertion on the long voyages to Asia, and commanders filled the gaps with whatever seamen they could find in the ports of India and China. A crew that left England largely British often came home mixed. The muster checked each man against the roll whatever his origin, since any seaman left behind on St Helena would become a charge on the island. The two rolls differed in ways that showed how individual commanders organised their ships. The *Plassey* carried five mates against the *Earl of Ashburnham*'s four, and listed specialists the other did not, such as a baker, an armourer and caulkers to keep the hull watertight. The midshipmen were young gentlemen training to become officers, often placed aboard through family connections with the commander or the Company's directors. Family ties also ran through the lower deck. James Wybourn was the *Earl of Ashburnham*'s gunner, and Charles and Robert Wybourn served as seamen on the same ship, presumably his relatives.
18	9	1767 Ralph Edmonds Seaman William Howard William Thompson John Thomas John Sowdoe James Robinson Ward William Clarke John Read Thomas Capes John Clark Seaman Robert Brewer James Colback John Clerk Wm. Berwicke Thomas Smith James Easley Thomas Hunt Fras. Gardiner Joseph Fisher John Handy Seaman John Holdwright Charles France Danl. Westenbury John Baptist Sorre Vincent Cork Evan Lainey William Rimmer Francis Bambelo (signed)	The muster roll of the *Plassey* continued. Ralph Edmonds, seaman William Howard, seaman William Thompson, seaman John Thomas, seaman John Norwood, seaman James Robinson Ward, seaman William Clarke, seaman John Bird, seaman Thomas Capes, seaman John Clark, seaman Robert Grove, seaman James Colbeck, seaman John Clerk, seaman William Renwick, seaman Thomas Smith, seaman James Oakley, seaman Thomas Hunt, seaman Francis Gardiner, seaman Joseph Fisher, seaman John Handy, seaman John Wheelwright, seaman Charles France, seaman Daniel Wortenburg, seaman John Baptist Loore, seaman Vincent Cook, seaman Evan Rainey, seaman William Rimmer, seaman Francis Rambolo, seaman The roll was signed by John Waddell.

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		John Waddell Muster Roll of Ship Speaker James Dewar Commander Charles Wade 1st Mate Robert Scott Second Do. Alexr. Hodge 3d Do. James Stephen 4th Do. Geo. Cunningham 5th Do. Alexr. Cuthbertson 6th Do. John Davies Purser Charles Richardson Surgeon Gilbert Turnbull Do. Mate John Johnson Gunner Charles Clark Boatswain Jos. Riche Carpenter Charles Leroux Midshipman Robert Semple Do. Robert Watson Do. John Stewart Do. & Cox. John Forsyth Cooper William Bladdon Caulker James Cockram Sailmaker William Grayham Armr. Geo. Brown Ships Steward James Bruce Quartermaster Benj: Anderson Do. John Hart Do. David Richie Do. Geo. Berry Captns. Cook Wm. Ball Do. Cook Edward Fulham Ships Do. Michael Giles Butcher Phillip Chapman Caulker James Scott Gunners Mate Owen Berkley Boatswains Do. John Dougle Do. 2d Do. George Walker Coopers Do. John Litchfield Carpenters Do. John Shoulton Caulkers Do. Peter Lindsay Captns. Cook Chas. Johnson Seaman James Walker William Jones James Scott Thoml. Cope Seaman George Smith John MacLauren William Weldon George Scott James Hoare John Tenney Forbes Bailey David White Alexr. Grayham Andrew Telford Andw. Patterson John McFarline Thos. Anderson Nicholas Cranck Robert Adams William Prince Andrew Smith John Walker Andrew Harvey Kenneth McKenzie	The muster roll of the *Speaker* followed. James Dewar, commander Charles Wade, first mate Robert Scott, second mate Alexander Hodge, third mate James Stephens, fourth mate George Cunningham, fifth mate Alexander Cuthbertson, sixth mate John Davies, purser Charles Richardson, surgeon Gilbert Turnbull, surgeon's mate John Johnson, gunner Charles Clark, boatswain [...] Richie, carpenter Charles Lennox, midshipman Robert Semple, midshipman Robert Watson, midshipman John Stewart, midshipman John Joseph, cooper William Bladdon, caulker James Cockram, sailmaker William Grayham, armourer George Brown, ship's steward James Bruce, quartermaster Benjamin Anderson, quartermaster John Hart, quartermaster David Richie, quartermaster George Berry, captain's cook William Ball, captain's cook Edward Fulham, ship's cook Michael Iles, butcher Philip Chapman, caulker's mate James Scott, gunner's mate Owen Berkley, boatswain's first mate John Doughty, boatswain's second mate George Walker, cooper's mate John Littlefield, carpenter's mate John Shrodton, caulker's mate Peter Lindsay, [...] Charles Johnson, seaman James Walker, seaman William Jones, seaman James Scott, seaman Thomas Cope, seaman George Smith, seaman John MacLauren, seaman William Bland, seaman George Scott, seaman James Shore, seaman John Penney, seaman Forbes Bailey, seaman David White, seaman Alexander Grayham, seaman Andrew Telford, seaman Andrew Patterson, seaman John McFarline, seaman Thomas Anderson, seaman Nicholas Granch, seaman Robert Adams, seaman William Prince, seaman Andrew Smith, seaman John Parker, seaman Andrew Harvey, seaman Kenneth McKenzie, seaman **Interpretations** The *Speaker* carried six mates and a surgeon's mate, a larger body of officers than either the *Earl of Ashburnham* or the *Plassey*. Extra mates gave a commander more men able to take a watch or command a boat, and allowed the Company to train future commanders through service at sea. Many of the *Speaker*'s officers and men bore Scottish names, among them Dewar, Cuthbertson, Turnbull, Semple, Lennox and McKenzie. Commanders commonly recruited through their own family and regional connections, so

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			a Scottish commander drew Scottish officers and seamen around him. The *Plassey*'s roll ended with men such as John Baptist Loore, Daniel Wortenburg and Francis Rambolo, whose names suggested origins in Europe beyond Britain. Like the foreign seamen on the *Earl of Ashburnham*, they were probably taken on in Asian ports to replace men lost on the outward voyage. Every name had to be accounted for at St Helena, because a seaman who went missing on the island became the Council's responsibility, and a soldier found hidden among the crew would have been returned to the garrison.
19	10	16th May David Ross Seaman Thomas Williamson John Taylor James John Johnson James Farrier Paul Johnson James Mill Abraham Debo James Anderson Robert Leck Thomas Hargreave James Lawson Thoml. Brown Seaman Robert Boyd Lawrence Armstrong Joseph Reed Nicholson Lock Robert McAllister William Nichols Thomas Howell John Hammond William Phillips William Murey James Brady Andrew Stephens Peter Hay Seaman John Flood David Joiner James Robinson Henry Brown Peter Mouat George Seaman William Brown John Reed Andrew Thompson John Wray Morpeth Passengers Charles Crommelin Esqr. Capt. Edward Hammilton Capt. Vernon Duffield Mr. Thomas Johnson Mrs. Keating Mrs. Page and two Children Miss Eccles Miss Jones Seven Servants Signed James Dewar As we are much in want of a Cooper not having one since the Death of James Torbett, and Capt. Morrison being willing to spare John Draughter his 2d Cooper, who he tells Us is a sober good Man, we have Entertained him accordingly at the Usual Salary.	The muster roll of the *Speaker* continued. David Ross, seaman Thomas Williamson, seaman John Taylor, seaman James John Johnson, seaman James Harrier, seaman Paul Johnson, seaman James Mill, seaman Abraham Debo, seaman James Anderson, seaman Robert Leek, seaman Thomas Hargreaves, seaman James Lawson, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman Robert Boyce, seaman Lawrence Armstrong, seaman Joseph Bird, seaman Nicholson Fook, seaman Robert McAllister, seaman William Nichols, seaman Thomas Howell, seaman John Hammond, seaman William Phillips, seaman William Murray, seaman James Bradey, seaman Andrew Stephens, seaman Peter Hay, seaman John Hood, seaman David Turner, seaman James Robinson, seaman Henry Brown, seaman Peter Mowat, seaman George Seaman, seaman William Brown, seaman John Rice, seaman Andrew Thompson, seaman John Ubray, seaman [...] Morpeth, seaman The *Speaker* also carried the following passengers. Charles Crommelin Captain Edward Hamilton Captain Vernon Duffield Thomas Johnson Mrs Keating Mrs Page and her 2 children Miss Eccles Miss Jones 7 servants The roll was signed by James Dewar. The island had badly needed a cooper since the death of James Torbett. Captain Morrison was willing to release John Drawwater, his ship's cooper, whom he described as a sober and reliable man. The Council engaged Drawwater at the usual salary. **Interpretations** The Council filled a vital trade by taking a man off a passing ship. A cooper made and repaired the casks that held the island's water, salt meat, flour and spirits, and the stores recorded in the steward's and gunner's accounts depended on sound casks. St Helena had no apprentices in such trades and could not send to England for a replacement without waiting a year or

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			more. A ship's cooper offered by his commander, with an assurance of good character, was the quickest remedy. The commander's willingness to release him suggested the ship could manage without a cooper for the rest of a homeward voyage, while the island could not. James Torbett perhaps belonged to the Torbett family who later subscribed to the widows' fund for several generations. The passengers showed the human traffic of the homeward ships. Officers such as Captains Hamilton and Duffield, civilians such as Charles Crommelin and women with children were returning from India, accompanied by seven servants, perhaps Indian servants travelling with their employers. Listing passengers alongside the crew completed the count of everyone aboard, so that no soldier or deserter could be passed off as a passenger's attendant.
20	11	1767 We this day Granted the two following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. One Set to Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick for four hundred and twenty pounds payable to Capt. Richard Morrison Or Order. And One Set to Mr. Matthew Bazett for one hundred and fifty one pounds payable to Capt. William Larkins or Order ninety days after sight. John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th Day of May 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 16th May 1767. Yesterday Died Isaac Buck Matross Do. Arrived the Speaker's Boat at Banks's at eight o'clock at night Do. Do. the Britannia's Boat at Banks's at nine o'Clock at night This Day Arrived the Honble Company's Ship Speaker from Bombay and the Britannia from Bengal last from the Cape Do. Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Duke of Kingston for England.	The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors. To Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, £420 0s 0d, payable to Captain Richard Morrison or his order To Matthew Bazett, £150 0s 0d, payable to Captain William Larkins or his order, at 90 days after sight The entry was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 18 May 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 16 May 1767. Isaac Buck, a matross, died on Sunday 17 May. That night a boat from the *Speaker* reached Banks's at eight o'clock, and a boat from the *Britannia* followed at nine. On the day of the consultation the Company's ship *Speaker* arrived from Bombay, and the *Britannia* from Bengal, having called last at the Cape. The Company's ship *Duke of Kingston* sailed for England the same day. **Interpretations** The bills of exchange were the island's means of sending money home. St Helena had no bank, and carrying coin to England by sea was risky. A resident who owed money to a ship's captain paid cash into the Company's treasury on the island and received in return a bill drawn on the directors in London. The captain carried the bill home, presented it at East India House and was paid there 90 days after showing it. The Company gained ready cash on the island to pay its garrison and buy supplies, and the captain gained a safe way to remit his earnings. Both payees had done business on the island that month. Captain William Larkins had sold salt meat and rice to the Company on 11 May, and Captain Richard Morrison had released his cooper to the island. The bills showed that private dealings went on alongside the Company's own purchases. Kirkpatrick, a member of the Council, and Matthew Bazett, of the family later recorded in the lease registers, evidently bought goods from these captains in their own right. Kirkpatrick's bill for £420 0s 0d was a large sum, nearly four times the first year's subscriptions to the widows' fund, and suggested trading on a scale beyond his household's needs. Isaac Buck was the second matross to die in four days, after John Bower on 15 May. The record gave no cause for Buck's death.

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21	12	18th May The Britannia and Speaker brought Us the following Supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Britannia 1 @ 60. Rice Fine 60 Bags of 120 B. Mds. @ 23 Pr. Mds. ... Rs. 225 . 6 . 3 1 @ 10. Sugar Fine 10 Bags of 20 F. Mds. @ 8 . 4 Pr. F. Md. 165 .. 1 @ 15. Paddy 15 Bags of 22 . 20 B. Mds. 16 . 6 .. 1 @ 4. Wax Candles 4 Chests of 8 F. Mds. @ 72 Pr. F. Md. 576 .. 1 @ 2. Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers @ 93 . 7 . 3 Pr. Do. 186 . 14 . 6 1169 . 10 . 9 Charges Merchandize 4 Chests and Package 14 . 8 .. Twine .. 9 . 6 Oil .. 1 . 3 50 Reed Matts 2 . 12 . 6 145 Gunny Bags @ 1 . 12 Pr. 14 16 . 6 . 6 Packers .. 15 . 9 Weighmen .. 9 . 3 Mocheas 12 . 8 .. Boathire 28 . 8 .. Peon 2 . 5 . 3 Duct .. 2 .. 80 . 12 .. Current Rupees 1250 . 6 . 9 Errors Excepted (Signed) Richd. Wills A.a.	The *Britannia* and the *Speaker* brought the following supplies to the island. The *Britannia*'s invoice, made out in Bengal in current rupees, listed the goods and the charges of shipping them. Fine rice, bags 1 to 60, 60 bags of 1 bazaar maund 20 seers each at 2 rupees 8 annas a maund, 225 rupees 6 annas 3 pies Fine sugar, bags 1 to 10, 10 bags of 2 bazaar maunds each at 8 rupees 4 annas a maund, 165 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, bags 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22 bazaar maunds 20 seers, 16 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Wax candles, chests 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 factory maunds at 72 rupees a maund, 576 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 93 rupees 7 annas 3 pies each, 186 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Total for goods, 1,169 rupees 10 annas 9 pies The charges on the goods followed. 4 chests and packing, 14 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Twine, 0 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Oil, 1 rupee 3 annas 0 pies 50 reed mats, 2 rupees 12 annas 6 pies 145 gunny bags, 16 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Packers, 0 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 3 pies Porters, 12 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Boat hire, 28 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Peon, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Food, 0 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Total charges, 80 rupees 12 annas 0 pies Total in current rupees, 1,250 rupees 6 annas 9 pies The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by Richard Witts. **Interpretations** The invoice showed St Helena drawing its staple food from Bengal as well as from Canton. Rice was the island's chief grain, fed to the garrison and above all to the Company's slaves, because the island grew too little wheat to feed its people. Paddy was unhusked rice, which kept longer and could be planted. Bengal supplied it cheaply, and ships calling on their way home could carry it at little extra cost. The figures followed Bengal's commercial practice. A rupee was divided into 16 annas, each of 12 pies. The current rupee was Bengal's money of account, a standard used for keeping books and valuing coins of different issues. Weights were reckoned in maunds of 40 seers, but the bazaar maund used in the markets was lighter than the factory maund used by the Company's warehouses, so the invoice named which applied to each item. Rice and sugar were bought by the bazaar maund at market prices, and wax candles by the heavier factory maund. The charges revealed the labour behind every shipment. Gunny bags were coarse sacks of jute, Bengal's own product, used for the rice and paddy. Packers, weighmen and porters handled the goods ashore, boatmen ferried them out to the ship lying off the river, and a peon, a messenger or guard, accompanied them. The food allowance fed the labourers while they worked. These costs added nearly 7 per cent to the price of the goods. Batavia arrack came in leaguers, large Dutch casks, which showed that goods from the Dutch East Indies also passed through Bengal before reaching St Helena.
22	13	1767 Invoice of Ship Speaker Rice beaten fine 45 bags contg. 300 S. Mds. viz. 44 Bags 297 S. Mds. @ 5 .. 33 P S. Md. 363 .. 1 Do. .. 3 Do. Do. 3 . 2 . 64	The *Speaker*'s invoice, made out in Bombay in rupees, quarters and reas, listed the goods and the charges of shipping them. Fine beaten rice, 44 bags weighing 297 Surat maunds, 363 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Fine beaten rice, 1 bag weighing 3 Surat maunds, 3 rupees 2 quarters 64 reas

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		45 Bags 300 S. Mds. 366 . 2 . 64 Batty 32 Bags of 3 Mds. 21 Srs. @ 2¾ P Md. 90 . 1 Charges Merchandize Gunny 102 Ps. for the Rice and Batty @ 5 P Ps. 25 . 2 .. Dutty 45 Bags Do. @ 3 Ps. 36 33 .. Twine 7 lb @ 4 Rs. P Maund 1 .. Hamallage on the Rice and Batty 2 . 2 . 90 Lascars 7 .. 5 Boat hire 2 . 2 .. 72 . 1 . 95 Rupees 529 . 1 . 59 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos. Hodge, Accomptant The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Plassey viz. Account of Stores short recd. from Ship Plassey viz. 2 Chests Singlo Tea Short delivered Signed James Powell Storekeeper St. Helena 18th May 1767	Fine beaten rice, total 45 bags weighing 300 Surat maunds, 366 rupees 2 quarters 64 reas Paddy, 32 bags of 3 maunds 24 seers each, 90 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas The charges on the goods followed. 102 gunny bags for the rice and paddy, 25 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Duty on 45 bags, 33 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas 7 lb of twine at 4 rupees a maund, 1 rupee 0 quarters 0 reas Porterage on the rice and paddy, 2 rupees 2 quarters 90 reas Lascars, 7 rupees 0 quarters 5 reas Boat hire, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Total charges, 72 rupees 1 quarter 95 reas Total, 529 rupees 1 quarter 59 reas The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by Thomas Hodge, accountant. The same day the storekeeper reported the stores found short on delivery from the *Plassey*. Singlo tea, 2 chests short delivered The report was signed by James Powell, storekeeper, at St Helena on 18 May 1767. **Interpretations** Within a single week the Council handled accounts in three different systems of money. The *Plassey*'s goods from Canton were priced in taels, mace and candareens. The *Britannia*'s from Bengal were in current rupees, annas and pies. The *Speaker*'s from Bombay were in rupees, quarters and reas, Bombay's own reckoning, in which a rupee was divided into 4 quarters of 100 reas each. Each presidency of the Company kept its own currency and its own weights, so a Surat maund differed from a Bengal maund. The island's officials had to convert every invoice into sterling for their own books, a constant task on an island supplied from all three. Beaten rice was rice that had been soaked, parched and flattened, a form that kept well and needed little cooking. Porterage was the charge for carrying goods ashore, and lascars were Indian seamen or boatmen hired to load the cargo. The duty on the 45 bags of rice was Bombay's customs charge on goods leaving the port, so the Company paid its own government's dues on supplies for its own island. The storekeeper's report showed that the island checked every delivery against its invoice. The *Plassey*'s invoice from Canton listed two chests of Singlo tea worth 25 taels 7 mace 5 candareens, and both chests failed to arrive. Singlo was the dearest of the teas sent, so its disappearance between Canton and Jamestown suggested pilfering on the voyage rather than an error in packing. Recording the shortage allowed the Company to recover its loss from the ship's commander, who answered for the cargo in his care.
23	14	18th May Mr. John Bland this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of John Bland Sheweth That your Petitioner having settled his affairs in this Island is desirous of returning with his Wife and Family to England, humbly begs that your Worship and Council will be pleased to Order him and Family a Passage in one of the Honorable Company's Ships, he paying the owners for his and their Passage thither 13th May 1767 And your Petitioner will as in duty bound ever pray &ca. Upon which we sent for Captain Pearce who at	John Bland presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council, dated 18 May 1767. Bland stated that he had settled his affairs on the island and wished to return to England with his wife and family. He asked the Governor and Council to order a passage for himself and his family on one of the Company's ships, for which he would pay the owners. The Council sent for Captain Pierce, who agreed at its request to take Bland and his family aboard his ship, although it would cause him great inconvenience. Following the order the Council gave him on Monday 11 May 1767, Captain Mitchell presented a letter to the Governor and Council. He reported that he had recently examined the guns on the saluting battery. **Interpretations** Bland could not simply buy a passage home. He had to petition the Governor and Council for leave to sail, and his opening statement that he had settled his affairs answered the Council's first concern. A resident

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		Our request agreed to take Mr. Bland and his Family on board his Ship, altho' attended with great inconveniency to himself. In consequence of the Order we gave Capt. Mitchell on Monday last, he this day presented the following Letter viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen Having lately examined the Guns on the Saluting	who left owing money to the Company or to other islanders would be beyond reach once at sea. Passage on a Company ship was granted only by the Council's order, which gave the island's government control over who left and ensured that departing residents did not abandon debts or duties. The arrangement with Captain Pierce showed how passages worked in practice. Passenger cabins on an East Indiaman were not the Company's to allot freely, since commanders and owners profited from carrying passengers and had usually filled their space in India. Pierce's *Earl of Ashburnham* was coming home from China with her accommodation already taken, so a family boarding at St Helena meant crowding the ship. He agreed because the Council asked, and the Council's goodwill mattered to commanders who relied on the island for water, provisions and help on every voyage. Captain Mitchell's letter answered the Council's order of 11 May, given after the saluting gun burst and fatally injured John Bower. Mitchell had signed the gunner's account for April as the officer in charge of the artillery.
24	15	1767 Saluting Curtain I am to acquaint you that I found them all (with Exception to three) so very much honeycombed as not only to be unfit for real Service but even dangerous to be used for the Purpose of Saluting For this Reason I have found it necessary to lessen the Quantity of Powder used on these Occasions and propose to Indent for twenty one Six pounders which is the Number proper to place on the Saluting Curtain and on the Flanks of the two Demi Bastions by which it is terminated. It is likewise proper that I should give you this Early notice of my Intention of indenting for nine twenty four Pounders, for the new Battery to be constructed at Mundens Point. I have the Honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servant Signed Mitchell St. Helena 18th May 1767 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Britannia, to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follow viz. Muster Roll of Ship Britannia Thos. Bates Rous Commander Alexr. Crie Chief Mate John Henan 2d Do. Joseph Bailey 3d Do. Thos. Walker 4th Do. Wm. Gwynne Williams 5th Do. Thos. Swore Surgeon Hugh Fraser Do. Mate Richard Cooper Boatswain Thos. Barrows Gunner Stephen Beckenham Carpr. Thos. Irwin Caulker Wm. Southam Cooper Wm. Comber Sailmr. John Givory Captns. Stewd. Michl. Pearce Ships Cook Wm. Tinkler Armourer Jas. Coughtree Butcher	Captain Mitchell's letter continued with his findings on the guns of the saluting curtain. All but three of them were so badly pitted by corrosion that they were not only unfit for real service but dangerous even for saluting. He had therefore found it necessary to reduce the powder used for salutes. He proposed to order 21 six-pounder guns from England, the number needed for the saluting curtain and the flanks of the two half-bastions at either end of it. He also gave early notice that he intended to order nine 24-pounder guns for the new battery to be built at Munden's Point. Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 18 May 1767. William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Britannia* to muster her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. Her muster roll followed. Thomas Bates Rous, commander Alexander Coe, chief mate John Henan, second mate Joseph Bailey, third mate Thomas Walker, fourth mate R. Gwynne Williams, fifth mate Thomas Swire, surgeon Hugh Stuart, surgeon's mate Richard Cooper, boatswain Thomas Barrow, gunner Stephen Rothenham, carpenter Thomas Irwin, caulker William Southam, cooper William Gomber, sailmaker John Ivory, captain's steward Michael Pacey, ship's cook [...] Henkton, armourer [...], [...] **Interpretations** Mitchell's inspection confirmed that the accident of 3 May was no isolated failure. Nearly every gun on the saluting curtain, the stretch of fortified wall facing the sea at Jamestown between two half-bastions, was unsafe to fire. The guns had been worn out by the constant salutes to passing ships, 251 rounds in April alone. Cutting the powder charge reduced the risk of another burst until new guns arrived, at the cost of quieter salutes. An order sent to England for replacements would take a year or more to be filled, so the garrison had to make do in the meantime. The guns Mitchell asked for were far heavier than those in use. The April account showed salutes fired mostly with 2-pounders, while he proposed 6-pounders for saluting and 24-pounders for the new battery. A 24-pounder was a heavy coastal gun able to strike an enemy ship at long range. Munden's Point guarded the

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			eastern side of James Bay, where ships anchored off Jamestown, so a battery there could fire on any hostile vessel entering the road. The proposal showed the island's defences being strengthened as well as repaired, against the threat of attack by sea that lay behind every alarm in the gunner's account.
25	16	18 May Jon. Rose Midshipman Benj. Richetts Carpenters Mate David Gree Do. 2d Do. Alexr. Miller Caulkers Mate Jas. Brown Gunners Mate Thos. Thompson Coopers Mate Nick. Sinclair Boatswains Do. Isaac Pye Do. Do. Luke Silvester Ships Cook Michl. Crotto Seaman Thoml. McLisp Baker Jacob Cazor Butcher John Morris Poulterer John Hulbert Coopers Mate Robt. Briggs Boatswains Yeoman Saml. Richards Quartermas. John Locke Do. Harry Pilham Do. Will. Slater Do. Wm. Thompson Seaman Edward Slater William Charwood Will. Allard Edward Ward Wm. Armor Michl. Henley Henry Brewer Jos. Hunter Geo. Day Will. Selby Wm. Sigerick Seaman John Gall Benj: Jadar Mr. Frank Smith Jos. Sellarstine Jos. Bell Joseph Norris Dougall Cameron Wm. Chapman Peter Brown Jos. Smith George Waters Danl. Wilson Harry Friday John Buckhannan Ben. Harrison Richard Read John Ithrus John Dare Jacob Lucas Archd. Greer Alexr. Lantin Phill. Warren Michl. Innes Johathan Prest Hans Nordin Henry Selbie David Stevens Peter Thomson Wm. Harmeson Wm. St. Bon Seaman Francis Parisa John Seare Simon St. Rose Allen St. Cam John Derricks Geo. Hutchinson Wm. Scott	The muster roll of the *Britannia* continued. Jonathan Rose, midshipman Benjamin Richetts, carpenter's mate David Grey, carpenter's second mate Alexander Miller, caulker's mate James Brown, gunner's mate Thomas Thompson, cooper's mate Nicholas Sinclair, boatswain's second mate Isaac Pye, boatswain's second mate Luke Silvester, ship's cook Michael Crotty, seaman Thomas McLeish, baker Jacob Cazer, butcher John Morris, poulterer John Hubert, cook's mate Robert Briggs, boatswain's yeoman Samuel Richards, quartermaster John Locke, quartermaster Harry Pilham, quartermaster William Slater, quartermaster William Thompson, seaman Edward Slater, seaman William Charwood, seaman William Allard, seaman Edward Ward, seaman William Armes, seaman Michael Henley, seaman Henry Brewer, seaman Joseph Hunter, seaman George Day, seaman William Tilby, seaman William Sigerick, seaman John Gall, seaman Benjamin Jadar, seaman Frank Smith, seaman John Tollentine, seaman John Bell, seaman Joseph Norris, seaman Dougall Cameron, seaman William Chapman, seaman Peter Brown, seaman Joseph Smith, seaman George Watson, seaman Daniel Wilson, seaman Harry Friday, seaman John Buchannan, seaman John Harrison, seaman Richard Aswell, seaman John Ilkes, seaman John Dare, seaman Jacob Lucas, seaman Archibald Greer, seaman Alexander Lantin, seaman Phillip Warren, seaman Michael Innes, seaman Jonathan Prest, seaman Hans Nachin, seaman Henry Tilter, seaman David Stevens, seaman Peter Thomson, seaman William Harmeson, seaman William St Ron, seaman Francis Barisa, seaman John Joice, seaman Simon Le Rose, seaman Allen Le Cam, seaman John Derricks, seaman George Hutchinson, seaman William Scott, seaman

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		James Ellis Wm. Aldrige Peter Smith Thos. Jones Jonathan Brest Saml. Fox Wm. Hadbill John Prest John Jenkins Joshua Clay Wm. Jones Thos. Gadd Saml. Holt Robt. Thomas Henry Pallet Jer. Child John Hadley Richd. Bennett Fred Shettar John Boulton Edward Finney Invalids Passengers The Right Honble Rt. Lord Clive General Carnack & Lady Colonel Champion Edmund Maskelyn Henry Strachey Saml. Inham Esqrs. Capt. Carnack Edwd. Fillpatt Dr. Clives Serv. John Hardiman Wm. Beau Robt. McKay Robin Changa Bearers 2 Black Girls (signed) T. B. Rous	James Ellis, seaman William Aldrige, seaman Peter Smith, seaman Thomas Jones, seaman Jonathan Burt, seaman Samuel Fox, seaman William Hadbill, seaman John Rivet, seaman John Jenkins, seaman Joshua Ulay, invalid William Jones, invalid Thomas Gadd, invalid Samuel Holt, invalid Robert Thomas, invalid Henry Pallet, invalid George Child, invalid John Hadley, invalid Richard Bennett, invalid Fred Shelter, invalid John Boulton, invalid Edward Finney, invalid The *Britannia* also carried the following passengers. The Right Honourable Robert, Lord Clive General Carnac and his wife Colonel Champion Edmund Maskelyne Henry Strachey Samuel Ingham Captain Carnac Edward Fitzpatrick, Lord Clive's secretary John Hardiman William Bruce Robert McKay Robin and Chunge, bearers 2 black girls The roll was signed by T. B. Rous. **Interpretations** The *Britannia* carried the most powerful man in the Company's service home from India. Lord Clive had won Bengal for the Company and had just completed his second term as its Governor there. He sailed with his closest associates, among them General Carnac, who had commanded the Company's army in Bengal, Henry Strachey, his secretary in India, and Edmund Maskelyne, his brother-in-law. The donations list recorded gifts to the new widows' fund of £50 0s 0d from Lord Clive and £25 0s 0d from General Carnac, made while their ship lay at St Helena. The island's officials had put their fund before the richest passengers ever likely to land on the island and secured a fifth of their first year's capital from two men. The invalids at the foot of the crew list were men discharged from the Company's service in India as unfit, and sent home on the ship's books. They were probably soldiers or seamen broken by disease or wounds in the Bengal campaigns. The passenger list also recorded the people who served the great men. Robin and Chunge were bearers, Indian servants who carried their employer's palanquin and attended him personally. The two black girls were listed without names, as attendants rather than passengers in their own right. Their status was not stated, but children recorded in this way on a homeward ship were commonly slaves or bonded servants brought from India as part of a household. The Council's count of every person aboard included them because they too had to be accounted for when the ship sailed.
26	17	1767 Bought of Capt. Pearce on Account of the Honorable Company a Long Boat, with a Mast, Sails, Oars &ca. for which we paid him thirty five pounds. Captain Thomas Pearce applied to Us to pay five	The Council bought a longboat from Captain Pierce for the Company, complete with mast, sails, oars and fittings, and paid him £35 0s 0d. Captain Thomas Pierce asked to pay £500 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the

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		hundred pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash, which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or Order ninety days after sight dated this day. Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of April last, which is as follows viz.	Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order at 90 days after sight and dated that day. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for April 1767. **Interpretations** The longboat was the largest boat an East Indiaman carried, used to ferry water casks, stores and people between ship and shore. St Helena had no natural harbour, only an open roadstead off Jamestown where ships lay at anchor, so every cask of water and every bag of rice had to be landed or loaded by boat through the surf. Boats wore out quickly in that work, and the island could not easily build them for lack of suitable timber. Buying a sound boat from a homeward ship was cheaper and faster than ordering one from England. Pierce could spare it at the end of his voyage, and the original figure of £5 0s 0d was corrected in the record to £35 0s 0d. Pierce's bill of £500 0s 0d was the largest of the month. A commander of an East Indiaman was allowed to trade privately on his own account, and the profits of a voyage to China could be considerable. Paying his money into the island's treasury turned cash, perhaps from goods sold or services rendered at St Helena, into a safe bill payable in London. The Company in turn gained £500 0s 0d in ready money to pay its garrison and buy supplies, without having to ship coin out from England. Pierce had also agreed only days earlier, at the Council's request, to carry John Bland and his family home despite the inconvenience, and the Council's readiness to oblige him over the boat and the bill reflected that goodwill.
27	18	18th May Cash Dr. April 1st For Balance remaining £ 8259 . 19 . 11 6 To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows One Set to Christopher Barron Esqr. £ 100 .. One Do. to Mr. John Manley 128 . 12 . 6 228 . 12 . 6 10th To Ship Sphinx 21 . 10 . 3 13 To Ship Havannah 6 . 7 . 2 17th To Ship Deptford 11 . 10 . 8 To Ship Hampshire 15 . 8 . 2 20th To Ship Northumberland 5 . 10 .. To Exchange Viz. One Set of Bills drawn on the Honble The Court of Directors payble. to Capt. Robt. Brooke £ 190 . 12 One Set of Certificates given to Captain John Mitford for 1650 .. 1840 . 12 .. 22 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Robt. Wood Esquire 400 .. 23 To Ship Fox 16 . 15 . 7 28th To Ship Earl of Middlesex 5 . 10 .. £ 10811 . 6 . 3	The Company's cash account for April 1767 set out the money received during the month. 1 April, balance remaining, £8,259 19s 11d 6 April, exchange for 2 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to Christopher Baron £100 0s 0d and 1 set to John Manley £128 12s 6d, total £228 12s 6d *10 April, from the ship Speke, £21 10s 3d* *13 April, from the ship Havannah, £6 7s 2d* *17 April, from the ship Deptford, £11 10s 8d* *17 April, from the ship Hampshire, £15 8s 2d* *20 April, from the ship Northumberland, £5 10s 0d* 20 April, exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Captain Robert Brooke £190 12s 0d and 1 set of certificates given to Captain John Mitford £1,650 0s 0d, total £1,840 12s 0d 22 April, exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Robert Wood, £400 0s 0d *23 April, from the ship Fox, £16 15s 7d* *28 April, from the ship Earl of Middlesex, £5 10s 0d* Total, £10,811 6s 3d **Interpretations** Most of the cash in the island's treasury came not from the island itself but from travellers sending money home. The balance of more than £8,000 0s 0d and the £2,469 4s 6d taken in exchange during the month far exceeded anything the island produced. Commanders, passengers and residents paid coin into the treasury and received bills or certificates payable in London. The Company used that coin to pay its soldiers, officials and suppliers on St Helena. The system spared both sides the risk and cost of shipping money across the ocean, and made the island a small clearing house on the route between Asia and England. Captain John Mitford's £1,650 0s 0d was the largest single sum of the month and was given in certificates rather than bills. Certificates were probably used for larger sums or for money paid in on behalf of the Company's own trade, settled in London through a different procedure. A sum of that size would have come from a commander's private trade on the voyage from Asia.

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			The small sums from each ship were most probably payments for water, fresh provisions and other supplies the island furnished while the ships lay in the road. Each of these ships also appeared in the gunner's account, saluted on arrival or departure. Their payments were modest, from £5 10s 0d to £21 10s 3d, because the Company's own ships drew supplies on account. They nonetheless show that the island's service to shipping brought in some revenue of its own.
28	19	1767 Per Contra Cr. 1767 April 30th By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 10271 . 11 . 3 In Cash Notes 539 . 15 .. £ 10811 . 6 . 3 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The other side of the Company's cash account for April 1767 recorded the balance held at the end of the month. 30 April, balance remaining in coin, £10,271 11s 3d 30 April, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £10,811 6s 3d The account was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The account showed that the treasury paid out nothing in cash during April. The whole of the month's receipts was added to the opening balance and carried forward, and the line struck diagonally across the empty credit column marked that no payments had been entered. The garrison's pay, the stores and the steward's table were evidently settled through other accounts or at other times, so this book recorded only the coin and notes held in the Castle. Almost the entire balance was held in coin. On an island with no bank, coin was the only money everyone accepted, and the treasury needed a large reserve to cash the bills and certificates that passing commanders and passengers wanted. The cash notes were probably the Company's own paper on the island, promises to pay issued locally and circulating in place of coin. They formed only about 5 per cent of the balance. Holding more than £10,000 0s 0d in coin in the Castle also explained why the Governor and all three members of Council counted and signed for it together each month. No single official could be left answerable for so large a sum.
29	20	22d May At a Consultation held on Friday the 22d day of May 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Captain Thos. Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 18 May 1767. Wednesday the 20th Sailed the Dutch Ship Steenswelfara for Holland. Yesterday Sailed the Dutch Ships Bartha Ploronello, and Snoke for Holland. Do. Do. the Honorable Company's Ships Earl of Ashburnham and Plassey for England. The Storekeeper this day delivered the following account of Stores short received from Ship Britannia viz. Acct. of Stores Short received from Ship Britannia viz. Rice Short Weight 1 C. 3 q. .. lb Paddy Do. 1 C. 2 q. 14 lb Sugar Do. 2 C. .. q. 5 lb Candles short received 2 C. 2 q. 17 lb	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Friday 22 May 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 18 May 1767. The Dutch ship *Stanswelfara* sailed for Holland on Wednesday 20 May. On Thursday 21 May the Dutch ships *Bartha Petronella* and *Snoek* also sailed for Holland, and the Company's ships *Earl of Ashburnham* and *Plassey* sailed for England. The storekeeper presented an account of stores found short on delivery from the *Britannia*, with weights in hundredweights, quarters and pounds and the arrack in gallons. Rice, short weight, 1 cwt 3 qr 0 lb Paddy, short weight, 1 cwt 2 qr 14 lb Sugar, short weight, 2 cwt 0 qr 5 lb Candles, short received, 2 cwt 2 qr 17 lb Arrack, leaguer 1, gauged at 140 gallons, short of full by 5½ gallons Arrack, leaguer 2, gauged at 151 gallons, short of full by 6 gallons

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		No. 1. 1 Leager Arrack Gages 140 Galls. wants to fill 5½ Galls. 2. 1 Do. Do. 151 Do. Do. 6 291 11½ Recd. 279½ Galls. Signed James Powell Storekr. St. Helena 22 May 1767 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Arrack, total gauged 291 gallons, short 11½ gallons, received 279½ gallons James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 22 May 1767. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The storekeeper weighed and measured every item from the *Britannia* against her Bengal invoice and found something missing from almost all of it. Some loss was natural on a long voyage. Rice and paddy dried out and lost weight in a ship's hold, and arrack seeped through the staves of a cask or evaporated in the heat of the tropics. The shortage of candles was different. Wax candles were valued at 72 rupees a maund, the dearest goods on the invoice, and nearly 3 hundredweight did not arrive. Candles did not shrink at sea, so the loss suggested pilfering, as with the two chests of Singlo tea missing from the *Plassey* four days earlier. Gauging was the measurement of a cask's capacity, and each leaguer was checked against what it should hold when full. Recording the exact shortfall let the Company charge the loss to the ship. A commander answered for the cargo he carried, and the storekeeper's signed account, entered in the consultations and approved by the Governor and Council, gave the Company the evidence it needed to recover the value in London.
30	21	25th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of May 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 22d May 1767. Friday the 22d Sailed the Honble Company's Ship Britannia for England. The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ship Speaker viz. Acct. of Stores Short received from Ship Speaker viz. Rice Short Weight 3 C. 1 q. 5 lb Paddy, received 50 C. 2 q. 15 lb Signed James Powell Storekeeper St. Helena 25th May 1767 The Executor to the last Will and Testament of Isaac Buck decd. this day produced the said Will desiring the same might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as followeth. Island St. Helena 12th Apr. 1767 In the name of God Amen I Isaac Buck Matross being very Sick and weak of Body	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 25 May 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 22 May 1767. The Company's ship *Britannia* had sailed for England on Friday 22 May. The storekeeper presented an account of stores found short on delivery from the *Speaker*, with weights in hundredweights, quarters and pounds. Rice, short weight, 3 cwt 1 qr 5 lb Paddy, reduced, 50 cwt 2 qr 15 lb James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 25 May 1767. The executor of Isaac Buck, the matross who died on 17 May, produced his last will and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved the will on the oaths of the witnesses. The will was dated at St Helena on 12 April 1767 and began with Buck's declaration that he was very sick and weak in body. **Interpretations** The paddy entry differed from the other shortages. Rice was simply short in weight, but the paddy was recorded as reduced, and on a quantity of more than 50 hundredweight, almost the whole consignment. Unhusked rice shipped from Bombay through the tropics could heat, sprout or rot in a damp hold. The storekeeper's word suggests the paddy arrived spoiled, and its value for food or seed was largely lost, not stolen. The Governor and Council acted as the island's court of probate. St Helena had no separate church court or judge to prove wills, so the Council confirmed that a will was genuine, on the sworn evidence of those who witnessed its signing, and gave the executor authority to collect the dead man's money and goods and pay his debts. Buck made his will five weeks before he died, already very ill, so his death on 17 May followed a long illness and not an accident like John Bower's. Even a matross, the lowest rank of the

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			artillery, had possessions or pay owed to him worth leaving by will, and the Council's proving of it gave his chosen heir a legal title to them.
31	22	25th May Body but of Perfect mind and memory, thanks be given unto God therefore calling unto Mind the Mortality of my Body, and knowing that it appointed for all Men once to die do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament. That is to say, principally and first of all I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God that gave it and my Body to be buried at the discretion of my Friends nothing doubting but at the General Resurrection I shall receive the same again by the mighty Power of God. And as touching such Worldly goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me in this Life I give devise and dispose of the same in the following manner and Form. Secondly. I give and bequeath to my trusty and well beloved friend John Forfest all my Wearing Apparel Arrears of pay and every thing else that may to me belong at the time of my decease making him sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby utterly disallow revoke and disannul all and every other former Testaments Wills Legacies and bequests and Executors by me in any ways before named Willed & bequeathed Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the day and Year above written Signed, Sealed and declared by the said Isaac Buck as his last Will and Testament in Presence of Us the Subscribers (signed) Thos. Yates Wm. Stapleford (signed) his Isaac X Buck Mark There being no Copper in the Honble Company's Stores we sent Capt. Dewar the following Order viz.	Isaac Buck's will continued with his statement that, although sick in body, he was of sound mind and memory. Mindful that everyone must die, he commended his soul to God and asked that his body be buried at the discretion of his friends, in the sure hope of the resurrection. He then disposed of his worldly goods. Buck left to his trusted friend John Carfoot all his clothing, his arrears of pay and everything else owed to him at his death. He appointed Carfoot sole executor and cancelled every earlier will, legacy and appointment of executors. Buck could not write, and he signed the will with his mark on 12 April 1767. It was witnessed by Thomas Bates and William Stapleford. The Company's stores held no copper, so the Council sent Captain Dewar an order for some. **Interpretations** Buck's will followed the standard printed or copied form of the period, opening with a profession of faith before any goods were named. A soldier who could not write still had his will drawn up in full legal language, probably by a clerk or a literate comrade, and made his mark in place of a signature. The witnesses were needed because the Council would later prove the will on their oaths, as it did on 25 May 1767. His whole estate consisted of his clothes and the pay owed to him. Soldiers were often paid late or in arrears, so a dead man's back pay could be the most valuable thing he owned. Leaving everything to a friend, not to family, was common among soldiers far from home, whose comrades were often the only people near them. Naming Carfoot executor allowed him to claim the arrears from the Company's paymaster once the Council had proved the will. The lack of copper in the Company's stores was met, as so often, by turning to a ship in the road. Copper was needed for boilers, cooking pots and sheathing, and for small repairs to guns and boats. With no supply on the island, the Council ordered it from the *Speaker*, whose commander James Dewar could sell from his ship's stores.
32	23	1767 To Captain Dewar Commander of Ship Speaker Sir, You are hereby Ordered to send on shore four bags of the Honorable Company's Pepper for the use of this Island. We are Sir Your humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Mattw. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick St. Helena 25th May 1767. John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Company's stores held no pepper, so on 25 May 1767 the Council wrote to Captain Dewar, commander of the *Speaker*. It ordered him to send ashore four bags of the Company's pepper for the use of the island. The order was signed at St Helena by John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The pepper aboard the *Speaker* belonged to the Company, part of the cargo she carried home from Bombay for sale in London. The Council did not buy it from the commander but simply ordered him to land some, because goods in a Company ship were the Company's property and the island was a Company

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			possession. Taking four bags from the homeward cargo was a transfer between two of the Company's own accounts, from the London sales to the island's stores. Pepper from the Malabar coast near Bombay was one of the Company's main imports to Europe, and the island drew on that trade for its own use without paying the freight and the long delay of an order from England. On an island whose food was largely salt meat and rice, pepper was a staple seasoning for the garrison's rations and the Company's table, and the stores could not be left without it.
33	24	1 June At a Consultation holden on Monday the 7 day of June 1767 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captain Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 25 May 1767 Tuesday the 26th Sailed the Honorable Compy's Ship Speaker for England - The following is the Account of the Expence for the repairs to the Castle taken from the Stores and General Books viz The following Stores Issued for repairs of the Castle viz - Deals viz. 316 Double Deals 59 2 2 716 Single Do. 19 1 1 23 Planks 10 3 2 11 [Coffins] 2 8 8 3 Wainscott Boards 16 10 2 Elm Do. 11 2 138 Bundle Laths 7 12 8 14½ Tn. Riga Timber 35 18 10¾ 195 1[8] 4¼ Nails viz. 104 . 2 166 . 3 3 13 8 49 . 4 6 1 [...] 184 . 6 1 [1]2 7 239 . 10 4 19 3 110 . 20 10 16 6 137 . 40 2 .. 2 2 12 Nails Carried Over£ 31 1 7 Carried Over£ 195 1[8] 4¼	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 7 June 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 25 May 1767. The Company's ship *Speaker* had sailed for England on Tuesday 26 May. The Council entered the account of the cost of repairing the Castle, taken from the stores and the general books. The stores issued for the repairs were as follows. 316 double deals, £59 2s 2d 76 single deals, £19 1s 1d 23 battens, £10 3s 2d 11 [...], £2 8s 8d 3 wainscot boards, £0 16s 10d 2 elm boards, £0 11s 2d 138 bundles of laths, £7 12s 4d 14½ [...] of Riga timber, £35 18s 9½d Total for timber, £195 14s 4½d 104 [...] of 2d nails, £3 13s 8d 166 [...] of 3d nails, £6 1s [...]d 49 [...] of 4d nails, £1 2s 7d 184 [...] of 6d nails, £4 19s 3d 239 [...] of 10d nails, £10 16s 6d 110 [...] of 20d nails, £2 [...]s 2d 137 [...] of 40d nails, £2 12s 0d Total for nails carried forward, £31 1s 7d Total for timber carried forward, £195 14s 4½d **Interpretations** Every piece of timber in the repairs came from overseas. St Helena's native forest had been largely cut down within a century of settlement, and what remained could not supply sawn boards. Deals were planks of pine or fir, double deals being thicker than single. Riga timber was Baltic pine shipped through the port of Riga, prized for its straight grain and strength in beams and the costliest item per unit on the list. Wainscot was quartered oak from the Baltic used for panelling. All of it travelled first from northern Europe to England and then some 4,000 miles to the island, which explained why timber cost nearly £200 0s 0d for one building's repairs. Nails were sized by the old system of pennies, a 2d nail being small and a 40d nail a large spike for heavy framing. The name came from the price per hundred in medieval England and had long since become simply a measure of length. The full range from 2d to 40d showed that the repairs ran from fine panelling and laths for plaster to the heavy carpentry of roofs and floors. The Castle housed the Governor, the Council chamber and the treasury, and keeping it sound was a large and continuous charge on the Company.
34	25	1767 Brought over£ 195 14 4¼ Nails brought over£ 31 1 7 6d Spikes 1 10½ ¾ Clinch Nails	The account of stores issued for repairing the Castle continued. Brought forward, £195 14s 4½d Nails brought forward, £31 1s 7d 6 [...] of spikes, £0 1s 10½d ¾ [...] of clinch nails, £0 0s 4d

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		4 85 Barrack Do. 1 8 4 14 Glazg. Brads 1 3 4 89 Flooring Do. 1 13 2½ 5¾ Tacks 4 34 Scupper Nails 1 9 3 37 3 11 Iron Ware viz. 37 Rod Iron 14 3 31 doz. Wood Screws 10 4 1 4 7 Oil 66 Gallns. Linseed 12 19 11 Paint viz. 186 Stone Colour 3 13 7 46 Do. Red mixed 1 1 1 555 Whiting 1 3 ¼ Umber 2 1 lb Copperas 1 5 40 White Lead dry 13 4 26 Red Lead 5 0½ 44½ Stone Do. dry 9 3 239 White Lead mixed 4 13 9 20 Bra[...]ds Black 10 29 Verdigrease 5 13 7 18½ Yellow Oaker mixed 3 7½ ½ Stone Oaker 3 44 Sky blue 4 1 7 22 10 7 Lead 297 Shot 2 15 8 Glass Ware viz. 123 Sqrs. Glass 11 by 19 1 14 6 1 Sqr. 11 by 17½ 1 4 44 Sqrs. 10 by 12 1 16 3 5 Sqrs. 8 by 10 3 Glass Ware Carried Over£ 3 15 6 Carried Over£ 272 9	8½ [...] of barrack nails, £1 8s 4d 14 [...] of glazing brads, £1 3s 4d 89 [...] of flooring brads, £1 13s 2½d 3¾ [...] of tacks, £0 4s 0d 34 [...] of scupper nails, £1 9s 3d Total for nails, £37 3s 11d 37 [...] of rod iron, £0 14s 3d 31 dozen wood screws, £0 10s 4d Total for ironware, £1 4s 7d 66 gallons of linseed oil, £12 19s 11d 186 lb of stone colour, £3 13s 7d 46 lb of [...] red mixed, £1 1s 1d 555 lb of whiting, £1 3s 0d ¼ lb of umber, £0 0s 2d 1 lb of copperas, £0 1s 5d 40 lb of white lead dry, £1 3s 4d 26 lb of red lead, £0 5s 0½d 44½ lb of Venetian red dry, £0 9s 3d 239 lb of white lead mixed, £4 13s 9d 20 papers of lamp black, £0 10s 0d 29 lb of verdigris, £5 13s 7d 14½ lb of yellow ochre mixed, £0 3s 7½d ½ lb of stone ochre, £0 0s 3d 44 lb of sky blue, £4 1s 7d Total for paint, £22 10s 7d 297 lb of sheet lead, £2 15s 8d 23 squares of glass 11 by 19 inches, £1 14s 6d 1 square of glass 11 by 17½ inches, £0 1s 4d 44 squares of glass 10 by 12 inches, £1 16s 3d 5 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 3s 0d Glassware carried forward, £3 15s 6d Total carried forward, £272 9s [...]d **Interpretations** The paint list showed how buildings were protected in a climate of sea air and frequent rain. Linseed oil was the base for every paint, mixed with powdered pigments that came dry or already ground in oil. White lead was the chief pigment for durable exterior work, and whiting, a ground chalk, was used for cheaper limewash and putty. Red lead primed ironwork against rust. Verdigris, a green copper pigment and the costliest per pound on the list, gave the green finish common on doors, shutters and railings. Copperas, iron sulphate, served as a drier and a dye. Stone colour, a pale grey-buff, made plastered walls resemble cut stone, so the Castle's outer face was probably painted to look like masonry it did not have. The glass was bought in standard squares, the small panes fitted into the sash windows of the period. The four sizes, from 8 by 10 inches to 11 by 19, reflected windows of different rooms in the Castle. Glass was fragile cargo on a long voyage and expensive to replace. Glazing brads held the panes in their frames, and sheet lead covered roofs, gutters and the joints where walls met roofs to keep out the rain. Scupper nails, broad-headed and short, fixed lead and leather sheathing. Together these stores formed a full refurbishment of the building, not a patch repair, and the account ran to well over £270 0s 0d before the labour was counted.
35	26	7 June Brought over£ 272 9 2 Glass Ware brought over 3 15 6 4 Sqr. 6 by 8 1 4 17 Sqr. 11 by 18 1 4 1 13 Sqrs. 11½ by 13¼ 1 24 Sqrs. 16½ by 19 1 14	The account of stores issued for repairing the Castle concluded. Brought forward, £272 9s 2d Glassware brought forward, £3 15s 6d 4 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches, £0 1s 4d 17 squares of glass 11 by 18 inches, £1 4s 1d 15 squares of glass 11¾ by 13¾ inches, £1 0s 0d 24 squares of glass 16½ by 19 inches, £1 14s 0d Total for glassware, £7 14s 11d 45 paint brushes, £1 2s 6d 4 plasterers' brushes, £0 4s 4d Total for turners' ware, £1 6s 10d

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		7 14 11 Turners Ware viz. 45 Paint Brushes 1 2 6 4 Plaisterers Do. 14 1 16 10 £ 281 10 9¾ N B The Iron that has been Expended for the repairs of the Castle cannot be ascertained as it was Issued to the Armourer for Sundry uses - E. Excepted Signed James Bowell Storekeeper Disbursments of Cash for repairing the Castle from the 1 July 1764 viz. 1764 September 30th 30 13 6 December 31 73 18 6 1765 March 31 59 10 June 30 72 13 9 September 30 27 12 3 December 31 30 17 9 1766 March 31 42 17 3 June 30 83 8 6 421 11 6 Files 47 1 1 Window Frames 32 3 10 79 4 11 St. Helena 7 June 1767 £ 500 16 5 Wm. Wrangham Sub acct.	Total for stores, £281 10s 9½d The storekeeper added that the iron used in the repairs could not be determined, because it had been issued to the armourer for various purposes. James Powell signed the account as storekeeper, subject to errors. The cash paid out for repairing the Castle from 1 July 1764 followed. Quarter to 30 September 1764, £30 13s 6d Quarter to 31 December 1764, £73 18s 6d Quarter to 31 March 1765, £59 10s 0d Quarter to 30 June 1765, £72 13s 9d Quarter to 30 September 1765, £27 12s 3d Quarter to 31 December 1765, £30 17s 9d Quarter to 31 March 1766, £42 17s 3d Quarter to 30 June 1766, £83 8s 6d Total for the quarters, £421 11s 6d Tiles, £47 1s 1d Window frames, £32 3s 10d Total for tiles and window frames, £79 4s 11d Total cash paid, £500 16s 5d William Wrangham signed the account as sub-accountant at St Helena on 1 June 1767. **Interpretations** The repairs to the Castle had run for two years before this account was drawn up. The cash payments, quarter by quarter from July 1764 to June 1766, were mostly wages for the carpenters, masons and labourers who did the work. Together with the stores, the work cost more than £780 0s 0d, a very large sum for the island and more than seven years of subscriptions to the new widows' fund at its founding rate. The Council entered the full account in its consultations because the Court of Directors would examine it in London, and an expense on this scale needed a complete record of where the money went. The storekeeper's note on iron showed the limits of the island's bookkeeping. Iron went to the armourer, the Company's smith, who worked it into hinges, bolts, bars and fittings for many purposes at once. Once issued, it could not be traced to any one building, so the true cost of the Castle repairs was higher than the account showed. William Wrangham, who signed the cash account, belonged to the family recorded later in the lease registers. As sub-accountant he kept the Company's books under the Council, and his signature on the cash payments, alongside Powell's on the stores, gave the directors two separate officials answerable for the figures.
36	27	1767 The following are the Minutes of the Governor and Council together with a Letter from the Engineer &c. - The Governor begs leave to reply in answer to the 33 Parragraph of the General Letter relative to our repairing the Castle that when Governor Hutchinson left this Island all the Castle Roof was generally supposed to be very defective, therefore the Governor and Council agree to send the Master Masons and Carpenter for to take a Survey of it, and to report what Situation they found it in which Order was immediately Complied with, and they gave it as their opinions that the whole Castle roof was in continual danger of falling so that there appeared to Us an necessity to give immediate directions for to have the Castle new Roofed and thoroughly repaired with all possible Expedition, And perhaps the Governors daily and almost	The Council entered the minutes of the Governor and Council on the repair of the Castle, together with a letter from the engineer. Governor Skottowe replied to paragraph 33 of the Court of Directors' general letter, which concerned the cost of repairing the Castle. When Governor Hutchinson left the island, the Castle roof was generally thought to be in very poor condition. The Governor and Council therefore sent the master mason and the carpenter to survey it and report. They did so at once, and gave their opinion that the whole roof was in constant danger of collapse. The Council saw no choice but to order the Castle reroofed and thoroughly repaired as quickly as possible. The Governor attended the work daily, almost constantly, to hurry it along. Even so, the building became habitable only two or three weeks before the storeship arrived. The Castle still lacked windows to its porch and a door to the staircase opening onto the mount, so it remained partly unsafe and very uncomfortable in all weathers. This the Governor could not help, but he was anxious to have that part of the house finished. The engineer then told him that the master mason and half a dozen men who were plasterers could be spared

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		constant attendance of the Workmen might in some degree help to forward, which however was only rendered habitable about two or three Weeks before the Storeship arrived Yet for want of the Windows to the Portico, and the door to the Staircase which opens on to the mount, the Castle still remained in some degree unsafe and very uncomfortable in every weather, insomuch that the Governor could not help being anxious to have that part of the House finished. Therefore when the Engineer mentioned to the Governor that the Master Mason and half a dozen of Men that were plaisterers might at that time be spared from Sandy Bay untill the Castle was rendered more commodious The Governor did very readily reply that he should be very glad to have that part of the House finished, and as both the Castle and Plantation House the Honorable the Court of Directors had recommended to become Objects of the Engineers Attention, The Governor apprehended him the proper Person to compleat it according to the best and Cheapest Method. Which alterations have been much approved off by Gentlemen that knew the Castle formerly, that have been returning to England this Year. Yet the Governor begs leave to assure the Honorable Court of Directors, that if the Castle had been habitable with any degree of safety, he never would have occasioned the Honble Company any sort of Expence about it, but as that was impossible	from Sandy Bay until the Castle had been made more convenient. The Governor readily agreed, being glad to have that part of the house completed. The Court of Directors had in any case recommended that both the Castle and Plantation House should receive the engineer's attention. The Governor thought the engineer the right person to finish the work in the best and cheapest way. Gentlemen who knew the Castle before the alterations and had returned to England that year much approved of them. The Governor nonetheless assured the Court of Directors that, had the Castle been habitable with any safety, he would never have put the Company to any expense on it. **Interpretations** The directors in London had evidently questioned the cost of the repairs, and the Governor's reply was a defence of spending they had not authorised in advance. A letter from St Helena took months to reach London and an answer as long again, so a Governor facing a collapsing roof could not wait for permission. Skottowe built his case on the survey by the master mason and carpenter, which gave him independent evidence that the danger was real. He also stressed his own daily attendance on the work, presenting himself as careful of the Company's money rather than indulging his own comfort. The storeship was the annual vessel from England bringing the island's supplies, and its arrival was the fixed point of the island's year. Having the Castle barely habitable by then meant the Governor had lived and governed in a building under repair for most of the year. Moving the master mason and plasterers from Sandy Bay showed the competing demands on the island's few skilled men. They had been working on the fortifications there, part of the defence of the island's southern coast, and the engineer judged the Castle work could take priority for a time. The directors had linked the Castle and Plantation House, the Governor's country residence, as buildings for the engineer's attention. The Governor used that instruction to justify extending the work beyond the urgent roof, and the praise of visitors returning to England gave him witnesses the directors could consult.
37	28	7 June impossible in order to avoid even the Appearance of any unnecessary Expence, he has laid out his own Money in purchasing such Furniture as he apprehended to be consistant with his Honor and Station neither is the Governor concious of having ever occasioned the Honble Company any Kind of expence on his own Account except for twenty deal Chairs, which he directed to be made for to replace some old Leather bottomed Chairs that were taken out of the Castle Hall for to put into the new dining room above Stairs. But even supposing that the finishing the Castle Portico and Vault, to have been a greater obstruction to the Fortifications, than the want of the Master Mason, and half a Dozen Men, can during that time, be imagined to occasion in that case, the Governor flatters himself the Honble Court of Directors would not have thought it unreasonable, in Order that the Governors Appartment might be rendered, but equally	Because the Castle had been uninhabitable, Governor Skottowe continued, he had paid out of his own pocket for furniture suited to his rank and office, to avoid even the appearance of needless expense. He knew of no cost he had caused the Company on his own account except for 20 deal chairs. He had ordered these made to replace some old leather-bottomed chairs taken from the Castle hall and moved into the new dining room upstairs. The Governor turned to the charge that finishing the Castle's porch and vault had held up the fortifications. Even if the work had caused more delay than the absence of the master mason and half a dozen men for a short time could explain, he trusted that the Court of Directors would not think it unreasonable. The Governor's apartment needed to be made at least as convenient and decent as the house of any other Company servant. He believed all these repairs would have been finished before the fortifications were begun, had the engineer and the labourers not been diverted by order of the Governor and Council to other tasks. These included repairs to the Company's houses set aside for the chaplain and other servants, and the making of bricks. The Governor therefore regarded the report the Court of Directors said it had received as malicious. In fairness to himself, he declared that he had never conducted himself, nor meant to, other than with strict honour and integrity, and in full obedience to the

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		convenient and decent to the Habitation of any other Companys Servant. All which repairs however the Governor thinks might have been compleated, before the Fortifications were begun, had not both the Engineer and Labourers attention been taken - off tho' by Order of the Governor and Council to other Objects & as Repairs to the Honorable Company's Houses, appropriated for the accommodation of the Chaplain and those of their Servants making Bricks &ca. - Wherefore the Intimation which the Honble Court of Directors, mention to have received, the Governor begs leave to think was Insiduous. And in justice to himself, he must likewise observe, that he never yet has, or means to regulate his own Conduct other ways, than is consistant with strict Honor, and Integrity, as well as, in due Obedience to all the Honorable the Court of Directors Orders, while he has the Honor to remain in their Service. 7 June 1767 (Signed) John Skottowe	Court's orders for as long as he remained in its service. He signed the reply on 7 June 1767. **Interpretations** The directors had acted on an informer's report from the island, and the Governor's reply was the defence of a man whose honesty had been questioned. The charge was evidently that Skottowe had spent Company money and labour on his own comfort while neglecting the island's defences. He met it point by point. He had furnished the Castle at his own cost, charged the Company only for 20 plain chairs, and taken the master mason from the fortifications for a short time only. He also showed that the labourers had been drawn away by other Council business, not by his private wishes. The word "insidious" marked how seriously Skottowe took the accusation. Someone on St Helena had written privately to London, by-passing the Governor and Council, to report the Governor's spending. Such letters were a known hazard of the Company's government, since any official or resident with a grievance could send a complaint by the next ship, and the directors could not check it at first hand. Skottowe's insistence on his honour and obedience answered a threat to his position, since a Governor who lost the directors' confidence could be recalled. His argument that his apartment should be no worse than that of any other Company servant revealed the standing of the Castle. It was both the seat of government and the Governor's home, and its condition reflected on the Company's authority on the island. A Governor who received passing dignitaries such as Lord Clive in a building with a failing roof and no windows to its porch did the Company's dignity no credit.
38	29	1767 Minute of Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor The Order in Council for a thorough Repair to the Castle took place before my arrival on the Island, and from what I have heard of the Condition it was in, should in all probability have given my Vote for that measure Jointly with the rest of the Gentlemen of Council; That on my Arrival I found it roof'd, and the upper Story partly floored so that there was only left unfinished the inside Carpenters and Plaisterers Work of these appartments, that during the Course of the Year 1765, it was compleated excepting the Portico which undoubtedly required to be finished to perfect the whole, and which was postponed by the Engineer in hopes that our Experiment in making Bricks would have answered our expectations, as he then proposed compleating it with those materials. That what was done after, with respect to the Flag Staff, taken down the Parapet in front of the Castle, and Ornamenting the Offices and that part of the mount, I never was Consulted relative to it. Yet hearing of such things being intended, expressed my dislike of it to Mr. Purling, as measures superfluous, and expensive and by no means necessary at that time. I further told Mr. Purling that I would propose an Order in Council from Us to the Engineer which would prevent any thing for the future of that Kind, that might take off any of the People	Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, entered his own minute on the repairs to the Castle. The Council had ordered the thorough repair before he arrived on the island. From what he heard of the building's condition, he would probably have voted for it with the rest of the Council. When he arrived, the Castle had already been reroofed and the upper floor partly laid, so only the inside carpentry and plastering of those rooms remained. This work was finished during 1765, except for the porch. The porch undoubtedly needed finishing to complete the building. The engineer postponed it in the hope that the island's experiment in brickmaking would succeed, since he then proposed to build it in brick. Corneille was never consulted about the later work on the flagstaff, the removal of the parapet in front of the Castle and the ornamenting of the offices and that part of the mount. When he heard such things were planned, he told Purling that he disliked them as unnecessary and expensive at that time. He also told Purling that he would propose an order in Council to the engineer, to prevent any such work in future from drawing men away from more important tasks. He did so, and the order was made at the consultation of 12 March 1766. Corneille could not therefore be held responsible for orders the Governor chose to give Captain Mitchell, against what he and the Council had jointly approved and signed. The engineer had already stated, in his letter entered in the consultation of 18 July 1766, that he acted only on the Governor's orders, which Skottowe must have known differed greatly from the views of the other members of Council. Corneille thought it necessary to state these facts in fairness to himself. He left it to the Court of Directors to judge whether he had acted in their interest and in keeping with his duty. He signed the minute at St Helena on 7 June 1767. **Interpretations**

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		from the more Material Works and accordingly did so, to which Order in Consultation I refer of the 12th March 1766. Therefore cannot be answerable for what Orders the Governor thought proper to give Capt. Mitchell contrary to that which himself and Council had jointly Approved of and signed, as the Engineer has already declared in his Letter, asserted in Consultation of the 18th July 1766. That he had acted in Consequence of the Governors Orders only, and which Mr. Skottowe must well know were very different from the Opinions of the rest of the Gentlemen of Council. I thought it necessary to State the above facts in justice to myself, and submit to the Judgment of the Honble Court of Directors, whether I did not act Consistant to their Interest, and the duty I owe them. - St. Helena 7 June 1767 (Signed) Danl. Corneille	Corneille's minute broke ranks with the Governor in a document bound for London. Skottowe had defended the work as necessary and denied any improper expense. His own deputy now told the directors that the later ornamental work, on the flagstaff, parapet and offices, was the Governor's alone, ordered against the Council's expressed wishes. By pointing to the order of 12 March 1766 and the engineer's letter of 18 July 1766, both on the Council's record, Corneille gave the directors documents to check his account against the Governor's. The quarrel showed how the Company's system of government worked. The Governor did not rule alone. Major decisions required the Council's agreement, and each member could enter his own minute dissenting from a decision, which would reach the directors with the consultations. This gave the directors a check on any Governor, since his colleagues could report his conduct in writing. The "insidious" report that Skottowe complained of may have come from within his own Council, and Corneille's minute, written the same day as the Governor's reply, suggested how deep the division ran. The failed brickmaking explained why the porch was left unfinished. Burnt brick would have spared the island the cost of imported stone and timber, but the local clay evidently did not answer expectations. The episode showed how dependent the island remained on materials shipped from England, the same dependence that made the Castle repairs so expensive.
39	30	7 June Mr. Purlings Minute In consequence of a Report made to the Governor and Council by the Master Mason and Master Carpenter in Consultation of the 2 July 1764 relative to the bad Condition the Castle was then in, I readily agreed to the Resolution which passed in Council that day, to give it a thorough repair, Judging it to be very necessary - In respect to prosecuting that Work after the Order given by the Governor and Council to the Engineer entered in Consultation of the 12th of March 1766 conformable to the Orders received from the Honorable Company to - make the Fortifications the only object of our attention. Capt. Mitchel declares in one of his Quarterly Letters it was by Order of the Governor. As I was not Consulted on that transaction, I shall now only say, That the Honorable the Court of Directors will judge of the Propriety or impropriety of that Order, as well as, the Expence attending the repairs and Alterations made in the Castle since the above Resolution was taken. - 7 June 1767 (Signed) Mw. Purling Altho' I'm of Opinion that, in Consequence of the Honorable the Court of Directors Orders, the Governor cannot in any Material Concern Act without the Concurrence of Council Yet in a case merely consequential of a resolution passed in Consultation of the 2d of July 1764 by which it was agreed that the Governors House should have a thorough repair am not surprized at his directing the Engineer to proceed in finishing it the less so, as the Engineer Reported then to him, that the Juncture was favourable and that the Master Mason and	William Matthew Purling entered his own minute on the repairs to the Castle. The master mason and master carpenter had reported to the Governor and Council on the poor condition of the Castle at the consultation of 2 July 1764. Purling readily agreed to the resolution passed that day to repair it thoroughly, judging it very necessary. The Governor and Council later ordered the engineer, at the consultation of 12 March 1766, to make the fortifications the only object of his attention, in line with the Company's instructions. Captain Mitchell declared in one of his quarterly letters that he had continued the work on the Castle after that date by the Governor's order. Purling had not been consulted on this. He would say only that the Court of Directors would judge whether that order was proper, and the cost of the repairs and alterations made to the Castle since the resolution was taken. He signed the minute on 7 June 1767. A further minute followed, from a member who thought that under the Court of Directors' orders the Governor could not act in any important matter without the Council's agreement. In a case that merely followed from the resolution of 2 July 1764, which agreed that the Governor's house should be thoroughly repaired, he was not surprised that the Governor had directed the engineer to continue the work. He was the less surprised because the engineer had told the Governor at the time that the moment was favourable and that the master mason and [...] **Interpretations** Purling's minute was cautious where Corneille's had been pointed. He supported the original repair and said plainly that he had not been consulted about the later orders, but he declined to judge the Governor himself. Leaving the question to the directors kept him clear of responsibility without openly accusing his superior. His reference to Mitchell's quarterly letters showed that the engineer had put on record, in writing to the Council, that he acted on the Governor's sole authority. The engineer was protecting himself against blame for diverting labour from the fortifications. The order of 12 March 1766 lay at the centre of the dispute. The directors had told the island to give priority to its defences, and the Council turned that

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		a	instruction into a formal order to the engineer. Any work on the Castle afterwards could be presented as a breach of the Company's orders. The final minute, probably Kirkpatrick's, took the Governor's side by treating the later work as simply the completion of the repair agreed in 1764, which needed no fresh decision by the Council. The four members of the Council thus divided, two critical of the Governor and one defending him, and the directors received every view.
40	31	1767 a few Labourers could be spared on that Occasion without obstructing the more Material Works of Fortification; The Governor embracing an opportunity of finishing a repair he stood so much in need of from necessity, decency and convenience, is not to be wondered at, as the Engineers report indicated a Facility in the Execution without impediment to the other Works, made him I presume give Orders to that purpose upon his Single Authority - As to the propriety or impropriety of pulling down so much of the Parapet on the Curtain as ran the whole length of front of the the House, I cant take upon myself to decide, as I am not enough skilled in the Art of Fortification to Judge how far that pulling down may or may not, prejudice the Original Order and Construction of the Castle, That measure as well as the Expence attending the other repairs and alterations, I humbly . . leave to the decision of my Honble Masters. - 7 June 1767 (Signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen I have received from your Secretary a Copy of part of the 33 Paragraph of the Honorable Companys last General Letter, containing some Quotations from my Quarterly Letters of April and July 1766, relative to the last repairs of the Castle and Mount, and desiring a more particular Explanation of the Nature of these repairs, and the Expence attending them In answer to which, so far as regards myself, I have only to observe, that in the Quarterly Accounts of the Work done given in to the Governor and Council, and made out under my direction -	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's minute continued. The engineer had reported that the master mason and a few labourers could be spared at the time without holding up the more important work on the fortifications. Kirkpatrick thought it no surprise that the Governor took the chance to finish a repair his house needed so badly, for reasons of necessity, decency and comfort. Since the engineer's report showed the work could be done without hindering the rest, Kirkpatrick presumed it led the Governor to give the order on his own authority. On whether it was right to pull down the stretch of parapet on the curtain that ran the whole length of the front of the house, Kirkpatrick declined to judge. He was not skilled enough in fortification to say whether removing it harmed the original design and construction of the Castle. He left that question, and the cost of the other repairs and alterations, to the decision of the directors. He signed the minute on 7 June 1767. The engineer, Captain Mitchell, then wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He had received from the secretary a copy of part of paragraph 33 of the Company's last general letter. It quoted from his quarterly letters of April and July 1766 about the recent repairs to the Castle and the mount, and asked for a fuller explanation of the nature and cost of those repairs. In reply, as far as it concerned himself, Mitchell observed that the quarterly accounts of the work were submitted to the Governor and Council and drawn up under his direction. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick gave the Governor the most support of any member of Council. He accepted that the work followed the engineer's own assurance that labour could be spared, which shifted any fault for delaying the fortifications away from Skottowe. On the parapet he professed ignorance, which spared him from either condemning or defending a change that touched the Castle's defences. A parapet was the protective wall along the top of a rampart, sheltering the defenders and their guns. Removing it along the front of the Governor's house opened his view and improved the building's appearance, but it weakened the Castle as a fortress. That was precisely the kind of change the directors, who had ordered the fortifications to come first, would question. The directors' letter had quoted Mitchell's own quarterly letters against the Governor, so the engineer's evidence had already reached London and shaped their complaint. Mitchell now had to answer for those letters without either contradicting what he had written or appearing to accuse the Governor further. His opening point, that his accounts went to the Governor and Council, set out his defence: he had reported every expense openly to the island's government, which had the duty to control it.
41	32	7 June Direction I have always given the Strictest Orders, that the Expence of each Work should be carried to its proper Head, and imagined that this Method had been observed in the Accounts sent home to	Captain Mitchell's letter continued. He had always given the strictest orders that the cost of each work be charged to its proper heading. He assumed this practice had been followed in the accounts sent to the Court of Directors, so the directors could easily have found the exact cost of the repairs they mentioned and learnt what the repairs were.

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		the Court of Directors, by which Means they could easily have ascertained the Exact Expence incurred by the repairs to which they allude, as well as come to the knowledge of the repairs themselves With regard to the Expence attending them during the two Quarters to which the Paragraph of the General Letter alludes, it appears by my Accounts that from the 1 of January to the 31 March 1766 the Repairs of the Castle and Mount cost the Honble Company £ 38 . 17 . 3. And from the said 31 of March to the 30 June £ 83 . 3 . 6 so that the whole Expence incurred by the Castle and Mount during these two Quarters exclusive of the Materials stood the Company in £ 122 . 14 . 9 With regard to the Works themselves, they consisted chiefly in constructing a Portico, which embraces a Stair case leading to the upper Story of the Castle, in the Room of an Old One, which was irreparable - In pulling down the Old Parapet and Merlons in Front of the Castle, which were of no real Use and Obstructed the Prospect of the Sea - In levelling the Mount - In erecting a new Flagstaff in the Room of an old one, which I reported to the Governor to be in danger of falling and in build'g and repairing some of the lesser Offices - These I apprehend are all the Parts of the said Paragraph to which I can, with propriety give any answer. The Quotations from my Quarterly Letters are I think so explicit, as not to require any Explanation I have the Honor to be Gentlemen 7 June 1767 Your most Obedt. humble Servant Signed R. Mitchell **Margin Notes:** portico	For the two quarters referred to in the general letter, his accounts showed the following costs for repairing the Castle and the mount, not counting materials. 1 January to 31 March 1766, £38 17s 3d 1 April to 30 June 1766, £83 8s 6d Total for the two quarters, £122 14s 9d The work consisted chiefly of building a porch, enclosing a staircase that led to the upper storey of the Castle, in place of an old one that was beyond repair. The old parapet and merlons in front of the Castle were pulled down, since they served no real purpose and blocked the view of the sea. The mount was levelled. A new flagstaff replaced the old one, which Mitchell had reported to the Governor as in danger of falling. Some of the lesser offices were built or repaired. Mitchell believed these were all the parts of the paragraph he could properly answer. He thought the passages quoted from his quarterly letters were so clear as to need no explanation. He signed the letter on 7 June 1767. **Interpretations** Mitchell answered the directors' question with figures and left every judgement to others. He showed that the work cost £122 14s 9d in labour over the two quarters and that his accounts recorded every expense under its proper heading. If the directors could not find the cost, the fault lay with whoever prepared the books sent home, not with him. He then described the work in neutral terms, calling it necessary repair where he could, as with the porch and flagstaff. His description of the parapet gave the directors the very fact Corneille had complained of. Merlons were the solid sections of a parapet between the openings through which guns fired. Mitchell said they served no purpose and blocked the sea view, which presented their removal as a sensible improvement. To directors who had ordered the island's defences to come first, removing part of the Castle's fortification for the sake of a view from the Governor's house confirmed the charge they had heard. Mitchell's closing remark, that his quarterly letters needed no explanation, declined to soften what he had already reported. The engineer protected himself by sticking to his records, and in doing so left the Governor exposed.
42	33	1767 Mr. Matthew Bazett was this day Sworn into the Office of Sheriff, and George Bird in that of Constable Daniel Corneille Esqr. applies to pay one hundred and ninety two pounds, seven shillings, into the Honorable Company's Cash, which sum we have received, and given him Bills of Exchange, drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Bath Esqr. ninety days after sight, dated this day John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** Sheriff -	Matthew Bazett took the oath of office as sheriff, and George Bird as constable. Daniel Corneille asked to pay £192 7s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Palk at 90 days after sight and dated that day. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The sheriff and constable were the island's officers of law and order, appointed by the Council and sworn before it. The sheriff executed the Council's judgements, serving writs, seizing goods for debt and keeping prisoners, while the constable kept the peace and made arrests. On St Helena these posts were filled from among the settled inhabitants, so Matthew Bazett, who had received bills of exchange from the Council on 18 May, now became its chief officer of enforcement. His family appeared repeatedly in the lease registers, and the office tied a leading planter family to the Company's government. Corneille's bill for £192 7s 0d was payable to Robert Palk, the former Governor of Madras, who had landed on the island in April to a salute of 23 guns. The

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			sum was evidently a private debt between the two men, perhaps for goods Palk sold on the island or for a loan. Its timing, on the same day Corneille entered his minute against the Governor, was coincidental, but it showed how the senior officials of the island were bound into the wider network of the Company's servants passing between India and England.
43	34	8th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th Day of June 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 7 June 1767 Thursday the 4th Died Avery Trueman, Soldier by a Fall from the Rocks The Lieut. Governor this day presented the followg. Letter viz. - To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council Gentlemen As the carrying on the Fortifications of this Island lays us under the indispensible Necessity of Employing near One Third of our Military, and the impossibility under such Circumstances of disciplining them when thus employed as recommended by the 51 Paragraph of the Honble Court of Directors General Letter of 1766 as their daily Labour consists of twelve hours Work, Sundays only Excepted. I cannot but be sensible of the Prejudice that must arrise to the Service from the Method we have hitherto pursued therefore take the Liberty to [...] Point out to you in my opinion a more advantageous Regulation which will still furnish the Works with the same Number of Hands and yet avoid that great Relaxation of Discipline which certainly must be the Consequence; as most of these Soldiers are now more than a Twelvemonth at that occupation The number of our Military now at the Works as Common Labourers only amount to Seventy eight. That number I propose for the future should be taken equally from the respective Marching Company's, and proportionally from the Artillery, and regularly relieved every three Months which short space of time will prevent	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 8 June 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 7 June 1767. Avery Trueman, a soldier, had died on Thursday 4 June after falling from the rocks. The Lieutenant Governor presented a letter to the Governor and Council. Carrying on the island's fortifications made it unavoidable to employ nearly a third of the garrison as labourers. Under such conditions the soldiers could not be drilled, as paragraph 57 of the Court of Directors' general letter of 1766 recommended, because their daily labour took up 12 hours' work, with only Sundays free. Corneille saw the harm the existing method was doing to the service. He proposed a better arrangement, which would give the works the same number of hands while avoiding the serious decline in discipline that must otherwise follow, since most of the soldiers had now been labouring for more than a year. The garrison then had only 28 soldiers at the works as common labourers. Corneille proposed that in future this number should be drawn equally from the marching companies and in proportion from the artillery. They should be relieved regularly every three months, a short enough time to prevent [...] **Interpretations** The fortifications depended on soldiers' labour because the island had few free workmen and the Company's slaves were needed for its farms and other works. Men who spent 12 hours a day breaking stone and carrying loads stopped being soldiers in any real sense. They lost the drill that made a company fight as one body, and the habits of obedience weakened when they lived as labourers for a year at a time. Corneille's remedy of rotating men every three months spread the labour across the whole garrison, so that every company kept most of its men under military discipline while still supplying the same number of hands. The marching companies were the infantry companies available for service in the field, as distinct from the artillery manning the batteries. Avery Trueman's death showed the danger of the island's terrain. St Helena's coast and valleys were lined with steep cliffs, and soldiers posted to the lookout stations and batteries worked and kept watch along paths cut into the rock. A fall could happen on duty, at the works or on the way to a post, and the record treated it as an ordinary hazard of service on the island.
44	35	1767 prevent their loosing the Knowledge of their duty, and discipline, as well as their Contract'g bad habits, Unsoldier like Carriage &ca. which I am sure of continuing the present Plan must be the Unavoidable Consequence. This Gentlemen is what I have to propose, and must further premise that there is only one objection can be offerd against it, And that is, that those Men who are now habituated from	Corneille argued that relieving the labourers every three months would stop them losing their knowledge of duty and discipline. It would also prevent them picking up the bad habits and unsoldierly bearing that the present system made unavoidable. He foresaw only one objection, that men used to a regular routine of labour were more useful than new hands, who would need a few days to learn the work and their particular tasks. He answered that this drawback was nothing beside the harm done by the existing method. The overseers and craftsmen would stay the same, and if they attended to their duty there would be little difficulty in teaching new men, since a common

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		Practice to a regular Method of Labour are more usefull than new Hands which will require a few days to initiate them in the Practice, and make them acquainted with their respective Departments To which I answer that, that Inconveniency can be no ways adequate to the ill consequences arrising from the former Method, And as the Overseers and Artificers continue the same, I apprehend if they former are Attentive to their duty there can be no great difficulty in making the new Hands soon acquainted with their Business, as there can be no Secret in the Vocation of a Common Labourer and will also be attended with a further advantage, as by that means all your Military will be equally Usefull in that way - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedt. and humble Servant St. Helena Signed 8th June 1767 Danl. Corneille Upon which we approved of what the Lieutenant Governor proposes but apprehending that taking away the whole may distress the Works, by the awkwardness of new hands at first, therefore have agreed to relieve the Half the commencement of next Quarter, and the other half the following one after which to continue a regular Relief during the time of the Works - The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of May last, were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. -	labourer's work held no mysteries. The change would bring a further advantage, because every soldier in the garrison would become equally useful as a labourer. Corneille signed the letter at St Helena on 8 June 1767. The Council approved the Lieutenant Governor's proposal. It feared, however, that replacing all the labourers at once might hamper the works through the clumsiness of new hands at first. It therefore agreed to relieve half the men at the start of the next quarter and the other half the quarter after. From then on the regular reliefs would continue for as long as the works lasted. The gunner's and steward's accounts for May 1767 were presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The Council adopted Corneille's plan but changed how it began. Replacing all 28 labourers at once was the obvious way to put the rotation into effect, and the Council chose instead to stagger it. Half the experienced men stayed at the works through the first change, so they could show the newcomers the work while the fortifications kept up their pace. This answered the one objection Corneille had himself foreseen, without abandoning his principle. The fortifications thus remained the priority the directors had ordered, while the garrison recovered the discipline the directors had also asked for. Corneille's proposal appeared in the consultations a day after his minute against the Governor over the Castle repairs. Here he spoke on a matter of military efficiency in which the directors' instructions supported him. His concern for discipline also had a practical edge on an island garrison. Soldiers living as labourers, far from their officers' eyes, were more likely to drink, desert or neglect their posts, and a garrison that had lost its drill was a poor defence against attack.
45	36	8th June Artillery Stores Expended in May 1767 Guns fired, Shot fired, Pr 9, Pr 4, Pr 3, Pr 2, Pr 1, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 3 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Success: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 An Alarm at Banks's for the same Ship: Guns fired 2, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 2, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Duke of Kingston: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 A Gun Fired on the Curtain by Accident: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 7 Arrived the [Hatton]: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 8 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 9 Arrived the Ashburnham: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 10 An Alarm for a Ship that pass'd by: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0	The gunner's and steward's accounts for May 1767 followed. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in May recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the number of 9-pounder, 4-pounder, 3-pounder, 2-pounder and 1-pounder guns used, and the powder used in pounds and ounces. 3 May, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *3 May, the Lioness arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 3 May, an alarm at Banks's for the same ship, 2 guns fired, 0 shot, 2 nine-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz 3 May, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *3 May, the Duke of Kingston arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 3 May, a gun fired on the curtain by accident, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *7 May, the Hatton arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 8 May, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *9 May, the Earl of Ashburnham arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 10 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz

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		An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Guns Fired for Geo. Bathe going on board: Guns fired 19, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 4, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 14, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 30, Powder Expended oz 0 11 Dept. the Lord Camden Duke of Cumberland & [Grenville]: Guns fired 27, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 4, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 22, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 26, Powder Expended oz 0 The Alarm of the 10 [...]: Guns fired 3, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 1, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 1, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived a Swede Ship: Guns fired 8, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 8, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 8, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived a Dutch Do.: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 13, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 12 An Allarm at Banks's: Guns fired 2, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 2, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Do. at Prosperous Bay: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Plassey: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 13 Arrived a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Fired at the said Ship from Banks's: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 1, Pr 9 1, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 8 14th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 The Alarm double at Banks's supposed for the Boat: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 1, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 8 Arrived Dutch Ship: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 13, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 Fired at the Do. Ship from Banks's: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 1, Pr 9 1, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 8 17 Departed a Swede Ship: Guns fired 8, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 8, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 A Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 3, Pr 3 3, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 3, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 18 Arrived the Speaker and Britannia: Guns fired 18, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 3, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 14, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 Fired for Ld. Clive, Geo. Vansittart & Colonl. Champion: Guns fired 51, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 7, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 42, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 50, Powder Expended oz 2 Departed the Duke of Kingston: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 4, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 4, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 20 Departed a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 13, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 21 Departed two Dutch Ships: Guns fired 16, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 16, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Departed the E. of Ashburnham & Plassey: Guns fired 18, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 1, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 16, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 15, Powder Expended oz 8 26 Fired for Geo. [Vansittart] going on board: Guns fired 19, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 4, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 14, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 20, Powder Expended oz 0	10 May, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 10 May, salute for Governor Palk going aboard, 19 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 14 two-pounders, powder used 30 lb 0 oz *11 May, the Lord Camden, the Duke of Cumberland and [...] departed, 27 guns fired, 0 shot, 4 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 22 two-pounders, powder used 26 lb 0 oz* 11 May, the alarm of 10 May repeated, 3 guns fired, 0 shot, 1 four-pounder, 1 three-pounder, 1 one-pounder, powder used 6 lb 0 oz 11 May, a Swedish ship arrived, 8 guns fired, 0 shot, 8 two-pounders, powder used 8 lb 0 oz 11 May, a Dutch ship arrived, 13 guns fired, 0 shot, 13 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 12 oz 12 May, an alarm at Banks's, 2 guns fired, 0 shot, 2 nine-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz 12 May, an alarm at Prosperous Bay, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *12 May, the Plassey arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz* 13 May, a Dutch ship arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 0 oz 13 May, fired at the same ship from Banks's, 1 gun fired, 1 shot, 1 nine-pounder, powder used 4 lb 8 oz 14 May, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 14 May, the alarm repeated at Banks's, thought to be for the boat, 1 gun fired, 0 shot, 1 nine-pounder, powder used 4 lb 8 oz 14 May, a Dutch ship arrived, 13 guns fired, 0 shot, 13 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 12 oz 14 May, fired at the same ship from Banks's, 1 gun fired, 1 shot, 1 nine-pounder, powder used 4 lb 8 oz 17 May, a Swedish ship departed, 8 guns fired, 0 shot, 8 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 0 oz 17 May, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, 3 one-pounders, powder used 18 lb 0 oz *18 May, the Speaker and Britannia arrived, 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 14 two-pounders, powder used 18 lb 0 oz* 18 May, salute for Lord Clive, General Carnac and Colonel Champion, 51 guns fired, 0 shot, 7 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 42 two-pounders, powder used 50 lb 2 oz *18 May, the Duke of Kingston departed, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 4 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 4 two-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz* 20 May, a Dutch ship departed, 13 guns fired, 0 shot, 13 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 12 oz 21 May, two Dutch ships departed, 16 guns fired, 0 shot, 16 two-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *21 May, the Earl of Ashburnham and Plassey departed, 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 1 four-pounder, 1 three-pounder, 16 two-pounders, powder used 15 lb 8 oz* 26 May, salute for Charles Crommelin going aboard, 19 guns fired, 0 shot, 4 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 14 two-pounders, powder used 20 lb 0 oz 30 May, round shot used at practice, 0 guns fired, 20 shot, powder used 0 lb 0 oz Powder used on other services, 25 lb 8 oz Total, 348 guns fired, 32 shot, 7 nine-pounders, 45 four-pounders, 26 three-pounders, 252 two-pounders, 18 one-pounders, powder used 453 lb 6 oz **Interpretations** The account for May showed the cost of the island's ceremonial role rising sharply. The garrison fired 348 guns and used more than 450 lb of powder, compared with 251 guns and 448 lb in April. The salute of 51 guns for Lord Clive, General Carnac and Colonel

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		30th Round Shot expended at Practice: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 20, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder expended in Sundry Uses: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 25, Powder Expended oz 8 Total: Guns fired 348, Shot fired 32, Pr 9 7, Pr 4 45, Pr 3 26, Pr 2 252, Pr 1 18, Powder Expended lb 253, Powder Expended oz 6	Champion was by far the largest of the month, a mark of Clive's standing as the most important man in the Company's service. Governor Palk received 19 guns on going aboard and Charles Crommelin the same, so the island graded its honours precisely by rank. These salutes cost the Company powder it could not replace except from England, and they came in the same month that the Council learnt its saluting guns were unsafe. The shots fired from Banks's at two Dutch ships were not salutes. A loaded gun fired across a ship's path, a shot across her bows, ordered a vessel approaching the island to show her colours or keep her distance from the batteries. Banks's guarded the northern approach to Jamestown, and any ship that did not answer its signals was warned with live shot. The two Dutch ships evidently came in without the expected signals, and the garrison treated them as possible threats until they identified themselves. The entry for a gun fired by accident on the curtain on 3 May recorded the explosion that killed the matross John Bower. The account noted it only as powder spent.
46	37	1767 Tallow for different Uses 6 lb Match Expended 6 lb Cartridge Paper 4 Leaves Worms for 2 lb Do. 2 Lead Shott for shooting Goats 2 . 14 Spunge Heads for different Uses 6 Handspikes for Do. 4 Rammer Heads for Do. 1 Spunge Heads for Do. 1 **half a Sheep Skin for 30 Trunk Nails** to fix a Spunge on the Curtain Signed R. Mitchell Sundries Expended at the Honble Compy's Table in May 1767 - viz. 6 Bottles Port Wine 9 36 Do. Lisbon 2 14 10 Do. Mountain 15 24 Do. Beer 6 93 Do. Arrack 4 10 162 lb Beef 3 7 6 288 Mutton 3 19 10 3 Lambs 1 10 4 Kids 1 11 Fowles 1 1 4 Turkeys 1 24 Butter 1 4 93 Candy 1 11 350 Flour 1 16 9	The gunner's account for May 1767 concluded with the other stores used. Tallow for various uses, 6 lb Slow match, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 4 quires Worms for 2-pounders, 2 Lead shot for shooting goats, 2¼ [...] Sponge heads for various uses, 6 Handspikes for various uses, 4 Rammer heads for 3-pounders, 1 Sponge heads for 3-pounders, 1 Half a sheepskin and 30 trunk nails, to fit a sponge on the curtain The account was signed by Mitchell. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in May 1767. 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 36 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 14s 0d 10 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 15s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 6s 0d 93 bottles of arrack, £4 10s 0d 162 lb of beef, £3 7s 6d 288 lb of mutton, £5 19s 10d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 4 kids, £1 0s 0d 12 fowls, £1 1s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 24 lb of butter, £1 4s 0d 93 lb of candles, £1 11s 0d 350 lb of flour, £1 16s 9d Total, £27 3s 1d The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The lead shot for shooting goats revealed one of the island's persistent problems. Goats were released on St Helena by the Portuguese in the 16th century and multiplied unchecked on the cliffs and hills. They stripped the native vegetation, destroyed young trees and spread erosion, and the loss of the island's forest owed much to them. The garrison hunted them to protect the plantations and the remaining woodland, and the meat supplemented the food supply. That the Company issued military shot for the purpose showed the hunt was an organised, official task, not a private sport. A worm was a corkscrew-shaped iron head on a staff, used to draw out unburnt cartridge paper and debris from a gun's barrel before sponging. Its

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		£ 27 3 1 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	appearance alongside fresh sponge heads, half a sheepskin and nails to fit a new sponge on the curtain showed the gunner refitting the saluting battery's cleaning tools after the fatal accident of 3 May. A badly cleaned barrel had caused that explosion, and the new equipment answered it directly. The Company's table cost £27 3s 1d in May, against £22 15s 0¾d in April. The difference came largely from the extra guests of a busy month, when Lord Clive, General Carnac and their party were on the island, together with the commanders of the many ships in the road. The table's spending rose and fell with the traffic of distinguished passengers, as did the gunner's powder.
47	38	15th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of June 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 8 June 1767 Tuesday the 9th Arrived a French Ship from Mauritius called the Ajax, Capt. St. Martin burthen about seven hundred Tons, carrys twenty six Guns, and one hundred and fifty Men, laden with Bengal Goods, bound to Port L'Orient Friday the 12 Arrived the Hawke Packet at Ten o'clock at seven o'Clock in the morning - Do. Do. the Honorable Company's Ship Hawke from China Samuel Spencer Matross this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of Samuel Spencer Sheweth That your Honors Petitioner being naturally weak in Body is not capable of doing his duty, therefore humbly request your Worship and Councils liberty to exchange with John Smith whose time is now expired, and is also a strong young Man and well acquainted with the - duty in the Company, having already Serv'd five Years in that Service and your Petitioner as in duty Bound will ever pray	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 15 June 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 8 June 1767. On Tuesday 9 June a French ship from Mauritius, the *Ajax*, arrived under Captain St Martin. She was of about 700 tons, carried 26 guns and 150 men, and was laden with Bengal goods bound for Lorient. On Friday 12 June a boat from the *Hawke* reached Banks's at seven o'clock in the morning, and the Company's ship *Hawke* arrived from China the same day. Samuel Spencer, a matross, presented a petition to the Governor and Council. He explained that he was naturally weak in body and unable to do his duty. He asked leave to change places with John Smith, whose time of service had expired. Smith was a strong young man who knew the duties of the company well, having already served five years in it. **Interpretations** Spencer's petition proposed a substitution that suited everyone involved. A soldier enlisted for a fixed term and could not leave before it ended. Spencer was too weak to be of use, while Smith, his term complete, was free to go home or to stay. If Smith agreed to take Spencer's place, the company gained a fit and experienced man for a sickly one, and Spencer gained his release. Smith presumably expected some reward, perhaps a bounty from Spencer, for choosing to serve longer on the island. The arrangement needed the Governor and Council's consent because the soldiers were bound to the Company, not to each other. The *Ajax* was a ship of the French East India Company returning from Mauritius, then France's main base in the Indian Ocean. She carried goods from Bengal, where the French still traded despite their defeat by the British. Her call at St Helena, a British island, showed that the two nations' merchant ships used each other's ports in peacetime. The Council recorded her guns and crew with the same care as for every foreign ship, since France was Britain's chief rival and the war that ended in 1763 was recent memory. A French ship with 26 guns and 150 men in the road was a matter for the garrison's attention.
48	39	1767 As the said Spencer is a Weak Sickly Man, and Smith who he desires to exchange with is a very good Soldier, and whose time is expired, We therefore granted Spencers Petition - William Mitchell Corporal, Robert Davis Drummer, John Doudle Matross, John Brown, John Walker Thomas Bott, William Frick, William Ivy, Abraham Penno,	1767 As the said Spencer is a Weak Sickly Man, and Smith who he desires to exchange with is a very good Soldier, and whose time is expired, We therefore granted Spencers Petition - William Mitchell Corporal, Robert Davis Drummer, John Doudle Matross, John Brown, John Walker

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		Benjamin Bennett, Michael Downey, John Cunningham, Patrick Ryley, Zedekiah Sanderson, and John Thompson Centinels this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their contracted times Granted - We this day Granted the following setts of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. One Set to John Skottowe Esqr. for Fifty two pounds, Eleven Shillings, payable to Messrs. Gyle and Woodhouse or Order And one Set to Capt. Archibald Mitchell for three hundred pounds, payable to Alexr. Hume or Order ninety days after sight. - Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of May last, which is as follows viz.	Thomas Bott, William Frick, William Ivy, Abraham Penno, Benjamin Bennett, Michael Downey, John Cunningham, Patrick Ryley, Zedekiah Sanderson, and John Thompson Centinels this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their contracted times Granted - We this day Granted the following setts of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. One Set to John Skottowe Esqr. for Fifty two pounds, Eleven Shillings, payable to Messrs. Gyle and Woodhouse or Order And one Set to Capt. Archibald Mitchell for three hundred pounds, payable to Alexr. Hume or Order ninety days after sight. - Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of May last, which is as follows viz.
49	40	15th June Cash Dr. 1767 May 1. To Balance remaining £ 10811 6 3 4 To Exchange for two Setts of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follow viz. - One Set to Mr. Laurence Dwere £ 22 . 8 One Do. to Capt. Willm. Tryon 39 . 10 61 18 5th To Ship Hatton 10 9 6 7. To Ship Duke of Cumberland 10 16 10 8th To Ship Lord Camden 22 12 5 To Ship Success 11 11 6 13th To Ship Duke of Kingston 16 12 7 16th To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follow viz. One Set to Captn. Richard Morrison £ 420 One Do. to Capt. Wm. Parkins 151 571 18th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Capt. Thos. Pearce 500 19th To Ship Earl of Ashburnham 9 14 10 To Ship Plassey 12 15 4 22 To Ship Britannia 10 02 1 24 To Ship Speaker 5 19 6 £ 12054 18 10	The Company's cash account for May 1767 set out the money received during the month. 1 May, balance remaining, £10,811 6s 3d 4 May, exchange for 2 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to Lawrence Dwere £22 8s 0d and 1 set to Captain William Tryon £39 10s 0d, total £61 18s 0d *5 May, from the ship Hatton, £10 9s 6d* *7 May, from the ship Duke of Cumberland, £10 16s 10d* *8 May, from the ship Lord Camden, £22 12s 5d* *8 May, from the ship Lioness, £11 11s 6d* *13 May, from the ship Duke of Kingston, £16 12s 7d* 16 May, exchange for 2 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to Captain Richard Morrison £420 0s 0d and 1 set to Captain William Larkins £151 0s 0d, total £571 0s 0d 18 May, exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Captain Thomas Pierce, £500 0s 0d *19 May, from the ship Earl of Ashburnham, £9 14s 10d* *19 May, from the ship Plassey, £12 15s 7d* *22 May, from the ship Britannia, £10 2s 1d* *24 May, from the ship Speaker, £5 19s 6d* Total, £12,054 18s 10d **Interpretations** The account confirmed the bills of exchange recorded in the consultations of May. The £420 0s 0d bill appeared in the minutes of 16 May as granted to Captain Kirkpatrick and payable to Captain Richard Morrison. In the cash book it stood under Morrison's name, the man who would receive the money in London. The bill to Matthew Bazett for £150 0s 0d, payable to Captain Larkins, appeared here as £151 0s 0d under Larkins's name. The cash book recorded each bill by its payee, while the consultations recorded who paid in the money, so the two records together showed both sides of each transaction. The treasury's balance grew by more than £1,200 0s 0d in a month, almost all from bills of exchange. Captains Morrison, Larkins and Pierce alone accounted for £1,491 0s 0d. Commanders of homeward ships carried the profits of their private trade, and St Helena offered the last chance before England to turn coin or goods into a safe bill. The Company in turn accumulated a growing reserve of coin on the island, now above £12,000 0s 0d, from which to pay its garrison, officials and suppliers. The payments from each ship were again modest, between £5 19s 6d and £22 12s 5d, for the water and provisions supplied while they lay in the road.

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50	41	1767 Per Contra Cr. £ s d 1767 May 30th By Balance remaining viz. In Specie 11515 3 10 In Cash Notes of no Use 539 15 £ 12054 18 10 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The other side of the Company's cash account for May 1767 recorded the balance held at the end of the month. 30 May, balance remaining in coin, £11,515 3s 10d 30 May, balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total, £12,054 18s 10d The account was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The cash notes were now described as of no use, which explained why their value had not changed since April. The sum of £539 15s 0d sat in the treasury untouched while the coin grew by more than £1,200 0s 0d. Notes of this kind were paper promises, perhaps issued on the island in an earlier period or drawn on another of the Company's settlements, which could no longer be spent or exchanged on St Helena. The Council kept them in the account because they still had a nominal value that might be recovered in London, but they could not pay a soldier or buy a sack of rice. The real reserve available to the island was the coin alone, and the account again showed no payments out of this chest during the month.
51	42	22d June At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d Day of June 1767 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieutenant Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 15 June 1767 Tuesday the 16th Sailed the French Ship Ajax for Port L'Orient Last night Arrived the Duke of Albany's Boat at Banks's at ten o'Clock This day Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Duke of Albany from Bengal, and brought us the following supplys Invoice of Ship Duke of Albany Rice Fine 60 Bags Nt. B Mds. 120 @ 2 . 7 . 3 [...] Arcot Rups. 138 7 6 Sugar 10 Bags Nt. F Mds. 20 @ 9 - pr. Maund 180 Paddy 18 Bags Nt. F Mds. Srs. 22 . 20 @ 1 . 20 pr. current Rupee 15 Wax Candles 4 Chests Nt. F Mds. 8 @ 72 - pr. Maund 576 Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers @ 93 . 5 . 3 Each 186 14 6 Pork 12 Puncheons each Puncheon Wt. 6[...] lb at 122 . 15 . 3 each 1475 [...] Beef 4 Puncheons @ Puncheon 1158¼ @ 2[...] 3 . 3 6 36[...] 9 Hogsheads @ Hogsd. 772 @ 144 . 12 1302 12 3647 1 Batta 8 Pr. Ct. 291 12 3	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 22 June 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 15 June 1767. The French ship *Ajax* had sailed for Lorient on Tuesday 16 June. A boat from the *Duke of Albany* reached Banks's at ten o'clock on the night of 21 June, and the Company's ship *Duke of Albany* arrived from Bengal on the day of the consultation. She brought the following supplies, invoiced in rupees, annas and pies. Fine rice, 60 bags of 1 bazaar maund 20 seers each at [...] a maund, 138 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Sugar, 10 bags weighing 20 factory maunds at 9 rupees a maund, 180 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, 15 bags weighing 22 factory maunds 20 seers at 1 maund 20 seers to the current rupee, 15 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 8 factory maunds at 72 rupees a maund, 576 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 93 rupees 7 annas 3 pies each, 186 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Pork, 12 puncheons at 122 rupees 15 annas 3 pies each, 1,47[...] rupees Beef, 4 puncheons at [...] a puncheon, [...] Beef, 9 hogsheads at 144 rupees 12 annas a hogshead, 1,302 rupees 12 annas 0 pies Total, 3,647 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Batta at 8 per cent, 291 rupees 12 annas 3 pies Total with batta, 3,938 rupees 13 annas 3 pies Carried forward, 5,975 rupees 3 annas 5 pies **Interpretations** The *Duke of Albany* brought the island salt meat as well as grain. Beef and pork packed in salt and sealed in puncheons and hogsheads, large casks of about 70 and 54 gallons, were the main meat ration of the garrison and the Company's slaves. Bengal supplied it cheaply from its own cattle and its salt trade, and a single ship's consignment of 21 casks was the most valuable item on the invoice by far. The island raised its own cattle, but not enough to feed the garrison, so salt meat from India filled the gap and spared the island's herds for breeding and for the fresh meat served at the Company's table.

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		3938 13 3 Carried Over 5915 8 3	Batta was an allowance added to convert one kind of rupee into another. Bengal circulated rupees of different issues and fineness, and the current rupee used for the accounts was a standard of reckoning, not an actual coin. Converting the invoice into the sicca rupees in which payment was made, or the reverse, added 8 per cent. The charge showed how far the Company's accounting depended on conversions between currencies, a task the island's officials repeated every time a ship from Bengal arrived.
52	43	1767 Brought over 5085 3 3 Charges Merchandize 4 Chests wt. Package 15 . 6 . 9 Dut 9 . 3 150 Gunny Bags 16 . 14 . 3 50 Reed Mats 3 . 8 Weighman 9 . 3 Packers 15 . 9 Cooley 37 . 8 Boathire 15 . 10 . 6 Stoppage 243 16 Puncheons 135 . 8 . 3 9 Hogsheads 59 . 5 . 3 Coopers 10 . 5 . 3 560 4 6 Current Rupees 5645 . 7 . 9 Errors Excepted Signed Richd. Wills Sub Accompt. The Widow and Executors this day produced an Inventory of the Effects of Mr. Thomas Greentree deceased, appraised by Messrs. Matthew Bazett, Orlando Bagley Senr. and Benjn. Mason who being duly sworn that they valued the same to the best of their Judgement, and the Widow that she produced every Article it was Ordered to be registered. - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Hawke to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows viz. -	The charges on the *Duke of Albany*'s goods followed, in rupees, annas and pies. Brought forward, 5,085 rupees 3 annas 3 pies 4 chests with packing, 15 rupees 6 annas 9 pies Food, 0 rupees 9 annas 3 pies 150 gunny bags, 16 rupees 14 annas 3 pies 50 reed mats, 3 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Weighman, 0 rupees 9 annas 3 pies Packers, 0 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Porters, 37 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Boat hire, 15 rupees 10 annas 6 pies [...], 245 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 16 puncheons, 135 rupees 8 annas 3 pies 9 hogsheads, 53 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Coopers, 10 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Total charges, 560 rupees 4 annas 6 pies Total in current rupees, 5,645 rupees 7 annas 9 pies The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by Richard Witts, sub-accountant. The widow and executors of the late Thomas Greentree produced an inventory of his effects, valued by Matthew Bazett, Orlando Bagley senior and Benjamin Mason. The valuers swore that they had valued the goods to the best of their judgement, and the widow swore that she had produced every item. The Council ordered the inventory to be registered. William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Hawke* to muster her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. Her muster roll followed. **Interpretations** The charges showed that the casks cost the Company almost as much as the labour. The 16 puncheons and 9 hogsheads that held the salt meat were charged separately, at nearly 190 rupees, together with coopers to make and seal them. Meat for a long voyage had to be packed tight in brine in well-made casks, or it would spoil before it reached the island. The full invoice of 5,645 rupees made the *Duke of Albany*'s consignment by far the largest of the season, well over four times the *Britannia*'s. The Greentree inventory showed the Council acting again as the island's court of probate. When a resident died, his goods were valued by sworn appraisers chosen from among the settled inhabitants, and his widow swore she had concealed nothing. The registered inventory protected the heirs and the creditors alike, since it fixed what the estate contained before any of it was sold or divided. Thomas Greentree was evidently an earlier member of the family whose descendants later managed the widows' fund for decades, among them the Thomas Greentree who presided over its committee in 1829. The appraisers, Bazett, Bagley and Mason, all belonged to families that recur throughout the island's records, which reflected how a small number of settled households filled the island's civic roles.
53	44	Muster Roll of Ship Hawke John Cotton Commander Jno. Hall Chief Mate Joshua Blennerhasset 2d Do. Bennet Haskins 3d Do. Jno. Clarke 4th Do.	The muster roll of the *Hawke* listed her crew by name and rank. John Cotton, commander Joseph Hall, chief mate Joshua Blennerhassett, second mate Bennet Hawkins, third mate

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		Saml. Roberts 5th Do.	Joseph Clarke, fourth mate
		Jno. Jons. Charlton Purser	Samuel Roberts, fifth mate
		Jacob Wickman Gunner	Joseph Jonathan Charlton, purser
		James Irwin Boatswain	Jacob Wickman, gunner
		Wm. Gates Carpenter	James Irwin, boatswain
		John Simpson Midshipn.	William Yates, carpenter
		Simd. Dickenson Do.	John Simpson, midshipman
		John Nearing Do.	Samuel Dickinson, midshipman
		Chas. Freind Caulker	John Kearny, midshipman
		Thos. Dudley Quartermaster	Charles Freund, surgeon
		Robt. Mannold Do.	Thomas Dudley, quartermaster
		Wm. Manns Do.	Robert Mannerd, quartermaster
		Thos. Allaby Ships Steward	William Manns, quartermaster
		Jno. Pellet Capts. Do.	Francis Allaby, ship's steward
		Thos. Davis Caulker	John Billet, captain's steward
		Wm. Amos Cooper	Thomas Davis, caulker
		Anthony Gozelles Sailmaker	William Arnold, cooper
		John Dun Armourer	Anthony Gozelles, sailmaker
		Samuel Iron Joiner	John Dun, armourer
		Wm. Elliot Carpr. Mate	Samuel Green, joiner
		Anthony Clements Captns. Cook	William Elliot, boatswain's mate
		John Dawson Surgns. Mate	Anthony [...], captain's cook
		Wm. Robertson Corporal Do.	John Davison, surgeon's mate
		Wm. Ellis Caulkers Do.	William Roberts, cooper's mate
		James Tulloch Taylor	William Ellis, caulker's mate
		Thos. Ward Butcher	James Tulloch, tailor
		John King Ships Cook	Thomas Ward, butcher
		Thos. Whiles Boatswns. Mate	John King, ship's cook
		John Shelton Gunners Do.	Thomas Whaler, boatswain's mate
		James Erwin Gunrs. 2d Mate	John Shelton, gunner's mate
		Benj. Sharp Poulterer	James Irwin, gunner's second mate
		Wm. Birter Seaman	Benjamin Sharp, poulterer
		Benj. Sly Do.	William Burton, seaman
		Willm. Todd	Benjamin Hey, seaman
		John Leighton	William Todd, seaman
		Andw. Walters	John Lyton, seaman
		David Anderson	Andrew Walters, seaman
		John Randall	David Anderson, seaman
		John Sinners	John Randall, seaman
		Richd. Bennett	John Sinners, seaman
		John Clarke	Richard Bennett, seaman
		Peter Warren	John Clarke, seaman
		James Morris	Peter Warren, seaman
		John Riley	James Morris, seaman
		Peter Grant	John Riley, seaman
		Robt. Dyer	Peter Grant, seaman
		Wm. Dove	Robert Dyer, seaman
		Robt. Swift	William Dove, seaman
		Robt. Webb	Robert Swift, seaman
		Saml. Bates	Robert Webb, seaman
		Jacob Anderson	Samuel Bates, seaman
		Jacob White	Jacob Anderson, seaman
		James Smith	Jacob White, seaman
		John Wilson	James Smith, seaman
		Edwd. Miller	John Wilson, seaman
		Wm. Derby	Edward Miller, seaman
		Wm. Lee	William Derby, seaman
		Richd. Belchier	William Lee, seaman
		John Simpson	Richard Belcher, seaman
		James Bonfield	John Simpson, seaman
		Jno. Patrick	James Benfield, seaman
		Geo. Hull	Joseph Patrick, seaman
		Wm. Phelps	George Hull, seaman
		Nathl. Gayler	William Phelps, seaman
		John Guest	Nathaniel Bayley, seaman
		Barthl. Murphy	John Guest, seaman
		Willm. Johnson	Bartholomew Murphy, seaman
		Thos. Griffith	William Johnson, seaman
		John Bell	Thomas Griffith, seaman
		John Bond	John Bell, seaman
		Abr. Shea	John Bond, seaman
		Charles Spires	Abraham Shea, seaman
		Wm. Staple	Charles Spires, seaman
		John Wheatley	William Staple, seaman
		Robt. Dixon	John Wheatley, seaman
		Evan Griffith	Robert Dixon, seaman

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		Coulson Bell Angelo Fenwick Wm. Brown Barnd. D'Sart Peregue Pebre Geo. Linsay Thos. Cesar Wm. Williams Evan Jones Thos. Winne John Wickham David Marshal Geo. Crowder John Hodges John Eden Saml. Nichols Passengers Mr. John Harrison Dr. John Jud Mr. Maurel Signed John Cotton	Evan Griffith, seaman Coulson Bell, seaman Angelo Fenwick, seaman William Brown, seaman Bartholomew D'Sart, seaman [...] George Lindsay, seaman Thomas Cesar, seaman William Williams, seaman Evan Jones, seaman Thomas Winne, seaman John Wickham, seaman David Marshall, seaman George Crowder, seaman John Hedges, seaman John Eden, seaman Samuel Nichols, seaman The *Hawke* also carried the following passengers. John Harrison John Sued Mr Marriott The roll was signed by John Cotton. **Interpretations** The *Hawke* carried a tailor and a joiner among her specialists, trades not listed on the other ships mustered that season. A joiner did the finer woodwork of cabins and fittings, as distinct from the carpenter's structural repairs to hull and masts. A tailor made and mended clothing for a crew that might be at sea for 18 months, with no chance to buy new clothes between Canton and England. Each commander shaped his crew to his own needs, and the muster rolls together show the range of skills that made an East Indiaman self-sufficient on the longest voyages of the age. Names such as Gozelles, D'Sart, Cesar and Angelo Fenwick again point to seamen of mixed origin, taken on in Asian or European ports to fill gaps in the crew. Thomas Cesar's surname was often given to men of African or Indian descent, and some crews included men recruited in India. The muster checked each against the roll, so that the island neither lost a soldier through a stowaway nor inherited a seaman left behind.
54	45	We this day Granted the following sets of - Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors viz. One Set to Mr. James Greentree for £ 570 payable to Captain John Cotton or Order - One Set to Capt. John Howard for £ 175 payable to Mrs. Mary Hall or Order - One Set to Messrs. Henry Bazett and William Wrangham, for £ 100 payable to John Burdett Esqr. or Order And one Set to Captain John Cotton for £ 200 payable to himself, or Order ninety days after sight - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, each payable at 90 days after sight. To James Greentree, £570 0s 0d, payable to Captain John Cotton or his order To Captain John Howard, £175 0s 0d, payable to Mrs Mary Hall or her order To Henry Bazett and William Wrangham, £100 0s 0d, payable to John Burdett or his order To Captain John Cotton, £200 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** James Greentree's bill for £570 0s 0d, payable to Captain Cotton of the *Hawke*, was the largest private remittance of the season. It came on the same day the Council registered the inventory of the late Thomas Greentree's effects, so the payment was probably bound up with settling his estate. A large debt owed to a ship's commander, perhaps for goods bought on credit from an earlier voyage, could now be paid with the estate's money through a bill on London. Cotton's own bill of £200 0s 0d, payable to himself, carried his personal earnings home. The bill from Henry Bazett and William Wrangham, issued jointly, suggested a partnership in trade between two of the island's leading families. William Wrangham was the sub-accountant who signed the Castle repair accounts on 1 June 1767, and the

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			Bazetts held the sheriff's office and land across the island. The bill to Captain Howard payable to Mrs Mary Hall showed money passing to a woman in England, perhaps a relative or creditor, through the same system. The Company's bills thus carried every kind of private obligation between the island and Britain, from estate settlements to family support.
55	46	29th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of June 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 22d June 1767 Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Hawke for England The Storekeeper this day delivered the following - Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Duke of Albany viz. Account of Stores Short recd. from Ship Duke of Albany Sugar, Short weight 1 . 1 . 11 cwt. qrs. lb Paddy Do. Do. 1 No. 1 - 1 Leagr. Arrack gages 143 Galls. wants to fill 12 Galls. 2 - 1 Do. Do. 141 Do. Do. 6 284 18 18 Recd. 302 Galls. St. Helena 29th June 1767 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper Thomas Townsend this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council The humble Petition of Thomas Townsend Sheweth That your Worships Petitioner having Served the Honorable Company his Contracted Time as a Mason humbly requests	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 29 June 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 22 June 1767. The Company's ship *Hawke* had sailed for England on Sunday 28 June. The storekeeper presented an account of stores found short on delivery from the *Duke of Albany*, with weights in hundredweights, quarters and pounds and the arrack in gallons. Sugar, short weight, 1 cwt 1 qr 11 lb Paddy, short weight, 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb Arrack, leaguer 1, gauged at 143 gallons, short of full by 12 gallons Arrack, leaguer 2, gauged at 141 gallons, short of full by 6 gallons Arrack, total gauged 284 gallons, short 18 gallons, received 302 gallons James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 29 June 1767. Thomas Townsend presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He stated that he had served the Company as a mason for the term he had contracted [...] **Interpretations** The storekeeper's account followed the same procedure as for the *Britannia* and the *Speaker*. Every consignment was weighed and gauged on landing, and every shortage was recorded for recovery from the ship. The arrack again lost several gallons from each leaguer, a common loss from seepage and evaporation on a voyage through the tropics. The figure for arrack received was entered as stated, although it did not agree with the gallons gauged less the shortfall. Townsend was one of the Company's artificers, skilled tradesmen recruited in England under contract for a set term. Masons were essential to the island, which built its fortifications, storehouses and the Castle itself in stone, and the master mason's absence at Sandy Bay had featured in the dispute over the Castle repairs. A mason whose term had ended could ask to go home, to stay as a free settler or to sign a new contract, and each choice needed the Council's consent.
56	47	1767 requests to be dismissed from their Service, and your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray for your Worships health and Tranquil happiness Upon which we granted his Petition and came to a Resolution to send him, and his wife off the Island by the first - convenient opportunity - Having received twenty five Casks of Salt Provision by the Ship Duke of Albany, sent Us by the President and Council of Bengall as mentioned in the following Letter viz. - To John Skottowe Esqr. Deputy Govr. &c. Council at St. Helena Gentlemen Our last was by the Britannia a Duplicate of which	Townsend asked to be released from the Company's service. The Council granted his petition and resolved to send him and his wife off the island by the first suitable opportunity. The *Duke of Albany* had brought 25 casks of salt provisions sent by the President and Council of Bengal, as explained in their letter to John Skottowe, Deputy Governor, and the Council at St Helena. Their last letter had come by the *Britannia*, and a duplicate of it accompanied this one. They were taking the chance offered by the *Duke of Albany* to send various stores for the island, as shown in the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. The Court of Directors had asked them to warn the commanders of homeward ships not to rely on St Helena for provisions. On the contrary, the commanders should stock their ships well enough to spare the island some supplies. This led the Bengal

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		accompanies this, and we take the opportunity by the Duke of Albany of consigning Sundry Stores for the use of your Island, agreeable to Invoice and Bill of Loading enclosed - The Court of Directors have desired we would acquaint the Commanders of the Homeward bound Ships, that they must not depend upon Supplies of provisions at St. Helena, but on the Contrary that it would be an acceptable Service if they would Stock their Ships so be able to as to, render you a part. this has Induced us to make a Tryal of salting up provisions here, which if it answers will obviate the difficulties the Company at present labour under in supplying your Island, you will accordingly receive by this Ship 13 Puncheons of Beef and 12 of Pork & a like Quantity will follow by the Nottingham, we request you will - particularly inform us of the condition it arrives in, and whether you are of Opinion we should continue this Mode of sending you supplies and in what Quantity. - Lord Clive having been under the necessity of returning to England on Account of his bad state of health, took his Passage on board the Britannia and is succeeded by Harry Verelst Esqr. in	Council to try salting provisions in Bengal. If the experiment succeeded, it would remove the difficulties the Company then faced in supplying the island. They were therefore sending 13 puncheons of beef and 12 of pork by this ship, with a similar quantity to follow by the *Nottingham*. They asked the St Helena Council to report on the condition in which the meat arrived, and whether this way of sending supplies should continue and in what quantity. Lord Clive had been obliged to return to England because of his poor health, and had taken passage on the *Britannia*. Harry Verelst succeeded him [...] **Interpretations** The Bengal Council's experiment aimed to reverse the flow of supplies at St Helena. For decades homeward ships had expected to take on fresh food at the island, straining a small place that struggled to feed itself. The directors now told commanders to bring their own and leave some for the island. Bengal, rich in cattle, salt and labour, offered a solution: salt meat packed there could feed the garrison and spare St Helena's own herds. The request for a report on the meat's condition showed that no one yet knew whether beef and pork salted in Bengal's heat would survive a voyage of several months. The storekeeper's later accounts would answer that question. The letter addressed Skottowe as Deputy Governor, a reminder of how the Company's settlements saw St Helena. The island's Governor ranked below the presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and the President and Council of Bengal wrote to him as the head of a dependent station. Clive's departure, recorded here, was the event the island had witnessed in May, when he landed to a salute of 51 guns and gave £50 0s 0d to the widows' fund. His successor, Harry Verelst, gave the fund £50 0s 0d in turn when he passed through in 1770, as the donations list recorded.
57	48	29th June in the Government of this Presidency - We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient Servants Signed H. Verelst Richd. Smith Claud Russell W. Aldersey Thos. Kelsall Chas. Floyer Alexr. Campbell Fort William 16th Febry. 1767 Upon which we Ordered the Storekeeper to examine it, who reports to Us, that the Beef is very bad, and the Pork but indifferent, which latter we Ordered to be Issued to the Honble Company's Slaves, and directed the Surgeon to examine the Beef and report to Us whether he counts it wholesome food for that same purpose. - Thomas Price, and John Taylor Centinels this day petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times - Granted - John Irwin this day applied to Us to pay one hundred pounds into the Honble Company's Cash, which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn	Harry Verelst had succeeded Lord Clive as head of the government of the Bengal presidency. The letter was dated at Fort William on 16 February 1767 and signed as follows. H. Verelst Richard Smith Claud Russell W. Aldersey Thomas Kelsall Charles Floyer Alexander Campbell The Council ordered the storekeeper to examine the salt provisions. He reported that the beef was very bad and the pork only middling. The Council ordered the pork to be issued to the Company's slaves. It directed the surgeon to examine the beef and report whether he thought it wholesome food for the same purpose. Thomas Price and John Taylor, sentinels, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the terms they had contracted. The Council granted their request. John Irwin asked to pay £100 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to [...] **Interpretations** The Bengal experiment failed on its first trial. Beef salted in the heat of Bengal and shipped through the tropics arrived very bad, and the pork little better. The Council's report would tell Fort William that the method did not answer, at least as then practised. The Council's disposal of the meat showed the place of the Company's slaves in the island's economy. Pork judged too poor for the garrison was given to the slaves. The beef, too bad even for that without a doctor's opinion, was referred to the surgeon to decide

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		upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr. Thos.	whether the slaves could eat it without harm. The slaves were fed on the cheapest rations, and spoiled supplies that soldiers would refuse were pushed down to them. Even so, the Council sought a medical judgement before issuing the beef, since slaves who fell sick could not work and their loss was a cost to the Company. The two sentinels' discharge added to the 15 granted on 15 June 1767. The garrison was losing men steadily as five-year terms expired, while replacements waited on the ships from England.
58	49	1767 Thomas Allenby or Order ninety days after sight. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Saturday the 4th day of July 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 29th of June 1767 - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Duke of Albany to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters, but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Duke of Albany James Haldane Commander Alexr. Stewart Chief Mate David Thompson 2d Do. James Dundas 3d Do. John Wemyss 4th Do. Robert Haldane 5th Do. Alexr. McNeil Purser Geo. Chalmers Surgeon Robt. Meldrum Boatswain John Penny Carpenter Mattw. Rentoul Gunner Thos. Tucker Ships Steward John Haycraft Capt. Do. Jacob Peace Capt. Cook John Evans Ships Do. Geo. Duncan Surg. Mate John Andrews Cooper Mattw. Wathington Corporal Stephen Ind Carpenters Mate Alexr. Jones Do. Do. John Milner Gunners Do. Wm. Dane Boatswns. Mate Geo. Mason Boatswns. Mate John Fuller Caulker William Holland Cook Mate Jacob Brown Armourer Thos. Moorhouse Sailmaker William Moore Poulterer Geo. Wills Baker Alexr. Hinks Wm. Grey 3d Capt. Forecastle Ronald Kenzie Chief Mate Jas. Robinson Boatsw. Do.	John Irwin's bills of exchange were payable to Thomas Allenby or his order at 90 days after sight. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Saturday 4 July 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 29 June 1767. William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Duke of Albany* to muster her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. Her muster roll followed. James Haldane, commander Alexander Stewart, chief mate David Thompson, second mate James Dundas, third mate John Wemyss, fourth mate Robert Haldane, fifth mate Alexander McNeil, purser George Chalmers, surgeon Robert Meldrum, boatswain John Penny, carpenter Matthew Rentoul, gunner Thomas Tucker, ship's steward John Haycraft, captain's steward Daniel Price, captain's cook John Evans, ship's cook George Duncan, surgeon's mate John Andrews, cooper Matthew Wathington, cooper's mate Stephen Ford, carpenter's first mate Alexander Jones, carpenter's second mate John Milner, gunner's mate William Dunn, boatswain's mate George Mason, boatswain's mate John Taller, caulker William Holland, caulker's mate Jacob Brown, armourer Thomas Moorhouse, sailmaker William Moore, poulterer George Wells, baker Alexander Nicols, [...] William Grey, [...] Ronald Kenzie, quartermaster [...] Robinson, quartermaster **Interpretations** The *Duke of Albany*'s officers bore Scottish names almost to a man, beginning with her commander James Haldane and his fifth mate Robert Haldane, evidently a relative. Wemyss, Dundas, Chalmers, Meldrum and Rentoul all pointed to Scotland. A commander of an East Indiaman held a valuable post and filled the berths beneath him through his own family and connections. Young men from his kin and neighbourhood joined as mates and midshipmen in the

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			hope of rising to command themselves. The pattern matched the *Speaker*, also heavily Scottish under James Dewar, and reflected the large part Scots played in the Company's service at sea and in India by the 1760s. The muster of the *Duke of Albany* came nearly two weeks after she arrived on 22 June, and she was still in the road. Ships from Bengal often stayed longer than those from China, perhaps to land a heavier cargo of stores or to wait for company on the voyage home. Each crew was mustered before sailing, so the check ensured that no soldier had slipped aboard during her stay, however long it lasted.
59	50	4th July Thos. Biggs Gunrs. Servant John Penny Carpenter Do. Jonathan Mead Surg. Do. Honble Wm. Fitzwilliam Midship John Brymer Do. Chas. Gordon Do. Peter Fougerouse Do. Alexr. Brown James Elder Wm. Ritchie Quartermrs. Magnus Carmichael Seaman James Ward James Cuthill John Moncrief Walter Murray Danl. McIntosh Richd. Nicholls James Gibbs John Nagle John Nation Middlemore Anthony John Phillips James Bowan Danl. Munro Anthony Thomson [...] Geo. Wise Seaman Robt. Creely Cumberland West Jasper Grahame Geo. Yorick Henry Scott Robt. Mullion Robt. Jennison Edward Senn Wm. Norris Archd. Carmichael Thos. Hutchinson John Havens Christopher Hutton Jonathan Howard Robt. Monro Robt. Dunbar Thoms. Blair Thos. Brown Robt. Kelly Saml. Stroud William Finlay Charles Braddie John Clements Geo. Cockburn David Smith John Hastings [...] Geo. Buckley Thos. Leahy Andw. Fave Wm. Hanson Richd. Corbin Saml. Mead Jos. Denton	The muster roll of the *Duke of Albany* continued. Thomas Biggs, gunner's servant John Penny, carpenter's servant Jonathan Mead, surgeon's servant Mitchell William Fitzwilliam, midshipman John Brymer, midshipman Charles Gordon, midshipman Peter Jongmeuse, midshipman Alexander Brown, quartermaster James Elder, quartermaster William Ritchie, quartermaster Magnus Cormachie, seaman James Ward, seaman James Cuthill, seaman John Moncrieff, seaman William Murray, seaman Daniel Mahon, seaman Richard Bichels, seaman James Gibbs, seaman John Nage, seaman John Nation, seaman Middlemore Anthony, seaman John Phillips, seaman James Bowan, seaman Daniel Munro, seaman Anthony Thomson, seaman George Wise, seaman Robert Cosely, seaman Cumberland West, seaman Jasper Grahame, seaman George Yorick, seaman Henry Scott, seaman Robert Mullion, seaman Robert Jennison, seaman Edward Jenn, seaman William Norris, seaman Archibald Carmichael, seaman Thomas Hutchinson, seaman John Havens, seaman Christopher Hutton, seaman Jonathan Howard, seaman Robert Monro, seaman Robert Dunbar, seaman Thomas Blair, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman Robert Kelly, seaman Samuel Proud, seaman William Finlay, seaman Charles Brodie, seaman John Clements, seaman George Cockburn, seaman David Smith, seaman John Hastings, seaman George Buckley, seaman Thomas Peaty, seaman Andrew Fare, seaman William Hanson, seaman Richard Corbin, seaman Samuel Mead, seaman Joseph Denton, seaman Joseph Hallow, seaman Francis Aldridge, seaman William Hilliard, seaman

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		Jos. Hutton Francis Aldridge William Hilliard John Brown Thos. Bott Robt. Davis Wm. Frick Wm. Ivy Abraham Penno Benj. Bennett John Walters Wm. Mitchell Patrick Ryly John Thompson John Doudle John Taylor Thos. Price Signed J. Haldane Mr. Britannicus Wright whose time as a Writer expiring on the 7 Instant, applied to Us to be put upon the Establishment of Factor, which we accordingly agreed to. -	John Brown Thomas Bolt Robert Davis William Frick William Ivy Abraham Renno Benjamin Bennett John Walters William Mitchell Patrick Ryley John Thompson John Doude John Taylor Thomas Price The roll was signed by J. Haldane. Britannicus Wright's term as a writer was due to expire on 7 July 1767. He applied to be placed on the establishment as a factor, and the Council agreed. **Interpretations** The last names on the roll were not seamen but the soldiers the Council had discharged on 15 and 29 June 1767. William Mitchell the corporal, Robert Davis the drummer, John Doude the matross and the sentinels Brown, Bolt, Frick, Ivy, Renno, Bennett, Ryley, Thompson, Price and Taylor all appeared here, entered on the ship's books for the passage home. A soldier whose term expired had the right to return to England at the Company's expense, and the next homeward ship with room took him. Listing them on the muster made certain that every discharged man actually left, and that no serving soldier went with them under a discharged man's name. Wright's promotion from writer to factor marked the first step in a career in the Company's civil service. Writers were the most junior civil servants, usually young men who served a fixed term of years as clerks. A factor stood one grade higher, with better pay and more responsible work in the Company's accounts and warehouses. The ranks continued through junior merchant and senior merchant, and the island used the same grades as the great presidencies in India, so a servant's rank on St Helena counted throughout the Company.
60	51	1767 This day Mr. Barclay laid before Us the following Report viz. Island St. Helena 4th July 1767 Pursuant to order of the Governor and Council, I had two pieces of Salt Meat that was brought here by the Duke of Albany boiled, one piece of Pork, the other Beef the Pork was when it was boiled sound, the Beef quite rotten and unfit for any use Given under my Hand Signed Robt. Barclay Surgeon In consequence of the above report, we directed the Storekeeper to have the Beef thrown into the Sea, and shall Issue the Pork to the Company's Slaves as Ordered in last Consultation John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Robert Barclay, the surgeon, laid a report before the Council, dated at St Helena on 4 July 1767. Following the Governor and Council's order, he had boiled two pieces of the salt meat brought by the *Duke of Albany*, one of pork and one of beef. The pork proved sound when boiled, but the beef was completely rotten and unfit for any use. Following the report, the Council directed the storekeeper to throw the beef into the sea. The pork was to be issued to the Company's slaves, as ordered at the previous consultation. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The surgeon's test settled the fate of the first consignment from Bengal. Boiling a sample was the practical way to judge salt meat, since rot hidden in the brine showed itself in the smell and texture once cooked. The beef was beyond use even for the slaves, the lowest call on the island's rations, so the Council had it dumped at sea, the usual way of disposing of spoiled provisions without breeding disease ashore. Thirteen puncheons of beef, well over half the Bengal Council's experimental shipment, were lost entirely. The Council's decisions set the boundary of what the slaves were expected to eat. Pork rated only middling, judged not good enough for the garrison, was still sound by the surgeon's test and went to the slaves as ordered. The Council refused to issue the beef

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			only once a medical officer pronounced it rotten. The episode left Fort William with a clear answer to its question: beef salted in Bengal did not survive the voyage, though pork might, and the further supply promised by the *Nottingham* would face the same test.
61	52	6th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of July 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 4th July 1767 This day Sailed the Honble Compy's Ship Duke of Albany for England We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Mitchell viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. and Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen I had the Honor to Acquaint you, in my last Quarterly Letter, that the Employment of the Workmen at Sandy Bay during the ensuing three Months, would principally consist in running a Wall along from the Battery on the right of the principal Line, to the Rock which terminates it on the Left, parallel to the Revetment, in Order to support the Rampart, agreeable to the Plan. - In constructing a Case mated Magazine under this Rampart. - In transporting the materials wanting for the Cutting and flanking Line on the Left. - In Clearing away a Bank in Front of this Line the Earth of which would likewise serve to form the Rampart In digging out the Foundation for this Cutting and Line, and in making all the progress in laying the foundation &ca which the time and number of Hands would admit of. - I have now the satisfaction of being able to inform you that all these Works proposed to be carried into Execution during the last three Months, are entirely compleated: Besides which the Cutting itself is finished, and Some progress made in the **Margin Notes:** Sandy Bay	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 6 July 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 4 July 1767. The Company's ship *Duke of Albany* sailed for England that day. The Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. In his last quarterly letter he had reported that the workmen at Sandy Bay would spend the following three months chiefly on several tasks. They would build a wall from the battery on the right of the main line to the rock that ended it on the left, running parallel to the revetment, to support the rampart according to the plan. They would build a vaulted magazine beneath this rampart. They would carry in the materials needed for the cavalier and for flanking the line on the left. They would clear away a bank in front of the line, using its earth to form the rampart. They would dig the foundation for the cavalier and the line, and make as much progress in laying the foundation as time and the number of hands allowed. Mitchell was now pleased to report that all the work planned for the past three months had been completed. In addition, the cavalier itself was finished and some progress had been made on [...] **Interpretations** Sandy Bay on the island's south coast was one of the few places where an enemy could land troops, and the works there formed a fortified line across the bay. Mitchell's letter described the parts of a coastal defence. The revetment was the stone facing that held the earth of a rampart in place, and the wall built parallel to it strengthened the rampart from behind. A cavalier was a raised gun platform built inside the main line, from which guns could fire over the rampart at a distance. The vaulted magazine stored gunpowder under a roof strong enough to resist shot. Clearing the bank in front of the line removed cover an attacker could use while also supplying earth for the rampart, so a single task served two purposes. The letter showed what the labour of the 28 soldiers at the works produced. Corneille had complained on 8 June 1767 that the work was ruining their discipline. Mitchell's report gave the other side of the account, a whole quarter's programme finished on time and more besides. The Council could set the progress of the defences, which the directors had ordered to take priority, against the cost to the garrison's drill, and the rotation adopted in June was designed to keep both.
62	53	1767 the Construction of the Revetment - The greatest Part of the Rampart of the principal Line is likewise filled in, And Materials have been Collected for walling up the Gulley and small Bay to the Right of this Line. - From this Detail of what has been done it will appear that what remains to do consists Chiefly in compleating the Revetment of the Flanking Line, in running a Wall parallel	Captain Mitchell's letter continued with the progress on building the revetment. Most of the rampart of the main line had also been filled in, and materials had been gathered to wall up the gully and small bay to the right of the line. From this account, Mitchell explained, the work remaining consisted chiefly of finishing the revetment of the flanking line and building a wall parallel to it to support the rampart. The rampart of the main line had to be completed, its parapet and banquette built, and the gully and small bay on the right walled up. He expected all of this to be nearly done by the end of the

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		to it, to support the Rampart. - In compleating the Formation of the Rampart of the Principal Line - In constructing the Parapet and Banquette of this Line, and in walling up the Gulley and small Bay on the Right, all which I flatter myself will be nearly compleated by the end of the Quarter, after which, what will then remain to compleat the whole of this great Work will be soon accomplished - I likewise propose, with your approbation to transport during the Course of this Quarter, the Guns that are to be mounted on these new Defences, part of which are to be taken from Munden's Point, which, as it will employ the whole of the Artillery Company, will oblige me to lay aside the Practice of the Artillery in the long Wood for a little time I have the Honor to remain with the greatest Respect. - Gentlemen Your most Obedient and very humble Servant 6th July 1767 Signed R. Mitchell Our observations on the Engineers Quarterly Letter are as follows viz. - That he has fully compleated the Work and Labour proposed during the Period of last quarter, nay farther has Anticipated our Expectations in his progress towards Expediting that heavy Work, in having finished the Cutting of the flanking Line, and that part of the Revetment on	quarter, after which the rest of the great work would soon be finished. With the Council's approval, Mitchell also proposed to move to Sandy Bay during the quarter the guns to be mounted on the new defences, some of them taken from Munden's Point. The task would take the whole artillery company, so he would have to suspend the artillery's practice at Longwood for a short time. He signed the letter on 6 July 1767. The Council then entered its observations on the engineer's quarterly letter. It noted that he had fully completed the work and labour planned for the last quarter. He had gone further than the Council expected in pressing on with the heavy works, having finished the cavalier of the flanking line and that part of the revetment [...] **Interpretations** A banquette was a raised step behind a parapet on which defenders stood to fire over the wall, and stepped down from to take cover. Walling up the gully and small bay closed the gaps where an enemy landing at Sandy Bay might have slipped round the end of the line. The defences were designed to hold a beach against troops coming ashore from boats, the most likely form of attack on an island ringed by cliffs. Moving guns from Munden's Point showed the island stretching a limited stock of artillery. Mitchell had already asked for nine 24-pounders for a new battery at Munden's Point. Until they arrived from England, he took existing guns from there to arm Sandy Bay, judging the southern landing place the greater danger for the moment. The move needed the whole artillery company because heavy guns had to be hauled across the island's steep interior by hand and with draught animals, along tracks unfit for wheeled carriages. Practice at Longwood, the high open plain where the artillery trained, had to stop while every gunner was at the work. The Council's approval was sought because the move left Munden's Point weaker until the new guns came.
63	54	6th July on the left which joins it to the Rock, which gives Us all the Reason to be satisfied with Capt. Mitchell's diligence and care in the Execution of his duty, as well as his constant Inspection and attendance, which consequently has helpt to quicken, and keep to their duty all those under his command, and flatter ourselves We may have the - satisfaction of having this great Work fully compleated before Christmas, which considering the extent, Solidity, and prodigious Quantity of Materials requisite to Collect for so great an undertaking, as also that Tedious labour of digging away the Earth to form the ditch of the principal Line, as well as forming the Glacis, and filling up the rampart, so that upon the whole we are of opinion that as much has been done as the number of hands, and Time would possibly admit of. - We have further to observe that in the Construction of the flanking Line on the Left of the principal one, we are of opinion that Capt. Mitchell has made an improvement on the first Plan, as sent home to the Honble the Court of Directors, as in that the flanking Line is carried straight from that point of the	The Council's observations continued. The engineer had finished the part of the revetment on the left that joined the flanking line to the rock. This gave the Council every reason to be satisfied with Captain Mitchell's diligence and care in his duty, and with his constant inspection and attendance at the works. These had evidently helped to speed the work and to keep everyone under his command at their tasks. The Council hoped to see the great work fully completed before Christmas. It weighed the size and solidity of the works, the enormous quantity of materials such an undertaking required, and the tedious labour of digging out the earth to form the ditch of the main line, shaping the glacis and filling the rampart. On the whole, it judged that as much had been done as the number of hands and the time allowed. The Council further observed that Mitchell had improved on the first plan sent home to the Court of Directors in building the flanking line on the left of the main line. The flanking line now ran straight from the point where it divided from the main line to the opposite point that closed the valley. Under the altered design, the part of the rampart to the left of the cavalier ran at an angle to the lesser line, so that it formed a flank. This would be very useful for musketry or wall pieces, since guns of that range would command the revetment of the whole line. The improvement strengthened the work without any extra cost or labour, and the Council trusted the directors would fully approve it. They would best see it in the plan of the work, which the Council proposed to send home as soon as the whole was complete. The Council also ordered the engineer to delay moving the guns from Munden's Point until the end of the current quarter. There would be time enough then

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		which divides it from the greater Line, to the opposite Point which shuts in that Valley, that the alterations as now Constructed of that part of the rampart on the left of the Cutting, is in an oblique direction to the lesser line, by which means it forms a Flank, and will be highly usefull for Musquetry or Wall pieces, as the Range of such artillery will intirely command the Revetment of all that Line, And as this Improvement towards Strengthening that Work is attended with no additional Expence or Labour We flatter ourselves it will meet with the entire approbation of the Honorable Court of Directors, as will be best seen ffm. Plan of that Work, which we propose sending Home as soon as the whole is Compleated. We have likewise given Orders to the Engineer to defer moving the Guns from Mundens, untill the latter end of the present Quarter, as it will be time enough then to transport those he intends for the defence of Sandy Bay, and no ways impede the Practice of the Artillery in the Long Wood as we hope in that time they will be sufficiently disciplined in that branch of Duty: Which We propose Continuing every Year to **Margin Notes:** Plan	to carry the guns he intended for the defence of Sandy Bay without interrupting the artillery's practice at Longwood. By then the Council hoped the gunners would be sufficiently trained in that branch of their duty, which it proposed to continue every year. **Interpretations** The Council turned down the obvious course Mitchell proposed and changed its timing. He wanted to move the guns from Munden's Point during the quarter, suspending the artillery's practice at Longwood to free every man. The Council postponed the move to the quarter's end and kept the practice going, on the ground that the gunners first needed to finish their training. Corneille's complaint of 8 June 1767 lay behind the choice. The Council had just acted to protect the infantry's drill from the demands of the works, and it now protected the gunners' drill in the same way. Guns mounted at Sandy Bay would be of little use without men trained to fire them. The glacis was the gentle slope of earth outside the ditch, cleared of cover so that attackers crossing it were exposed to the defenders' fire. A flank was a section of wall set at an angle to the main face, so that defenders could fire along the front of the wall at anyone trying to scale it. Wall pieces were heavy muskets mounted on the parapet, firing a larger ball than an ordinary musket. Mitchell's realignment of the rampart created such a flank at no extra cost, and the Council's praise answered in part the directors' complaints about expense. A defensive improvement that cost nothing was exactly what the directors had asked for when they ordered the fortifications to come first.
64	55	1767 to keep them in practice. - John Lemon Soldier who has served the Honble Compy. ten Years, having met with the misfortune of breaking his leg the 13th July 1766 Applied to be discharged the Hospital as he could not get cured upon which we directed the Surgeon to make a report to Us in Writing of his Situation which is as follows viz. Island St. Helena These Certify that John Lemon a Soldier in the 3 Compy. had his Ancle luxated, which was occasioned by a Stone that fell from the Hill a good way from where he was a going, he was admitted into the Hospital the day the Accident happened, which was the 13 July 1766. the fibula one of the bones of the leg was also fractured a very little above the dislocation, there was for some time most grievous Symptoms from the distortion of the foot, which greatly overstrained the Adjacent Ligaments, Tendons, and Nerves, the consequence of which was attended with many nights and days very Violent Pains Applications of every thing that could be thought of were tried, notwithstanding he is but just able to walk about with his Crutches, as time must - perform the rest of the cure it being his desire to be dismissed the	The Council intended this annual practice to keep the artillery company well trained. John Lemon, a soldier who had served the Company for ten years, broke his leg on 15 July 1766. He could not be cured and applied to be discharged from the hospital. The Council directed the surgeon to report in writing on his condition. Robert Barclay, the surgeon, certified that John Lemon of the third company had dislocated his ankle. A stone falling from the hillside had struck him some distance from where he was walking. He was admitted to the hospital on the day of the accident, 15 July 1766. The fibula, one of the bones of the leg, was also fractured a little above the dislocation. For some time he suffered very severe symptoms from the twisting of the foot, which badly overstretched the surrounding ligaments, tendons and nerves. As a result he endured many nights and days of violent pain. Every treatment that could be thought of was tried. Even so, he could only just walk about on crutches, as he would have to do for the rest of his life. At his own wish he was discharged from the hospital. Barclay considered him an invalid as a result of the accident, with no likelihood that he would ever be fit for any service as a soldier. Barclay signed the certificate on 6 July 1767. The report showed that Lemon could no longer serve as a soldier. In view of his long service and good conduct, the Council retired him and granted him 9d a day for his support, as had been done in such cases before. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick

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		Hospital and as I look upon him as an Invalid from the above mentioned Accident, on that Account he is discharged the Hospital there being no probability that he ever will be fit for any Service as a Soldier. - Given under my hand this 6 day of July 1767 Signed Robt. Barclay Surgeon It appearing to Us from the above report that the said Lemon is rendered incapable of doing any further duty as a Soldier We therefore in consideration of his long Service and good behaviour Superanuated him and allowed him for his support 9d pr. day as has been formerly practiced in such cases - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	**Interpretations** The island had a settled practice for soldiers disabled in service, and Lemon's case showed it at work. The Council did not simply discharge him and send him home, as it did with men whose terms expired. A crippled man on crutches could not earn his living as a labourer, and shipping him to England would leave him destitute there. The Council retired him on the island with a daily allowance instead, citing his ten years of service and good conduct as the grounds. The phrase "as has been formerly practised" showed that such pensions were an established custom, granted to deserving men at the Council's discretion and not by any fixed right. Ninepence a day came to about £13 13s 9d a year, less than half the widow's pension of £30 0s 0d set by the fund founded a year earlier. It was a subsistence allowance, enough to feed a man on an island where the Company's rice and salt meat were cheap. The contrast with John Bower, the matross who died of his injuries in May, showed the difference between a soldier who survived his accident and one who did not. The widows' fund covered only the families of its subscribers, all of them officials, so a disabled soldier's only provision came from the Council's discretion.
65	56	13th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of July 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation, was read, approved and signed dated the 6 July 1767 Friday the 10th died Eustace White Gunner The Executor to the last Will and Testament of Eustace White deceased, this day produced the said Will desiring the same might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows viz. In the Name of God Amen I Eustace White of the Island St. Helena Gunner being weak of body but of sound Mind and Memory blessed be God do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following that is to say I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it and my body to the Earth in hopes of a joyfull Resurection through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ And as touching my Worldly Effects wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with in this Life I dispose thereof as follows, Imprimis I hereby Order and direct that all my just debts and Funeral Expences be paid and discharged at a convenient Time after my decease by my Executor herein after named. - First I give and bequeath unto the Revd. Mr. Bearcroft the Sum of one pound one Shilling requesting my corpse may be carried to the Church - Secondly I give unto the Clerk of the Parish the Sum of ten shillings and six pence for his attendance at my Funeral -	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 13 July 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 6 July 1767. Eustace White, a gunner, had died on Friday 10 July. The executor of Eustace White produced his last will and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved the will on the oaths of the witnesses. White, a gunner of St Helena, declared that he was weak in body but of sound mind and memory. He commended his soul to God and his body to the earth, in the hope of a joyful resurrection through Jesus Christ. He then disposed of his worldly goods. He directed his executor, named later in the will, to pay all his just debts and funeral expenses soon after his death. First, White left £1 1s 0d to the Reverend William Bearcroft, asking that his body be carried to the church. Second, he left 10s 6d to the parish clerk for attending his funeral. **Interpretations** White's bequests paid in advance for a proper church funeral. A guinea to the chaplain secured burial with the full service in church, not a hasty interment, and half a guinea to the clerk, who led the responses and kept the register, completed the rite. On an island where many soldiers died far from family, a man who could afford it made sure of a decent burial by his own will. A gunner ranked above a matross in the artillery, so White had pay and perhaps savings enough to leave money for such purposes, unlike Isaac Buck, whose estate was his clothes and arrears of pay. The Reverend William Bearcroft was the island's chaplain, the Company's minister at Jamestown. The Company maintained the church and paid the chaplain as part of its establishment, and the houses repaired for the chaplain featured among the works that drew the engineer away from the fortifications. Fees for burials and other services supplemented his salary.

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66	57	1767 Thirdly I give unto Wm. Chisold all my Wearing Apparell made of Nankeen also two White Waistcoats and Six Chequer Shirts - Lastly I hereby make Constitute, Ordain, and Appoint my good Freind Willm. Jenkins sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament revoking disannulling and making void all former Wills by or for me heretofore made, And in Consideration of the Trust reposed in him my said Executor, Also for the Pains he may be at in the Execution of this my last Will and Testament I hereby give unto him the said Wm. Jenkins, all the Residue of whatever I shall die possessed of. In Witness whereof I the said Eustace White have set my Hand & Seal this eighth day of July, in the Seventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third of great Britain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith &c. and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and sixty seven - Signed Sealed Published and Signed Eustace White delivered by the said Eustace his Mark White as and for his last Will & Testament in the Presence of Us who hath at his request and in his Presence subscribed our Names as Witnesses - Signed Geo. Roe John Woods The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of June last were this day brought in, which were Examined and approved and are as follow viz. -	Third, Eustace White left to William Chisold all his clothing made of nankeen, together with two white waistcoats and six cheque shirts. Finally, White appointed his good friend William Jenkins sole executor and cancelled all earlier wills. In return for the trust placed in him and the trouble of carrying out the will, Jenkins was to receive the whole remainder of White's estate. White made his mark on the will on 8 July 1767, in the seventh year of the reign of George III. It was signed and witnessed at his request and in his presence by George Roe and John Woods. The plantation account for the quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for June 1767 were presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** White made his will only two days before he died, which suggests a sudden illness. Like Isaac Buck, he could not write and signed with his mark, and like Buck he left his estate to a friend rather than to family. His clothing showed what a gunner on St Helena wore off duty. Nankeen was a strong yellowish cotton cloth from Nanking in China, brought to the island cheaply by the ships from Canton and suited to its climate. Cheque shirts were made of cotton or linen woven in a small checked pattern, common working wear for soldiers and seamen. Leaving his clothes as a separate bequest marked them as items of real value to a man of his rank, worth passing to a particular friend. The plantation account recorded the Company's farms, on which the island depended for fresh food. The Company worked its own plantations, chiefly with slave labour, to grow vegetables, raise cattle and sheep, and produce yams and other crops for the garrison and the Company's table. The Council examined the account each quarter to judge whether the farms paid their way, since every bushel grown on the island spared a purchase from a passing ship.
67	58	13th July Account of the Honble Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 1 of April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses J. Asses, Asses S. Asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining the 1 Apl.: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 88, Neat Cattle Calves 37, Neat Cattle Yearlings 49, Neat Cattle Heifers 22, Neat Cattle Steers 79, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 296, Sheep Ewes 354, Sheep Wethers 146, Sheep Lambs 107, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 617, Goats Ewes 119, Goats Wethers 75, Goats Kids 40, Goats Rams 4, Goats Total 238, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 79, Poultry Ducks 15, Poultry Turkeys 51, Poultry Geese 7 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 26, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 26, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 48, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 48, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 31, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 31, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls	The account of the Company's stock of cattle and other animals from 1 April to 30 June 1767 followed. Remaining on 1 April, cattle: 5 bulls, 88 cows, 37 calves, 49 yearlings, 22 heifers, 79 steers, 16 oxen, total 296 Remaining on 1 April, sheep: 354 ewes, 146 wethers, 107 lambs, 10 rams, total 617 Remaining on 1 April, goats: 119 she-goats, 75 wethers, 40 kids, 4 rams, total 238 Remaining on 1 April, hogs: 2, total 2 Remaining on 1 April, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Remaining on 1 April, asses: 1 he-ass, 1 she-ass, total 2 Remaining on 1 April, poultry: 79 fowls, 15 ducks, 51 turkeys, 7 geese Increase, cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 26 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 26 Increase, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 48 lambs, 0 rams, total 48 Increase, goats: 0 she-goats, 0 wethers, 31 kids, 0 rams, total 31 Increase, hogs, horses and asses: 0 Increase, poultry: 44 fowls, 0 ducks, 24 turkeys, 5 geese Total, cattle: 5 bulls, 88 cows, 63 calves, 49 yearlings, 22 heifers, 79 steers, 16 oxen, total 322 Total, sheep: 354 ewes, 146 wethers, 155 lambs, 10 rams, total 665 Total, goats: 119 she-goats, 75 wethers, 71 kids, 4 rams, total 269 Total, hogs: 2, total 2

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		44, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 24, Poultry Geese 5 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 88, Neat Cattle Calves 63, Neat Cattle Yearlings 49, Neat Cattle Heifers 22, Neat Cattle Steers 79, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 322, Sheep Ewes 354, Sheep Wethers 146, Sheep Lambs 155, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 665, Goats Ewes 119, Goats Wethers 75, Goats Kids 71, Goats Rams 4, Goats Total 269, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 123, Poultry Ducks 15, Poultry Turkeys 75, Poultry Geese 12 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 3, Neat Cattle Calves 3, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 19, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 26, Sheep Ewes 11, Sheep Wethers 25, Sheep Lambs 8, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 44, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Wethers 1, Goats Kids 17, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 19, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 36, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 16, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 5, Neat Cattle Calves 2, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 7, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 14, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Wethers 2, Sheep Lambs 15, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 18, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 17, Poultry Ducks 1, Poultry Turkeys 17, Poultry Geese 4 Given to Governor Bath: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 12, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 12, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Sent on Board Capt. Haldane: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 7, Sheep Wethers 11, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 18, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining the 30 June: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 80, Neat Cattle Calves 58, Neat Cattle Yearlings 49, Neat Cattle Heifers 22, Neat Cattle Steers 53, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 282, Sheep Ewes 335, Sheep Wethers 96, Sheep Lambs 132, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 573, Goats Ewes 118, Goats Wethers 74, Goats Kids 54, Goats Rams 4, Goats Total 250, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 70, Poultry Ducks 8, Poultry Turkeys 41, Poultry Geese 8 1 Man Dead named March 1 Do. Do. Corner Yams Expended for the Slaves 71065 Yams Expended for the Stock 7260 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille	Total, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Total, asses: 1 he-ass, 1 she-ass, total 2 Total, poultry: 123 fowls, 15 ducks, 75 turkeys, 12 geese Killed, cattle: 0 bulls, 3 cows, 3 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 19 steers, 1 ox, total 26 Killed, sheep: 11 ewes, 25 wethers, 8 lambs, 0 rams, total 44 Killed, goats: 1 she-goat, 1 wether, 17 kids, 0 rams, total 19 Killed, poultry: 36 fowls, 6 ducks, 16 turkeys, 0 geese Died, cattle: 0 bulls, 5 cows, 2 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 7 steers, 0 oxen, total 14 Died, sheep: 1 ewe, 2 wethers, 15 lambs, 0 rams, total 18 Died, goats: 0 Died, poultry: 17 fowls, 1 duck, 17 turkeys, 4 geese Given to Governor Palk, sheep: 0 ewes, 12 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 12 Sent aboard to Captain Haldane, sheep: 7 ewes, 11 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 18 Remaining on 30 June, cattle: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 58 calves, 49 yearlings, 22 heifers, 53 steers, 15 oxen, total 282 Remaining on 30 June, sheep: 335 ewes, 98 wethers, 132 lambs, 10 rams, total 573 Remaining on 30 June, goats: 118 she-goats, 74 wethers, 54 kids, 4 rams, total 250 Remaining on 30 June, hogs: 2, total 2 Remaining on 30 June, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Remaining on 30 June, asses: 1 he-ass, 1 she-ass, total 2 Remaining on 30 June, poultry: 70 fowls, 8 ducks, 41 turkeys, 8 geese Slaves died during the quarter, 2 men, named March and Corner Yams used for the slaves, 71,065 Yams used for the stock, 7,260 The account was issued subject to errors and signed by Daniel Corneille. **Interpretations** The Company's farms supplied the fresh meat for its table and its ships. The 19 steers killed in the quarter matched the beef recorded in the steward's accounts, and the sheep given to Governor Palk and sent aboard to Captain Haldane showed the farms furnishing provisions to favoured travellers and homeward ships. Steers, castrated bullocks raised for meat, fell from 79 to 53 in three months, the heaviest drain on any part of the herd. Breeding stock, the bulls, cows and heifers, were spared as far as possible, so the herd could renew itself. A herd of under 300 head could not have fed the whole garrison, which explained the island's dependence on salt meat from Bengal and England. Yams were the staple food of the Company's slaves. More than 71,000 were issued to them in a single quarter, nearly ten times the number fed to the livestock. Yams grew well on the island and needed little care, so the Company fed its labourers on the cheapest crop it could raise and kept rice and imported meat chiefly for the garrison. The farm account recorded the slaves alongside the animals, entering the deaths of two men named only March and Corner in the same column as the losses of stock. They were listed because each was Company property whose loss the Council had to account for. Corneille signed the account as the councillor responsible for the Company's farms. The Lieutenant Governor's charge over the plantations made him answerable for the stock and the slaves who worked them, a duty that gave the second man of the government a direct hand in feeding the island.

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68	59	1767 Artillery Stores Expended in June 1767. Guns fired, Shot fired, 32 Pr, 24 Pr, 18 Pr, 12 Pr, 9 Pr, 6 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 4th Guns fired at the several Forts: Guns fired 56, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 2, 24 Pr 3, 18 Pr 3, 12 Pr 6, 9 Pr 4, 6 Pr 3, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 6, 2 Pr 6, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 620, Powder Expended oz 8 9 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived a French Ship did not Salute: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended oz 8 12th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Hawke Capt. Cotton: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 16th departed the French Ship: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 21 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 22 Arrived the duke of Albany: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 28 departed Hawke: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Round Shot Expended at Practice: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 77, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder Expended in Sundry Uses: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 15 Total: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb [...]5, Powder Expended oz 15 Tallow for different Uses 26 lb Ladle Staves for 13 Pr. at Banks's 1 Rammer Heads for a 9 Pr. Do. 3 Do. Do. 32 Pr. Do. 1 Match at different uses 12 Handspikes Do. Do. 4 Trunk Nails to coat spunges at Munden's Point 100 Sheeps Skins for Do. at Do. 1 Sulpher to fill Fuzes 12 Salt Petre Do. Do. 12 Paper Cartridges 4 Qrs. Tompions for a two pounder on the line 4	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in June 1767 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the guns used by calibre and the powder used in pounds and ounces. 4 June, guns fired at the various forts, 56 guns fired, calibres [...], powder used 62 lb 8 oz 9 June, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 9 June, a French ship arrived and did not salute, 0 guns fired, powder used 2 lb 8 oz 12 June, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *12 June, the Hawke arrived under Captain Cotton, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz* 16 June, the French ship departed, 13 guns fired, 0 shot, 13 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 12 oz 21 June, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz *22 June, the Duke of Albany arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz* *28 June, the Hawke departed, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz* Round shot used at practice, 0 guns fired, 77 shot Powder used on other services, 56 lb 15 oz Total powder used, 185 lb 15 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Tallow for various uses, 26 lb Ladle staves for an 18-pounder at Banks's, 1 Rammer heads for a 9-pounder, 3 Rammer heads for a 32-pounder, 1 Slow match for various uses, 12 lb Handspikes for various uses, 4 Trunk nails to cover sponges at Munden's Point, 100 Sheepskins for sponges at Munden's Point, 1 Sulphur to fill fuses, 12 lb Saltpetre to fill fuses, 12 lb Paper cartridges, 4 quires Tompions for a 2-pounder on the line, 4 Tompions for a 9-pounder on the line, 1 13-inch fuses split in driving, 5 Copper rivets to the cooper for powder barrels, 190 Copper rivets broken at the Main Fort, 2 Lead shot for shooting goats, 7 lb 8 oz The account was signed by Mitchell. A note added that, an order having been given to scale the guns at all the forts, the gunner took the opportunity of the King's birthday to scale all the island's artillery. **Interpretations** The 56 guns fired on 4 June marked the birthday of George III, an official celebration in every British possession. The gunner turned the salute to practical use. Scaling meant firing a gun with a small charge to blow out the scale, rust and debris that built up inside the barrel. After the accident of 3 May, when a pitted saluting gun killed John Bower, the Council had ordered every gun on the island inspected, and scaling cleaned them all at once. Firing them for the King's birthday spared a separate expenditure of powder, so one discharge served both ceremony and safety. The French ship's failure to salute was itself recorded, with a small charge of powder, probably a gun fired to demand her colours. Ships of other nations were expected to salute a British fort on arrival, and an omission could be taken as a slight. The garrison answered with a single gun, and still saluted the *Ajax* when she left. The stores showed the scale of the island's heavier guns. Rammer heads for a 32-pounder and ladles for an 18-pounder at Banks's meant large coastal guns were already mounted there, far heavier than the light

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. for 9 Pr. on Do. 1 13 Inch Fuzes split in Driving 5 Copper Hoops to the Cooper for Powder Barrells 190 Ditto broke at the Main Fort 2 Lead Shot to shoot Goats 7 8 Signed R. Mitchell N B. An Order having been given for Scaling the Guns at all the Forts took an opportunity of his Majesty's birth day of Scaling all the Artillery of the Island. -	guns used for salutes. Tompions were wooden plugs fitted into the muzzle to keep out rain and sea spray. Thirteen-inch fuses belonged to mortars, which threw explosive shells high over walls, and five had split while being driven into the shell. Sulphur and saltpetre were the ingredients of gunpowder and fuse composition, mixed on the island to fill fuses. Copper rivets went to the cooper for powder barrels because copper struck no sparks, unlike iron, which could ignite loose powder in a magazine.
69	60	13th July Sundrys Expended the Honorable Compy's Table in June 1767 £ 4 Bottles Port Wine 6 28 Do. Lisbon 2 2 8 Do. Mountain 12 45 Do. Beer 8 1½ 93 Do. Arrack 4 13 171 Beef 3 10 10 236 Mutton 4 17 4 2 Lambs 1 4 Kids 1 10 Fowles 1 5 4 Turkeys 1 39 Butter 1 19 93 Candy 1 11 272 Flour 1 8 £ 25 3 1½ In Consequence of a Complaint this day laid before the Board of the Exorbitant Price of Taylors Work, We had recourse to an Order of Council made in Consultation of the 13th January 1745 but Considering that those prices were rather to Low We came to a determined Resolution of regulating the Bills in future by Ordering the following Advertizement to be Published viz. - Island St. Helena 13th July 1767 Whereas a Complaint has been made that the Taylors charge exorbitantly for their Work This is therefore to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island, that the Master Taylors Jeremiah Smith Roderick	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in June 1767. 4 bottles of port wine, £0 6s 0d 28 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 2s 0d 8 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 12s 0d 45 bottles of beer, £0 8s 11¼d 93 bottles of arrack, £4 13s 0d 171 lb of beef, £3 10s 10d 236 lb of mutton, £4 17s 4d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 4 kids, £1 0s 0d 10 fowls, £0 15s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 39 lb of butter, £1 19s 0d 93 lb of candles, £1 11s 0d 272 lb of flour, £1 8s 0d Total, £25 3s 1½d A complaint was laid before the Council that day about the excessive prices charged for tailoring. The Council referred to an order it had made at the consultation of 8 January 1746. Considering that the prices then fixed were rather too low, it resolved to regulate tailors' bills in future by publishing the following notice. The notice, dated at St Helena on 13 July 1767, stated that a complaint had been made of tailors overcharging for their work. All the island's inhabitants were therefore informed that the master tailors, Jeremiah Smith and [...] Roderick, [...] **Interpretations** The Council fixed the prices of a trade, a common practice in small, enclosed communities. St Helena had only a handful of tailors, and an islander could not take his custom elsewhere, so the tailors could charge what they liked. The Council already had a tariff from 1746, but in more than 20 years prices had risen and the old rates were evidently too low to enforce. Rather than impose those outdated figures, the Council set new ones, fair to the tailors while protecting their customers. A published notice made the rates known to every inhabitant, so anyone could check a bill against them. The steward's account showed the table settling into a pattern. Spending fell to £25 3s 1½d from £27 3s 1d in May, as the stream of distinguished passengers slackened. Arrack held steady at 93 bottles a month, the largest single item, while wine consumption dropped. Butter rose to 39 lb at a shilling a pound, a sign of the island's own dairy produce coming in during the southern winter, when pasture on the uplands was rich.
70	61	1767 Roderick Marchant, and Thomas Watts are hereby permitted to take no more in future than the following prices for the Clothes they make	The notice of 13 July 1767 permitted the master tailors Jeremiah Smith, Roderick Merchant and Thomas Watts to charge no more in future than the following prices for the clothes they made. Fully trimmed suit, coat, £0 14s 0d

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		For a full trim'd Suit viz. The Coat £ - 14 Waistcoat 6 Breeches 4 £ 1 . 4 For a half trimd Suit viz. The Coat £ - 12 Waistcoat 4 Breeches 4 1 For a Frock Suit viz. The Coat £ 10 Waistcoat 4 Breeches 4 18 Waistcoat with Sleeves 5 And it is hereby positively Ordered, that no other Taylor is to Work but as Journeymen to the abovementioned Master Taylors, under penalty of paying ten Shillings for every piece of Work that they are detected in undertaking And the Master Taylors are hereby Ordered upon no pretence whatsoever to give more than two Shillings and sixpence pr. Day to the Journeymen aforesaid. Neither are they to charge in their Bills higher than the beforementioned prices, under penalty of paying forty shillings for every Offence upon Complaint made to the Governor and Council by any of their Customers. - Per Order of Council Signed Mattw. Bazett Secy. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Fully trimmed suit, waistcoat, £0 6s 0d Fully trimmed suit, breeches, £0 4s 0d Fully trimmed suit, total, £1 4s 0d Half-trimmed suit, coat, £0 12s 0d Half-trimmed suit, waistcoat, £0 4s 0d Half-trimmed suit, breeches, £0 4s 0d Half-trimmed suit, total, £1 0s 0d Frock suit, coat, £0 10s 0d Frock suit, waistcoat, £0 4s 0d Frock suit, breeches, £0 4s 0d Frock suit, total, £0 18s 0d Waistcoat with sleeves, £0 5s 0d The Council also ordered that no other tailor should work except as a journeyman to these master tailors, under a penalty of 10s 0d for every piece of work he was found to have taken on. The master tailors were forbidden on any pretext to pay their journeymen more than 2s 6d a day. Nor were they to charge more than these prices in their bills, under a penalty of 40s 0d for every offence, on complaint by any customer to the Governor and Council. The notice was issued by order of the Council and signed by Matthew Bazett, secretary. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The prices charged for making clothes, not for the cloth, which the customer supplied. Trimming meant the buttons, braid, lace and facings that finished a coat, so a fully trimmed suit took the most work and cost the most. A frock suit was plainer, with a simpler coat for everyday wear. A complete suit cost between 18s 0d and £1 4s 0d to make, about the price of a month's beef for the Company's table. The Council regulated the whole trade, not only prices. Confining tailoring to three named masters gave them a protected monopoly, in return for accepting fixed rates. Any other tailor had to work under them as a journeyman, a hired craftsman paid by the day, and a fine of 10s 0d stopped anyone setting up on his own. The cap of 2s 6d a day on journeymen's wages kept the masters' costs in check, so they could live within the new prices. The arrangement bound masters, journeymen and customers alike, and placed enforcement in the Council's hands through complaints. A fine of 40s 0d for each overcharge, nearly twice the price of the dearest suit, made it costly for a master to break the rules. Matthew Bazett signed as secretary, a month after he was sworn in as sheriff on 7 June 1767. A small island's leading men held several offices at once.
71	62	20th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th day of July 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 13 July 1767 The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 April and ending the 30 June 1767, which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble Company's Ware Houses from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 Sugar and Candy viz.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 20 July 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 13 July 1767. The storekeeper presented his account of collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1767, which were examined and approved. The storekeeper's account listed the goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouses during the quarter. 2,792 lb of sugar, £40 13s 11d 76 lb of sugar candy, £17 9s 4d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £58 3s 3d 6½ yards of ticking, £1 2s 6d 164 lb of Bohea tea, £8 4s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2792 lb Sugar 40 14 11 76 Candy 17 8 4 58 3 3 Ticking 6½ Yards 1 2 6 Tea viz. 164 Bohea 8 4 130 Congo 9 3 9 87 Singlo 5 9 7 23 12 4 Soap 293¾ lb 10 1 3 Shifts viz. 85 Soldiers Shirts 20 17 11 3¾ Yd. Irish Linen 5 18 7 16½ Yd. Brown Holland 1 13 8 28 10 2 Copper 21 11 9 Salt 16¼ Bushels 3 6 8 Carried Over£ 126 3 9	130 lb of Congou tea, £9 3s 9d 87 lb of Singlo tea, £[...] Total for tea, £23 12s 4d 293½ lb of soap, £10 17s 3d 35 soldiers' shirts, £20 17s 11d 38 yards of Irish linen, £5 18s 7d 16½ yards of brown holland, £1 13s 8d Total for shirts and linen, £28 10s 2d 21 lb of copper, £0 11s 9d 16¼ bushels of salt, £3 6s 8d Carried forward, £126 3s 9d **Interpretations** The Company's warehouses served as the island's shop as well as its stores. Goods brought out by the Company's ships, such as the tea and sugar from Canton and Bengal, were sold to inhabitants, officials and soldiers at fixed prices, and the money came back into the treasury. The Company thus controlled the supply of essentials on the island, and the collection account recorded what it earned. Tea sold in all three varieties shipped from Canton, in quantities that matched the chests landed from the *Plassey*. Several items showed how the garrison was clothed and kept. Soldiers bought their shirts ready made from the Company's stores, and the cost was probably deducted from their pay. Irish linen, a fine white cloth, and brown holland, a coarser unbleached linen first made in the Netherlands, were sold by the yard for shirts and household use. Ticking was a strong striped cotton or linen used to cover mattresses and pillows. Sugar candy, crystallised sugar, came from China as a luxury sweetmeat and cost far more by weight than ordinary sugar. Salt, sold by the bushel, was essential for preserving meat and fish on an island far from regular supplies.
72	63	1767 Brought over£ 126 3 9 Hosiers Ware viz. 7 Pr. Mens Ordiny. Thread Stockgs. 1 1 10½ 13 Pr. English Cotton Do. 4 16 1½ 9 Pr. Mens Wove Do. 1 15 7½ 1 Pr. Boys Do. 2 ½ 3 Pr. Scarlet Breeches 1 10 9 6 6 Beef and Pork viz. 2166 lb Pork 216 12 2029 lb Beef 202 18 419 10 Blankets 5 1 8 4 Candles 285 3 4 8 9 Paint viz. 20 Blue Smalts 1 4 8 24 Indico 2 6 108 Whiting 6 9 3 Red Lead 7½ 23¼ Stone Red mixed 1 5 ¼ Copperas 6½ 4 Bottles Blacking 2 4 9 White Lead mixed	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £126 3s 9d 7 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £1 1s 10½d 13 pairs of English cotton stockings, £4 16s 11½d 9 pairs of men's woven stockings, £1 15s 7½d 1 pair of boys' stockings, £0 2s 0½d 2 pairs of scarlet breeches, £1 10s 0d Total for hosiery, £9 6s 6d 2,166 lb of pork, £21 12s 0d 2,029 lb of beef, £20 18s 0d Total for beef and pork, £41 10s 0d 5 blankets, £1 8s 4d 285 lb of candles, £34 8s 9d 20 lb of blue smalt, £1 1s 8d 24 lb of indigo, £2 6s 0d 108 lb of whiting, £0 6s 9d 3 lb of red lead, £0 0s 7½d 23¼ lb of Venetian red mixed, £0 1s 5d ¼ lb of copperas, £0 0s 6½d 4 boxes of blacking, £0 2s 4d 9 lb of white lead mixed, £0 3s 11½d 1 lb of yellow ochre mixed, £0 0s 3½d ½ lb of Venetian red dry, £0 0s 2d 4 lb of white lead dry, £0 1s 4d 5 lb of verdigris, £1 1s 7d Total for paint, £5 16s 8d 54 lb of starch, £1 4s 9d 4 porcelain chamber pots, £0 8s 10d 34 porcelain saucers, £0 8s 6d 7 porcelain teapots, £0 6s 5d 6 porcelain guglets and 9 porcelain basins, £1 2s 3d 10 porcelain bowls, £0 15s 5d 1 set of porcelain dishes and plates, £1 1s 0d 4 porcelain salad dishes, £0 3s 4d Porcelain carried forward, £4 4s 10d Carried forward, £597 15s 11d **Interpretations**

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		3 11½ 1 Yellow Oaker Do. 3½ ½ Stone Red dry 2 4 White Lead Do. 1 4½ 5 Verdigrease 1 1 7 5 16 8 Starch 54 1 4 9 China Ware viz. 4 Chamber Pots 8 10 34 Saucers 8 6 7 Tea Pots 6 5 6 Guglets 9 Basons 1 2 3 10 Bowls 15 5 1 Set dishes & Plates 1 1 4 Salled Do. 3 4 China Ware Carried Over£ 4 4 10 Carried Over£ 597 18 11	The porcelain came from China in the holds of the Company's ships, where it was packed as ballast beneath the tea. It was heavy, waterproof and sold at a profit in Europe, and the ships brought far more than England required. St Helena's inhabitants could therefore buy Chinese porcelain cheaply for everyday use, so that even chamber pots and salad dishes in island households were imported china, a luxury in many English homes. A guglet was a long-necked water bottle of a type used in India and the East, which kept water cool by evaporation through its porous body. The sale of more than 4,000 lb of beef and pork from the Company's stores showed salt meat passing to inhabitants as well as the garrison. Islanders bought provisions from the Company in seasons when their own farms ran short, and the Company recovered its costs. Blue smalt was a pigment of powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, used in paint and also to whiten linen in the wash, as starch stiffened it. Blacking polished shoes and leather equipment. The range of goods, from stockings and breeches to paint and porcelain, confirmed that the warehouses supplied almost every need of a community with no other regular source of imports.
73	64	20th July Brought over£ 597 18 11 China Ware brought over£ 4 4 10 2 Milk Ewers 2 4 15 Meat Dishes 60 Do. Plates 36 Soop Do. 2 Tureens Octago 5 10 3 2 Guglets and Basons Stone 14 8 10 16 7 Flannel 6 Yards 8 Hats viz. 12 Mens fine 11 11 2 Boys 13 3 12 4 3 Flour viz. 4019 Flour 37 12 3 300 . 3 . 3 Do. Bracked 280 13 318 5 3 Canvas viz. 70½ Yds. English 4 11 58½ Yds. Osnabrigs 2 15 7 7 6 7 Twine viz. 32 Seaming Twine 18 8 9¼ Cotton Wick 1 9 3 2 7 11 Iron Ware viz. 12 Scythe Stones 2 3 8 Hand Hatchets 18	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £597 15s 11d Porcelain brought forward, £4 4s 10d 2 porcelain milk jugs, £0 2s 4d 15 octagonal porcelain meat dishes, 60 plates, 36 soup plates and 2 tureens, £5 10s 3d 2 stoneware guglets and basins, £0 14s 8d Total for porcelain and stoneware, £10 16s 7d 6 yards of flannel, £0 8s 0d 12 men's fine hats, £11 11s 0d 2 boys' hats, £0 13s 3d Total for hats, £12 4s 3d 40 cwt 1 qr 7 lb of flour, £37 12s 3d 300 cwt 3 qr 3 lb of flour, [...], £280 13s 0d Total for flour, £318 5s 3d 70½ yards of English canvas, £4 11s 0d 58½ yards of osnaburg, £2 15s 7d Total for canvas, £7 6s 7d 32 [...] of seaming twine, £0 18s 8d 9¼ [...] of cotton wick, £1 9s 3d Total for twine, £2 7s 11d 12 scythe stones, £0 2s 3d 8 hand hatchets, £0 18s 0d 4 chafing dishes, £1 9s 4d 5 spades, £1 0s 7½d 1 [...] lock, £0 0s 6½d 6 curry combs and brushes, £0 12s 0d 3 pairs of bellows, £0 13s 1½d 6 [...], £0 4s 6d 3 padlocks, £0 5s 0d 2 large frying pans, £0 9s 3d 2 spring rat traps, £0 3s 6d 1 double mousetrap, £0 1s 3d 2 single mousetraps, £0 1s 3d Ironware carried forward, £6 [...] Carried forward, £9[...] **Interpretations** Flour was by far the largest item sold, more than 340 hundredweight worth over £318 0s 0d. Wheat grew poorly on the island, and the inhabitants depended on the Company to supply flour from England or the Cape for their bread. The two entries at different prices suggest flour of different quality or

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 Chaffing Dishes 1 9 4 5 Spades 1 7½ 1 Splenter Locks 6½ 6 Curry Combs and Brushes 12 3 Pr. Bellows 13 1½ 6 Blankets 4 6 3 Pad Locks 5 2 Large Fry'g Pans 9 3 2 Spring Rat Traps 3 6 1 Double Mouse Do. 1 3 2 Single Do. Do. 1 3 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 6 7½ Carried Over£ 947 7 [...]	condition, perhaps part of it damaged on the voyage and sold cheaper. The other goods showed the practical needs of a farming community. Scythe stones sharpened the blades used to cut grass and corn. Curry combs groomed horses and cattle. Rat and mouse traps answered a real problem, since rats came ashore from ships and ravaged the island's crops and stores. Osnaburg was a coarse linen named after the German town of Osnabrück, widely used for sacks and for the clothing of slaves and labourers. Chafing dishes were braziers holding hot coals, used to keep food warm at table or to cook small dishes. The Company's warehouses thus supplied the tools of the island's farms alongside the porcelain and fine hats bought by its leading households.
74	65	1767 Brought Over£ 947 7½ Iron Ware brought over£ 6 7½ 1 Hatchet Helve 2½ 4 Iron Shovels 1 1 Shod Do. 1 10½ 9 Stock Locks 1 6½ 1 Rag Stone 2½ 1 Claw Hammer 1 6½ 1 Garden Hoe 1 1½ 1 Do. Rake 2 6½ 3 Scythes 13 9½ 8 Pr. Shutter Hinges 18 10 1 Lathing Hammer 1 10 2 Plaisterers Trowels 3 9½ 2 Bricklayer Do. 2 6 4 Cupboard Locks 12 2 2 Gimblets 4½ 1 Maul 9 9½ 1 Pick Axe 3 7½ 2 Helves 1 4 4 Chest Locks 12 6 2 lb Round headed Tacks 4 7 ¼ Iron Binding wire 4 13 5 7 Nails viz. 5¾ . 2 4 6½ 14 . 3 11 4½	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £949 7s [...]d Ironware brought forward, £6 0s 7½d 1 hatchet handle, £0 0s 2½d 4 iron shovels, £0 1s 0d 1 iron shod spade, £0 1s 10½d 9 stock locks, £0 1s 6½d 1 rag stone, £0 0s 2½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 6½d 1 garden hoe, £0 1s 1½d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 6½d 3 scythes, £0 18s 9½d 8 pairs of shutter hinges, £0 18s 10d 1 lathing hammer, £0 1s 10d 2 plasterers' trowels, £0 3s 9½d 2 bricklayers' trowels, £0 2s 6d 4 cupboard locks, £0 12s 2d 2 gimlets, £0 0s 4½d 1 maul, £0 9s 9½d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 7½d 2 helves, £0 1s 4d 4 chest locks, £0 12s 10d 2 lb of round-headed tacks, £0 4s 7d ¼ lb of iron binding wire, £0 0s 4d Total for ironware, £13 5s 7d 5¾ [...] of 2d nails, £0 4s 6½d 14 [...] of 3d nails, £0 11s 4½d 36 [...] of 4d nails, £1 3s 3d 55 [...] of 6d nails, £0 15s 1¼d 28 [...] of 10d nails, £0 14s 0d 36 [...] of flooring brads, £0 16s 6½d 4 [...] of glazing brads, £0 0s 5½d Total for nails, £4 5s 3d 162 fishing lines, number 2, £2 16s 10½d 137 fishing lines, number 3, £2 10s 9½d 4 fishing lines, number 4, £0 17s 2d Hooks and lines carried forward, £5 18s 10½d Carried forward, £966 18s [...]d **Interpretations** More than 300 fishing lines sold in a single quarter showed how much the island relied on the sea for food. The waters around St Helena were rich in fish, mackerel, tuna and many reef species, and fishing supplemented the salt meat and yams of the island's diet for inhabitants, soldiers and slaves alike. The Company sold lines in numbered sizes for different catches, and fish caught by islanders reduced the demand on the Company's own provisions. The tools listed showed the trades of a building community. A maul was a heavy hammer for driving

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		36 . 4 1 3 3 55 . 6 15 1¼ 28 . 10 14 36 Floorg. Brads 16 6¼ 14 Glazg. Brads 5½ 4 5 3 Hooks and Lines viz. 162 Lines No. 2 2 10 10½ 137 . . 3 2 10 9½ 4 . . 4 17 2 Hooks & Lines Carried Over£ 5 18 10½ Carried Over£ 966 15 4	stakes or splitting timber, a gimlet bored small holes for screws, and a lathing hammer nailed the strips of wood on which plaster was laid. Plasterers' and bricklayers' trowels served the masons and plasterers whose work on the Castle and fortifications filled the Council's accounts. A rag stone was a coarse sharpening stone. Stock locks were heavy wooden-cased locks for outer doors, and chest locks secured the sea chests in which most islanders kept their valuables. Shutter hinges answered the island's weather, since shutters protected windows from wind-driven rain.
75	66	20th July Brought over£ 966 18 4 Hooks and Lines brought Over£ 5 18 10½ 3 Hambro Lines 5 3 350 Hooks No. 1 19 10 100 . 6 7 11 223 . 7 13 8 425 . 9 12 11 50 . 10 1 100 . 11 1 9 125 . 12 2 1 975 . 14 9 11½ 950 . 16 5 6½ 12 Large Hooks 3 10 1 9 Deals viz. 94 Double 17 12 6 75 Single 9 2 10 6 Planks 2 18 6 1 Elm Board 4 8 29 18 6 Thread viz. 5 lb Coloured 18 4 9½ Whited Brown 3 9 8 7 Skains No. 26 1 3 3 Do. 30 5 6 4 14 9 Rice and Paddy viz. 19 . 1 . 3 Rice cwt. qrs. lb 11 4 10 43 . 2 . 13 Paddy 10 5 4 21 10 2 Oil viz. 8¾ Gallns. Linseed 1 6 6	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £966 18s 4d Hooks and lines brought forward, £5 18s 10½d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 5s 3d 350 fishing hooks, number 1, £0 19s 10d 100 fishing hooks, number 6, £0 7s 11d 225 fishing hooks, number 7, £0 13s 8d 425 fishing hooks, number 9, £0 12s 11d 50 fishing hooks, number 10, £0 1s 0d 100 fishing hooks, number 11, £0 1s 9d 125 fishing hooks, number 12, £0 2s 1d 975 fishing hooks, number 14, £0 9s 11½d 950 fishing hooks, number 16, £0 5s 6½d 12 large hooks, £0 3s 0d Total for hooks and lines, £10 1s 9d 94 double deals, £17 12s 6d 75 single deals, £9 2s 10d 6 battens, £2 18s 6d 1 elm board, £0 4s 8d Total for deals, £29 18s 6d 5 lb of coloured thread, £0 18s 4d 9½ lb of whited brown thread, £3 9s 8d 7 skeins of thread, number 26, £0 1s 3d 3 skeins of thread, number 30, £0 5s 6d Total for thread, £4 14s 9d 19 cwt 1 qr 3 lb of rice, £11 4s 10d 43 cwt 2 qr 13 lb of paddy, £10 5s 4d Total for rice and paddy, £21 10s 2d 8¾ gallons of linseed oil, £1 6s 6d 10 gallons of train oil, £1 8s 6d ⅞ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 17s 0d 7 bottles of Florence oil, £0 7s 7d Total for oil, £4 15s 8d Carried forward, £1,037 19s 2d **Interpretations** The islanders bought more than 3,000 fishing hooks in three months, in sizes from the large number 1 to the small number 16. Small hooks caught the abundant inshore fish from the rocks and boats around the coast, while larger hooks and the stout Hamburg lines took bigger fish further out. Fishing on this scale fed households, slaves and the market in Jamestown, and the Company's stores were the only source of tackle on the island. The oils served very different purposes. Linseed oil was the base for paint, and oil of turpentine thinned it. Train oil was rendered from whale or seal blubber and burned in lamps, a cheap light for households that could not afford candles. Florence oil was olive oil from Tuscany, sold in flasks for cooking and the table, a luxury for the island's better households. Rice and paddy appeared among the goods sold as well as issued. The Company's grain from Bengal and Bombay fed its own garrison and slaves, and the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 Do. Train 1 8 6 ⅞ Do. Oil of Turpentine 17 7 Bottles Florence 17 4 15 8 Carried Over£ 1037 19 2	surplus was sold to inhabitants whose farms could not supply enough. The deals and battens, the same imported timber used on the Castle repairs, were sold to islanders building or repairing their houses.
76	67	1767 Brought over£ 1037 19 2 Camblet viz. 6½ Yds. Scarlet 1 6 6 5½ Yds. Brown 1 8 6 8 Yds. Blue 17 2¼ Yds. Green 7 7 4 9 7 Tin Ware viz. 7 Lamps 5 8¼ 1 Quart Sauce pan 9¼ 2 Do. wth. Covers 13 8 1 Kettle wth. Do. 3 7½ 1 Double Sheet Tin 9 4 Single Do. 1 4 2 Skipping Pans 4 ½ 4 Watering Pots 11 10 3 Gallon Funnels 7 2½ 1 18 11 Turners Ware viz. 6 Labourers Baskets 7 6 5 Scrub. Brushes 12 11 5 Hair Brooms 12 4 Shoe Brushes 3 ½ 11 Punch Ladles 7 4 6 Plate Baskets lin'd with Tin 1 16 1½ 5 China Plate Baskets 1 6 4 Paint Brushes 2 4 1 Plaisterers Do. 1 2½ 3 Birch Brooms 1 2½ 1 Hair Sieve 1 1½ 2 Mops 2 10 1 Wood Bowl 1 3 5 9 4 Pewter viz. 4 Chamber Pots 12 10 2 Basons 4 6 1 Close Stool Pan 4 11½	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £1,037 19s 2d 6½ yards of scarlet camlet, £1 6s 6d 5½ yards of brown camlet, £1 8s 6d 8 yards of blue camlet, £1 7s 0d 2¼ yards of green camlet, £0 7s 7d Total for camlet, £4 9s 7d 7 tin lamps, £0 5s 8¼d 1 quart tin saucepan, £0 0s 9¼d 2 tin saucepans with covers, £0 3s 8d 1 tin kettle with cover, £0 3s 7½d 1 double sheet of tin, £0 0s 9d 4 single sheets of tin, £0 1s 4d 2 tin skimming pans, £0 4s 0½d 4 tin watering pots, £0 11s 10d 3 tin gallon funnels, £0 7s 2½d Total for tinware, £1 18s 11d 6 labourers' baskets, £0 7s 6d 5 scrubbing brushes, £0 12s 11d 5 hair brooms, £0 12s 0d 4 shoe brushes, £0 3s 0½d 11 punch ladles, £0 7s 4d 6 plate baskets lined with tin, £1 16s 1½d 3 porcelain plate baskets, £1 0s 6d 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 4d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 2½d 3 birch brooms, £0 1s 2½d 1 hair sieve, £0 1s 1½d 2 mops, £0 2s 10d 1 wooden bowl, £0 1s 3d Total for turners' ware, £5 9s 4d 4 pewter chamber pots, £0 12s 10d 2 pewter basins, £0 4s 6d 1 pewter close-stool pan, £0 4s 11½d 2 pewter water plates, £0 11s 2½d Total for pewter, £1 13s 6d Carried forward, £1,051 10s 6d **Interpretations** Camlet was a fine woven cloth, originally of camel or goat hair and by this period usually of wool or wool mixed with silk or hair. Its bright colours of scarlet, blue and green suited coats, cloaks and the facings of uniforms. Scarlet camlet in particular was worn by officers and gentlemen, and its sale alongside the finer hats confirmed that the island's leading families dressed in the fashions of England. The household goods filled in the picture of domestic life on the island. Punch ladles served the bowl of punch, made with arrack, citrus, sugar and spice, which was the favourite drink of the Company's servants in India and on St Helena. Eleven ladles sold in a quarter matched the 90 or more bottles of arrack consumed each month at the Company's table alone. A close-stool was a chair with a pan beneath, a portable privy used indoors, and pewter water plates were double plates with a hollow to hold hot water and keep food warm. Plate baskets carried crockery to and from the table or kitchen. These goods, together with the tin lamps, watering pots and saucepans, showed a settled community furnishing its houses entirely from the Company's warehouses.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Water Plates 11 2½ 1 13 6 Carried Over£ 1051 10 6	
77	68	20th July Brought over£ 1051 10 6 Cutlery Ware viz. 50 Pr. Leather Garter 1 11 3 12 Ivory Handle Knives & Forks 1 14 11 1 Pruning Knife 1 1 2 Shoe Do. 9 2 Horse Combs 7 5 Horn Do. 11½ 2 Buckling Do. 7½ 1 Ivory Do. 1 ½ 1 fine Ivory Do. 2 6½ 3 13 9 Chelloes 3 Ps. 1 7 Long Cloth viz. 21 Ps. No. 1 33 1 3 11 Ps. 2 5 7 10 51 Ps. 9 22 11 3 51 Ps. 11 12 13 4 21 Ps. G 10 16 6 84 10 Pitch and Tar viz. 13 Pitch 1 7 5½ Tar 4 7 62 Rozin 9 15 2 Glass Ware viz. 34 Wine Glasses 1 5 8½ 5 Beer Do. 5 2½ 20 Tumblers 10 10 4 Quart Decanters 10 4 4 Pint Do. 7 11 2 Cruets 2 2½ 120 Sqr. Glasses 6 by 8 2 5 60 Sqr. Do. 8 by 10 1 13 9 7 Sqr. Do. 10 by 12 7 8¾ 93 Sqr. Do. 10 by 15 5 16 3 43 Sqr. 10 by 16 2 18 3 16 3 2 Shoes viz. 25 Pr. Mens fine Shoes 7 13 1	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £1,051 10s 6d 20 pairs of leather garters, £1 11s 3d 12 ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 14s 11d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 1d 2 shoe knives, £0 0s 9d 2 horse combs, £0 0s 7d 5 horn combs, £0 0s 11¼d 2 buckling combs, £0 0s 7½d 1 ivory comb, £0 0s 1½d 1 fine ivory comb, £0 2s 6¼d Total for cutlery, £3 13s 9d 3 pieces of chelloes, £1 7s 6d 2½ pieces of long cloth, [...], £33 1s 3d 1½ pieces of long cloth, [...], £3 7s 10d 5 pieces of long cloth, [...], £22 11s 3d 5 pieces of long cloth, [...], £12 13s 4d 8 pieces of long cloth, [...], £10 16s 6d Total for long cloth, £86 10s [...]d [...] of pitch, £0 17s 0d 5½ [...] of tar, [...] 62 [...] of rosin, £0 9s 0d Total for pitch and tar, £0 15s 2d 34 wine glasses, £1 5s 8½d 5 beer glasses, £0 5s 2½d 20 tumblers, £0 10s 10d 4 quart decanters, £0 10s 4d 4 pint decanters, £0 7s 11d 2 cruets, £0 2s 2½d 120 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches, £2 5s 0d 60 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £1 13s 9d 7 squares of glass 10 by 12 inches, £0 7s 8¾d 93 squares of glass 10 by 15 inches, £5 16s 3d 43 squares of glass 10 by 16 inches, £2 18s 3d Total for glassware, £16 3s 2d 25 pairs of men's fine shoes, £7 13s 1d 23 pairs of men's pumps, £6 6s 6d Shoes carried forward, £13 19s 7d Carried forward, £1,158 [...] **Interpretations** Long cloth was plain white cotton calico woven in India, sold by the piece in grades marked with letters to show their fineness and price. It came from the Coromandel coast and Bengal, and at £86 0s 0d or more it was the dearest group of goods on the page. Islanders made shirts, shifts, sheets and household linen from it, as Indian cotton was far cheaper than English linen. Chelloes were a checked or striped Indian cotton cloth, often coloured blue, used for clothing and furnishing. The glass for windows sold in large numbers, more than 300 squares, chiefly in the larger sizes. Inhabitants as well as the Company were glazing their houses, and the sizes matched the sash windows the Castle repairs used. Pitch, tar and rosin, products of pine resin, sealed roofs, boats and casks against the island's rain. Pumps were light, low shoes worn indoors or for dancing, while buckling combs dressed the side curls of a gentleman's hair or wig. These purchases, with ivory-handled cutlery, decanters and wine glasses, showed the comfortable households of the island's officials and planters keeping a style of living close to that of England.

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		23 Pr. Do. Pumps 6 6 6 Shoes Carried Over£ 13 19 7 Carried Over£ 1158 -	
78	69	1767 Brought over£ 1158 Shoes brought over£ 13 9 7 12 Pr. Mens Channel Pumps 4 26 Pr. Do. Midling Do. 6 10 145 Pr. Do. Ordinary Do. 32 12 6 53 Pr. Do. Womens Calimanco Do. 11 9 8 11 Pr. Womens Spanish Do. 2 7 8 5 Pr. Womens Calf Do. 15 8 6 Pr. Girls Calimanco Do. 1 6 24 Pr. Boys Do. 4 4 76 18 7 Haberdashery viz. 22 Skns. Silk 12 10 29 Skns. Mohair 14 6 3½ Gross White Waistcoat Buttons 3 9 ½ Do. Shirt Do. 1 3 6½ doz. Mohair Coat Do. 4 10½ 54 Cockades 1 3 18½ Gross Horn Moulds 2 5 5½ 2 Whale Bone 12 6½ 3 Boneing Knives 3 7 19 Yd. Tabby 9 3 2½ doz. Silver Wire Coat Buttons 12 7 2 doz. Do. Do. Bt. Do. 5 3 1 Pc. Galloon 5 8½ 7 16 10 Broad Cloth viz. 3¼ Yards Scarlet 3 15 8 11½ Do. Blue 11 16 11½ 11½ Do. French Grey 11 6 7½ 1 Do. Green 13 10 27 13 1 Iron Pots viz. 1 of 1 Gallon 2 1 1 Wt. 76 lb 15 10 1 1 11 Serge viz. 1 Pc. Brown Holland 2 4 7 5½ Yds. Scarlet Duffle 2 13 5 2 7 Carried Over£ 1276 9	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter continued. Brought forward, £1,158 0s 0d Shoes brought forward, £13 19s 7d 12 pairs of men's channel pumps, £4 0s 0d 26 pairs of men's middling shoes, £6 10s 0d 145 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £32 12s 6d 53 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £11 9s 8d 11 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £2 7s 8d 5 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £0 15s 8d 6 pairs of girls' calamanco shoes, £1 0s 6d 24 pairs of boys' shoes, £4 4s 0d Total for shoes, £76 18s 7d 22 skeins of silk, £0 12s 10d 29 skeins of mohair, £0 14s 6d 3½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 9d ½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 1s 3d 6½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 4s 10½d 54 cockades, £1 0s 3d 18½ gross of horn moulds, £0 2s 5½d 2 [...] of whalebone, £0 12s 6½d 3 boning knives, £0 3s 7d 1 yard of tabby, £0 9s 3d 2½ dozen silver wire coat buttons, £0 12s 7d 2 dozen silver wire waistcoat buttons, £0 5s 3d 1 piece of galloon, £0 5s 8½d Total for haberdashery, £7 16s 10d 3¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £3 13s 8d 11½ yards of blue broadcloth, £11 16s 11½d 11½ yards of French grey broadcloth, £11 6s 7½d 1 yard of green broadcloth, £0 15s 10d Total for broadcloth, £27 13s 1d 1 iron pot of 1 gallon, £0 2s 1d 1 iron pot weighing 76 [...], £0 15s 10d Total for iron pots, £0 17s 11d 1 piece of brown holland, £2 4s 7d 5½ yards of scarlet duffel, £2 18s 0d Total for serge and cloth, £5 2s 7d Carried forward, £1,276 9s 0d **Interpretations** The shoe sales showed the island's population in detail. Men's ordinary shoes sold by far the most, 145 pairs at under 4s 6d a pair, the footwear of soldiers, labourers and humbler households. Middling shoes and channel pumps, in which the stitching was sunk into a channel cut in the sole, served men of more standing. Women's shoes came in calamanco, a glossy worsted cloth, as well as Spanish leather and calfskin, while girls and boys had their own sizes. The variety of grades confirmed a mixed community of officials, planters, soldiers and their families, all shod from the Company's stores. The haberdashery revealed the garrison's needs as well as the households'. Cockades were knots of ribbon worn on the hat as a military badge, and 54 sold in a quarter matched the soldiers' uniforms. Horn moulds were the cores for cloth-covered buttons, and whalebone stiffened women's stays and bodices. Galloon was a narrow braid of gold, silver or silk for trimming coats and hats, while silver wire buttons finished the coats of gentlemen and officers. Tabby was a watered silk with a wavy sheen. Broadcloth, a dense, fine woollen cloth from England, sold in the scarlet and blue of uniforms and the fashionable French grey. Duffel was a heavy woollen cloth with a thick nap, named after the town of Duffel near Antwerp, used for warm coats and cloaks in the island's cool upland winters.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
79	70	20th July Brought over£ 1276 9 Oars 4 17 11 Lead viz. 41¼ Sheet Lead 3 7 39 Shott 8 11 17 6 Leather viz. 3½ Sole Leather 1 14 8 4 Calf Skins 1 17 1 3 11 9 Cordage 526 9 17 3 Pease ⅓ Bushels Split 3 7 Shalloon viz. 18½ Yards Scarlet 2 8 5 13½ Do. Coloured 1 7 6 3 15 11 Buckram 8 Yards 9 Coffee 21 lb 19 3 Corks viz. 2½ Gross Corks 6 6 1 Sheet Do. 9 7 3 Wine viz. 233 Galls. Lisbon 73 15 8 175 Do. Port 55 8 4 57 Do. Mountain 18 1 147 5 Braziers Ware 1 Pr. Candle Sticks 7 9 Long Ells viz. 5½ Scarlet 1 9 9 2¾ Yds. Blue 4 10 19 7 £ 1446 - 8	The storekeeper's account of goods sold during the quarter concluded. Brought forward, £1,276 9s 0d 4 oars, £0 17s 10d 41¼ lb of sheet lead, £0 8s 7d 39 lb of shot, £0 8s 11d Total for lead, £0 17s 6d 3½ [...] of sole leather, £1 14s 8d 4 calfskins, £1 17s 1d Total for leather, £3 11s 9d 526 [...] of cordage, £9 17s 3d ⅓ bushel of split peas, £0 3s 7d 18½ yards of scarlet shalloon, £2 8s 5d 13½ yards of coloured shalloon, £1 7s 6d Total for shalloon, £3 15s 11d 8 yards of buckram, £0 9s 0d 21 lb of coffee, £0 19s 3d 2½ gross of corks, £0 6s 6d 1 sheet of cork, £0 0s 9d Total for corks, £0 7s 3d 233 gallons of Lisbon wine, £73 15s 8d 175 gallons of port wine, £55 8s 4d 57 gallons of Mountain wine, £18 1s 0d Total for wine, £147 5s 0d 1 pair of brass candlesticks, £0 7s 9d 3½ yards of scarlet long ells, £0 14s 9d 2¾ yards of blue long ells, £0 4s 10d Total for long ells, £0 19s 7d Total for goods sold in the quarter, £1,446 0s 8d **Interpretations** Wine was the costliest single class of goods the Company sold in the quarter, at £147 5s 0d, nearly a tenth of the whole. Some 465 gallons of Lisbon, port and Mountain went to the island's households and officials in three months, on top of the bottles drunk at the Company's table. These wines came cheaply from Portugal and Spain, carried by ships calling on the way out to Asia, and the Company sold them by the gallon for islanders to bottle themselves, which explained the corks sold alongside. The quarter's sales came to more than £1,446 0s 0d, a substantial income for the Company from a small island. The warehouses supplied the inhabitants with almost everything they could not grow or make, and the Company profited from its monopoly of imports. Shalloon was a light woollen lining cloth used for coats and uniforms, and long ells were a coarse woollen cloth named for its length, also used in military dress. Buckram, a stiffened linen, gave shape to coat skirts and collars. Coffee, at under a shilling a pound, came from Mocha or Batavia on the Asian ships. Cordage, the ropes needed for boats, cranes and buildings, sold in large quantity, and four oars served the island's fishing and landing boats.
80	71	1767 Sold to the Planters at 2½ Pr. Cent viz. £ Challow 1 Ps. 10 4 Shoes viz. 1 Pr. Mens Ordinary Shoes 5 1 2 Pr. Boys Do. 8 8 5 Pr. Womens Calf Leather 16 8 7 Pr. Girls Do. Do. 13 8 3 Pr. Girls Calimanco 11 9 6 Pr. Womens Do. 1 9 6 5 Pr. Do. Spanish 1 4 1	The storekeeper's account continued with the goods sold to the planters at 2½ per cent. 1 piece of shalloon, £0 10s 4d 1 pair of men's ordinary shoes, £0 5s 1d 2 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 8s 8d 5 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £0 16s 8d 7 pairs of girls' calf leather shoes, £0 13s 8d 3 pairs of girls' calamanco shoes, £0 11s 9d 6 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £1 9s 6d 5 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £1 4s 7d Total for shoes, £5 14s 11d 1½ yards of French grey broadcloth, £1 8s 0d 4 yards of brown broadcloth, £4 7s 6d Total for broadcloth, £5 15s 6d 2 [...] of whited brown thread, £0 18s 8d 3 [...] of coloured thread, £0 13s 0d Total for thread, £1 11s 8d 1 gross of horn moulds, £0 3s 5½d 2 dozen silver wire [...] buttons, £0 6s 8½d 3 dozen mohair [...] buttons, £0 1s 6d

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		5 14 11 Broad Cloth viz. 1½ Yds. French Grey 1 8 4 Yards Brown 4 7 6 5 15 6 Thread viz. 2 Whited Brown 18 8 3 Coloured 13 1 11 8 Haberdashery viz. 1 Gross Horn Moulds 3 5½ 2 doz. Silver Wire Bt. Buttons 6 8½ 3 doz. Mohair . Bt. Do. 1 6 5 Skns. Silk 3 9 6 Do. Mohair 3 6 18 11 Hosiers Ware viz. 2 Pr. Girls Stockings 5 7 5 Pr. Boys Do. 12 1 2 Pr. Womens Do. 6 10 1 4 6 Shirts 5 Yards Brown Holland 11 5 Camblet 3½ Yards 13 4 Buckram ½ Yard 7 Serge ½ Ps. Brown Fustian 16 10 Carried Over£ 17 18	5 skeins of silk, £0 3s 9d 6 skeins of mohair, £0 3s 6d Total for haberdashery, £0 18s 11d 2 pairs of girls' stockings, £0 5s 7d 3 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 12s 1d 2 pairs of women's stockings, £0 6s 10d Total for hosiery, £1 4s 6d 5 yards of brown holland for shirts, £0 11s 5d 3½ yards of camlet, £0 13s 4d ½ yard of buckram, £0 0s 7d ½ piece of brown fustian, £0 16s 10d Carried forward, £17 18s [...]d **Interpretations** The planters bought from a separate account at different terms. Goods sold to them carried a small advance of 2½ per cent on cost, while the main sales to the Company's servants and others were priced to bring the Company a fuller return. The Company favoured the settled planter families because the island depended on them. They grew the crops, raised the cattle and supplied produce to the garrison and the ships, and cheap clothing and household goods helped keep them on the land. The purchases were modest and practical, chiefly shoes, cloth and stockings for women and children, which suggested families buying for whole households. Fustian was a strong twilled cloth of cotton and linen, hard-wearing and cheap, suited to working clothes on the plantations. Brown holland made sturdy shirts, and the mohair and silk thread mended and finished garments at home. The account showed planter households clothing themselves largely from the Company's stores, with little of the scarlet broadcloth or silver buttons bought by the officials and officers.
81	72	20th July Brought over£ 17 18 Sold at 40 Pr. Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 659 Sugar 11 19 7 90 Candy 2 12 6 14 12 1 Tea viz. 16 lb Bohea 1 1 4 103 Congo 9 2 3 40 Singlo 3 12 13 15 7 Flour 6 lb 8 4 1 Candles 31 lb 3 6 2 Starch 22¼ 13 Sope 87 lb 3 19 4 Salt 5 Bushels 1 6 3 Rice and Paddy viz. 1 cwt. Rice 19 1 qr. Paddy 6 7 9	The storekeeper's account continued with the goods sold at 40 per cent. Brought forward, £17 18s 0d 689 lb of sugar, £11 19s 7d 90 lb of sugar candy, £2 12s 6d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £14 12s 1d 16 lb of Bohea tea, £1 1s 4d 103 lb of Congou tea, £9 2s 3d 40 lb of Singlo tea, £3 12s 0d Total for tea, £13 15s 7d 6 [...] of flour, £8 4s 1d 81 lb of candles, £3 6s 2d 22¼ lb of starch, £0 13s 0d 87 lb of soap, £3 19s 4d 5 bushels of salt, £1 6s 3d 1 [...] of rice, £0 1s 9d 1 [...] of paddy, £0 6s 0d Total for rice and paddy, £0 7s 9d 4 skeins of twine, £0 3s 0d 6 dozen fishing lines, number 2, £0 19s 0d 3 dozen fishing lines, number 3, £0 7s 0d 300 fishing hooks, number 1, £0 11s 6d 25 fishing hooks, number 6, £0 2s 6d 75 fishing hooks, number 7, £0 5s 10½d 50 fishing hooks, number 9, £0 1s 10½d 150 fishing hooks, number 11, £0 3s 4½d 150 fishing hooks, number 14, £0 2s 0½d 500 fishing hooks, number 16, £0 4s 2d Total for hooks and lines, £4 7s 5d 3 double deals, £0 14s 3d 3 [...] of 3d nails, £0 3s 2¼d 8 [...] of 4d nails, £0 6s 8d 12 [...] of 6d nails, £0 9s 6d

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		Twine 4 Skains 3 Hooks and Lines viz. 6 doz. No. 2 1 9 3 doz. 3 7 Lines 300 . 1 1 1 6 25 . 6 2 6 75 . 7 5 10½ 50 . 9 1 10½ 150 . 11 3 4½ 150 . 14 2 ½ 300 . 16 4 2 Hooks 4 7 5 Deals 3 double 14 3 Nails 3 . 3 3 2½ 8 . 4 6 8 12 . 6 9 6 6 . 10 4 1¾ 2 . 20 1 3 1 4 9 Carried Over£ 70 11 8	6 [...] of 10d nails, £0 4s 1¾d 2 [...] of 20d nails, £0 1s 3d Total for nails, £1 4s 9d Carried forward, £70 11s 8d **Interpretations** The account priced goods at different markups for different buyers. The planters received their clothing and household goods at a small advance of 2½ per cent on cost, while these goods carried 40 per cent. The higher rate applied to tea, sugar, provisions and other staples bought by the wider population, and it brought the Company a real profit on its monopoly of imports. The low rate for the planters reflected their value to the island's food supply. The Council used pricing as a policy tool, keeping the farming families on the land with cheap goods while recovering its costs and more from everyone else. The same staples appeared in both sales, sugar, tea, flour, candles, soap and salt, which showed how far every household depended on the Company for basic necessities. Fishing tackle again sold in quantity, more than 1,200 hooks in this account alone. The island's people drew a large part of their food from the sea, and the Company's stores were the only source of the hooks and lines that made it possible.
82	73	1767 Brought over£ 70 11 8 Cuttlery Ware 2 fine Ivory Combs 6 8 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pr. Sheep Sheers 1 11 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 10½ 2 Iron Shovels 1 9 1 Curry Comb and Brush 2 8 2 doz. Wood Screws 1 1 Large Fry'g Pan 5 10 1 Pick Ax 4 7½ 1 Helve 10½ 1 Cupboard Lock 4 2 Stock Do. 7 7 1 Scythe Stone 3½ 2 4 5 Glass Ware viz. 9 Tumblers 6 9 5 Beer Glasses 6 3 12 Wine Glasses 7 3 1 Half Hour Glass	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 40 per cent continued. Brought forward, £70 11s 8d 2 fine ivory combs, £0 6s 8d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 1s 11d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 10½d 2 iron shovels, £0 1s 9d 1 curry comb and brush, £0 2s 8d 2 dozen wood screws, £0 1s 0d 1 large frying pan, £0 5s 10d 1 pickaxe, £0 4s 7½d 1 helve, £0 0s 10½d 1 cupboard lock, £0 4s 0d 2 stock locks, £0 7s 7d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 3½d Total for ironware, £2 4s 5d 9 tumblers, £0 6s 9d 5 beer glasses, £0 6s 3d 12 wine glasses, £0 7s 3d 1 half-hour glass, £0 1s 5d 18 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches, £0 9s 0d 1 square of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 0s 9d 6 squares of glass 10 by 12 inches, £0 8s 6d 8 squares of glass 11¾ by 13 inches, £0 15s 4d 1 square of glass 11 by 18½ inches, £0 1s 11d 3 squares of glass 11 by 17½ inches, £0 5s 9d 2 squares of glass 10 by 16 inches, £0 3s 5d Total for glassware, £3 6s 4d 41¼ lb of cordage, £1 0s 10d ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 14s 0d 1⅛ gallons of linseed oil, £2 0s 6d 1 gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 7s 3d Total for oil, £3 1s 9d 4 lb of pepper, £0 3s 0d Carried forward, £80 14s 8d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 5 18 Sqrs. Glass 6 by 8 9 1 Do. 8 by 10 9 6 Do. 10 by 12 8 6 8 Do. 11½ by 13 15 4 1 Sqr. 11 by 13½ 1 11 3 Do. 11 by 17½ 5 9 2 Do. 10 by 16 3 5 3 6 4 Cordage 41¼ lb 1 - 10 Oil viz. ¾ Gall. Train 14 1⅞ Do. Linseed 2 . 6 1 Do. Oil of Turpentine 7 3 3 1 9 Pepper 4 lb 3 Carried Over£ 80 14 8	The half-hour glass was a sandglass that measured exactly 30 minutes, used to time watches, cooking or medical doses before clocks were common in ordinary households. On the island it also served the garrison and the lookout posts, where sentries changed and signals were kept by the turn of the glass. Sheep shears pointed to the island's flocks. The Company kept more than 600 sheep, as its stock account for the quarter showed, and the planters ran their own flocks on the upland pastures. Wool was sheared for local use, though the island's mild climate and imported cloth meant that most clothing still came from the Company's stores. The pepper sold here was perhaps from the four bags the Council ordered landed from the *Speaker* on 25 May 1767, when the stores held none. Even a few pounds of pepper were recorded and charged, a sign of how closely the storekeeper accounted for every item that passed through his hands.
83	74	20th July Brought over£ 80 14 8 Paint viz. 9 lb Indico 1 2 1 3 lb Blue Smalts 6 3 6 lb Whiting 6 44 lb White Lead dry 1 . 2 ½ lb Verdigrease 2 9 2 11 9 Pitch and Tar viz. ½ Barrl. Pitch 13 1¼ Galls. Tar 1 9 8 Rozin 1 10 16 7 Canvas 2 Yards Osnabrigs 2 6 Corks 4th Sheet 3 Pease ¼ Bushel Split 3 Coffee 2 lb 2 4 China Ware 8 half pint Cups 2 Blankets 3 1 1 11 Pewter viz. 1 Pint Pot 3 1 Chamber Pot 4 1 1 Bason 2 11 10 £ 86 5 Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz.	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 40 per cent concluded. Brought forward, £80 14s 8d 9 lb of indigo, £1 2s 1d 3 lb of blue smalt, £0 6s 3d 6 lb of whiting, £0 0s 6d 44 lb of white lead dry, £1 0s 2d ½ lb of verdigris, £0 2s 9d Total for paint, £2 11s 9d ½ barrel of pitch, £0 13s 0d 1¼ gallons of tar, £0 1s 9d 8 lb of rosin, £0 1s 10d Total for pitch and tar, £0 16s 7d 2 yards of osnaburg canvas, £0 2s 6d ¼ sheet of cork, £0 0s 3d ¼ bushel of split peas, £0 3s 0d 2 lb of coffee, £0 2s 4d 8 porcelain half-pint cups, £0 2s 0d 3 blankets, £1 1s 11d 1 pewter pint pot, £0 3s 0d 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 4s 1d 1 pewter basin, £0 2s 11d Total for pewter, £0 10s 0d Total for goods sold at 40 per cent, £86 5s 0d The account then listed the goods sold to the Company's ships from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 8½ barrels of pitch, £11 1s 9d 15 barrels of tar, £20 17s 6d 260 lb of rosin, £3 1s 5½d 281 lb of turpentine, £5 11s 3d Total for pitch and tar, £40 11s 10½d 2 chaldrons of coal, £5 9s 4d Carried forward, £46 1s 3½d **Interpretations** The island sold naval stores back to the Company's own ships. Pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine sealed the seams of a ship's hull and preserved her rigging, and a vessel arriving after months in the tropics often needed her seams paid afresh. St Helena kept a stock of these stores so that ships could refit in the road before the last leg of the voyage home. The sales were charged to each ship's account and recovered from her owners, so the Company paid for supplies its island provided to its own fleet. A chaldron was a large measure of coal of about 25 hundredweight, so two chaldrons was well over two tons. Coal went to the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Pitch and Tar viz. 8½ Barrls. Pitch 11 1 9 15 Do. Tar 20 17 6 250 Rozin 3 1 5½ 281 Turpentine 5 11 3 40 11 11½ Coals 2 Chaldrons 5 9 4 Carried Over£ 46 1 3½	ships' armourers and cooks, and was itself an import to the island, which had no fuel of its own beyond its scarce wood.
84	75	1767 Brought over£ 46 1 3½ Paint viz. 10½ Verdigrease 2 7 9 170 White Lead dry 4 1 8 90 Bottls. Blacking 3 9 3 30 Yellow Oaker dry 16 10½ 63 Red Lead 19 10 12 Whiting 1 6 40 Brimstone 11 8 10 Venitn. Red 4 13 4 6½ Canvas 4 Ps. English 15 Cordage 531 lb 13 . 6 Oil viz. 62 Galls. Linseed 17 1 6 6 Galls. Train 1 5 18 6 6 Hooks and Lines viz. 60 No. 2 Lines 1 5 5 25 . 1 25 . 11 25 . 12 50 . 13 100 . 14 Hooks 4 9 1 10 2 Tin Ware 12 Lanthorns Leaves 3 3 Twine viz. 126 Skns. Twine 5 10 3 10 Do. Mohair 2 11 5 13 2 Nails viz. 10 . 4 17 . 6 12 . 10 8 . 20 7 . 30 11 Spikes 2 8 5 Nails Carried Over£ 2 8 5 Carried Over£ 110 19 5	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's ships continued. Brought forward, £46 1s 3½d 10½ lb of verdigris, £2 7s 9d 170 lb of white lead dry, £4 1s 8d 90 [...] of blacking, £3 [...] 30 lb of yellow ochre dry, £0 16s 10½d 63 lb of red lead, £0 19s 10d 12 lb of whiting, £0 1s 6d 40 lb of brimstone, £0 11s 8d 10 lb of Venetian red, £0 4s 0d Total for paint, £13 3s 6½d 4 pieces of English canvas, £15 0s 0d 531 [...] of cordage, £13 0s 6d 62 gallons of linseed oil, £17 1s 6d 6 gallons of train oil, £1 5s 0d Total for oil, £18 6s 6d 60 fishing lines, number 2, £1 5s 5d 25 fishing hooks number 1, 25 number 11, 25 number 12, 50 number 13 and 100 number 14, £0 4s 9d Total for hooks and lines, £1 10s 2d 12 lantern leaves of horn, £0 3s 3d 126 skeins of twine, £5 10s 3d 10 skeins of mohair, £0 2s 11d Total for twine, £5 13s 2d 10 [...] of 4d nails, 17 of 6d nails, 12 of 10d nails, 8 of 20d nails, 7 of 40d nails and 11 spikes, £2 8s 5d Nails carried forward, £2 8s 5d Carried forward, £110 19s 5d **Interpretations** The ships' purchases showed what an East Indiaman needed to refit for the final leg home. Canvas replaced sails torn by the gales of the Indian Ocean and the Cape. Cordage renewed worn rigging. Paint and linseed oil protected the hull and upper works, and white lead, red lead and verdigris were the same pigments used on the island's buildings. Brimstone, sulphur, was burned below decks to fumigate a ship against vermin and the fevers thought to rise from foul air in the hold. Lantern leaves were thin sheets of horn, scraped translucent, that formed the windows of a ship's lanterns, and they broke easily at sea. The sales to the ships ran to more than £110 0s 0d in a quarter, in addition to the water and provisions each vessel paid for. St Helena functioned as a chandler's store in mid-ocean, where a commander could make good his losses before reaching the Channel. Every item was charged to the ship's account, so the island's stores helped keep the Company's fleet in repair while recovering their cost.
85	76	20th July Brought over£ 110 19 5	The account of goods sold to the Company's ships concluded.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Nails brought over£ 2 8 5 3 Copper Rivets 5 5 1½ Glazg. Brads 3 7 3 Scupper Nails 2 6 3 - 1 Iron Ware viz. 2 Files 1 6 ½ Round headed Tacks 1 2 2 Troughs for Grindstones 2 7 4 2 Axletrees & Winches for Do. 18 7 4 Gimblets 1 10 1 Claw Hamber 2 2 3 12 7 Grindstones 2 1 6 7 Glass Ware viz. 4 Half Minute Glasses 4 6 13 Sqr. 8 by 10 1 1 3 1 Do. 11 by 16 1 9 2 Do. 8 by 10 1 8 1 9 2 Salt 1 Bushel 5 5 Bunting 12 Yds. Red 13 Kersey 3 Yards Baize 3 £ 127 14 1 Sold at 50 Pr. Cent viz. Masts 1 Top Mast 14 . 6 Tar 1 Barrel £ 15 10 9 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 Arrack 198⅞ Galls. for Sundry Uses Ship Marl. Castle in the Stores [...] to length 26 7 9 Starch 10¼ for Linen 4 6 Sope 50 Do. 1 15 5 Candles 352 for the Castle Council Secrs. Office and Secretary's Office 38 10 Cordage 197 for Crane Ropes 2 9 Candy 76 for the Groom Gard. and Dr. Shop 1 11 8 Carried Over£ 70 15 4	Brought forward, £110 19s 5d Nails brought forward, £2 8s 5d 5 [...] of copper rivets, £0 5s 5d 1½ [...] of glazing brads, £0 3s 7d 3 [...] of scupper nails, £0 2s 6d Total for nails, £3 0s 1d 2 files, £0 1s 6d ½ [...] of round-headed tacks, £0 1s 2d 2 troughs for grindstones, £2 7s 4d 2 axletrees and winches for grindstones, £0 18s 7d 4 gimlets, £0 1s 10d 1 claw hammer, £0 2s 2d Total for ironware, £3 12s 7d 2 grindstones, £1 6s 7d 4 half-minute glasses, £0 4s 6d 13 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £1 1s 3d 1 square of glass 11 by 16 inches, £0 1s 9d 2 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 8d Total for glassware, £1 9s 2d 1 bushel of salt, £0 5s 3d 12 yards of red bunting, £0 13s 0d 3 yards of kersey baize, £0 3s 0d Total for goods sold to the ships, £127 14s 1d Goods sold at 50 per cent followed. 1 topmast, £0 14s 6d 1 barrel of tar, £[...] Total for goods sold at 50 per cent, £[...] The general charges account then recorded the following stores issued for the Company's own use from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 198⅞ gallons of arrack for various uses, for ships' [...], the men in the stores and the carriage of goods to Longwood, £26 7s 9d 10¾ lb of starch for linen, £0 4s 6d 50 lb of soap for linen, £1 15s 5d 352 lb of candles for the Castle, the Council, the ships and the secretary's office, £38 10s 0d 147 lb of cordage for crane ropes, £2 9s 0d 16 lb of sugar candy for the Governor's guard and the doctor's shop, £1 11s 8d Carried forward, £70 15s 4d **Interpretations** The half-minute glasses were made for navigation, not for the household. A seaman threw a knotted log line astern and counted the knots that ran out while the half-minute glass emptied, which gave the ship's speed through the water. This is the origin of the knot as a unit of speed. A commander who had broken his glasses on the voyage could not reckon his position properly without them. Grindstones, with troughs to hold water and winches to turn them, sharpened tools and cutlasses on board. The island also sold a spare topmast at 50 per cent above cost. A topmast broken in a gale could not be replaced at sea, and St Helena was the only place between the Cape and England to find one, so the Company charged its highest rate for it. The general charges account recorded stores the Company used itself, with no sale involved. Arrack was the largest item. Gallons of spirit went to the men labouring in the stores and to those who hauled goods up to Longwood, because a ration of drink was a standard part of a working man's reward. Candles lit the Castle, the Council chamber and the secretary's office, where the consultations themselves were written up, and they cost more than £38 0s 0d in three months. Sugar candy for the doctor's shop served as medicine, since candy was dissolved to sweeten draughts and soothe coughs. The account let the directors see what the island's government spent on running itself.
86	77	1767 Brought over£ 70 15 4 Blankets 4 Castle 1 2 8	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use continued. Brought forward, £70 15s 4d 4 blankets for the Castle, £1 2s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Tea 8 lb Bohea for the Groom and Gardener 1 6 Long Cloth ½ Ps. K for the Castle 14 4 Canvas viz. 37 Yards Osnabrigs for the Castle Pockets 1 12 4 9 Yds. English Canvas Groom and Gardener 10 6 2 2 10 Turners Ware viz. 8 Hair Brooms for the Castle & Lt. Govr. House 17 4 14 Mops 17 3½ 6 Scrub. Brushes Castle 10 6 China Plate Baskets Do. 1 2 ½ 2 Do. Do. lined with Tin Do. 10 11 2 Hair Sieves Doctors Shop & Do. 1 2 6 7 Labourers Baskets Artillery carr'g Wood and Do. 8 ½ 10 Birch Brooms Castle and Lt. Governors House and for Cleaning the Parade 3 6½ 2 Baskets Stable 6 2 Curry Combs and Brushes for the Stable 3 7 1 Paint Brush Bakers Use 7 2 Wood Bowls Castle 2 8½ 2 Platters Castle 2 2 3 Wire Sieves Bake House and Castle 1 9 7 7 15 8 Oil viz. 16¾ Galls. Train Castle Lt. Govr. House & Armorer 2 15 10 3 Bottles Florence Doctors Shop & Do. 8 3 3 10 Deals viz. 117 Single for mak'g a Shed on the Line & Pockets Boxes 12 18 4 9 Double Deals for mak'g Boxes for the Castle 1 10 4 5 Planks for making a Shed on the Line & for a Target 2 4 2 8 Coffins Do. 1 5 17 18 3 China Ware viz. 2 Tea Sets Castle 2 4 China Chamber Pots 8 China Carried Over£ 2 8 Carried Over£ 104 5	8 lb of Bohea tea for the groom and gardener, £0 1s 6d ½ piece of long cloth, grade K, for the Castle, £0 14s 4d 37 yards of osnaburg for the Castle, for bags, £1 12s 4d 9 yards of English canvas for the groom and gardener, £0 10s 6d Total for canvas, £2 2s 10d 8 hair brooms for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 17s 4d 14 mops for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 17s 9½d 6 scrubbing brushes for the Castle, £0 10s 0d 6 porcelain plate baskets for the Castle, £1 2s 1½d 2 plate baskets lined with tin for the Castle, £0 10s 11d 2 hair sieves for the doctor's shop and the Castle, £0 12s 6d 7 labourers' baskets for the artillery, carried by J. Woodward, £0 8s 0½d 10 birch brooms for the Castle, the Lieutenant Governor's house and for cleaning the parade, £0 3s 6½d 2 baskets for the stable, £0 6s 0d 2 curry combs and brushes for the stable, £0 3s 7d 1 paint brush for the baker's use, £0 0s 7d 2 wooden bowls for the Castle, £0 2s 8½d 2 platters for the Castle, £0 2s 2d 3 wire sieves for the bake house and the Castle, £1 9s 7d Total for turners' ware, £7 15s 8d 16½ gallons of train oil for the Castle, the Lieutenant Governor's house and the armourer, £2 15s 10d 3 bottles of Florence oil for the doctor's shop and the Castle, £0 8s 0d Total for oil, £3 3s 10d 117 single deals for making a shed on the line and bucket ropes, £12 18s 4d 9 double deals for making beds for the Castle, £1 10s 4d 5 battens for making a shed on the line, £2 4s 2d 8 [...] for the line and for a target, £1 5s 0d Total for deals, £17 18s 3d 2 porcelain tea sets for the Castle, £2 0s 0d 4 porcelain chamber pots for the Castle, £0 8s 0d Porcelain carried forward, £2 8s 0d Carried forward, £104 [...]s 5d **Interpretations** The account showed the Company paying to keep the Governor's household. Brooms, mops, tea sets, chamber pots, beds and blankets for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house were all charged to the Company as general charges, alongside the doctor's shop, the bake house and the stable. The directors had just questioned Governor Skottowe's spending on the Castle, and he had answered that he furnished it at his own expense except for 20 chairs. This account put on record the everyday household goods the Company did supply, and the directors could read the two together. The issues also showed the works at Sandy Bay going forward. More than 100 deals and five battens went to build a shed on the line, a store or shelter for tools, materials and the soldiers working on the fortifications. Wood for a target marked the artillery's practice firing, which the Council had insisted on keeping up while the works continued. Tea for the groom and gardener was a small allowance to Company servants who worked at the Castle, a sign of how far tea had become an ordinary drink on the island.
87	78	20th July Brought over£ 104 - 5 China Ware brought over£ 2 8	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use continued. Brought forward, £104 0s 5d

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		6 China Bowles 8 6 12 Saucers Stone 3 Setts Dishes & Plates 3 3 12 Soop Do. 7 12 Sallet Dishes 9 2 Enabled Baking Do. 5 4 Castle Octagon 1 4 4 Hooks and Lines 50 No. 1 2 6½ 50 . 7 2 9 50 . 12 Hooks 9 50 . 9 1 4½ 100 . 14 11 100 . 16 6 for the Governor and Lt. Governors Fisherman 26 Lines 2 7 9 6 . 3 2 for Do. 1 Hambro Line Castle 17 1 . 2 Iron Ware viz. 4 Nail Tools 9 1 Standing Vice 1 6 9 5 Irn. Rubbers 1 2 1 139 Files 2 5 2 fine neald Ir. Wire thread 6 5 7 Spelter 1 4 4 Borax 10 8¾ 7 Corn Emery 1 8¾ 1 Flour Do. 1 8¾ 7 Rag Stones 1 5¾ 3 Farriers Rasps 2 9 1 Nail wt. 7 Pr. 3 21 15 11 1 Hand Vice 2 4 1 Do. & a Key 4 2 Sledge Hammers 17 9 2 Bench Do. 2 for the Use of the Armourers Shop Iron Ware Carried Over£ 29 12 1 Carried Over£ 112 3 5	Porcelain brought forward, £2 8s 0d 6 porcelain bowls for the Castle, £0 8s 6d 12 stoneware saucers for the Castle, £0 0s 0d 3 sets of octagonal porcelain dishes and plates for the Castle, £3 3s 0d 12 octagonal porcelain soup plates for the Castle, £0 7s 0d 12 octagonal porcelain salad dishes for the Castle, £0 9s 0d 2 enamelled baking dishes for the Castle, £0 5s 4d Total for porcelain, £7 4s 4d 50 fishing hooks number 1 for the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's fishermen, £0 2s 6½d 50 fishing hooks number 7 for the same, £0 2s 9d 50 fishing hooks number 12 for the same, £0 0s 9d 50 fishing hooks number 9 for the same, £0 1s 8½d 100 fishing hooks number 14 for the same, £0 0s 11d 100 fishing hooks number 16 for the same, £0 0s 6d 26 fishing lines number 2 for the same, £0 7s 9d 6 fishing lines number 3 for the same, £0 2s 0d 1 Hamburg line for the Castle, £0 1s 7d Total for hooks and lines, £1 0s 2d 4 nail tools for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 9d 1 standing vice for the armourer's shop, £1 6s 9d 5 iron rubbers for the armourer's shop, £0 12s 1d 139 files for the armourer's shop, £2 5s 0d 2 fine and coarse iron wire for the armourer's shop, £0 6s 5d 1 [...] of spelter for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 4d 4 lb of borax for the armourer's shop, £0 10s 8¾d 1 [...] of corn emery for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 8¾d 1 [...] of flour emery for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 8¾d 7 rag stones for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 5¾d 3 farriers' rasps for the armourer's shop, £0 2s 9d 1 anvil weighing [...] cwt 3 qr for the armourer's shop, £21 15s 11d 1 hand vice for the armourer's shop, £0 2s 4d 1 hand vice with a key for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 4d 2 sledge hammers for the armourer's shop, £0 17s 9d 2 bench hammers for the armourer's shop, £0 2s 0d Ironware carried forward, £29 12s 1d Carried forward, £112 [...]s 3d **Interpretations** The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor each kept a fisherman, and the Company paid for their tackle. Fresh fish supplied the two official tables, which entertained the island's leading men and the commanders and passengers of visiting ships. A fisherman in service was probably a slave or a free black islander employed full time, and his catch saved the Company the cost of meat. Like the porcelain dinner services for the Castle, the hooks and lines formed part of the official hospitality the Company maintained at St Helena. The armourer's shop was the island's main forge and metal workshop, and this was a full re-equipping. The anvil alone cost more than £21 0s 0d, a heavy block of iron that had to come from England and was hauled ashore through the surf. Spelter, zinc, mixed with copper to make solder, while borax served as a flux to make metals join cleanly when brazed. Emery in coarse and fine grades polished metal, and 139 files shaped it. The farriers' rasps showed that the armourer also shod the Company's horses. As the storekeeper noted on 1 June 1767, the iron issued to this shop could not be traced to any one task, and these tools

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			served the guns, the buildings, the boats and the stables alike.
88	79	1767 Brought over£ 112 5 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 29 12 1 2 Turkey Oil Stones 1 5 4 Pr. Plyers 5 7 Pr. Skit Compasses 5 2½ 56 lb Rod Iron 13 8 64 File Hafts 3 15 Helves 9 ½ 3 Bastard Rubbers 13 3 6 Hand Hammers 14 Use of the Armourers Shop 2 Blank Keys Secretarys Office 1 5½ 12 Hammer Helves Armorer 2 6 38 Worm Gimblets 6 4 12 Socket Chisels 9 12 Formers Do. 3 6 33 Plane Irons 13 5½ 12 Scribing Gouges 3 4 6 two Foot Rules 6 12 Black Lead Pencils 4 6 Carpenters Adzes 15 4 3 Hand Hatchets 8 1½ 3 Long Planes 10 5 for the use of the Carpenters Shop 3 Smoothing Planes 6 3 Jack Do. 7 6 6 Claw Hammers 1 3 Carpenters Shop 2 Melting Ladles 7 9 2 Blank Keys 1 5 Armourers Shop 2 Scythe Stones 4 1 Shod Shovel 1 8½ for the use of the Horse Stable 1 Axletree & Winch 9 2 Coopers Vices 1 1½ Coopers Use 13 Plate Iron 5 8½ 6 Sheets Emery Paper 7 Armourers Shop	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use continued. Brought forward, £112 5s 5d Ironware brought forward, £29 12s 1d 2 Turkey oil stones for the armourer's shop, £1 3s 0d 4 pairs of pliers for the armourer's shop, £0 5s 0d 7 pairs of skit compasses for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 2½d 56 [...] of rod iron for the armourer's shop, £0 18s 8d 64 file hafts for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 0d 15 helves for the armourer's shop, £0 9s 0¾d 3 bastard rubbers for the armourer's shop, £0 13s 3d 6 hand hammers for the armourer's shop, £0 14s 0d 2 blank keys for the secretary's office, £0 1s 5½d 12 hammer helves for the armourer, £0 2s 6d 38 worm gimlets for the carpenter's shop, £0 6s 4d 12 socket chisels for the carpenter's shop, £0 9s 0d 12 formers for the carpenter's shop, £0 3s 6d 33 plane irons for the carpenter's shop, £0 13s 5½d 12 scribing gouges for the carpenter's shop, £0 3s 4d 6 two-foot rules for the carpenter's shop, £0 6s 0d 12 black lead pencils for the carpenter's shop, £0 1s 0d 6 carpenters' adzes for the carpenter's shop, £0 13s 4d 3 hand hatchets for the carpenter's shop, £0 5s 1½d 3 trying planes for the carpenter's shop, £0 10s 5d 3 smoothing planes for the carpenter's shop, £0 6s 0d 3 jack planes for the carpenter's shop, £0 7s 6d 6 claw hammers for the carpenter's shop, £0 1s 3d 2 melting ladles for the armourer's shop, £0 7s 11d 2 blank keys for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 5d 2 scythe stones for the horse stable, £0 0s 4d 1 shod shovel for the horse stable, £0 1s 8½d 1 axletree and winch for the coopers' use, £0 9s 0d 2 coopers' vices for the coopers' use, £0 1s 1½d 15 lb of plate iron for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 8½d 6 sheets of emery paper for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 7d 1 long-handled frying pan for the Castle, £0 4s 2½d 1 small frying pan for the Castle, £0 1s 11½d 1 routing stock and 6 bits for the coopers' use, £0 3s 3d Ironware carried forward, £40 3s 4d Carried forward, £112 5s 5d **Interpretations** The issues fitted out the carpenters' shop as fully as the armourer's. Planes came in the three standard sizes a joiner needed: the jack plane for rough work, the trying plane for truing long edges, and the smoothing plane for the final finish. Adzes shaped heavy timbers, scribing gouges cut curved joints, and formers were chisels for the first rough cuts. A routing stock was a cooper's tool for cutting the groove inside a cask where the head fitted. The Company's craftsmen worked entirely with tools sent from England, and the volume of plane irons, gimlets and chisels showed how fast they wore out in constant use on the Castle, the sheds at Sandy Bay and the casks for the island's stores. Turkey oil stones were fine whetstones quarried in the Levant, prized for putting a keen edge on chisels and plane irons. Bastard rubbers were coarse files for rough shaping metal. Blank keys for the secretary's

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		1 Long Handle Fry'g Pan 4 2½ 1 Small Do. 1 11½ Castle 1 Routing Stock 6 Bitts for Do. 3 3 Coopers Use Iron Ware Carried Over£ 40 3 4 Carried Over£ 112 5 5	office showed the armourer cutting new keys for the room where the consultations and the Company's papers were kept, a sign of the care taken to secure the island's records.
89	80	20th July Brought over£ 112 5 5 Iron Ware brought Over£ 40 3 4 4 Coopers Drivers 6 8 2 Do. Punches 1 11 2 Do. Hammers 4 2 Do. Cold Chisels 2 1 Cock Borer 3 3 11 1 Raking Do. 6 Use of the Coopers Shop 1 Pr. Bellows Castle 3 11½ 6 Iron Shovels 1 7 3 6 Pick Axes 1 9 9 6 Helves Do. 3 7½ Artilly. Compy. carried to Wood 2 Pr. Braziers Bench Sheers for the Shop 11 6 44 17 2 Tin Ware viz. 1 Solder 11 4 Salarmoniac 12 Armourers Shop 4 Lamps Castle Bake House & Armourer 2 11 3 Gallon Tin Sauce Pans wt. Covers 5 3 Half Do. Do. 2 1 2 Dripping Pans 3 7 Castle 1 16 8 Pitch and Tar viz. 12 Rozin 1 9 6 Pitch 6 Castle 2 3 Challow 1½ Ps. for Rubbers in the Castle 12 5 Braziers Ware viz. 1 Large Copper Sauce Pan 1 2 1 Small Do. 13 9 Do. Castle 1 15 9 Glass Ware viz. 24 Wine Glasses 6 Pint Decanters 10 4	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use continued. Brought forward, £112 5s 5d Ironware brought forward, £40 3s 4d 4 coopers' drivers for the cooper's shop, £0 6s 8d 2 coopers' punches for the cooper's shop, £0 1s 11d 2 coopers' hammers for the cooper's shop, £0 4s 0d 2 coopers' cold chisels for the cooper's shop, £0 2s 0d 1 cask borer for the cooper's shop, £0 3s 11d 1 raking borer for the cooper's shop, £0 0s 6d 1 pair of bellows for the Castle, £0 3s 11½d 6 iron shovels for the Company's works, carried to Longwood, £1 7s 3d 6 pickaxes for the Company's works, carried to Longwood, £0 19s 9d 6 helves for the pickaxes, £0 3s 7½d 2 pairs of braziers' bench shears, £0 11s 6d Total for ironware, £44 17s 2d 1 lb of solder for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 11d 4 lb of sal ammoniac for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 2d 4 tin lamps for the Castle, the bake house and the armourer, £0 2s 11d 3 gallon tin saucepans with covers for the Castle, £0 5s 0d 3 half-gallon tin saucepans with covers for the Castle, £0 2s 1d 2 tin dripping pans for the Castle, £0 3s 7d Total for tinware, £0 16s 8d 12 lb of rosin for the Castle, £0 1s 9d 6 lb of pitch for the Castle, £0 0s 6d Total for pitch and tar, £0 2s 3d 1½ [...] of tallow for rubbers in the Castle, £0 12s 5d 1 large copper saucepan for the Castle, £1 2s 0d 1 small copper saucepan for the Castle, £0 13s 9d Total for braziers' ware, £1 15s 9d 24 wine glasses for the Castle, £0 10s 4d 6 pint decanters for the Castle, £0 10s 9d 6 quart decanters for the Castle, £0 14s 0d Total for glassware, £1 15s 1d 113 lb of iron for the armourer's shop, £1 5s 11d Carried forward, £164 10s 8d **Interpretations** The cooper's tools completed the re-equipping of the Company's workshops recorded across these pages. A cooper's driver was a blunt iron tool struck with a hammer to drive hoops down onto a cask, and the borers cut the bung holes and tap holes. The cooper's work mattered more on St Helena than in most places. The island stored its water, salt meat, rice, flour, arrack and gunpowder in casks, and every cask that leaked meant a loss to the stores. The Council had engaged John Drawwater as cooper from a passing ship in May for that reason. Shovels and pickaxes carried to Longwood served the Company's works on the high plain in the island's east, where the artillery trained and the Company kept land. Sal ammoniac, ammonium chloride, cleaned metal surfaces so that solder would take, and was needed by the armourer and brazier for tinning copper

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		6 Quart Do. 10 9 14 Do. 1 15 1 Iron 113 for the Armourers Shop 1 5 11 Carried Over£ 164 10 8	pans. Copper saucepans for the Castle kitchen had to be lined with tin to keep the copper from poisoning food. The wine glasses and decanters for the Castle again showed the Company equipping the Governor's table, at the same consultation in which it reviewed the cost of entertaining the passing ships.
90	81	1767 Brought over£ 164 10 8 Lead viz. 7 Shott 1 5½ 10 Sheet 2 9½ Castle and Govr. Fishermen 4 3 Twine viz. 1 Cotton Wick 2 10 4 Sks. Twine 2 3 Castle 5 1 Paint viz. 2 lb Blue Smalts for Linen 2 10 11 Cath Coopers Use 3 3 1 Cuttlery ware viz. 2 Horse Combs 6 1 Carving Knife 3 Cooks Do. 9 2 3 Butchers Do. 1 2 Castle 10 10 Grindstone 1 Coopers Shop 16 6 Iron Pots 1 wt. 15 lb Castle 2 10 Sailors Cloths 2 Grooms Waistcoats 9 6 Haberdashery 1 Sk. Silk Govr. Fisherm. 6 Corks 8 Gross Castle 19 Spice viz. 1 lb Cinamon 18 8 2 lb Allspice 3 1 lb Nut Megs 11 Castle 1 12 8 Nails viz. 6 . 6 3 3 27 . 10 11 10 2 . 20 3½ 69 . 40 1 4 5 1 Glazg. Brads 1 3 13 Spikes 4 1 9 lb Copper Rivets 4 1½ 2 10 1	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use concluded. Brought forward, £164 10s 8d 7 lb of shot for the Castle and the Governor's fishermen, £0 1s 5½d 10 lb of sheet lead for the Castle and the Governor's fishermen, £0 2s 9½d Total for lead, £0 4s 3d 1 lb of cotton wick for the Castle, £0 2s 10d 4 skeins of twine for the Castle, £0 2s 3d Total for twine, £0 5s 1d 2 lb of blue smalt for linen, £0 2s 10d 11 [...] of chalk for the coopers' use, £0 0s 3d Total for paint, £0 3s 1d 2 horse combs for the Castle, £0 0s 6d 1 carving knife for the Castle, £0 9s 2d 3 cooks' knives for the Castle, included above 3 butchers' knives for the Castle, £0 1s 2d Total for cutlery, £0 10s 10d 1 grindstone for the coopers' shop, £0 16s 6d 1 iron pot weighing 15 [...] for the Castle, £0 2s 10d Sailors' cloths for 2 grooms' waistcoats, £0 9s 6d 1 skein of silk for the Governor's fishermen, £0 0s 6d 8 gross of corks for the Castle, £0 19s 0d 1 lb of cinnamon for the Castle, £0 18s 8d 2 lb of allspice for the Castle, £0 3s 0d 1 lb of nutmegs for the Castle, £0 11s 0d Total for spice, £1 12s 8d 6 [...] of 6d nails, £0 3s 3d 27 [...] of 10d nails, £0 11s 10d 2 [...] of 20d nails, £0 0s 8½d 69 [...] of 40d nails, £1 4s 5d 1 [...] of glazing brads, £0 1s 3d 13 [...] of spikes, £0 4s 1d 9 [...] of copper rivets, £0 4s 1½d Total for nails, £2 10s 1d Total for general charges, £172 5s 0d **Interpretations** The general charges came to £172 5s 0d for the quarter, the cost of running the island's government and workshops apart from wages and the fortifications. Most of it equipped the Company's craftsmen and kept the Castle as the seat of government and the Governor's official home. Spices for the Castle kitchen made up the dearest single class of household goods. Cinnamon and nutmeg came from Ceylon and the Moluccas, among the most valuable cargoes of the Asian trade, and they flavoured the punch, puddings and sauces served to the island's guests. Cinnamon at nearly 19s 0d a pound cost more than a week's pay for a soldier. The issues for the Governor's fishermen, shot and sheet lead for weights and sinkers and silk for whipping hooks, complete the picture of a full-time fishery serving the official table. The grooms received cloth for waistcoats, part of their working clothes as servants of the Castle stables. The account shows the Company charging a wide range of the Governor's household costs to its own books, while Skottowe's defence of 7 June 1767 claimed that he had furnished the Castle at his own expense.

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		£ 172 5	
91	82	20th July Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 of April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Oil 67½ Galls. Train for the Several Guards 11 6 3 Cordage 27 for the Artillery 9 Tea 30 lb Bohea for the Several Guards 2 6 10 Candles 32½ for the Officers on duty 3 11 9 Deals viz. 14 Single for Coffins 1 10 11 1 Double Do. Artillery 3 5 1 14 4 Nails viz. 10 . 3 7 3½ 7 . 6 3 9½ for Coffins 11 Arrack 12 Galls. Muster drams & given to the Recruits 1 12 9 Pork 50 lb Given to the Recruits 6 13 4 Flour 950 lb Do. to Do. 2 6 10 Thread viz. 16 Coloured 2 4 4 Wh. Brown 1 6 8 for Altering Clothing 4 - 8 Lines 6 No. 4 Lines Artillery Compy. 2 4 3 Whipcord for Whips 10 2 Blankets 51 12 6 Paint viz. 15 10 3 28 lb Yellow Oaker dry 6 3 lb Whiting 2 4 for Cleaning Accoutrements 7½ Log Wood for Cleaning Hatts 1 7 9 11 Tar ⅛ Gall. for the Artillery 3 Turners Ware viz. 13 Birch Brooms 4 7 51 Wood Bowls 2 18 5 51 Platters 2 15 3 for the Several Guards 5 18 3 Carried Over£ 57 4	The garrison account recorded the stores issued to the soldiers from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 67½ gallons of train oil for the various guards, £11 6s 3d 27 [...] of cordage for the artillery, £0 9s 0d 30 lb of Bohea tea for the various guards, £2 6s 10d 32½ lb of candles for the officers on duty, £3 11s 9d 14 single deals for coffins, £1 10s 11d 1 double deal for the artillery, £0 3s 5d Total for deals, £1 14s 4d 10 [...] of 3d nails for coffins, £0 0s 7½d 7 [...] of 6d nails for coffins, £0 0s 3½d Total for nails, £0 0s 11d 12 gallons of arrack for muster drams and given to the recruits, £1 12s 9d 50 [...] of pork given to the recruits, £6 13s 4d 950 [...] of flour given to the recruits, £2 6s 10d 16 [...] of coloured thread for altering clothing, £0 2s 4d 4 [...] of brown thread for altering clothing, £0 1s 6d Total for thread, £0 4s 8d 6 number 4 lines for the artillery company, £0 2s 4d 5 whipcords for whips, £0 10s 2d Total for lines, £0 12s 6d 51 blankets, £15 10s 3d 26 lb of yellow ochre dry for cleaning accoutrements, £0 6s 1d 3 [...] of whiting for cleaning accoutrements, £0 2s 4d 7 lb of logwood for cleaning hats, £0 1s 7d Total for paint, £0 9s 11d ½ gallon of tar for the artillery, £0 0s 3d 13 birch brooms for the various guards, £0 4s 7d 51 wooden bowls for the various guards, £2 18s 5d 51 platters for the various guards, £2 15s 3d Total for turners' ware, £5 18s 3d Carried forward, £57 4s 0d **Interpretations** The garrison account showed new recruits arriving and being fitted out. Fifty-one blankets, 51 wooden bowls and 51 platters were issued together, evidently one set for each new soldier, and the recruits received pork, flour and arrack on landing. The 15 men discharged on 15 June and the others who left by the *Duke of Albany* were being replaced. Thread for altering clothing let the recruits' uniforms be taken in or let out to fit, since coats were made in standard sizes in England. A muster dram was a measure of spirit given to each soldier at muster, a customary reward that encouraged attendance. Train oil lit the lamps at the guard posts and lookouts through the night, and tea kept the sentries warm on the island's cold uplands. Yellow ochre and whiting cleaned and coloured the soldiers' belts and other leather equipment, and logwood, a dye from Central America, blackened their hats. Smart appearance on parade was part of the discipline Corneille had argued for in June. The deals and nails for coffins recorded the steady loss of men to illness and accident. Fourteen planks for coffins in a single quarter matched the deaths entered in the consultations, among them John Bower, Isaac Buck, Avery Trueman and Eustace White.
92	83	1767 Brought Over£ 57 4 Soldiers Cloathing viz. 294 Centinels Coats and Breeches 431 16 3	The garrison account of stores issued to the soldiers continued. Brought forward, £57 4s 0d 294 sentinels' coats and breeches, £431 16s 3d 16 corporals' coats and breeches, £24 16s 0d

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		16 Corporals Do. Do. 24 16 14 Drummers Do. & Do. 47 12 16 Serjeants Do. & Do. 83 12 4 Artiy. Do. Do. & Do. 20 4 4 Do. Corporals Do. & Do. 8 16 4 Bombardiers Do. & Do. 11 16 8 Gunners Do. & Do. 18 8 42 Matrosses Do. & Do. 89 5 1 Marshalls Do. & Do. 2 7 6 6 Watch Coats 4 19 743 15 9 Shoes 405 Pr. Mens Ordinary 82 13 9 Hosiers Ware 403 Pr. Mens Ordy. Thread Stockgs. 57 1 10 Shirts viz. 383 Centinels Shirts 85 7 6 20 Serjeants Do. 9 . 10 3 Robes 2 94 10 4 Haberdashery viz. 400 Hair Stocks 13 15 11¼ Gross Worsted Lace Narrow 6 11 9 1 Gross Broad Do. 13 7 21 1 4 Hats viz. 382 Centinels Hats 54 7 11 20 Serjeants Do. 11 10 1 Marshals Do. 11 6 66 9 5 Canvas 4 Ps. English for Cots 6 16 6 Irons Pots viz. 4 Iron Pots of 1 Gallon 7 4 22 Do. Wt. 76 5 8 for the Sevl. Guards 5 15 4 Tin Ware 45 Lamps for the Sevl. Guards 1 12 9 Carried Over£ 1137 1	14 drummers' coats and breeches, £47 12s 0d 16 sergeants' coats and breeches, £83 12s 0d 4 artillery sergeants' coats and breeches, £20 4s 0d 4 artillery corporals' coats and breeches, £8 16s 0d 4 bombardiers' coats and breeches, £11 16s 0d 8 gunners' coats and breeches, £18 8s 0d 42 matrosses' coats and breeches, £89 5s 0d 1 marshal's coat and breeches, £2 4s 6d 6 watch coats, £4 19s 0d Total for soldiers' clothing, £743 15s 9d 405 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £82 13s 9d 403 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £57 1s 10d 383 sentinels' shirts, £85 7s 6d 20 sergeants' shirts, £9 0s 10d 3 [...], £0 2s 0d Total for shirts, £94 10s 4d 400 hair stocks, £13 15s 0d 11¼ gross of narrow worsted lace, £6 11s 7d 1 gross of broad worsted lace, £0 13s 7d Total for haberdashery, £21 1s 4d 382 sentinels' hats, £54 7s 11d 20 sergeants' hats, £11 10s 0d 1 marshal's hat, £0 11s 6d Total for hats, £66 9s 5d 4 pieces of English canvas for cots, £6 16s 6d 4 iron pots of 1 gallon for the various guards, £0 7s 4d 22 iron pots weighing 376 [...] for the various guards, £5 8s 0d Total for iron pots, £5 15s 4d 45 tin lamps for the various guards, £1 12s 9d Carried forward, £1,137 [...] **Interpretations** The clothing issue showed the full strength of the garrison. Coats and breeches went to 294 sentinels, 16 corporals, 16 sergeants and 14 drummers of the infantry, and to the artillery's sergeants, corporals, bombardiers, gunners and 42 matrosses. In all some 400 men were clothed, a large force for so small an island, kept because St Helena was the Company's only port of call between the Cape and England. Clothing was issued once a year, and the Company paid for it as part of the soldier's contract, so this single annual delivery made up the largest charge in the whole quarter's accounts at more than £1,000 0s 0d. The ranks of the artillery explained the island's gun crews. A bombardier stood between a gunner and a corporal and handled the mortars and their shells. The matrosses carried the ammunition and did the hardest labour at the guns, which was why the injured Bower and the dying Buck had been matrosses. The marshal was the provost officer who kept the garrison's prisoners and carried out punishments. Hair stocks were stiff neckbands of horsehair worn at the throat by every soldier, part of the regulation uniform. Worsted lace was the woollen braid sewn on coats to show regiment and rank. Watch coats were heavy greatcoats kept at the guard posts for sentries on night duty in the island's cool, damp upland air. Canvas for cots, hanging beds slung like hammocks, and iron pots and lamps for the guard houses completed the garrison's equipment.
93	84	20th July Brought Over£ 1137 1 Twine 2 Sks. for mak'g Cots 1 3 Glass Ware 2 Sqrs. 6 by 8 for the Barracks 2 8 Iron Ware viz. 21 Hand Hatchets 1 15 10½ 3 Pick Axes 9 10½	The garrison account of stores issued to the soldiers concluded. Brought forward, £1,137 1s 0d 2 skeins of twine for making clothes, £0 1s 2d 2 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches for the barracks, £0 2s 8d 21 hand hatchets for the barracks and guards, £1 15s 10½d 3 pickaxes for the barracks and guards, £0 9s 10½d 3 helves for the barracks and guards, £0 1s 9¾d

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		3 Helves 1 9¼ 12 Large Fry'g Pans 2 10 2 21 Small Do. 2 1 6¼ for the Barracks and Guards 12 Sail Needles Artillery 9 ½ lb Round Head Tacks for the Drums 9½ 7 - 10 £ 1144 5 8 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th July 1767 viz. Tea 1 lb Congo 1 3 Flour 812 7 12 3 Arrack 54 Galls. 7 5 1 Salt 1½ Bushels 5 8 Coffee 50 lb 2 1 8 Candy 321 lb 6 13 9 Pork 38 Pieces 5 10 Rice 100 lb 10 Oil 6 Bottles Florence 16 Pease ½ Bushel Split 1 1 Pepper 12 6 £ 31 2 9	12 large frying pans for the barracks and guards, £2 10s 2d 21 small frying pans for the barracks and guards, £2 1s 6¾d 12 sail needles for the artillery, £0 0s 9d ½ lb of round-headed tacks for the drums, £0 0s 9½d Total for ironware, £7 0s 10d Total for the garrison, £1,144 5s 8d The diet expenses account recorded the stores issued for the Company's table from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 1 lb of Congou tea, £0 1s 3d 8 [...] of flour, £7 12s 3d 54 gallons of arrack, £7 5s 1d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 5s 8d 50 lb of coffee, £2 1s 8d 32 lb of sugar candy, £6 13s 9d 38 pieces of pork, £5 10s 0d 100 lb of rice, £0 10s 0d 6 bottles of Florence oil, £0 16s 0d ½ bushel of split peas, £0 1s 1d 12 lb of pepper, £0 6s 0d Total for diet expenses, £31 2s 9d **Interpretations** The garrison's stores for the quarter came to more than £1,144 0s 0d, nearly all of it the annual issue of clothing. Frying pans and hatchets went to the barracks and the guard posts because the soldiers cooked their own rations in messes, splitting firewood and frying their salt meat. Sail needles let the artillery stitch the canvas covers that protected the guns and their carriages from rain, and tacks fastened the heads of the drums that beat the garrison's calls. The diet expenses account supplied the Company's table with stores, kept separate from the fresh meat and wine recorded month by month in the steward's accounts. These were the dry provisions of the Governor's kitchen. Sugar candy came to more than £6 0s 0d, a large sum for a sweetmeat, which perhaps went into the table's desserts and drinks. Fifty pounds of coffee in three months showed that the official household drank coffee as freely as tea. The total of £31 2s 9d added to the monthly table accounts gave the directors the full cost of the hospitality the island offered its passing visitors.
94	85	1767 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Tea 103 lb Bohea 4 16 6 Beef and Pork viz. 829 lb Beef 140 15 1 342 lb Pork 50 18 8 191 13 9 Rice 12215 63 12 4 Sugar 216 2 14 Arrack 9 Galls. 1 4 2 Pepper 4 lb 2 Oil ½ Galls. Train for the Sick 5 Shoes viz. 44 Pr. Mens Ordinary Shoes 8 19 8 10 Pr. Womens Calf Leather Do. 1 6 8 7 Pr. Boys Shoes Blacks in the Castle 1 2 4	The account for the slaves recorded the stores issued to them from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 103 lb of Bohea tea, £4 16s 6d 829 pieces of beef, £140 15s 1d 342 pieces of pork, £50 18s 8d Total for beef and pork, £191 13s 9d 12,215 lb of rice, £63 12s 4d 216 lb of sugar, £2 14s 0d 9 gallons of arrack, £1 4s 2d 4 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d ½ gallon of train oil for the sick, £0 5s 0d 44 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £8 19s 8d 10 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £1 6s 8d 7 pairs of boys' shoes for the slaves at the Castle, £1 2s 4d Total for shoes, £11 8s 8d 2 number 4 lines for the slaves at Sandy Bay, £0 0s 9d 8 lb of soap for the Lieutenant Governor's servants, £0 5s 2d 163 men's jackets and breeches of sailors' cloth, £79 14s 10d 28 boys' jackets and breeches of sailors' cloth, £4 4s 11d 191 Dutch caps, £14 8s 3d Total for sailors' clothing, £104 3s 0d 2 blank keys, £0 1s 5½d 1 lock, £0 2s 8¾d 1 small frying pan, £0 1s 11½d

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		11 8 8 Lines 2 No. 4 Blacks at Sandy Bay 9 Soap 8 lb for the Lt. Govr. Servants 5 2 Sailors Cloths viz. 163 Mens Jackets & Breeches 79 19 10 28 Boys Do. & Do. 4 4 11 191 Dutch Caps 14 8 3 104 3 Iron Ware viz. 2 Blank Keys 1 5½ 1 Lock 2 8½ 1 Small fry'g Pan 1 11½ 6 2 Cordage 13 lb for thatch'g Blk. House 4 4 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr. Mens Worsted Stockgs. Blacks in the Castle 5 6 Thread viz. 12 lb Coloured 2 . 6 4 lb Wh. brown 1 6 8 3 7 2 Shirts viz. 326 Mens 54 13 56 Boys 7 14 10 62 6 1 Carried Over£ 446 14 7	Total for ironware, £0 6s 2d 13 lb of cordage for thatching the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 4s 4d 2 pairs of men's worsted stockings for the slaves at the Castle, £0 5s 6d 1 [...] of coloured thread, £2 0s 6d 4 [...] of whited brown thread, £1 6s 8d Total for thread, £3 7s 2d 326 men's shirts, £54 13s 3d 56 boys' shirts, £7 13s 10d Total for shirts, £62 6s 1d Carried forward, £446 [...] **Interpretations** The account gave the size and make-up of the Company's slave workforce. Jackets and breeches went to 163 men and 28 boys, and Dutch caps, the knitted woollen caps worn by seamen, to 191, one for each. The issue of 326 men's shirts suggested two to each man. The Company owned close to 200 male slaves, and the shoes for women showed that women slaves were also counted, although their clothing was not listed here. Slaves were clothed in sailors' cloth, the cheapest strong fabric available, and most went barefoot, since only 44 pairs of men's shoes were issued among 163 men. Rice was the slaves' staple ration, more than 12,000 lb in the quarter, with the yams grown on the Company's farms recorded in the stock account. Meat was issued by the piece, not the pound, and it was largely the salt beef and pork from England and Bengal. It included the poor pork the Council had ordered on 29 June 1767 to be given to the slaves rather than the garrison. Train oil for the sick was probably used to light the sick house at night, as the island had a separate hospital for the soldiers. The account distinguished slaves by where they worked. Those at the Castle, house servants who were seen by the Governor's guests, received shoes and worsted stockings that the field labourers did not. Those at Sandy Bay worked on the fortifications alongside the soldiers. Cordage for thatching the Lieutenant Governor's house showed slaves carrying out building work on the officials' homes. The tea, sugar and arrack were small issues across so many people, perhaps rewards or treats on particular occasions. The account placed the cost of keeping the slaves among the Company's ordinary charges, entered beside the garrison and the table.
95	86	20th July Brought over£ 446 14 7 Candles 1 lb to Examine the Blacks House 2 2 Hooks and Lines viz. 300 No. 9 8 3 300 . 11 4 9 300 . 14 2 9 340 . 16 1 9 Hooks 128 . 2 1 18 3 132 . 3 2 4 120 . 4 2 6 8 Lines 7 6 5 Iron Pots 6 Wt. 142 lb 1 6 7 Kersey 76¼ Yards 5 2 4 Canvas 90 Yards Osnabrigs	The account for the slaves concluded. Brought forward, £446 15s 7d 1 lb of candles to inspect the slaves' houses, £0 2s 2d 300 fishing hooks, number 9, £0 8s 3d 300 fishing hooks, number 11, £0 4s 9d 300 fishing hooks, number 14, £0 2s 9d 340 fishing hooks, number 16, £0 1s 9d 128 fishing lines, number 2, £1 18s 3d 132 fishing lines, number 3, £2 4s 0d 120 fishing lines, number 4, £2 6s 8d Total for hooks and lines, £7 6s 5d 6 iron pots weighing 142 lb, £1 6s 7d 76¼ yards of kersey, £5 2s 4d 90 yards of osnaburg canvas, £3 16s 10d 11½ pieces of long cloth, grade K, £16 14s 5d 50 pieces of shalloon, £20 13s 7d Total for the slaves, £501 16s 11d The account for the Malays recorded the stores issued to them from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 8 gallons of arrack, £1 1s 6d 42 lb of sugar, £0 10s 6d 6 lb of sugar candy, £0 2s 6d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £0 13s 0d 144 lb of rice, £0 15s 0d 3 lb of Bohea tea, £0 2s 10d 6 lb of soap, £0 3s 11d

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		3 16 10 Long Cloth 11½ Ps. K 16 14 5 Challow 50 Pieces 20 13 7 £ 501 16 11 Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th July 1767 Arrack 8 Galls. 1 1 6 Sugar and Candy viz. 42 Sugar 10 6 6 lb Candy 2 6 13 Rice 144 15 Tea 3 lb Bohea 2 10 Sope 6 lb 3 11 Salt ¼ Bushell 11 Oil viz. 1 Bottle Florence 2 8 ¼ Train 2 6 5 2 Flour 24 4 6 Pepper 1 lb 6 Tin Ware 1 Large Tin Skillet 3 4 Iron Pot 9 Wt. 23 4 4 Shoes 2 Pr. Mens fine Shoes 11 Iron Ware 1 Hand Hatchet 1 9 Shalloon 2 Yards Scarlet 4 8 £ 4 8 6	¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 11d 1 bottle of Florence oil, £0 2s 8d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 6d Total for oil, £0 5s 2d 24 lb of flour, £0 4s 6d 1 lb of pepper, £0 0s 6d 1 large tin [...], £0 3s 4d 1 iron pot weighing 23 lb, £0 4s 4d 2 pairs of men's fine shoes, £0 11s 0d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 9d 2 yards of scarlet shalloon, £0 4s 8d Total for the Malays, £4 8s 6d **Interpretations** The slaves received more than 1,600 fishing hooks and 380 lines in the quarter, a share for nearly every man. The Company expected its slaves to feed themselves in part from the sea, adding fish to their rations of rice, yams and salt meat. This lowered the cost of keeping them, and the account recorded the tackle as part of their upkeep. The candle used to inspect their houses showed that someone checked the slave quarters at night, perhaps to count the slaves or to prevent gatherings and escapes. The whole charge for the quarter came to more than £500 0s 0d, which made the slaves one of the Company's largest costs on the island after the garrison. The Malays formed a separate group with a separate account. They were few in number, as the small issues show, and they were treated better than the slaves. They received sugar, tea, arrack, Florence oil, fine shoes and scarlet shalloon, all goods the slave account gave sparingly or not at all. The Company recruited Malays from its settlements in the East Indies, such as Bencoolen, which the *Plassey* had visited on her way to the island. Some were bought as slaves and others served as free labourers or servants under contract. Keeping them on a separate account suggests their status differed from that of the African and Indian slaves, perhaps as skilled workers or as people held on different terms.
96	87	1767 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Rice and Paddy viz. 486 Rice for the Overseers & Poultry 2 10 7 5197 Paddy for Poultry & Horses 9 11 4 12 7 11 Cordage 136 lb for tying Arbours for L. Wood & handling Cattle 2 8 8 Tar 2 Gallons for the Wood Cart 1 6 Iron Ware viz. 3 H. Hatchets for L. Wood 8 27 Pick Axes & Helves Plantations & Gardens 5 5 2 13 Helves Plantations & Gardens 10 10 16 Spades Do. Do. & Pastures 3 1 Gimblet Do. 2 1 Stock Lock for the dairy 2 8 12 Garden Hoes for Plant. House Garden 12	The plantation account recorded the stores issued for the Company's farms and gardens from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 486 lb of rice for the overseers and poultry, £2 10s 7d 5,197 lb of paddy for poultry and horses, £9 17s 4d Total for rice and paddy, £12 7s 11d 176 lb of cordage for tying arbours at Longwood and handling cattle, £2 8s 8d 2 gallons of tar for the wood cart, £0 1s 6d 3 hand hatchets for Longwood, £0 8s 0d 27 pickaxes with helves for the plantations and gardens, £5 5s 2d 13 helves for the plantations and gardens, £0 10s 10d 16 spades for the plantations, gardens and pastures, £3 0s 0d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 2d 1 stock lock for the dairy, £0 2s 8d 12 garden hoes for the Plantation House garden, £0 12s 0d 12 rag stones for the Plantation House garden, £0 2s 6d 36 scythe stones for the Plantation House garden, £0 0s 6d 1 pruning saw for the Plantation House garden, £0 1s 6d 12 garden rakes for the Plantation House garden, £1 7s 6d

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		12 Rag Stones 2 6 36 Scythe Do. 6 1 Pruning Saw 1 6 12 Garden Rakes 1 7 6 6 Scythes 1 4 1½ 6 Turfing Irons 3 6 2 Claw Hammers 2 9 12 Ditch'g Shovels 2 7 3 for Plantation House Garden 1 Pad Lock for House Paint Gate 1 6 1 Pr. Garden Sheers Plant. House Gardn. 3 5 13 Spring Rat Traps Do. 1 . 7 3 Double Mouse Do. Do. 2 10 2 Hand Hatchets for the Pastures 3 11½ 20 8 11 Deals viz. 1 Single 2 2½ 1 Double 3 4½ 1 Plank 8 10 for the Gate of Malt. Garden 14 5 Turners Ware viz. 1 Paint Brush for Long Wood 6 12 Labourers Baskets Plant. House Garden 13 9 14 3 Carried Over£ 36 15 8	6 scythes for the Plantation House garden, £1 4s 1½d 6 turfing irons for the Plantation House garden, £2 3s 6d 2 claw hammers for the Plantation House garden, £0 2s 9d 12 ditching shovels for the Plantation House garden, £2 7s 3d 1 padlock for the horse paint gate, £0 1s 6d 1 pair of garden shears for the Plantation House garden, £0 3s 5d 13 spring rat traps for the Plantation House garden, £1 0s 7d 3 double mousetraps for the Plantation House garden, £0 2s 10d 2 hand hatchets for the pastures, £0 3s 11½d Total for ironware, £20 8s 11d 1 single deal for the gates of the Malays' garden, £0 2s 2½d 1 double deal for the gates of the Malays' garden, £0 3s 4½d 1 batten for the gates of the Malays' garden, £0 8s 10d Total for deals, £0 14s 5d 1 paint brush for Longwood, £0 0s 6d 12 labourers' baskets for the Plantation House garden, £0 13s 9d Total for turners' ware, £0 14s 3d Carried forward, £36 15s 8d **Interpretations** Plantation House was the Governor's country residence in the cooler, wetter uplands, and its garden was the Company's main kitchen garden and nursery. The tools issued to it, hoes, rakes, scythes, ditching shovels and turfing irons for cutting turf, showed a large garden cultivated by gangs of slaves, who carried earth and produce in labourers' baskets. Its vegetables and fruit supplied the Governor's table and the passing ships. The rat and mouse traps answered the island's worst pest, rats that came ashore from ships and destroyed crops and seed. Longwood, on the high eastern plain, held the Company's pastures and a plantation of trees. Cordage tied up the arbours, the frames on which young trees or vines were trained, and the rope also restrained cattle for branding or slaughter. Paddy fed the Company's poultry and horses, while rice went to the overseers who managed the slaves at the farms. The Malays had a garden of their own, fenced and gated at the Company's expense. This fitted their separate status in the stores accounts, since they were allowed ground to grow food for themselves.
97	88	20th July Brought over£ 36 15 8 Cuttlery Ware viz. 2 Shoe Knives 8 9 Pruning Do. 8 7½ 9 Budding Do. 8 7½ Plant. House Gard. 4 Putchers Do. Fort Garden 1 6 1 9 5 Tin Ware 12 Watering Pots Plant. House Gard. 1 12 Lines 4 No. 4 Do. 1 6 Nails viz. 8 . 6 4 4 2 . 10 11 for the Millwara Garden	The plantation account concluded. Brought forward, £36 15s 8d 2 shoe knives for the Plantation House garden, £0 0s 8d 9 pruning knives for the Plantation House garden, £0 8s 7½d 9 budding knives for the Plantation House garden, £0 8s 7½d 4 butchers' knives for the Fort garden, £0 1s 6d Total for cutlery, £0 19s 5d 12 tin watering pots for the Plantation House garden, £1 12s 0d 4 number 4 lines for the Plantation House garden, £0 1s 6d 8 [...] of 6d nails for the Malays' garden, £0 4s 4d 2 [...] of 10d nails for the Malays' garden, £0 0s 11d Total for nails, £0 5s 3d 1 axletree for the wood cart, £0 8s 10d Total for the plantations, £40 2s 8d The fortifications account recorded the stores issued for the defences from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 58 yards of red bunting for flags, £8 10s 0d

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		5 3 Cart Wheels 1 Axletree for the Wood Cart 8 10 £ 40 2 8 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Bunting viz. 5 Ps. 10 Yards Red 8 10 7 Ps. Blue 8 16 3 6 Ps. 26 Yards White 7 13 2 for Flags 24 19 5 Lines viz. 2 Deep Sea Lines 9 4 2 Hambro Do. 3 2 6 No. 4 Do. 2 4 for Do. 14 10 Twine 10 Sks. for Do. 5 7 Thread 6 lb Coloured for Do. 1 . 3 Canvas viz. 14½ Yards English Canvas 16 11 12 Yards Osnabrigs 10 3 1 7 2 Cordage 24 lb for the flag Staff at the M. Fort 8 2 Carried Over£ 28 15 3	[...] yards of blue bunting for flags, £8 16s 3d 68 yards of white bunting for flags, £7 13s 2d Total for bunting, £24 19s 5d 2 deep-sea lines for the flags, £0 9s 4d 2 Hamburg lines for the flags, £0 3s 2d 6 number 4 lines for the flags, £0 2s 4d Total for lines, £0 14s 10d 10 skeins of twine for the flags, £0 5s 7d 6 lb of coloured thread for the flags, £1 0s 3d 14½ yards of English canvas, £0 16s 11d 12 yards of osnaburg, £0 10s 3d Total for canvas, £1 7s 2d 24 lb of cordage for the flagstaff at Munden's Fort, £0 8s 2d Carried forward, £28 15s 3d **Interpretations** Budding knives were used to graft buds from one tree onto the stock of another, the usual way to propagate fruit trees true to their variety. Their issue alongside pruning knives showed the Plantation House garden raising fruit trees as well as vegetables, part of the Company's long effort to make the island more productive. The bunting for flags was the largest item in the fortifications account. Flags were the island's chief means of signalling. Each post flew colours by day to show ships which nation held the island, and the lookouts used coloured flags to report the number and nationality of approaching sails to the Castle. Red, white and blue bunting, the colours of the Union flag and of the Company's own striped ensign, wore out quickly in the island's steady trade wind and had to be replaced often. The flagstaff at Munden's Fort, on the point guarding the eastern side of James Bay, needed fresh halyards for the same reason. Deep-sea lines, made to sound the depth of water from a ship, were strong and light enough to serve as halyards too.
98	89	1767 Brought over£ 28 15 3 Candles 3½ lb for the Magazine 7 9 Paint viz. 16 lb White Lead mixed 6 4 6 Bottls. Black'g 3 1 4 Ston. Red mixed 1 10 2 lb Red Lead 4½ 1 lb Yellow Oaker mixed 5½ 1 lb Verdigrease 3 11 to paint Gun Carriages & Beds for Mortars 16 Oil viz. 1⅛ Galls. Linseed 7 5 ⅛ Do. Oil of Turpentine 8 8 1 Arrack ⅛ Galls. for mix'g Colours 8 £ 30 7 9 Hospital Dr. for the follow'g Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June 1767 viz. Sugar 311 3 17 9 Flour 311 2 18 4 Rice 311 1 12 5 Salt 1½ Bushels	The fortifications account concluded. Brought forward, £28 15s 3d 3½ lb of candles for the magazine, £0 1s 9d 16 lb of white lead mixed, to paint gun carriages, £0 6s 4d 6 boxes of blacking, to paint gun carriages, £0 3s 1d 4 lb of Venetian red mixed, to paint gun carriages, £0 1s 10d 2 lb of red lead, to paint gun carriages, £0 0s 4½d 1 lb of yellow ochre mixed, to paint beds for mortars, £0 0s 5½d 1 lb of verdigris, to paint beds for mortars, £0 3s 11d Total for paint, £0 16s 0d 1⅛ gallons of linseed oil, £0 7s 5d ⅛ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 0s 8d Total for oil, £0 8s 1d ⅛ gallon of arrack for mixing colours, £0 0s 8d Total for the fortifications, £30 7s 9d The hospital account recorded the stores issued for the sick from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 3 [...] of sugar, £3 17s 9d 3 [...] of flour, £2 18s 4d 3 [...] of rice, £1 12s 5d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 6s 1d 13 lb of tea, £0 12s 2d 13½ gallons of train oil, £2 5s 0d 6 wooden bowls, £0 6s 10½d 6 wooden platters, £0 6s 6d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 2d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 4½d 1 mop, £0 1s 3¾d Total for turners' ware, £0 17s 2d ½ [...] of cotton wick, £0 1s 5d 24 stoneware saucers, £0 8s 0d 4 tin lamps, £0 2s 11d 1 long-handled frying pan, £0 4s 2½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 1 Tea 13 lb 12 2 Oil 13½ Galls. Train 2 5 Turners Ware viz. 6 Wood Bowls 6 10½ 6 Do. Platters 6 6 1 Hair Broom 2 2 1 Birch Do. 1 4½ 1 Mop 1 3¾ 17 2 Twine ½ Cotton Wick 1 5 China Ware 24 Saucers Stone 8 Tin Ware 4 Lamps 2 11 Iron Ware viz. 1 Long Handle Fry'g Pan 4 2½ 1 Pick Ax 3 3½ 1 Helve 1 Hand Hatchett 1 7½ £ 13 9 10	1 pickaxe, £0 3s 3½d 1 helve, £0 0s 7½d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8½d Total for ironware, £0 9s 10d **Interpretations** Gun carriages were painted to protect their timber from rot in the island's damp air. Wooden carriages that decayed could collapse under the recoil of a gun, and the Council had already lost a man to a worn gun in May. The beds for the mortars were the heavy timber platforms on which mortars sat, which took the full shock of firing straight downwards. Candles for the magazine were a dangerous necessity. Lanterns with glass or horn windows shielded the flame from loose powder, and only a little light was allowed near the gunpowder at any time. The hospital account showed what the Company provided for its sick soldiers. Sugar was the largest item, used to sweeten medicines and to make the light diets of gruel, rice pudding and sweetened tea given to men too ill for salt meat. Flour, rice and tea formed the invalids' food. Train oil kept lamps burning through the night, so that the surgeon's assistants could tend the sick. The bowls, platters and saucers, cheap stoneware and wood rather than porcelain, contrasted with the fine china issued to the Castle in the same quarter. John Lemon spent nearly a year in this hospital after his accident, and Robert Barclay, the surgeon, ran it.
99	90	20th July Boats Dr. for the follow'g Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Oars viz. 12 Long for the Long Boats 3 6 2 Short for the fishing Do. 8 1 3 14 1 Iron Ware viz. 4 Shod Shovels 6 10 2 Long Handle fry'g Pans 8 5 1 Hand Hatchet 1 8½ 39 Rod Iron 13 9 12 Sail Needles 9 L. Boats 12 Bolt Rope Do. 1 3 1 12 9 Deals viz. 12 Single Deals 1 6 6 7 Elm Boards 1 9 9 1 Plank 8 10 Long Boats 3 5 1 Nails viz. 2 . 2 1 5 4 . 3 2 11 11 . 6 5 11 23 . 10 10 1	The boats account recorded the stores issued for the Company's boats from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 12 long oars for the longboats, £3 6s 0d 2 short oars for the fishing boats, £0 8s 1d Total for oars, £3 14s 1d 4 shod shovels for the longboats, £0 6s 10d 2 long-handled frying pans for the longboats, £0 8s 5d 1 hand hatchet for the longboats, £0 1s 8½d 39 lb of rod iron for the longboats, £0 13s 9d 12 sail needles for the longboats, £0 0s 9d 12 bolt-rope needles for the longboats, £0 1s 3d Total for ironware, £1 12s 9d 12 single deals for the longboats, £1 6s 6d 7 elm boards for the longboats, £1 9s 9d 1 batten for the longboats, £0 8s 10d Total for deals, £3 5s 1d 2 [...] of 2d nails for the boats in general, £0 1s 5d 4 [...] of 3d nails for the boats in general, £0 2s 11d 11 [...] of 6d nails for the boats in general, £0 5s 11d 23 [...] of 10d nails for the boats in general, £0 10s 1d 10 [...] of 20d nails for the boats in general, £0 3s 6½d 10 [...] of 40d nails for the boats in general, £0 3s 6½d Total for nails, £1 7s 5d 289 lb of cordage for the boats in general, £4 7s 4d ½ barrel of pitch for the boats in general, £1 9s 4d 5 [...] of sole leather for the boats in general, £0 4s 7d 8 skeins of twine for the boats in general, £0 9s 0d ½ gallon of linseed oil for the longboats, £0 2s 0d 3⅛ gallons of train oil for the longboats, £0 10s 5d Total for oil, £0 12s 5d 2 lb of white lead mixed, £0 0s 10d 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 7d Carried forward, £59 14s 5d **Interpretations** The Company's longboats did the heaviest work of the port. With no harbour at Jamestown, every cask of

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 . 20 3 6½ 10 . 40 3 6½ for the Boats in General 1 7 5 Cordage 2892 lb Do. 47 7 4 Pitch ½ Barrel Do. 19 4 Leather 5 Sole Do. 4 7 Twine 8 Sks. Do. 9 Oil viz. ½ Gall. Linseed 2 3⅛ Do. Train 10 5 L. Boats 12 5 Paint 2 lb White Lead mixed 10 Lines 1 Hambro 1 7 Carried Over£ 59 14 5	water, every bale of stores and every passenger crossed between the shore and the ships in the open road by boat, often through a heavy swell. Oars, planks and nails wore out or broke constantly, and the Council had bought a longboat from Captain Pierce in May to add to the island's own. Elm, which resisted rot when kept wet, was the standard timber for boat planking. Pitch sealed the seams, and bolt-rope needles sewed the strong rope that edged a boat's sails. Leather protected the oars where they rubbed against the thole pins or rowlocks, and was nailed over worn spots on the hull. The frying pans and shovels let the boats' crews cook and work ashore at the landing places away from Jamestown. Fishing boats, with their own short oars, formed part of the Company's fleet, supplying the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's tables recorded in the general charges.
100	91	1767 Brought over£ 59 14 5 Turners Ware viz. 2 Wood Bowls 2 4 2 Platters 2 2 Long Boats 4 6 Arrack 5½ Galls. for Men Emp. on board the L. Boats 13 5 Tin Ware 1 Lamp Do. 9 Blocks viz. 2 Double Blocks of 8 Inches 10 7 2 Tubble Iron bound Do. 7 14 1 L. Boats 8 4 8 Iron 62 lb Do. 14 2 Canvas 2 Ps. English Do. 4 11 £ 74 2 11 Sandy Bay Fortification Dr. for the follow'g Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz. Deals viz. 5 Planks 2 4 2 34 double Deals 5 16 2 1 Elm Board 4 3 13 Ft. Elm Plank 10 7 48 Single Deals 5 6 ½ Wainscoat Board 3 4 14 4 6 Turners Ware viz. 10 Wood Bowls 11 5½ 10 Do. Platters 10 10 42 Labourers Baskets 2 8 1½ 4 Wire Brass Sieves	The boats account concluded. Brought forward, £59 14s 5d 2 wooden bowls for the longboats, £0 2s 4d 2 platters for the longboats, £0 2s 2d Total for turners' ware, £0 4s 6d 5½ gallons of arrack for the men employed on the longboats, £0 13s 5d 1 tin lamp for the longboats, £0 0s 9d 2 double blocks of 8 inches for the longboats, £0 10s 7d 2 iron-bound treble blocks for the longboats, £7 14s 1d Total for blocks, £8 4s 8d 62 lb of iron for the longboats, £0 14s 2d 2 pieces of English canvas for the longboats, £4 11s 0d Total for the boats, £74 2s 11d The account for the Sandy Bay fortification recorded the stores issued there from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 5 battens, £2 4s 2d 34 double deals, £5 16s 2d 1 elm board, £0 4s 3d 13 [...] of elm plank, £0 10s 7d 48 single deals, £5 6s 0d ½ wainscot board, £0 3s 4d Total for deals, £14 4s 6d 10 wooden bowls, £0 11s 5½d 10 wooden platters, £0 10s 10d 42 labourers' baskets, £2 8s 1½d 4 wire brass sieves, £1 9s 7d Total for turners' ware, £5 0s 0d 540½ lb of cordage, £9 0s 2d 2 double blocks of 8 inches, £0 10s 7½d 1 single block of 8 inches, £0 3s 1d 3 single blocks with brass sheaves, £0 8s 0½d Total for blocks, £1 2s 0d Carried forward, £29 6s 8d **Interpretations** The longboats' crews received a regular ration of arrack, like the men labouring in the stores. Rowing heavy boats through the surf off Jamestown was hard and dangerous work, and drink was the customary reward. The iron-bound treble blocks were the most costly items in the account. A block was a pulley, and a treble block held three sheaves, or wheels, giving great lifting power when rigged as a tackle. The longboats used them to hoist heavy casks, guns and stores

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 9 7 5 Cordage 540 lb 9 - 2 Blocks viz. 2 Double Blocks of 8 Inches 10 7½ 1 Single Do. of 8 Do. 3 1 3 Do. Do. with Brass Sheeves 8 0½ 1 2 Carried Over£ 29 6 8	between ship and boat, and the iron binding let them take the strain of the largest loads. The stores for Sandy Bay showed the scale of the works Captain Mitchell reported on 6 July 1767. Cordage and blocks rigged the tackles that hauled stone and lifted it into place on the revetment and the cavalier. Forty-two labourers' baskets carried earth to fill the rampart and stone to build the walls, the work of the soldiers and slaves employed there. The wire brass sieves screened sand and lime for mortar, since brass did not rust in the wet. The wooden bowls and platters fed the men who lived at the works, far from the barracks in Jamestown, during the months of building.
101	92	20th July Brought over£ 29 6 8 Nails viz. 12 . 3 8 9 12 . 6 6 6 32 . 10 14 10 . 40 3 6 1 12 9 Iron and Steels viz. 317 Iron 3 12 7 35 Steel 11 8 4 4 3 Iron Ware viz. 5 Hand Hatchets 8 6½ 1 Smiths Rubber 4 5 2 Large Fry'g Pans 8 5 2 Melting Ladles 7 11 7 Stone Saws 1 1 6 21 Plate Iron 9 2 12 Brick Layers Trowels 13 6 48 Helves 1 9 1 Pr. Bolt Lock 7 4 24 Iron Shovels 5 9 2 4 Files 1 4 12 Mauls 5 6 6 2 Pr. Stone Saw Heads 10 11 12 Iron Crows 4 18 8 12 Pick Axes 1 19 6 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 10½ 1 Claw hammer 1 4½ 1 Stock Lock 2 8½ 24 16 2 Oars 2 for the fish'g Boat 8 1 Leather 17 lb 15 7 Candles 12 lb for the Office	The account for the Sandy Bay fortification continued. Brought forward, £29 6s 8d 12 [...] of 3d nails, £0 8s 9d 12 [...] of 6d nails, £0 6s 6d 32 [...] of 10d nails, £0 14s 0d 10 [...] of 40d nails, £0 3s 6d Total for nails, £1 12s 9d 317 lb of iron, £3 12s 7d 35 lb of steel, £0 11s 8d Total for iron and steel, £4 4s 3d 5 hand hatchets, £0 8s 6½d 1 smith's rubber, £0 4s 5d 2 large frying pans, £0 8s 5d 2 melting ladles, £0 7s 11d 7 stone saws, £1 1s 6d 21 lb of plate iron, £0 9s 2d 12 bricklayers' trowels, £0 13s 6d 48 helves, £1 9s 0d 1 [...] bolt lock, £0 7s 4d 24 iron shovels, £5 9s 2d 4 files, £0 1s 4d 12 mauls, £5 6s 6d 2 pairs of stone saw heads, £0 10s 11d 12 iron crows, £4 17s 8d 12 pickaxes, £1 19s 6d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 10½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 4½d 1 stock lock, £0 2s 8½d Total for ironware, £24 16s 2d 2 oars for the fishing boat, £0 8s 1d 17 [...] of leather, £0 15s 7d 12 lb of candles for the officer, £1 6s 6d 20 lb of lead, £0 3s 9d 30 wheelbarrow wheels, £2 3s 5d 5 gallons of train oil, £0 16s 8d Carried forward, £86 15s 5d **Interpretations** The tools showed the work at Sandy Bay as largely masonry and earth-moving. Stone saws cut the blocks for the revetment, mauls drove wedges to split rock, and iron crows, heavy iron bars, levered stones into place. Twenty-four shovels, 12 pickaxes and the wheels for 30 wheelbarrows moved the earth to fill the rampart and form the glacis. Wheelbarrows were built on the island from local or imported timber, and only their iron-rimmed wheels came from the stores. The quantity of tools fitted the 28 soldiers at the works and the slaves labouring alongside them. Iron and steel went to a forge at the site, where a smith kept the tools sharp and mended them on the spot. Steel, harder than iron, edged the picks and chisels, and the melting ladles cast lead to secure iron fittings into stone. The officer in charge of the works had his own candles, as he lived at Sandy Bay during the building. A fishing boat with its own oars supplied the men there with fish, since the bay lay far from Jamestown and its stores.

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		1 6 6 Lead 20 lb 3 9 Cart Wheels 30 Wheel Barrows 23 5 Oil 5 Galls. Train 16 8 Carried Over£ 86 15 5	
102	93	1767 Brought over£ 86 15 5 Lines 12 No. 4 4 8 Paint 12 Chalk 3 Tin Ware viz. 1 Watering Pot 2 8 2 Lamps 1 5 4 1 Rice 350 for the Slaves 1 16 5 Pork 511 lb Do. 76 2 8 Iron Pots 4 Wt. 121 1 2 8 Arrack 108 Galls. for the Slaves 14 10 3 £ 180 16 5 Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1767 viz. - Nails viz. 2 . 3 Castle 1 5½ 2 . 6 Do. & Secys. House 1 1 8 . 10 Do. Do. 3 6 10 Flooring Brads Do. Castle 4 2 4 . 20 1 5 ½ Glazg. Bs. 5½ Ang'th Laboratory 12 1 Iron Ware viz. 2 Stock Locks Castle 5 4½ 1 Blank Key Do. 8½ 1 Plaisterers Trowel Do. 1 8½ 1 Cupboard Lock Do. 2 10 1 Pr. H. L. Hinges Do. 1 10½ 1 Brass Closet Lock for 1 of the Compy's Houses 4 3½ 1 Iron rimed Lock wt. Brass Knobs Castle 6 1 1 3 5 Paint viz. 4 Bottls. Black'g Use of the Castle 2 1 6 Whiting Do. 3 8 White Lead mixed for the Laboratory 3 2 3 Ston. Red mixed Do. 1 5 6 11 Carried Over£ 2 2 5	The account for the Sandy Bay fortification concluded. Brought forward, £86 15s 5d 12 number 4 lines, £0 4s 8d 12 lb of chalk, £0 0s 3d 1 tin watering pot, £0 2s 8d 2 tin lamps, £0 1s 5d Total for tinware, £0 4s 1d 350 lb of rice for the slaves, £1 16s 5d 511 pieces of pork for the slaves, £76 2s 8d 4 iron pots weighing 121 lb, £1 2s 8d 108 gallons of arrack for the slaves, £14 10s 3d Total for the Sandy Bay fortification, £180 16s 5d The repairs account recorded the stores issued for repairs from 1 April to 30 June 1767. 2 [...] of 3d nails for the Castle, £0 1s 5½d 2 [...] of 6d nails for the Castle and the secretary's house, £0 1s 1d 8 [...] of 10d nails for the Castle and the secretary's house, £0 3s 6d 10 [...] of flooring brads for the Castle, £0 4s 2d 4 [...] of 20d nails for the laboratory, £0 1s 5d ¼ [...] of glazing brads for the laboratory, £0 0s 3½d Total for nails, £0 12s 1d 2 stock locks for the Castle, £0 5s 4½d 1 blank key for the Castle, £0 0s 8½d 1 plasterer's trowel for the Castle, £0 1s 9½d 1 cupboard lock for the Castle, £0 2s 10d 1 pair of H hinges for the Castle, £0 1s 10¼d 1 brass closet lock for one of the Company's houses, £0 4s 3½d 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs for the Castle, £0 6s 1d Total for ironware, £1 3s 5d 4 boxes of blacking for the use of the Castle, £0 2s 1d 6 lb of whiting for the use of the Castle, £0 0s 3d 8 lb of white lead mixed for the laboratory, £0 3s 2d 3 lb of Venetian red mixed for the laboratory, £0 1s 5d Total for paint, £0 6s 11d Carried forward, £2 2s 5d **Interpretations** The slaves at Sandy Bay received a far larger share of meat than the slaves elsewhere. Five hundred and eleven pieces of pork went to those labouring on the fortifications in a single quarter, more than the whole issue of pork to the Company's slaves in its main account. Rations were raised for the heaviest work, digging, quarrying and carrying stone, since men fed only on rice and yams could not sustain it. The 108 gallons of arrack also went to these labourers. The slaves at the works received drink as an incentive, as the boat crews and storemen did, which shows how much the Company relied on them to finish the defences by Christmas as the Council hoped. The Sandy Bay account totalled more than £180 0s 0d for the quarter in stores alone, without the soldiers' and labourers' pay. With the Castle repairs costing over £780 0s 0d across two years, the directors' concern about spending on the island's buildings was well founded. The laboratory named in the repairs account was not a scientific workshop but the artillery's laboratory, where gunners prepared cartridges, filled fuses and made up fireworks and signal rockets. It was painted and glazed like the other Company buildings, and kept apart from the magazine for safety.

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103	94	20th July Brought over£ 2 2 5 Glass Ware viz. 4 Sqr. 11 by 19 0 7 5 1 Sqr. 10 by 12 1 Castle 12 Sqr. 8 by 10 6 35 Sqr. 6 by 8 11 8 for the Laboratory 1 . 1 Deals viz. 17 Single 1 1 6 1 Double 3 5 1 Plank 8 10 for the Castle & Laboratory 2 9 1 Turners Ware 4 Paint Brushes for the Castle & Plantation House 2 Pitch and Tar viz. ½ Gall. Tar 4 4 lb Rozin 7 Plantation House 11 Candles 1 lb Do. 2 2 Oil viz. 1⅛ Galls. Linseed for the Castle 5 5 ⅛ Oil of Turpentine for the Laboratory 8 6 1 Arrack ⅛ Galls. for Mix'g Colors for Do. 4 Twine 1 Sk. for the Laboratory 6 St. Helena 30 June 1767£ 6 4 3 Errors Excepted Signed J. Bowell Storekeeper	The repairs account concluded. Brought forward, £2 2s 5d 4 squares of glass 11 by 19 inches for the Castle, £0 7s 5d 1 square of glass 10 by 12 inches for the Castle, £0 1s 0d 12 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches for the laboratory, £0 6s 0d 35 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches for the laboratory, £0 11s 8d Total for glassware, £1 1s 1d 17 single deals for the Castle and the laboratory, £1 11s 6d 1 double deal for the Castle and the laboratory, £0 3s 5d 1 batten for the Castle and the laboratory, £0 8s 10d Total for deals, £2 9s 1d 4 paint brushes for the Castle and Plantation House, £0 2s 0d ½ gallon of tar for Plantation House, £0 0s 4d 4 lb of rosin for Plantation House, £0 0s 7d Total for pitch and tar, £0 0s 11d 1 lb of candles for the laboratory, £0 2s 2d 1⅛ gallons of linseed oil for the Castle, £0 5s 5d ⅛ gallon of oil of turpentine for the laboratory, £0 0s 8d Total for oil, £0 6s 1d ⅛ gallon of arrack for mixing colours for the laboratory, £0 0s 6d 1 skein of twine for the laboratory, £0 0s 6d Total for repairs, £6 4s 3d The account was dated at St Helena on 30 June 1767, issued subject to errors and signed by James Powell, storekeeper. **Interpretations** The repairs account for the quarter came to only £6 4s 3d, a fraction of the earlier spending on the Castle. The heavy work recorded in the account of 1 June 1767 was over, and what remained were small jobs: a new lock, a few panes of glass, a little paint. The fall in the figure supported Governor Skottowe's case to the directors that the large repairs had been a single necessary outlay, not a habit of extravagance. Arrack used for mixing colours appeared in the fortifications and repairs accounts alike. Spirit dissolved certain pigments and gums and helped paint dry quickly, an ordinary painters' practice where spirits were cheaper than turpentine. The storekeeper's signature closed a quarterly statement that ran across many pages and covered every class of stores, from porcelain for the Castle to pork for the slaves at Sandy Bay. It gave the directors in London a full account of how the island's supplies had been spent, a check on the Council that matched the cash book and the consultations.
104	95	1767 List of the Honorable Compy's Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their Several Salary's diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing the 1 April and ending the 31 June 1767 - John Skottowe Esqr. Governors Saly. 125 Do. Allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Saly. 62 10 Do. Diet Money 25 87 10 Mr. Mattw. Purling of Council Saly. 15	The list of the Company's officers and servants on St Helena gave their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1767. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe, total, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille, total, £87 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d

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		Do. Accomptant 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. Gratuity 15 62 10 Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Saly. 7 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 10 Archibald Mitchell Engineer Saly. 50 Do. Diet Money 25 Do. House Rent 2 10 77 10 John Thackeray Chaplain Saly. 48 Days 17 10 8 Wm. Bearcroft Do. Saly. 40 Do. Diet Money 15 55 Mattw. Bazett Secretary 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 10 35 James Bowell Storekeeper Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 10 35 Willm. Wrangham Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 Do. Assistant to the Governor 10 30 Jonathan Dovelon Factors Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 22 10 Brit. Wright Writers Saly. 5 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 17 10 Carried Over£ 606 15 5	William Matthew Purling, total, £62 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, diet money, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Archibald Mitchell, total, £77 10s 0d John Thackeray, chaplain, salary for 48 days, £11 10s 8d William Bearcroft, chaplain, salary, £40 0s 0d William Bearcroft, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Bearcroft, total, £55 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell, total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £30 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, total, £22 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, total, £17 10s 0d Carried forward, £606 15s 5d **Interpretations** The basic salaries were small, and the real income of each official came from the allowances and extra posts added to them. A factor drew only £30 0s 0d a year in salary, while a writer drew £20 0s 0d, the same as the cut pension of a widow under the fund. Diet money, paid to those who did not eat at the Governor's table, and house rent where the Company provided no lodging, more than doubled these sums. The Council made up the pay of capable men by giving them second offices. Purling earned more as accountant than as a councillor, Wrangham was paid as assistant to the Governor, and Doveton as assistant storekeeper. Even so, the bills of exchange recorded through the spring showed that officials such as Kirkpatrick and Corneille sent home sums far larger than their pay, so private trade with the passing ships formed much of their income. The Governor's salary of £500 0s 0d a year stood far above the rest, and the allowance for servants added more than £120 0s 0d a year to keep his household. Kirkpatrick drew only £10 0s 0d a quarter as a councillor because, as a captain, he also received military pay from a separate account. Mitchell, the engineer, ranked second only to the Governor and his deputy, a measure of the value the Company placed on the fortifications. Two chaplains appeared in the quarter. John Thackeray was paid for 48 days and William Bearcroft for the full term, so Thackeray evidently left or died in May and Bearcroft succeeded him. Bearcroft was the chaplain to whom Eustace White left a guinea for his burial in July. Britannicus Wright was still paid as a writer for this quarter, before his promotion to factor on 7 July 1767.
105	96	20th July Brought over£ 606 15 5	The list of the Company's officers and servants for the quarter continued.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Goodwin Writer Saly. 5 Do. Diet Money 10 15 Robert Barclay Surgeon Saly. 9 15 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 22 5 John Pritchard Surgeons Mates Saly. 6 5 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 18 15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate 12 10 Do. Schoolmaster 7 10 20 Thomas Bazett Saly. 13 13 Samuel Alexander 7 10 John Worrall 15 Farmers 36 3 Wm. Holebrook Master Masons Saly. 30 Thomas Townsend Stone Masons Saly. 19 10 49 10 John Robinson Carpenter 25 Phillip Mahony Clerk of the Peace 10 Thomas Oakes Clerk of the Church 5 Jno. Bazett Superintendant over the Compy's Blacks 10 James Black Gardener 10 George Bazett Steward 7 10 Samuel Perry Clock and Instrumt. Cleaner 1 5 Thos. Payne Overseer of the Compy's Workmen 6 16 10½ Robert Allum Groom 2 John Dobson Armourer 8 days Saly. 18 4½ John Robins Do. 83 Do. Do. 13 12 10 Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 John Cuswell 1 Coxswain of the Long Boat 7 10 Thomas Tyler 2d Do. 7 10 John Price Marshall and Goaler 5 John Drawater Cooper 46 days 7 10 4 8 2½ To the Drum Major for Instructing the Young Drummers 1 123 16 3½ Carried Over£ 892 4 8½	Brought forward, £606 15s 5d John Goodwin, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Pritchard, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, total, £20 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, overseer, salary, £13 13s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, salary, £7 10s 0d John Worrall, overseer, salary, £15 0s 0d Total for overseers, £36 3s 0d William Holebrook, master mason, salary, £30 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d Total for masons, £49 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Phillip Mahony, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Thomas Oakes, clerk of the church, £5 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent over the Company's [...], £10 0s 0d James Black, gardener, £10 0s 0d George Bazett, steward, £7 10s 0d Samuel Berry, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Bayne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Robert Allum, groom, £2 0s 0d John Dobson, armourer, salary for 8 days, £0 18s 4½d John Robins, armourer, salary for 83 days, £13 12s 10d Solomon St Maurice, master-at-arms, £6 5s 0d John Cupwell, first coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Thomas Tyler, second coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £5 0s 0d John Drawwater, cooper, for 46 days, £4 8s 2½d The drum major, for instructing the young drummers, £1 0s 0d Total for this page, £285 [...] Carried forward, £892 4s 8½d **Interpretations** The list named the men who ran every part of the island's life. Richard Beale held two quite different posts, as judge advocate, the legal officer who prosecuted in courts martial and advised the Council on law, and as schoolmaster to the island's children. The clerk of the peace kept the records of the island's courts, and the marshal, John Price, was also its gaoler. The clerk of the church, Thomas Oakes, was evidently the parish clerk to whom Eustace White left half a guinea for attending his funeral. The overseers managed the Company's slaves on its plantations and at the works, and the Bazett family held several posts, as overseer, superintendent and steward, alongside Matthew Bazett's office of secretary. John Drawwater, the cooper taken from Captain Morrison's ship in May, was paid for 46 days, which dated his engagement to the middle of May 1767. Thomas Townsend, the stonemason who petitioned for his discharge on 29 June, drew his last quarter's pay here. The pay of the craftsmen showed how valued their skills were. The master mason earned £120 0s 0d a year and the carpenter £100 0s 0d, far more than

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			a factor's salary of £30 0s 0d. Skilled tradesmen were scarce on the island and had to be recruited from England under contract. A clock and instrument cleaner kept the Castle's clocks and the garrison's instruments in order, a small post on an island where time was told by the gun, the bell and the half-hour glass.
106	97	1767 Brought over£ 892 4 8½ First Company Thos. Kirkpatrick Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Samuel Duffoutstuen Lt. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacobs Adjutant Salary 22 16 3 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 29 13 1½ Serjeants Phillip Mahoney 7 12 1 Thomas Payne 7 12 1 William Bannister 7 12 1 Henry Howell 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals Joseph Tracey 5 6 5½ Wm. Bunn 5 6 5½ Thos. Bennett 5 6 5½ Wm. Rowlands 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers John Martin 5 6 5½ Richard Platfoot 5 6 5½ Joseph Beecham 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Centinels John Stewart Cadet Disch'd 30th April 1767 1 5 James Greentree Entertd. the 26th June 8 4 John Almon 3 16 - ½ James Avery 3 16 - ½ James Armstrong 3 16 - ½ John Brown Discharged the 15th June 3 . 10 John Buckmans 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 19 13 4	The list continued with the pay of the first company of the garrison for the quarter. Brought forward, £892 4s 8½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, total, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Defoutain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Defoutain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Defoutain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Defoutain, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacobs, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, total, £29 13s 1½d Phillip Mahony, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Payne, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Bannister, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Henry Howell, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Joseph Stacey, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Bunn, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Bennett, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Rowlands, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d John Martin, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Richard Platfoot, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Beecham, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £15 19s 4½d John Stewart, cadet, sentinel, discharged 30 April 1767, £1 5s 0d James Greentree, sentinel, enlisted 26 June 1767, £0 8s 4d John Alman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Avery, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, sentinel, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 0s 10d John Buchmann, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £19 18s 4d Carried forward, £1,090 7s 7½d **Interpretations** The pay list showed the gulf between the ranks of the garrison. A sentinel received £3 16s 0½d a quarter, about £15 4s 0d a year, roughly 10d a day. A sergeant earned twice that, and a lieutenant, with diet money and house rent, more than seven times as much. Captain Kirkpatrick drew £45 12s 6d a quarter as captain, in addition to his councillor's salary, which explained why his civil pay was so low. Corporals and drummers were paid alike, since the drummer beat the calls that ordered every movement of the company and ranked as a junior non-commissioned man. The individual entries tracked each soldier's service to the day. John Brown, discharged on 15 June 1767 when his term expired, was paid to that date, and he was one of the men entered on the *Duke of Albany*'s books for the voyage home. James Greentree enlisted on 26 June 1767, which fitted the issue of clothing to new recruits in the garrison account. A Greentree joining the ranks as a common soldier showed that some sons of island families entered the garrison, the same family that later sent officers to the widows' fund. John Stewart was a cadet, a young gentleman serving in the ranks while waiting for a commission, and his discharge on 30 April perhaps marked his promotion or departure.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carrd. Over£ 1090 7 7½	Phillip Mahony appeared both as a sergeant here and as clerk of the peace in the civil list. Men in the garrison often held a civil post on the side, as officials did, so that the island's few literate men could fill all its offices.
107	98	20th July Brought over£ 1090 7 7½ Centinels brought over£ 19 13 4 Thos. Blake 3 16 - ½ Moses Biffen 3 16 - ½ John Bull 3 16 - ½ John Barnes 3 16 - ½ Timothy Brien 3 16 - ½ Emanuel Brunner 3 16 - ½ William Benson 3 16 - ½ Benj. Barclay 3 16 - ½ Samuel Bingrove 3 16 - ½ Edward Corbey 3 16 - ½ William Clissold 3 16 - ½ Patrick Conner 3 16 - ½ Andrew Connor 3 16 - ½ John Charlton Entertd. 9th April 3 9 2 John Davis 3 16 - ½ John Dove 3 16 - ½ David Davis 3 16 - ½ James Drake 3 16 - ½ Thos. Durham 3 16 - ½ James Dunn 3 16 - ½ John Dobson Entd. the 13th April 3 5 10 Adam Evans 3 16 - ½ Henry Carstear 3 16 - ½ Cornelius Fish 3 16 - ½ Willm. French 3 16 - ½ William Greenwood 3 16 - ½ John Grainger 3 16 - ½ William Henderson 3 16 - ½ James Hedge 3 16 - ½ John Hewston 3 16 - ½ Edward Haddock 3 16 - ½ William Holmes 3 16 - ½ Willm. Hallsall Entertd. the 9th April 3 16 - ½ Duncan McLaren	The pay of the sentinels of the first company continued. Brought forward, £1,090 7s 7½d Sentinels brought forward, £19 18s 4d Thomas Blake, £3 16s 0½d Moses Biffen, £3 16s 0½d John Bull, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Brien, £3 16s 0½d Emanuel Brunner, £3 16s 0½d William Benson, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Barclay, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Bingrove, £3 16s 0½d Edward Corker, £3 16s 0½d William Clissold, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Conner, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Conner, £3 16s 0½d John Charlton, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, enlisted 13 April 1767, £3 5s 10d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d Henry Canstear, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d William Greenwood, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hedge, £3 16s 0½d John Hewston, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, £3 16s 0½d William Hallsall, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Duncan McLaren, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £151 15s 10d Carried forward, £1,090 7s 7½d **Interpretations** Every sentinel who served the whole quarter received exactly £3 16s 0½d, which showed a fixed daily rate applied to 91 days. Men who joined part way through were paid only from the day they enlisted. John Charlton and William Hallsall, enlisted on 9 April 1767, and John Dobson, enlisted on 13 April, received correspondingly less. These were probably men recruited on the island, perhaps seamen or passengers who chose to stay, since no ship carrying recruits from England had arrived in early April. John Dobson appeared also on the civil list as an armourer paid for eight days. He evidently left the armourer's shop and enlisted as a sentinel, or moved between the two roles, and the clerk paid him separately for each. William Clissold was perhaps the William Chisold to whom Eustace White left his nankeen clothing on 8 July 1767, a fellow soldier and friend. The roll recorded each man by name, so that the paymaster's accounts in London could be checked man by man against the muster.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 9 2 William Mumford 3 16 - ½ 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 151 15 10 Carrd. Over£ 1090 7 7½	
108	99	1767 Brought over£ 1090 7 7½ Centinels Brought over£ 151 15 10 John May Deceased the 3d of May 1 7 6 John McAllister 3 16 - ½ Thos. Means 3 16 - ½ John Moore Transd. 17th June 3 5 James Miller Entertd. the 13 May 2 . 10 John Pickering 3 16 - ½ Thos. Price Discharged the 29th June 3 15 Matthew Palmer Entertd. the 9th April 3 9 2 Joseph Purdey Entertd. the 9th Do. Transfd. 6th May 1 3 4 Thos. Roberts 3 16 - ½ William Robinson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Ransom 3 16 - ½ George Roe 3 16 ½ Silvanus Rolph 3 16 - ½ Thomas Rogers 3 16 - ½ Anthony Reynolds 3 16 - ½ Wm. Swaby 3 16 - ½ John Springthorp 3 16 - ½ John Stubbs 3 16 - ½ John Stewart 3 16 - ½ Edward Stevington 3 16 - ½ William Smell Entertd. the 9th April 3 9 2 Robt. Sanders Entertd. the 7 May 2 5 10 Edward Terry Deceased the 8 April 6 8 John Taylor Discharged the 29 June 3 15 Richard Tollington 3 16 - ½ William Tipper 3 16 - ½ Thomas Townshend 3 16 - ½ Luke Vernon 3 16 - ½ John Whitingdale 3 16 - ½ Benj. Wise 3 16 - ½ Thomas Windall 3 16 - ½ John Wester 3 16 - ½	The pay of the sentinels of the first company concluded. Brought forward, £1,090 7s 7½d Sentinels brought forward, £151 15s 10d John May, died 3 May 1767, £1 7s 6d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mears, £3 16s 0½d John Moore, transferred 17 June 1767, £3 5s 0d James Miller, enlisted 13 May 1767, £2 0s 10d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, discharged 29 June 1767, £3 15s 0d Matthew Palmer, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Joseph Purdey, enlisted 9 April 1767 and transferred 6 May 1767, £1 3s 4d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolph, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d John Stubbs, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Edward Stevington, £3 16s 0½d William Sorrell, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Robert Sanders, enlisted 7 May 1767, £2 5s 10d Edward Terry, died 8 April 1767, £0 6s 8d John Taylor, discharged 29 June 1767, £3 15s 0d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Townshend, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £267 15s 4d Carried forward, £1,090 7s 7½d **Interpretations** The roll recorded the turnover of men in the company over a single quarter. Two soldiers died, Edward Terry on 8 April and John May on 3 May 1767, and each was paid only to his death. The pay owed at death passed to the man's estate, as Isaac Buck's arrears had passed under his will to his friend John Carfoot. Thomas Price and John Taylor, discharged on 29 June 1767, were the two sentinels whose petitions the Council granted that day. At the same time the company took in new men through the quarter, among them Matthew Palmer, William Sorrell, James Miller and Robert Sanders. Transfers moved men between companies or into the artillery, as with John Moore and Joseph Purdey. George Roe was perhaps the witness to Eustace White's will on 8 July 1767. The constant arrivals, deaths and departures meant the paymaster calculated almost every man's pay separately, and the roll let the directors check that the Company paid only for men actually serving.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		George Wall 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 267 13 4 Carried Over£ 1090 7 7½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	
109	100	20th July Brought over£ 1090 7 7½ Centinels brought over£ 267 13 4 Sedgwick Witherall Ent'd 9th April Transfd. 7 May 1 14 2 John Willson Entd. the 9th April Entd. 7 May 1 5 10 Richd. Toucas 3 16 - ½ William Lieke Transfd. the 8th April 6 8 275 1 - ½ Second Company Henry Bazett Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Michael Frost Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut. Salary 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7 12 1 George Freeman 7 12 1 Edmund Leech 7 12 1 Stephen Prior 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals Wm. Fullwood 5 6 5½ William Hunt 5 6 5½ John Fish 5 6 5½ John Sabourin 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers Robt. Davis Discharged 15th June 4 8 8 Francis Scoane 5 6 5½ 9 15 1½ Centinels Thomas Adams 3 16 - ½ Robert Allum 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carrd. Over£ 7 12 1 Carried Over£ 1537 14 2½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	The pay of the first company concluded, and the list continued with the second company. Brought forward, £1,090 7s 7½d Sentinels brought forward, £267 15s 4d Sedgwick Witherall, enlisted 9 April 1767 and transferred 7 May 1767, £1 14s 2d John Willson, enlisted 9 April 1767 and transferred 7 May 1767, £1 5s 10d Richard Toucas, £3 16s 0½d William Lacke, transferred 8 April 1767, £0 6s 8d Total for the sentinels of the first company, £275 1s 0½d Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Michael Frost, total, £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welsh, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welsh, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welsh, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Ware Welsh, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bazett, sergeant, £7 12s 1d George Fireman, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Edmund Leech, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Stephen Prior, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d William Fullwood, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Hunt, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Fish, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Sabourin, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Robert Davis, drummer, discharged 15 June 1767, £4 8s 8d Francis Iscane, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £9 15s 1½d Thomas Adams, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Allum, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £7 12s 1d Carried forward, £1,327 14s 2½d **Interpretations** The leading island families held commands in the garrison as well as civil offices. Henry Bazett commanded the second company as captain, and John Bazett served as one of its sergeants, while other Bazetts were secretary, sheriff, overseer and steward. Edmund Leech, a sergeant, belonged to a family that later supplied several managers and treasurers to the widows' fund. The garrison was not simply a body of soldiers sent from England. Its officers and senior non-commissioned men were often drawn from the planter families, which bound the island's defence to its settled households. Robert Davis, the drummer discharged on 15 June 1767, was paid only to that day and sailed home on the *Duke of Albany*. Robert Allum, a sentinel here, also drew pay as the Castle groom on the civil list, another soldier holding a second post. The steady transfers of recruits enlisted in April into other companies in May suggested the new men were first entered in the first company and then sent where they were most needed, perhaps to the artillery or to the works at Sandy Bay.
110	101	1767 Brought over£ 1537 14 2½	The pay of the sentinels of the second company continued.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Centinels brought over£ 7 12 1 Joseph Banks 3 16 - ½ William Birch 3 16 - ½ William Brooks 3 16 - ½ Jacob Brown 3 16 - ½ Robert Brown 3 16 - ½ Nicholas Bushell 3 16 - ½ Thos. Bott Disch'd 15 June 3 3 4 Daniel Bye 3 16 - ½ James Byrne 3 16 - ½ John Brown 3 16 - ½ Jonathan Burden 3 16 - ½ Thomas Cheyerly 3 16 - ½ William Conquest 3 16 - ½ John Crawley 3 16 - ½ Wm. Carfree 3 16 - ½ Samuel Curd 3 16 - ½ William Carter Entertd. 9 April 3 9 2 Jeremiah Coner Do. 3 9 2 John Cunningham Entertd. 22 June 7 6 Robt. Dickson 3 16 - ½ Wm. Dennan 3 16 - ½ John Dayley Entertd. the 9 April 3 9 2 William Finch Dischd. June 15 3 3 4 William Fry Do. Do. 3 3 4 John Forbes 3 16 - ½ John Goresole 3 16 - ½ John Gray 3 16 - ½ Robert Green 3 16 - ½ James Gates 3 16 - ½ Charles Goulding 3 16 - ½ William Greenough 3 16 - ½ James Goudy Entertd. the 28 April 1767 3 William Harris 3 16 - ½ William Harris 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 129 14 2 Carried Over£ 1537 14 2½	Brought forward, £1,327 14s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £7 12s 1d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bolt, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Burden, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, £3 16s 0½d William Carfree, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd, £3 16s 0½d William Carter, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Jeremiah Coner, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d John Cunningham, enlisted 22 June 1767, £0 7s 6d Robert Dickson, £3 16s 0½d William Donnan, £3 16s 0½d John Dayley, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d William Finch, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d William Fry, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d John Forbes, £3 16s 0½d John Goodsell, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, £3 16s 0½d James Gates, £3 16s 0½d Charles Goulding, £3 16s 0½d William Greenough, £3 16s 0½d James Goudy, enlisted 28 April 1767, £3 0s 0d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £129 14s 2d Carried forward, £1,327 14s 2½d **Interpretations** The roll matched the Council's decisions recorded in the consultations. Thomas Bolt, William Fry and William Finch, paid to 15 June 1767, were among the 15 soldiers whose discharge the Council granted that day. Their names appeared on the *Duke of Albany*'s muster as passengers bound home, entered as Bolt, Ivy and Frick. The two spellings of a man's name in different records reflected clerks writing down names as they heard them. John Cunningham enlisted on 22 June 1767, only a week after another John Cunningham, a sentinel, was discharged on 15 June. He was perhaps the same man re-enlisting after his term expired, choosing to stay on the island rather than sail home. Re-enlistment kept trained soldiers in the garrison and saved the Company the cost of a passage and a new recruit, and the coincidence of the name and dates makes this the most likely reading. Two soldiers named William Harris served in the same company and were paid separately, which showed why the paymaster recorded every man individually.
111	102	20th July Brought over£ 1537 14 2½ Centinels brought over£ 129 14 2 Abraham Harding	The pay of the sentinels of the second company continued. Brought forward, £1,327 14s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £129 14s 2d

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		3 16 - ½ Samuel Hiles 3 16 - ½ John Helbeck 3 16 - ½ James Hudson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hayles 3 16 - ½ William Hayes 3 16 - ½ Robert Hopkinson 3 16 - ½ James Hogg 3 16 - ½ John Ham 3 16 - ½ William Harper 3 16 - ½ Richard Jones Disch'd the 6th April 5 Samuel Instone 3 16 - ½ William Johnson 3 16 - ½ Jeremiah Jordon 3 16 - ½ John Jacks 3 16 - ½ Thomas James 3 16 - ½ John James Entertd. 9th April 3 9 2 Samuel Kitson 3 16 - ½ Henry Kirkham 3 16 - ½ Henry Miller 3 16 - ½ James Mannington 3 16 - ½ John Morris 3 16 - ½ Robt. Cullen 3 16 - ½ William Merrick 3 16 - ½ Thos. Newton 3 16 - ½ Henry Ofsheneim 3 16 - ½ Pierce Osborne 3 16 - ½ Samuel Perry 3 16 - ½ John Povey Entertd. the 9 April 3 9 2 Abraham Penno Disch'd the 15th June 3 3 4 Thomas Richards 3 16 - ½ John Christ. Strife 3 16 - ½ Benj. Stringer 3 16 - ½ Thomas Stowers 3 16 - ½ Gregory Southernwood 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 257 18 1 Carried Over£ 1537 14 2½	Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 0½d John Hellbeck, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hayles, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hopkinson, £3 16s 0½d James Hogg, £3 16s 0½d John Ham, £3 16s 0½d William Harper, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, discharged 6 April 1767, £0 5s 0d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordon, £3 16s 0½d John Jacks, £3 16s 0½d Thomas James, £3 16s 0½d John James, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Samuel Hickson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Kirkham, £3 16s 0½d Henry Miller, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, £3 16s 0½d John Morris, £3 16s 0½d Robert Cullen, £3 16s 0½d William Merrick, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton, £3 16s 0½d Henry Ophenrin, £3 16s 0½d Pierce Osborne, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d John Povey, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Abraham Renno, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Thomas Richards, £3 16s 0½d John Christopher Strife, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, £3 16s 0½d Gregory Southernwood, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £257 18s 1d Carried forward, £1,327 14s 2½d **Interpretations** Several names on the roll suggested that the garrison drew soldiers from beyond England. John Christopher Strife, John Hellbeck and Henry Ophenrin probably came from Germany or the Low Countries, where the Company, like the British army, recruited men when English volunteers ran short. Emanuel Brunner in the first company fitted the same pattern. The Company's soldiers were enlisted wherever it could find them, and a foreign recruit served on the same terms and the same pay as an Englishman. Richard Jones, discharged on 6 April 1767, was paid for only five days of the quarter, while the nine men enlisted on 9 April arrived just after. A batch of enlistments on a single day suggests a ship had landed recruits from England in early April, the men then distributed among the companies. Abraham Renno, discharged on 15 June 1767, was another of the men who went home on the *Duke of Albany*.
112	103	1767 Brought over£ 1537 14 2½ Centinels brought over£ 257 18 1½ William Stone Transfd. the 12 April	The pay of the second company concluded, and the list continued with the third company. Brought forward, £1,327 14s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £257 18s 1½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 John Salisbury Entertd. the 9 April 3 9 2 Avery Trueman Deceased the 4th June 2 14 2 John Tucker 3 16 - ½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 - ½ Thomas Waffington 3 16 - ½ 275 19 7 Third Company Richard Beale Capt. Salary 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants Roger Wetman 7 12 1 Barnard Millard 7 12 1 William Roberts 7 12 1 James York as Serjt. to the 21 April reduced 1 15 Do. Centinel 22 Do. 2 13 4 27 9 7 Corporals William Clifton to April the 21 1 4 6 Do. as Serjeant from Do. 22 5 16 8 Fisher Gamble 5 6 5½ Samuel Johnson 5 6 5½ Thomas Pearce 5 6 5½ 23 - 6½ Drummers John Swaits 5 6 5½ George Carney 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 16 - ½ James Anderson 3 16 - ½ Charles Abraham 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 11 8 1½ Carried Over£ 1938 1 2½	William Stone, transferred 12 April 1767, £0 10s 0d John Salisbury, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Avery Trueman, died 4 June 1767, £2 14s 2d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels of the second company, £275 19s 7d Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d Roger Wilman, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Barnard Milliard, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Roberts, sergeant, £7 12s 1d James York, as sergeant to 21 April 1767, then reduced, £1 15s 0d James York, as sentinel from 22 April 1767, £2 13s 4d Total for sergeants, £27 9s 7d William Clifton, as corporal to 21 April 1767, £1 4s 6d William Clifton, as sergeant from 22 April 1767, £5 16s 8d Fisher Gamble, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Johnson, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Pearce, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £23 0s 6½d John Swaits, drummer, £5 6s 5½d George Garney, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Richard Ashford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Abraham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £11 8s 1½d Carried forward, £1,938 1s 2½d **Interpretations** The roll recorded a demotion and a promotion on the same day. James York was reduced from sergeant to sentinel on 21 April 1767, and William Clifton was raised from corporal to sergeant in his place on 22 April. Reduction to the ranks was the usual punishment for a non-commissioned officer guilty of drunkenness, neglect of duty or disobedience, and it cost York more than half his pay. The roll gave no reason, but the immediate promotion of Clifton showed the company filling the vacancy at once. The paymaster split each man's quarter at the change, paying York and Clifton at the old rate up to 21 April and the new rate after. Avery Trueman was paid to 4 June 1767, the day he died after falling from the rocks, as recorded in the consultation of 8 June. Richard Beale, the third company's captain, was the same man who served as judge advocate and schoolmaster on the civil list. Holding a military command, a legal office and the island's school together made him one of the most occupied men on St Helena.
113	104	20th July Brought over£ 1938 1 2½ Centinels brought over£ 11 8 1½ Henry Browne 3 16 - ½ Jacob Brill 3 16 - ½ Mark Balls 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Bennett Disch'd 15 June 3 3 4 John Blinkhorn 3 16 - ½ Frederick Willm. Beard	The pay of the sentinels of the third company continued. Brought forward, £1,938 1s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £11 8s 1½d Henry Browne, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d John Blinborn, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 0½d Richard Broom, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ William Caleb Baldwin 3 16 - ½ Richard Broom 3 16 - ½ John Bowers Entd. 7 May deceased 13th May 7 6 John Cork 3 16 - ½ William Carr deceased 16th May 1 18 4 Michael Downey Disch'd the 15th June 3 3 4 Robert Davis 3 16 - ½ Edward Dudley 3 16 - ½ James Donnavan 3 16 - ½ William Durham Ent'd 9th April Transfd. 6th May 1 3 4 William Foster 3 16 - ½ John Foxon 3 16 - ½ Archibald Grayham 3 16 - ½ Richard Gregory 3 16 - ½ Wm. Gordon April 21 Do. Corporal from Do. 22 17 6 Willm. Greehup 4 1 8 Felise Hyder 3 16 - ½ John Hilliard 3 16 - ½ William Hill 3 16 - ½ William Hopkins 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hullock 3 16 - ½ Mannard Hayes 3 16 - ½ Joseph Holloway 3 16 - ½ Josiah Johnson 3 16 - ½ Robert Johnson 3 16 - ½ Richard Johnson 3 16 - ½ James Kemp 3 16 - ½ Richard Linney 3 16 ½ 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 132 12 3½ Carried Over£ 1938 1 2½ **Margin Notes:** 160	John Bowers, enlisted 7 May 1767 and died 13 May 1767, £0 7s 6d John Cook, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, died 16 May 1767, £1 8s 4d Michael Downey, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Robert Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dudley, £3 16s 0½d James Donnavan, £3 16s 0½d William Durham, enlisted 9 April 1767 and transferred 6 May 1767, £1 3s 4d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d John Fraser, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Grayham, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gregory, £3 16s 0½d William Gordon, as sentinel to 21 April 1767, £0 17s 6d William Gordon, as corporal from 22 April 1767, £4 1s 8d William Greenhoop, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d William Hopkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hullock, £3 16s 0½d Mannard Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Holloway, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £132 12s 3½d Carried forward, £1,938 1s 2½d **Interpretations** John Bowers enlisted on 7 May 1767 and died six days later, on 13 May, the shortest service on the roll. A recruit who died almost as soon as he joined had probably arrived sick from the voyage, since scurvy and fevers were common among men landed after months at sea. William Carr died three days later, on 16 May. The deaths of John Bower the matross on 15 May and Isaac Buck on 17 May made that week in May one of heavy loss for the garrison, four men dead in five days. William Gordon rose from sentinel to corporal on 22 April 1767, the same day William Clifton was promoted sergeant and James York reduced. The changes fitted together. When York lost his stripes, Clifton moved up from corporal to fill his place, and Gordon moved up from the ranks to fill Clifton's. One man's demotion thus opened a chain of promotions through the company, and the paymaster recorded each at its proper rate from the day it took effect.
114	105	1767 Brought over£ 1938 1 2½ Centinels brought over£ 132 12 3½ John Long 3 16 - ½ Charles Mountague 3 16 - ½ Richard Moyce 3 16 - ½ Thomas Morrice 3 16 - ½	The pay of the sentinels of the third company continued. Brought forward, £1,938 1s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £132 12s 3½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morrice, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Moyce 3 16 - ½ Abraham Major 3 16 - ½ John Miller 3 16 - ½ Thomas Matthews 3 16 - ½ Joseph Martin 3 16 - ½ Daniel Masterson 3 16 - ½ Charles Morrice Entd. April 9th 3 9 2 William Medcalf Do. Do. 3 9 2 Thomas Little Do. Do. 3 9 2 George Nilson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Perry 3 16 - ½ Henry Pinckson 3 16 - ½ William Parkes 3 16 - ½ David Patten 3 16 - ½ James Proctor 3 16 - ½ Samuel Brooker 3 16 - ½ Christian Peterson Entertd. May 21 Transfd. 7 June 1 3 4 William Robinson 3 16 - ½ Robert Stack 3 16 - ½ Adam Scott 3 16 - ½ David Scott 3 16 - ½ John Sorland 3 16 - ½ Arthur Shell Entertd. 9 April 1767 3 9 2 William Smith Do. Do. 3 9 2 John Thompson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 - ½ Richard Vincent 3 16 - ½ John Vaughan 3 16 - ½ Thomas Ward 3 16 - ½ Edward Welch 3 16 - ½ John Walters Discharged the 15 June 3 3 4 Centinels Carried Over£ 260 13 9½ Carried Over£ 1938 1 2½	Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Martin, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Masterson, £3 16s 0½d Charles Morrice, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d William Medcalf, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Thomas Little, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d George Nilson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchon, £3 16s 0½d William Parkes, £3 16s 0½d David Patton, £3 16s 0½d James Procter, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Pocher, £3 16s 0½d Christian Peterson, enlisted 21 May 1767 and transferred 7 June 1767, £1 3s 4d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Slack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Sorland, £3 16s 0½d Arthur Stott, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d William Smith, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welsh, £3 16s 0½d John Walters, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Sentinels carried forward, £260 13s 0½d Carried forward, £1,938 1s 2½d **Interpretations** The nine April enlistments on this page and the last confirmed that a draft of recruits reached the island on or about 9 April 1767. The Company sent such drafts out each season to replace the men whose five-year terms expired, and the paymaster's rolls showed them spread evenly across the three companies. The same season brought 15 discharges in June alone, so the garrison was being steadily renewed. Christian Peterson, enlisted on 21 May 1767, was perhaps a Scandinavian seaman who left a passing ship to join the garrison, since no recruiting ship arrived that month. The island took on such men when it could, as it took John Drawwater the cooper from Captain Morrison's ship. John Walters, discharged on 15 June 1767, appeared on the *Duke of Albany*'s muster among the soldiers sailing home.
115	106	20th July Brought over£ 1938 1 2½ Centinels brought over£ 260 13 11½ Edward Larabeum 3 16 - ½ Bryan Lynch 3 16 - ½ John Simmon 3 16 - ½ James Long 3 16 - ½	The pay of the third company concluded, and the list continued with the fourth company. Brought forward, £1,938 1s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £260 13s 0½d Edward Larabourn, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d John Simmon, £3 16s 0½d James Long, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels of the third company, £275 18s 1½d John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d

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		275 18 1½ Fourth Company John Howard Capt. Salary 45 12 6 Henry DeLaune Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money Do. 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Flemming 7 12 1 Thomas Bailey 7 12 1 John Simcox 7 12 1 Daniel Ormain Reduced the 29 June 7 10 Do. Centinel from the 30th Do. 10 30 7 1 Corporals Thomas Ferris to June the 29th 5 5 Do. from June the 30th 1 5 Richard Moreton 5 6 5½ William Mitchell Discharged 15 June 4 3 8 John Moor 5 6 5½ 20 3 3 Drummers George Wills 5 6 5½ John Campen 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels John Allen 3 16 - ½ William Allen 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 7 12 1 Carried Over£ 2376 3 10	Henry De Lerne, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Lerne, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Lerne, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry De Lerne, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert, total, £27 11s 10½d John Flemming, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bailey, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Daniel Cormain, as sergeant to 29 June 1767, then reduced, £7 10s 0d Daniel Cormain, as sentinel from 30 June 1767, £0 0s 10d Total for sergeants, £30 7s 1d Thomas Ferris, as corporal to 29 June 1767, £5 5s 0d Thomas Ferris, as sergeant from 30 June 1767, £0 1s 5d Richard Moreton, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Mitchell, corporal, discharged 15 June 1767, £4 3s 8d John Moor, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £20 3s 3d George Wills, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Campen, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d John Ellen, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Ellen, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £7 12s 1d Carried forward, £2,376 3s 10d **Interpretations** A second sergeant lost his rank during the quarter. Daniel Cormain was reduced to sentinel on 29 June 1767, the day before the quarter ended, and Thomas Ferris was promoted from corporal to fill his place on 30 June. With James York reduced in April, two of the garrison's 16 sergeants were broken in three months. Corneille's letter of 8 June 1767 warned that labour on the works was ruining the soldiers' discipline. The reductions, falling on the men responsible for keeping order in the ranks, suggest that discipline was indeed strained. William Mitchell, the corporal discharged on 15 June 1767, headed the list of 15 men whose discharge the Council granted that day, and he sailed home on the *Duke of Albany*. John Howard, captain of the fourth company, was the Captain John Howard who sent £175 0s 0d to Mrs Mary Hall in England through the bills of exchange of 22 June 1767.
116	107	1767 Brought over£ 2376 3 10 Centinels brought over£ 7 12 1 George Bennett 3 16 - ½ Joseph Blackwell 3 16 - ½ John Brooke 3 16 - ½ Richard Bakerstaff 3 16 - ½ William Blackmore 3 16 - ½ John Brillett to June the 15 3 3 4 Do. from June 16th as Corporal 17 6 John Beecham 3 16 - ½ Andrew Barton	The pay of the sentinels of the fourth company continued. Brought forward, £2,376 3s 10d Sentinels brought forward, £7 12s 1d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d John Brooke, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bakenstaff, £3 16s 0½d William Blackmore, £3 16s 0½d John Brilliett, as sentinel to 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d John Brilliett, as corporal from 16 June 1767, £0 17s 6d John Beecham, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Barton, £3 16s 0½d John Bowler, £3 16s 0½d George Capling, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Cutcher, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16 - ½ John Bowler 3 16 - ½ George Capleing 3 16 - ½ William Cooksey 3 16 - ½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 - ½ James Culsher 3 16 - ½ John Cunningham Discharg'd the 15th June 3 3 4 Richard Clin 3 16 - ½ Josiah Cummins 3 16 - ½ John Deal 3 16 - ½ John Euston 3 16 - ½ Charles Field 3 16 - ½ Francis Flinn Entertd. the 9th April 3 9 2 George Green 3 16 - ½ John Gilmoore 3 16 - ½ Edward Germain 3 16 - ½ Henry Hermingburgh 10 10 James Hewey Discharged April 13th 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 16 - ½ Roger Haydon 3 16 - ½ John Harper 3 16 - ½ Stephen John 3 16 - ½ Christian Johnson 3 16 - ½ John Joyce 3 9 2 Thomas Johnson Entertd. April 9th 3 16 - ½ Richard Kempton 3 15 Thomas Shylock to the 29th June 12 Do. Corporal from the 30 Do. Centinels Carried Over£ 132 10 9 Carrd. Over£ 2376 3 10 **Margin Notes:** 160	John Cunningham, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Richard Clin, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummins, £3 16s 0½d John Deal, £3 16s 0½d John Euston, £3 16s 0½d Charles Field, £3 16s 0½d Francis Flinn, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d George Green, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Edward Germain, £3 16s 0½d Henry Herringburgh, £3 16s 0½d James Henry, discharged 13 April 1767, £0 10s 10d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Roger Haydon, £3 16s 0½d John Harper, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d John Joyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Johnson, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Richard Kempton, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kyllock, as sentinel to 29 June 1767, £3 15s 0d Thomas Kyllock, as corporal from 30 June 1767, £0 1s 2d Sentinels carried forward, £132 10s 9d Carried forward, £2,376 3s 10d **Interpretations** The roll completed the chain of promotions in the fourth company. When the corporal William Mitchell was discharged on 15 June 1767, John Brilliett rose from the ranks to take his place the next day. When the sergeant Daniel Cormain was reduced on 29 June, the corporal Thomas Ferris replaced him and Thomas Kyllock rose from sentinel to corporal on 30 June. Each vacancy among the non-commissioned officers was filled at once from the rank below, so that every company kept its full number of sergeants and corporals to command the men. This John Cunningham, discharged on 15 June 1767, matched the sentinel of that name in the Council's grant of discharges. The John Cunningham who enlisted in the second company on 22 June was therefore probably the same man re-enlisting a week later. James Henry, discharged on 13 April 1767, left before the main departures of June, perhaps on an earlier homeward ship. Names such as Herringburgh and Christian Johnson again point to the foreign recruits the Company took into its garrison.
117	108	20th July Brought over£ 2376 3 10 Centinels brought over£ 132 10 9 Thomas Lee 3 16 - ½ Thomas Lyne 3 16 - ½ Charles Lowellin 3 16 - ½ Murdoc McCloed 3 16 - ½ Thomas Marshall 3 16 - ½ John Major 3 16 - ½ Thos. McDearmon	The pay of the sentinels of the fourth company continued. Brought forward, £2,376 3s 10d Sentinels brought forward, £132 10s 9d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d Charles Lowellin, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCloed, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Major, £3 16s 0½d Thomas McDearmon, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Mahoney, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d Robert May, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d James Newport, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16 - ½ Patrick Mahoney Entertd. the 9th April 3 9 2 Robert May Do. Do. 3 9 2 John Newton 3 16 - ½ Martin Newman 3 16 - ½ James Newport 3 16 - ½ John Oswald 3 16 - ½ John Pluck 3 16 - ½ Danl. Patrick 3 16 - ½ Stephen Papps 3 16 - ½ William Parker 3 16 - ½ Thomas Pritchard 3 16 ½ John Pink Entertd. the 9th April 3 9 2 James Richardson 3 16 - ½ Patrick Riley Disch'd the 15th June 3 3 4 Thomas Rutherford 3 16 - ½ John Shaw 3 16 - ½ William Seedman 3 16 - ½ Zedekiah Sanderson disch'd 15th April 3 3 4 Roderick Shaffor 3 16 - ½ John Slade 3 16 - ½ William Stedman 3 16 - ½ James Toe Entertd. the 9th April 3 16 - ½ John Thompson Discharged 15th June 3 9 2 John Terry 3 3 4 Jeremiah Wherrell 3 16 - ½ William Waite 3 16 - ½ John Woods 3 16 - ½ 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 258 10 6½ Carrd. Over£ 2376 3 10	John Rwalt, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Papps, £3 16s 0½d William Parker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pritchard, £3 16s 0½d John Pink, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Seehman, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Sanderson, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d Roderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, £3 16s 0½d William Stedman, £3 16s 0½d James Toe, enlisted 9 April 1767, £3 9s 2d John Thompson, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 3s 4d John Terry, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wherritt, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d John Woods, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £258 10s 6½d Carried forward, £2,376 3s 10d **Interpretations** Three more of the men discharged on 15 June 1767 appear here, Patrick Riley, Zedekiah Sanderson and John Thompson, each paid to that day and entered on the *Duke of Albany*'s books for the voyage home. The roll beside Sanderson's name reads 15 April, but his pay matches the June discharges and the Council's list of 15 June, so the clerk evidently miswrote the month. Thomas Pritchard was perhaps a member of the family whose later generations sat on the widows' fund's committee. John Woods was probably the John Woods who witnessed Eustace White's will on 8 July 1767, a fellow soldier called in to sign as White lay dying. Scottish and Irish names such as Murdoch McCloed, Thomas McDearmon and Patrick Mahoney were common among the Company's recruits, drawn from the poorer parts of Britain and Ireland where enlistment for service overseas offered steady pay.
118	109	1767 Brought over£ 2376 3 10 Centinels brought over£ 258 10 6½ Thomas Williams 3 16 ½ Thomas Watts 3 16 - ½ James Willson 3 16 - ½ Joseph West 3 16 - ½ 273 14 8½ Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Salary 45 12 6 Nathan Sample Lieut. Salary 18 5	The pay of the fourth company concluded, and the list continued with the artillery company. Brought forward, £2,376 3s 10d Sentinels brought forward, £258 10s 6½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 0½d James Willson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph West, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels of the fourth company, £273 14s 8½d Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sample, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sample, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sample, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathan Sample, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Leech Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Adam Watson 9 2 6 John Hartley 9 2 6 John Cox 9 2 6 36 10 Corporals Thomas Collier 6 16 10½ Nicholas Houghton 6 16 10½ Robert Gilson 6 16 10½ John Jacks 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Bombardiers John Turner 6 16 10½ James Parfett 6 16 10½ John Martin 6 16 10½ Evan Newland 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Gunners Eustace White 6 1 8 David Dennis 6 1 8 Gunners Carried Over£ 12 3 4 Carried Over£ 2841 19 7½	Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Leech, total, £27 11s 10½d John Whitchurch, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, sergeant, £9 2s 6d John Shatley, sergeant, £9 2s 6d John Cox, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Total for sergeants, £36 10s 0d Thomas Collier, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Nicholas Houghton, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gibson, corporal, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Total for corporals, £27 7s 6d John Turner, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d James Parfett, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d John Martin, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Evan Nowland, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Total for bombardiers, £27 7s 6d Eustace White, gunner, £6 1s 8d David Dennis, gunner, £6 1s 8d Gunners carried forward, £12 3s 4d Carried forward, £2,841 9s 7½d **Interpretations** The artillery was paid better than the infantry at every rank. An artillery sergeant drew £9 2s 6d a quarter against £7 12s 1d for an infantry sergeant, and an artillery corporal £6 16s 10½d against £5 6s 5½d. Gunners needed skill as well as strength. They had to judge charges, lay guns, cut fuses and handle powder safely, and the extra pay recognised a trained specialist. Captain Archibald Mitchell, the engineer, commanded the artillery as well as directing the fortifications, so the island's guns and its defences answered to one man. Eustace White, the gunner who died on 10 July 1767, appeared here with a full quarter's pay of £6 1s 8d, since he was alive to the end of June. His higher pay explained how he could leave a guinea for his burial and a set of nankeen clothes in his will, unlike the matross Isaac Buck. Thomas Leech, a lieutenant of artillery, belonged to the Leech family, later prominent in the widows' fund.
119	110	20th July Brought over£ 2841 19 9½ Gunners brought over£ 12 3 4 John Smith 6 1 8 Thomas Taylor 6 1 8 Samuel Smith 6 1 8 Thos. McFarling 6 1 8 William Hodges 6 1 8 Adam Creighton 6 1 8 42 13 4 Drummers George Garrard 5 6 5½ Robert Sanders Transfd. the 6th May 2 2 Joseph Purdey Entd. the 7 May 3 4 2 10 12 7½ Matrosses Benjamin Burton	The pay of the artillery company continued. Brought forward, £2,841 9s 7½d Gunners brought forward, £12 3s 4d John Smith, gunner, £6 1s 8d Thomas Taylor, gunner, £6 1s 8d Samuel Smith, gunner, £6 1s 8d Thomas McFarling, gunner, £6 1s 8d William Hodges, gunner, £6 1s 8d Adam Creighton, gunner, £6 1s 8d Total for gunners, £48 13s 4d George Garrard, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Robert Sanders, drummer, transferred 6 May 1767, £2 2s 0d Joseph Purdey, drummer, enlisted 7 May 1767, £3 4s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 7½d Benjamin Burton, matross, £4 11s 3d James Bottomly, matross, £4 11s 3d William Brown, matross, £4 11s 3d John Cope, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, matross, £4 11s 3d John Crisswell, matross, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, matross, £4 11s 3d John Carfoot, matross, £4 11s 3d William Durham, matross, enlisted 7 May 1767, £2 15s 0d

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		4 11 3 James Bottomly 4 11 3 William Brown 4 11 3 John Cope 4 11 3 Thos. Clark 4 11 3 John Crisswell 4 11 3 Robert Cunningham 4 11 3 John Carforth 4 11 3 William Durham Entd. 7 May 2 15 John Bower Transfd. the 6th Do. 1 16 Isaac Beach Deceased 17 Do. 2 7 Edmund Conner desert. the 10th April 10 John Doudle Disch'd the 15 June 3 16 Daniel Finn 4 11 3 Joseph Fellows 4 11 3 Robert Frankish 4 11 3 John Fox 4 11 3 Christian Greenawald 4 11 3 Thomas Gorrall 4 11 3 Thomas Green 4 11 3 John Hines Deserted 7 May 1 17 Lawrence Hall 4 11 3 Matrosses Carried Over£ 86 1 Carried Over£ 2905 5 9	John Bower, matross, died 6 May 1767, £1 16s 0d Isaac Buck, matross, died 17 May 1767, £2 7s 0d Edmund Corner, matross, deserted 10 April 1767, £0 10s 0d John Doude, matross, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 16s 0d Daniel Finn, matross, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, matross, £4 11s 3d Robert Frankish, matross, £4 11s 3d John Fox, matross, £4 11s 3d Christian Greenwold, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Gorrall, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Green, matross, £4 11s 3d John Hones, matross, deserted 7 May 1767, £1 17s 0d Lawrence Hall, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £86 1s 0d Carried forward, £2,841 9s 7½d **Interpretations** The matrosses' roll recorded the losses of the spring in a few lines. John Bower was paid to 6 May 1767. He was injured on 3 May and died on 15 May, so the clerk evidently stopped his pay on the date he was taken into hospital. Isaac Buck was paid to his death on 17 May, and his arrears passed under his will to his friend John Carfoot, who appears on the same roll as a matross. Buck chose as his heir and executor a comrade from his own gun crew. Two matrosses deserted in the quarter. John Hones was paid to 7 May 1767, the day the *Hatton* sailed, and the Council concluded on 11 May that he had slipped aboard her. Edmund Corner deserted on 10 April, perhaps by the same route on a ship sailing that day. Desertion on St Helena almost always meant escape by sea, since a man could not hide for long on so small an island. Robert Sanders and Joseph Purdey moved between the infantry and the artillery as drummers. The infantry roll showed Sanders enlisted on 7 May and Purdey transferred on 6 May, the reverse of the dates entered here, so the clerk evidently confused the two entries when he copied them.
120	111	1767 Brought over£ 2901 5 9 Matrosses Brought over£ 86 1 William Jenkins 4 11 3 Thomas Jones 4 11 3 John Lewis 4 11 3 William Lake Entertd. the 8th April 4 4 John Moore Do. the 17 June 14 Daniel Malony 4 11 3 George Marshall 4 11 3 Jonathan Mallet 4 11 3 Thomas Nimble 4 11 3 John Osborne 4 11 3 William Poulton 4 11 3 William Phillips 4 11 3 Christn. Patterson Entertd. the 17th June 14 Godfrey Smith	The pay of the artillery company concluded. Brought forward, £2,901 5s 9d Matrosses brought forward, £86 1s 0d William Jenkins, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Jones, matross, £4 11s 3d John Lewis, matross, £4 11s 3d William Lake, matross, enlisted 8 April 1767, £4 4s 0d John Moore, matross, enlisted 17 June 1767, £0 14s 0d Daniel Malony, matross, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, matross, £4 11s 3d Jonathan Mallet, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, matross, £4 11s 3d John Osborne, matross, £4 11s 3d William Boulton, matross, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, matross, £4 11s 3d Christian Patterson, matross, enlisted 17 June 1767, £0 14s 0d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d William Stapleford, matross, £4 11s 3d William Stone, matross, enlisted 12 April 1767, £4 0s 0d Samuel Spencer, matross, discharged 15 June 1767, £3 16s 0d Daniel Long, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, matross, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Wilman, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, matross, £4 11s 3d

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		4 11 3 William Stapleford 4 11 3 William Stone Entertd. the 12 April 4 Samuel Spencer Discharged the 15 June 3 16 Daniel Song 4 11 3 Thomas Walls 4 11 3 John Webbley 4 11 3 Richard Wiman 4 11 3 Thomas Wyatt 4 11 3 Richard Waterhouse 4 11 3 John Willson Entertd. the 10th May 2 12 Sedgwick Witherall Do. 20 Do. 2 2 John Seecher Deceased 3d April 3 Thomas Yates 4 11 3 190 19 9 £ 3092 5 6 **Margin Notes:** [...] [...]	Richard Waterhouse, matross, £4 11s 3d John Willson, matross, enlisted 10 May 1767, £2 12s 0d Sedgwick Witherall, matross, enlisted 20 May 1767, £2 2s 0d John Searcher, matross, died 3 April 1767, £0 3s 0d Thomas Yates, matross, £4 11s 3d Total for matrosses, £190 19s 9d Total for the quarter, £3,092 5s 6d **Interpretations** The total of £3,092 5s 6d gave the full cost of the Company's establishment on St Helena for three months, civil officials and garrison together. Most of it went to the soldiers, some 400 men in four infantry companies and one of artillery. A year at that rate came to well over £12,000 0s 0d, roughly equal to the coin the treasury held at the end of May. The Company kept a costly garrison on a small island because its ships could not do without a safe port of call on the long voyage home from Asia. The artillery roll showed men moved from the infantry to the guns. William Lake, William Stone, John Moore, Christian Peterson, John Willson and Sedgwick Witherall all appeared on the infantry rolls as transferred, and here as entering the artillery. The deaths of Bower and Buck, the desertions of Hones and Corner and the death of John Searcher on 3 April had thinned the matrosses, and the gaps were filled from the infantry companies. William Stapleford was the witness to Isaac Buck's will, and William Jenkins the friend Eustace White named as his executor. Samuel Spencer, discharged on 15 June 1767, was the sickly matross whose place John Smith agreed to take. The same John Smith appears among the gunners on the previous page.
121	112	20th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. To Cash received £ 4152 19 7 Carrd. Over£ 4152 19 7	The paymaster's account opened with the money Thomas Kirkpatrick received for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, debit, to cash received, £4,152 19s 7d Carried forward, £4,152 19s 7d **Interpretations** Captain Kirkpatrick served as the island's paymaster as well as a member of Council and captain of the first company. In that role he drew cash from the treasury and paid the officials and soldiers listed over the preceding pages. This account charged him with the £4,152 19s 7d he received, and the credit side would show how he spent it. The sum exceeded the pay list of £3,092 5s 6d by more than £1,000 0s 0d. The rest perhaps covered payments to labourers, artificers and others not on the establishment, or arrears from an earlier quarter. A paymaster had to account for every penny passing through his hands, and the Council examined his account each quarter as it did the storekeeper's. A Councillor serving as paymaster held the island's largest flow of cash, which gave his place on the Council particular weight.
122	113	1767 Per Contra Cr. 1767 By Cash pd. Nockquedah Cockullem for House Rent omitted last Quart. 1 By Cash pd. the Clerk of the Arraigns & Parador of the Court Do. Do. 12 6 By Cash pd. Mr. William Ahlman for his care of 25 Recruits and an Armourer on their passage from England on board the Ld. Holland 6 10	The credit side of the paymaster's account recorded the payments Kirkpatrick made during the quarter. Paid to the nakhoda Cockullum for house rent for the last quarter, £1 0s 0d Paid to the clerk of the arraigns and crier of the court, for the same quarter, £0 12s 6d Paid to William Ashman for his care of 25 recruits and an armourer on their passage from England aboard the Cuffnells, £6 10s 0d Paid to a boat's crew for bringing ashore a slave of the Company who had got aboard the ship Speke while she was under sail, £0 4s 6d Paid to Captain Brooke for a yawl and its oars bought from him for the Company, £8 0s 0d

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		By Cash paid a Boats crew for bringing on shore a Slave of the Honble Compy's who had got on board the Ship Speaker when under Sail 4 6 By Cash paid Capt. Brooke for a Yaul and the Oars bought of him for the Honorable Company 8 By Cash paid 6 Garrison Men for removing the Medicines to the doctors House two days 12 By Cash paid John Milford for the following Articles bought for the use of the Honorable Company viz. 2 doz. Mustard at 2/8 £ 3 . 4 67 Sugar in 12 Loaves 1/1½ 4 . 11 5 Firkings Butter 15 . 15 6 Hams wt. 125 @ 1/ Pr. lb 6 . 5 4 Cases Pickles 8 . 11 1 . 3 . 13 Cheese cwt. qrs. lb 6 . 10 . 6 2 doz. preserved Damsons 3 112 Currents 5 . 12 107 Reasons 4 . 18 2 Bridles 17 2 Surcingles 5 1 Crupper 1 . 6 1 Hhd. Porter 5 . 10 64 9 11 By Cash paid Geo. Bennett for relisting to serve the Honble Company 5 Years longer as a Soldier 10 By Cash paid John Dobson for enlisting to serve as above 10 By Cash paid John Cunningham to serve as above 10 By Cash paid the Clerk of the Peace for fees of Information committment, drawing Bill of in Indictment, Swearing four Witnesses and recording Verdict on Jno. Pinchback 19 2 Carried Over£ 112 8 1	Paid to 6 men of the garrison for 2 days moving the medicines to the doctor's house, £0 12s 0d Payments to John Mitford for goods bought for the Company followed. 2 dozen of mustard, £3 4s 0d 67 lb of sugar in 12 loaves, £4 11s 0d 5 firkins of butter, £15 16s 0d 6 hams weighing 125 lb at 1s 0d a lb, £6 5s 0d 4 cases of pickles, £8 11s 0d 1 cwt 3 qr 13 lb of cheese, £6 10s 6d 2 dozen of preserved damsons, £3 0s 0d 112 lb of currants, £5 12s 0d 107 lb of raisins, £4 18s 0d 2 bridles, £0 17s 0d 2 surcingles, £0 5s 0d 1 crupper, £0 1s 6d 1 hogshead of porter, £5 10s 0d Total paid to John Mitford, £64 9s 11d Paid to George Bennett for re-enlisting to serve the Company 5 more years as a soldier, £10 0s 0d Paid to John Dobson for re-enlisting on the same terms, £10 0s 0d Paid to John Cunningham for re-enlisting on the same terms, £10 0s 0d Paid to the clerk of the peace for fees for the information, committal, drawing the bill of indictment, swearing 4 witnesses and recording the verdict in the case of John Pinchback, £0 19s 2d Carried forward, £112 8s 1d **Interpretations** The payments for re-enlistment confirmed what the pay rolls suggested. John Cunningham, discharged on 15 June 1767 and enlisted again on 22 June, received a bounty of £10 0s 0d to serve five more years, and so did George Bennett and John Dobson. A bounty of £10 0s 0d was nearly two-thirds of a sentinel's yearly pay. It was a good bargain for the Company all the same. A seasoned soldier who stayed on the island saved it the cost of a passage home, a recruit's passage out and the months before a new man was trained and acclimatised. William Ashman, paid for looking after 25 recruits on the *Cuffnells*, brought out the draft that enlisted on 9 April 1767. A slave of the Company tried to escape by getting aboard the *Speke* as she sailed, and the Company paid a boat's crew to bring him back ashore. Stowing away on a departing ship was the only route off the island, for slaves as for deserting soldiers. The *Speke* sailed on 12 April 1767, and the gunner's account for that day recorded a signal gun fired to her. That gun was perhaps the order for her to heave to and give up the runaway. A nakhoda was the master of a ship in the Malay and Indian trade, and the title suggests that Cockullum was a Malay or Indian seaman settled on the island, perhaps the head of the Malays recorded in the stores accounts. The Company rented a house from him. John Mitford's goods were luxuries for the Governor's table, such as hams, cheese, preserved damsons and porter, bought from a homeward commander's private cargo. The case of John Pinchback was a criminal trial at the island's court. The clerk of the peace drew the indictment, swore the witnesses and recorded the verdict, though the charge itself was not stated.
123	114	20th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. To Cash brought over £ 4152 19 7 Carried Over£ 4152 19 7	The paymaster's account for 20 July 1767 continued with the cash Thomas Kirkpatrick had received as paymaster. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit, to cash brought forward, £4,152 19s 7d Carried forward, £4,152 19s 7d **Interpretations** The debit side carried the same figure forward with no new receipts. It was kept on the left-hand

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			page of each opening so that it faced the credit page listing the payments. The diagonal line struck through the blank space showed that nothing further was charged to the paymaster, so no entry could be added later. The account thus held Kirkpatrick answerable for a single sum of £4,152 19s 7d, which his payments had to match by the time the account closed.
124	115	1767 Per Contra Cr. Brought over£ 112 8 1 By Cash paid Capt. William Parkins for the following Provision bought on Account of the Honorable Company viz. Tons C. lb 1 . 1 . 17 Rice 10 lb £ 6 . 5 2 475 Pieces Salt Meat 2/ Pr. Pc. 47 . 10 401 Pieces Do. Pork 2/ Pr. Piece 40 . 2 93 17 2 By Cash pd. David Seaf for relist'g to serve the Honble Compy. five Years longer as a Soldier 5 By Cash pd. William French for making Sacking for 165 Cotts for the use of the Garrison at 3¼ 2 11 7 By Cash paid John Hewston for making and repairing Flags for the Main Fort 1 15 By Cash paid Capt. Thomas Pearce for a Long Boat bought of him on Account of the Honorable Company 35 By Cash pd. Sundry Men for 747½ days Work in the Store delivering the Honorable Company's Stores from the Store Ships as pr. Vouchers signed by Mr. Bowell Storekeeper 37 7 6 By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men 16 days Work in digging the Ground for laying Platforms in the Long Wood for Practice the great Guns 16 By Cash paid Felix Hyder, John Slade, William Beard John Almon, Henry Pinckson, William Robinson, John Blinkhorn, Daniel Bye, John Euston, Daniel Finn James Culsher, John Hewston, Benjamin Wise, Cornelius Fish, Samuel Hiles, John Hilliard & John Oswald for relist'g to serve the Honble Company five Years longer as Soldrs. £ 10 each 170 By Cash paid Robt. Cunningham for relist'g to serve as above 10 By Cash paid Christn. Paterson for Inlist'g to serve as above 2 10 By Cash paid James Miller for Do. as Do. 2 10 By Cash paid Charles Mountague & Wm. Harris for relist'g to do. Do. 20 By Cash paid Thomas Rutherford for Do. Do. 10	The credit side of the paymaster's account continued. Brought forward, £112 8s 1d Paid to Captain William Larkins for 11 cwt 1 qr 7 lb of rice at 11s 0d a cwt, £6 3s 2d Paid to Captain William Larkins for 475 pieces of salt meat at 2s 0d a piece, £47 10s 0d Paid to Captain William Larkins for 401 pieces of pork at 2s 0d a piece, £40 2s 0d Total paid to Captain William Larkins, £93 15s 2d Paid to David Seaf for re-enlisting to serve the Company 5 more years as a soldier, £5 0s 0d Paid to William French for making sacking for 165 cots for the garrison at 3¾d each, £2 11s 7d Paid to John Hewston for making and repairing flags for the Main Fort, £1 15s 0d Paid to Captain Thomas Pierce for a longboat bought from him for the Company, £35 0s 0d Paid to various men for 747½ days' work in the stores, unloading the Company's stores from the storeships, as shown by vouchers signed by James Powell, storekeeper, £37 7s 6d Paid to various men of the garrison for 16 days' work digging ground for laying platforms at Longwood for practice with the great guns, £0 16s 0d Paid to 17 soldiers for re-enlisting to serve the Company 5 more years, at £10 0s 0d each, £170 0s 0d Paid to Robert Cunningham for re-enlisting on the same terms, £10 0s 0d Paid to Christian Paterson for enlisting, £2 10s 0d Paid to James Miller for enlisting, £2 10s 0d Paid to Charles Mountague and William Harris for re-enlisting, £20 0s 0d Paid to Thomas Rutherford for re-enlisting, £10 0s 0d Paid to John Hewston for making flags for the Main Fort and the Alarm House, £2 5s 0d Paid to John Hewston for making flags for Prosperous Bay and Sugar Loaf, £1 2s 6d Carried forward, £507 2s 10d The 17 soldiers who re-enlisted at £10 0s 0d each were as follows. 1: Felix Hyder 2: John Slade 3: William Beard 4: John Alman 5: Henry Pinchon 6: William Robinson 7: John Blinborn 8: Daniel Bye 9: John Euston 10: Daniel Finn 11: James Cutcher 12: John Hewston 13: Benjamin Wise 14: Cornelius Fish 15: Samuel Hiles 16: John Hilliard 17: John Oswald **Interpretations** The Company chose to pay its trained soldiers to stay rather than replace them. Twenty-three men re-enlisted at £10 0s 0d each during the quarter, set against 15 discharged on 15 June 1767 and a draft of

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		By Cash paid John Hewston for mak'g Flags for the Main Fort and Alarm House 2 5 By Cash pd. Do. for mak'g Do. for Prosperous Bay & Sugar Loaf 1 2 6 Carried Over£ 507 2 10	only 25 recruits brought out on the *Cuffnells*. Without the bounties, the garrison would have shrunk faster than England could refill it. Spending £230 0s 0d on bounties kept experienced men at their posts and saved the cost of their passages home. A new recruit received only £2 10s 0d on enlisting, a quarter of the bounty, because a man already acclimatised and drilled was worth far more to the Company than a raw arrival. The payment to Captain Pierce settled the longboat recorded in the consultation of 18 May 1767 at £35 0s 0d. Larkins was paid for the rice and salt meat the Council bought from him on 11 May. Flags for the Main Fort, the Alarm House, Prosperous Bay and Sugar Loaf supplied the signal posts that relayed alarms around the island when a sail was sighted. John Hewston, a soldier who re-enlisted, earned extra money as the garrison's flag maker. The labour at Longwood prepared platforms of beaten earth and timber on which the great guns stood for target practice, the practice the Council had insisted on keeping up while the works went on at Sandy Bay.
125	116	20th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. To Cash brought over £ 4152 19 7 Carrd. Over£ 4152 19 7	The paymaster's account for 20 July 1767 again carried forward the cash Thomas Kirkpatrick had received as paymaster. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit, to cash brought forward, £4,152 19s 7d Carried forward, £4,152 19s 7d **Interpretations** The debit page repeated the single sum for which the paymaster was answerable, so that it faced each new page of payments. The credit side had so far accounted for £507 2s 10d, and the account would close only when the payments on the facing pages reached the full £4,152 19s 7d. Repeating the debit on every opening let anyone checking the book compare the money received with the running total of money spent at any point, without turning back through the account.
126	117	1767 Per Contra Cr. Brought over£ 507 2 10 By Cash paid John Hewston for repair'g a Flag for the M. Fort 5 By Cash pd. Do. for mak'g Do. for Munden's point and Fort Hill 1 2 6 By Cash paid Do. for mak'g Three Signal Flags used at practice 3 By Cash pd. Mr. Richard Beale his Salary being omitted in the Pay List last Quarter 20 By Cash pd. Capt. Cotton for the Passage of Charles De Wolfe & Viruille two French deserters 10 By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men for 24½ days Work in the Store, getting on shore the Charles Jarley Stores and Salt Provisions sent from Bengall pr. Ship Duke of Albany 1 4 9 By Cash pd. the Subsistence of 13 discharged Soldiers 11 days 6d. pr. day 3 11 6 By Cash pd. Do. One Do. 3 days at 6d. pr. day 4 By Cash pd. Do. for two French Deserters 11 days at 6d. pr. day 11	The credit side of the paymaster's account continued. Brought forward, £507 2s 10d Paid to John Hewston for repairing a flag for the Main Fort, £0 5s 0d Paid to John Hewston for making flags for Munden's Point and Fort Hill, £1 2s 6d Paid to John Hewston for making 3 signal flags used at practice, £0 3s 0d Paid to Richard Beale for his salary, which was left out of the pay list last quarter, £20 0s 0d Paid to Captain Cotton for the passage of Charles De Wolfe and [...] Vercille, 2 French deserters, £10 0s 0d Paid to various men of the garrison for 24¾ days' work in the stores, landing the charter-party stores and salt provisions sent from Bengal on the Duke of Albany, £1 4s 9d Paid for the keep of 13 discharged soldiers for 11 days at 6d a day each, £3 11s 6d Paid for the keep of 1 discharged soldier for 8 days at 6d a day, £0 4s 0d Paid for the keep of 2 French deserters for 11 days at 6d a day each, £0 11s 0d Paid to James Powell, coroner, for the charges of an inquest on the body of Avery Trueman, £1 5s 0d Paid for 10 [...] of rushes at 6d each and 1 load of binders for thatching the quarry shed, £0 7s 6d Paid to William Jackson for 13 weeks' baking of 12 batches of bread a week at 1s 3d a batch, £9 15s 0d Paid to various men of the garrison for carrying express reports of ships sighted to windward this quarter, £7 0s 0d

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		By Cash pd. Mr. James Bowell Coroner the Charges of an Inquest held on the Body of Avery Trueman deceased 1 5 By Cash pd. for 10 Girths of Rushes at 6d. Pr. G. and one Load of Binders for thatching the Quarry 7 6 By Cash pd. Wm. Jenkings for 13 Weeks Bak'g 9 Batches of bread pr. Week at 1/8 Pr. Batch 9 15 By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men for coming Express with Account of Ships to windward this Quarter 7 By Cash pd. Sundry Planters for 16¾ days Stone layers Work at the Fortification at Sandy Bay this Quarter at 2/6 Pr. day 20 9 4½ By Cash pd. Do. for 913 days Labourers Work at Do. at 1/ Pr. day 45 13 By Cash pd. the Clerk of the Market for 304 lb Beef at 6d. Pr. lb for the use of the Governors Table this Qr. 9 4 6 By Cash paid for 12 Muscovy Ducks for Do. use 1 10 By Cash paid for 23½ doz. Empty Bottles for Do. 2 17 By Cash paid for 6 Bottle Stands for Do. 9 By Cash paid for 75¾ days Smiths Work at Sandy Bay Fortification at 1/6 Pr. day 5 13 7½ By Cash paid for 258¾ days Mason Work at Do. at 1/6 Pr. day 19 8 1½ By Cash paid for 420 Do. Stone Blowers Do. at Do. at 1/6 Do. 31 10 9 By Cash paid for 54 Do. Carpenters Do. at Do. at 1/6 Pr. 4 1 Carried Over£ 704 15½	Paid to various planters for 163¾ days' stonelayers' work at the Sandy Bay fortification this quarter at 2s 6d a day, £20 9s 4½d Paid to various planters for 913 days' labourers' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 0d a day, £45 13s 0d Paid to the clerk of the market for 304 lb of beef for the Governor's table this quarter, £9 14s 6d Paid for 12 Muscovy ducks for the Governor's table, £1 10s 0d Paid for 23½ dozen empty bottles for the Governor's table, £2 1s 7d Paid for 6 bottle stands for the Governor's table, £0 9s 0d Paid for 75¼ days' smiths' work at the Sandy Bay fortification at 1s 6d a day, £5 12s 10½d Paid for 258¾ days' masons' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £19 8s 1½d Paid for 420 days' stone blowers' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £31 10s 0d Paid for 54 days' carpenters' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £4 1s 0d Carried forward, £704 1s 5½d **Interpretations** The payments revealed how the works at Sandy Bay were actually staffed. Planters supplied labour for wages, more than 900 days of it in a quarter at 1s 0d a day, and stonelayers at 2s 6d. These were the planters' own slaves, hired out to the Company, so the wages went to their owners. The arrangement gave planter families a cash income from the fortifications and let the Company draw on far more labour than its own slaves and 28 soldiers could supply. Stone blowers broke rock with gunpowder, quarrying the stone for the revetment on the spot. Their 420 days of work made them the largest body of skilled men at the site. Two French deserters reached the island and were sent home at the Company's expense, together with 14 discharged soldiers kept at 6d a day while they waited for a ship. The French ship *Ajax* lay in the road from 9 to 16 June 1767, and the two men were perhaps seamen from her who swam or slipped ashore. The Council did not keep them or hand them back to their ship. It paid Captain Cotton of the *Hawke* to carry them to England, out of the reach of their own officers. James Powell acted as coroner as well as storekeeper, and the island paid him to hold an inquest on Avery Trueman, the soldier killed by a fall on 4 June. A coroner's inquest established the cause of any sudden death, as in England, so that no fall could hide a crime. The garrison men who ran with express reports of ships sighted to windward carried the news by foot over the island's mountains from the lookout posts, faster than any other means when fog or cloud hid the signal flags.
127	118	20th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. To Cash brought over £ 4152 19 7 £ 4152 19 7	The paymaster's account for 20 July 1767 closed on the debit side with the total cash Thomas Kirkpatrick had received as paymaster. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit, to cash brought forward, £4,152 19s 7d Total, £4,152 19s 7d **Interpretations** The debit side was now ruled off and totalled, which marked this as the last opening of the account. The facing credit page would carry the remaining payments, the pay list of £3,092 5s 6d among them, and close on the same figure of £4,152 19s 7d. A balanced account showed that the paymaster had spent exactly what he received, or returned any surplus to the treasury, and the Council could then approve it and send it to London. The word "Island" at the foot of the page was a catchword, the first word of the next page, written so that the binder and reader could check that no leaf was missing.

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128	119	1767 Per Contra Cr. Brought over£ 704 1 5½ By Cash pd. for 5860½ days Labourers Work at S. Bay Fortification at 1/ Pr. day 293 . 3 By Cash pd. 840½ days Work in the Long Boat at 1/ Pr. day 42 . 3 By Cash pd. 40 Do. Carpenters Do. mak'g Platforms for the Practice of the Artillery at 1/6 Pr. day 3 By Cash pd. 6 days Painters Work on Gun Carriages at 1/6 9 By Cash pd. 47 Do. Carpenters Do. in the Castle 3 10 6 By Cash pd. 43½ Do. Smiths Do. in the Armourers Shop 1/6 3 5 7½ By Cash pd. 42 Do. Labourers Do. covering the Compy's Lower Houses at 1/ Pr. day 2 2 By Cash pd. Mr. Matthew Bazett for a Cask of Beer bought of him for the use of the Compy's Table 5 10 By Cash paid Mr. John Duffountain for 400 Lemons for Do. 10 By Cash paid Nockquedah Cockullem his allowance this Qr. 1 12 6 By Cash paid for House Rent for Do. 1 By Cash paid the Clerk of the Peace and Parador of the Court 12 6 1060 14 1 By the Amount of the Pay List 3092 5 6 £ 4152 19 7 St. Helena 30 June 1767 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Kirkpatrick Paymr. Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of June last, which is as follows viz. -	The credit side of the paymaster's account concluded. Brought forward, £704 1s 5½d Paid for 5,860¼ days' labourers' work at the Sandy Bay fortification at 1s 0d a day, £293 0s 3d Paid for 840¼ days' work in the longboat at 1s 0d a day, £42 0s 3d Paid for 40 days' carpenters' work making platforms for the practice of the artillery at 1s 6d a day, £3 0s 0d Paid for 6 days' painters' work on gun carriages at 1s 6d a day, £0 9s 0d Paid for 47 days' carpenters' work in the Castle at 1s 6d a day, £3 10s 6d Paid for 43¾ days' smiths' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £3 5s 7½d Paid for 42 days' labourers' work covering the Company's storehouses at 1s 0d a day, £2 2s 0d Paid to Matthew Bazett for a cask of beer bought from him for the Company's table, £5 10s 0d Paid to John De Fountain for 400 lemons for the Company's table, £0 10s 0d Paid to the nakhoda Cockullum for his allowance this quarter, £1 12s 6d Paid for the nakhoda Cockullum's house rent, £1 0s 0d Paid to the clerk of the peace and the crier of the court, £0 12s 6d Total of other payments, £1,060 14s 1d Amount of the pay list, £3,092 5s 6d Total paid, £4,152 19s 7d The account was dated at St Helena on 30 June 1767, issued subject to errors and signed by Thomas Kirkpatrick as paymaster. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for June 1767. **Interpretations** The account balanced exactly, with payments of £4,152 19s 7d matching the cash Kirkpatrick received. Labour at Sandy Bay was by far the largest charge after the pay list. More than 5,860 days of labourers' work were paid in a single quarter, together with the masons, stone blowers, smiths and carpenters on the preceding page, so the fortifications cost the Company well over £400 0s 0d in wages alone between April and June. Labour of this kind was paid by the day to planters for the slaves they hired out and to soldiers working beyond their duty. The figures explain why the directors questioned spending on the island's buildings, and why the Council stressed in July that Captain Mitchell had finished his quarter's work on time. The Company paid the nakhoda Cockullum an allowance as well as his house rent. A regular stipend and a house suggest he held a recognised position, probably as headman of the Malays, answerable to the Council for the small community recorded in the stores accounts. The 400 lemons from John De Fountain went to the Governor's punch bowl, mixed with the arrack that the steward's accounts recorded in such quantity. Lemons grew well in the island's sheltered valleys, and De Fountain's family supplied the Castle from its own trees. The same family later gave the widows' fund two treasurers.
129	120	20th July Cash Dr. 1767 June 1 To Balance remaining £ 12054 18 10 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payble to Robert Bath Esqr. 192 7 15th To Do. for two Sets Do. drawn as above payable as follows viz. -	The Company's cash account for June 1767 set out the money received during the month. 1 June, balance remaining, £12,054 18s 10d 7 June, exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Robert Palk, £192 7s 0d 15 June, exchange for 2 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to Messrs Gyle and Woodhouse £52 11s 0d and 1 set to Alexander Hume £300 0s 0d, total £352 11s 0d

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		One Set to Messrs. Gyle & Woodhouse £ 52 11 One Do. to Alexr. Hume Esqr. 300 352 11 22d To Do. for four Sets Do. drawn as above payble as follow One Set to John Burdett Esqr. £ 100 One Do. to Mrs. Mary Hall 175 One Do. to Capt. John Cotton 570 One Do. to Do. 200 1045 25th To Ship Hawke 22 7 8 29th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Mr. John Allenby 100 30th To James Bowell recd. of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 1547 15 11 To Licences for Public Houses 18 10 To Plantation for Provision Sold 42 10 1 £ 15376 - 6	22 June, exchange for 4 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to John Burdett £100 0s 0d, 1 set to Mrs Mary Hall £175 0s 0d, 1 set to Captain John Cotton £570 0s 0d and 1 set to Captain John Cotton £200 0s 0d, total £1,045 0s 0d *25 June, from the ship Hawke, £22 7s 8d* 29 June, exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Thomas Allenby, £100 0s 0d 30 June, from James Powell, received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,547 15s 11d 30 June, from licences for public houses, £18 10s 0d 30 June, from the plantation for provisions sold, £42 10s 1d Total, £15,376 0s 6d **Interpretations** The cash account drew together the threads of the quarter's records. The storekeeper paid in £1,547 15s 11d from the goods sold out of the Company's warehouses, a sum that matched the long account of sales from flour and wine to fishing hooks and porcelain. The plantation contributed £42 10s 1d from provisions sold, chiefly the beef, mutton and other produce of the Company's farms. Licences for public houses brought in £18 10s 0d. The Council licensed every tavern and punch house on the island, which gave it both revenue and control over the sale of drink to soldiers and seamen. The bills of exchange recorded in the consultations through June appeared here by their payees. Corneille's bill to Robert Palk, the Governor's and Mitchell's bills of 15 June, and the four bills of 22 June, among them James Greentree's £570 0s 0d to Captain Cotton, all turned private coin into money payable in London. By the end of June the treasury held more than £15,000 0s 0d, its largest balance of the season, at the close of a quarter in which nine Company ships and several foreign vessels had passed through the road.
130	121	1767 Per Contra Cr. £ s d 1767 June 30th By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c. in the Quarter ending this day 4152 19 7 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie 10683 5 11 In Cash Notes of no use 539 15 11223 . 11 £ 15376 - 6 Mr. Phillip Mahoney this day presented the following Petition viz. -	The other side of the Company's cash account for June 1767 recorded the payments and the balance held at the end of the month. 30 June, advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £4,152 19s 7d 30 June, balance remaining in coin, £10,683 5s 11d 30 June, balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total balance remaining, £11,223 0s 11d Total, £15,376 0s 6d Phillip Mahony then presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** The quarter's accounts closed with a single payment out of the treasury. Every salary, wage, bounty and purchase paid in cash between April and June passed through the paymaster's hands, so the cash book recorded only the lump sum advanced to Kirkpatrick. It matched to the penny the total of his own account, £4,152 19s 7d. The two records checked each other, and the directors in London could trace any payment from the treasury through the paymaster to the man who received it. The treasury still held over £10,000 0s 0d in coin after paying a full quarter's costs. The island took in more cash through bills of exchange and sales from the stores than it spent, so the Company's reserve on St Helena grew through the busy season of homeward ships. The worthless cash notes, still carried at £539 15s 0d, were entered month after month until the directors decided what to do with them.

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131	122	20th July To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. G[...] of the Island of St. Helena &c. in Council The humble Petition of Phillip Mahoney Sheweth That your Petitioner has served the Honorab[...] Company almost eight Years in different Stations and abo[...] five Years in the employment he now fills, and that from th[...] Nature of his Condition he can no longer avoid being troubl[...] in Laying the Inconveniences thereof before your Worship an[...] Council, Inconveniencies he begs leave to enumerate und[...] the following Heads - That your Petitioner althō he can't be charged [...] any Extravagance has not a bear sufficiency to maintain [...] Clothe himself in a Genteel manner, that may be owing m[...] to a Continued Series of Sickness, which the tenderness of h[...] Constitution subjects him to - That the Complex Situation he is in, puts him under vast difficulties from its diametrical Opposition [...] one employment deprives him of the Advantages he is intitled to from the other - That from the Singularity of his Officiating in [...] Service is out of the Question - Your Petitioner hopes your Worship and Council will please to Consider his Case as worthy of your Attent[...] he also flatters himself that his own Services hitherto - unblemished will recommend him to your kind favour [...] providing for him in a manner suitable to the Nature of his Employment independantly of any Military Connecti[...] Full of this Confidence Your Petitioner presum[...] to Address your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Counc[...] for such further Advancement as to you shall [...] And he will as in duty bound ever pray &c. -	Phillip Mahony petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He had served the Company for almost eight years in different posts, and for about five years in his present one. The nature of his position now forced him to lay its drawbacks before the Governor and Council, under several heads. First, although no one could accuse him of extravagance, his pay was not enough to keep and clothe himself as a gentleman. This was partly the result of repeated illness, to which his delicate constitution made him prone. Second, his position was awkward and caused him great difficulties, because his two employments pulled in opposite directions. Holding one deprived him of the benefits to which the other entitled him. Third, because his duties were so unusual, it was impossible for him to serve elsewhere. Mahony hoped the Governor and Council would think his case worth their attention. He trusted that his service, so far without blemish, would commend him to their favour, and that they would provide for him in a way suited to his work, independent of any military connection. In that confidence he asked them for whatever further advancement they thought fit. **Interpretations** Mahony's two employments were those the pay lists recorded. He was a sergeant in the first company, drawing £7 12s 1d a quarter, and clerk of the peace, drawing £10 0s 0d. As a sergeant he was bound to military duty and discipline, while as clerk of the peace he served the civil court, drawing indictments and swearing witnesses as in the case of John Pinchback. The two roles conflicted. A soldier could not easily hold the standing of a court officer, and his duties in one kept him from the advancement open in the other. His request to be provided for independently of any military connection was in effect a request to leave the ranks and become a full civil servant of the Company. His complaint that he could not dress as a gentleman pointed to the status his civil office required. A clerk of the peace dealt with the island's leading men and appeared in court, where a sergeant's coat set him apart from the officials around him. Combined pay of under £70 0s 0d a year left little for the clothes of a gentleman, which cost far more than a soldier's uniform. Mahony framed his plea with care, stressing his years of service and blameless record and leaving the remedy to the Council, as petitioners to the Governor and Council were expected to do.
132	123	1767 Having Considered the above Petition, we are now of opinion, and what has long accurred to Us before, that the Clerk of the peace should be independent of any Military Vocation, but was obliged to continue him a Serjeant to enable him to live, particularly as the Fees arising from his Office are trifling, and as he is a very useful Man in that Station, and his Abilities and Education has all along intitled him to our favour. We have agreed to recommend his case to the Honble the Court of Directors by the first opportunity that offers, for an increase of Salary adequate to his Station. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council considered Mahony's petition. It agreed, as it had long thought, that the clerk of the peace ought to be free of any military post. It had kept him on as a sergeant only so that he could earn a living, since the fees of his office were very small. Mahony was very useful in that post, and his ability and education had always earned the Council's goodwill. The Council therefore agreed to recommend his case to the Court of Directors at the first opportunity, asking for a salary suited to his position. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council could see the remedy but could not grant it. Releasing Mahony from the ranks and paying him a proper civil salary was the obvious answer, and the Council admitted it had thought so for some time. It held back because it had no power to create a

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			new salaried post or raise an existing one. Every addition to the Company's establishment needed the directors' approval in London, the same check that had led them to question the cost of the Castle. Doubling Mahony's sergeant's pay as clerk of the peace had been the Council's way round that limit, using a military wage the island could already pay to support a civil officer it could not otherwise afford. The decision showed how much the island depended on the few educated men among its people. A clerk of the peace had to write legal documents correctly and keep the court's records, and a soldier able to do so was rare. The Council praised Mahony's education as the reason for its favour. It could only promise to plead his case by the next ship, and an answer from London would take a year or more to return.
133	124	27th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of July 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 20 July 1767 Saturday the 25th William Gordon Corporal, Hanged himself Henry Ofsonious Centinel this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted - Mr. Purling this day presented the follow- ing Minute to the board viz. That as large Sums of Money are from time to time paid out of the Honorable Company's Cash for relisting Soldiers, I beg leave to propose, That a List of the Names of such Soldiers whose times are expired, and who are desirous to relist be laid before the Governor and Council before any bounty money is Given to them specifying therein the time they were entertained, And that the Adjutants Book Ordered lately in Council to be kept in the form then prescribed, at the same time be laid before the Board for their Inspection And that the paymaster in the Pay Account do also insert against the Name of every Soldier he relists, the time, when this renewal of Service commences, which Account being entered upon Consultation will always be a Check upon the Adjutants Book, and will effectually prevent mistakes as	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 27 July 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 20 July 1767. On Saturday 25 July William Gordon, a corporal, had hanged himself. Henry Ophenius, a sentinel, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the term he had contracted. The Council granted his request. Purling presented a minute to the Council. Large sums were paid from time to time out of the Company's treasury to soldiers who re-enlisted. He therefore proposed that, before any bounty was paid, a list should be laid before the Governor and Council giving the names of soldiers whose terms had expired and who wished to re-enlist, with the dates on which they were first engaged. The adjutant's book, which the Council had recently ordered to be kept in a set form, should be laid before the Council at the same time for inspection. The paymaster should also enter in his pay account, against the name of every soldier who re-enlisted, the date on which his renewed service began. This account, entered in the consultations, would always serve as a check on the adjutant's book and would effectively prevent mistakes [...] **Interpretations** Purling's proposal answered the scale of the bounties paid in the last quarter. The paymaster had handed out £230 0s 0d to 23 men for re-enlisting, on no check but his own records. A bounty could only be claimed by a man whose term had truly expired, and errors or fraud were easy. A soldier might claim before his time was up, or be paid twice, and no one on the Council would know. Purling's remedy set three records against each other: a list of the men's names and dates of engagement, the adjutant's book of each soldier's service and the paymaster's account of when each new term began. Any discrepancy would show at once. The proposal fitted Purling's role as the Company's accountant on the Council, and his cautious minute on the Castle repairs had shown the same concern for the directors' scrutiny. William Gordon had been promoted from sentinel to corporal only three months earlier, on 22 April 1767. The consultation recorded his suicide in a single line, with no inquiry noted in the Council's minutes. A coroner's inquest, such as James Powell held on Avery Trueman, would still have followed. The record gave no reason for his death.

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134	125	1767 as well as a proper Method of Conducting with precision this Affair, in which so much of the Company's Money is every Year Expended Having Considered the above Minute, we agreed to have the Methods proposed put into Execution, to avoid mistakes both in the Paymaster and Adjutant, which have happened as to the reinlisting of Men, and tho' always rectified, Yet the above Method will be infinitely more regular, and prevent any future mistakes. - We this day Granted the two following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. - One Set to Mr. William Wrangham for one hund'd & fifty nine pounds six shill'gs payable to John Rutherford Esqr. or Order And One Set to Mr. William Wrangham for one hundred & Sixty pounds, payable to Andrew Quiche Esqr. or Order both drawn at ninety days after sight - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Purling's minute concluded that his method would prevent mistakes and give a proper and exact way of handling a matter on which so much of the Company's money was spent each year. The Council considered the minute and agreed to put the proposed method into effect. Mistakes had occurred in both the paymaster's and the adjutant's records over the re-enlistment of men. They had always been put right, but the new method would be far more orderly and would prevent any such errors in future. The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, both payable at 90 days after sight. To William Wrangham, £159 6s 0d, payable to John Rutherford or his order To William Wrangham, £160 0s 0d, payable to Andrew Riche or his order The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council admitted that errors over re-enlistment had already happened, even though they were corrected. Purling's proposal came from experience, not from a fear of what might go wrong. Kirkpatrick, the paymaster whose accounts would now be checked against the adjutant's book, signed the resolution with the rest of the Council. The new procedure protected him as well as the Company, since a paymaster held answerable for every bounty gained from a record that others could verify. William Wrangham sent home £319 6s 0d in two bills, more than ten times his yearly salary of £30 0s 0d as factor. Like the other officials, he evidently drew most of his income from private trade with the passing ships, or held money on behalf of others. He had joined Henry Bazett in a bill of £100 0s 0d on 22 June 1767. His dealings fitted the picture the bills of exchange gave through the season, in which the Company's servants on St Helena earned their living largely outside their official pay.
135	126	3d August At a Consultation held on Monday the 3 day of August 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 27 July 1767 Wednesday the 29 August Arrived the Honorable Company's Snow Mercury from Bengall Do. Do. Arrived the Nottinghams Boat at Banks's at three quarters of an Hour past ten o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. Do. the Honble Company's Ship Nottingham from Bengall Thursday the 30 Do. Do. The Ansons Boat at Banks's at three Quarters of an Hour past two o'Clock in the Afternoon - Do. Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Anson from Madrass Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Company's Snow Mercury for England The Nottingham and Anson brought Us the follow'g supplys Invoice of Ship Nottingham 60 Bags Rice fine Gr. 120 Bazar Mds. at 2 . 7 . 3 Pr. Bg.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 3 August 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 27 July 1767. On Wednesday 29 July the Company's snow *Mercury* arrived from Bengal. The same morning a boat from the *Nottingham* reached Banks's at a quarter to eleven, and the Company's ship *Nottingham* arrived from Bengal that day. On Thursday 30 July a boat from the *Anson* reached Banks's at a quarter to three in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Anson* arrived from Madras. The *Mercury* sailed for England on Sunday 2 August. The *Nottingham* and the *Anson* brought supplies for the island. The *Nottingham*'s invoice, made out in Bengal in rupees, annas and pies, listed the following goods. Fine rice, 60 bags weighing 120 bazaar maunds at [...], 182 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Sugar, 10 bags weighing 20 factory maunds at 9 rupees a factory maund, 180 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers at 1 maund 20 seers to the current rupee, 15 rupees 0 annas 0 pies

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		138 7 6 10 Bags Sugar Nt. 20 Factory Mds. at 9 Pr. F. Md. 180 15 Bags Paddy Nt. 22 . 20 F. Mds. @ 1 . 20 Pr. Cr. 15 4 Chests Wax Candles Nt. 8 . 35 F. Mds. @ 72 Cr. Pr. F. Md. 576 2 Leaguers Batavia Arrack @ 93 . 7 . 3 @ 186 . 14 . 6 13 Puncheons Pork Nt. lb 13903¾ @ 122 . 15 . 3 Pr. Puncn. lb 89 12 Puncheons Beef Nt. 13590 @ 21 . 2 . 3 Pr. Cr. 2605 . 11 Mds. 4206 . 6 . 9 Batta 8 Pr. Ct. 336 . 5 . 6 4542 . 12 . 3 5637 [...] Carried Over£ 5637 [...]	Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 8 factory maunds 31 seers at 72 rupees a factory maund, 576 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 93 rupees 7 annas 3 pies each, 186 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Pork, 13 puncheons at 122 rupees 15 annas 3 pies a puncheon, 1,598 rupees [...] Beef, 12 puncheons at 217 rupees 2 annas 3 pies a puncheon, 2,605 rupees 11 annas 0 pies Total, 4,206 rupees 6 annas 9 pies Batta at 8 per cent, 336 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Total with batta, 4,542 rupees 12 annas 3 pies Carried forward, 5,627 rupees [...] **Interpretations** The *Nottingham* brought the second consignment of salt meat promised in the Bengal Council's letter of 16 February 1767. The first, carried by the *Duke of Albany*, had failed. On 4 July 1767 the surgeon found the beef completely rotten and the Council had it thrown into the sea, while the pork was barely fit for the slaves. The Bengal Council had sent its second shipment months before it could learn of that result, since letters between Calcutta and St Helena took the best part of a year to make the round trip. The island therefore received a further 25 puncheons of meat costing more than 4,000 rupees, with every reason to expect the same outcome, and the storekeeper would soon have to test it. A snow was a two-masted vessel, smaller than a full East Indiaman, which the Company used for despatches and lighter cargoes. The *Mercury* stayed only four days, long enough to water and take on fresh food before continuing home. The *Anson* came from Madras, the Company's presidency on the Coromandel coast, so in a single week the island received ships from all three of the Company's Indian presidencies within a few months.
136	127	1767 Brought over 5687 2 3 Charges Merchandize 4 Chests with Package 15 . 4 3 Seer Twine 6 150 Gunny Bags 16 . 4 . 3 50 Reed Matts 4 - 9 Weigh Men 9 . 3 Packers 15 . 9 Coolies 33 . 1 . 9 Boathire 15 . 2 Sloop hire 324 25 Puncheons 9 Rs. each 243 Coopers 9 . 11 . 6 Diet 13 . 9 663 15 Current Rups. 6351 1 3 Errors Excepted Signed Richd. Wills S. A. Invoice of Ship Anson 1 Bale Long Cloth Superfine 12 Ps. No. 4 . 12 @ 12 Pr. Ps. 144 5 . 15 @ 10	The charges on the *Nottingham*'s goods followed, in rupees, annas and pies. Brought forward, 5,687 rupees 2 annas 3 pies 4 chests with packing, 15 rupees 4 annas 0 pies 3 seers of twine, 0 rupees 6 annas 0 pies 150 gunny bags, 16 rupees 4 annas 3 pies 50 reed mats, 4 rupees 0 annas 9 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 3 pies Packers, 0 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Porters, 33 rupees 1 anna 9 pies Boat hire, 15 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Sloop hire, 324 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 25 puncheons at 9 rupees each, 243 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Coopers, 9 rupees 11 annas 6 pies Food, 0 rupees 13 annas 9 pies Total charges, 663 rupees 15 annas 0 pies Total in current rupees, 6,351 rupees 1 anna 3 pies The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by Richard Witts, sub-accountant. The *Anson*'s invoice, made out at Madras in pagodas and fanams, listed the following goods. Bale 1, superfine long cloth, number 4, 12 pieces at 12 pagodas, 144 pagodas Bale 1, superfine long cloth, number 5, 15 pieces at [...], 120 pagodas Bale 1, superfine long cloth, number 6, 11 pieces at 3 pagodas, 33 pagodas Bale 1, total, 352 pagodas Bale 1, packing, 2 pagodas Bale 1, total with packing, 354 pagodas Bale 2, fine long cloth, 4 corge at 66 pagodas a corge, 264 pagodas Bale 2, washing, 7 pagodas 16 fanams Bale 2, packing, 1 pagoda Bale 2, total for washing and packing, 11 pagodas 16 fanams

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		120 6 . 11 . 3/3 33 352 Packing 2 354 2 Long Cloth fine 2 Ps. 4 @ 66 Ps. 264 Washing @ 3 . 1 . 6 7 . 16 Packing @ 2 Pr. B. 4 11 . 16 275 16 Carried Over 629 16	Bale 2, total, 275 pagodas 16 fanams Carried forward, 629 pagodas 16 fanams **Interpretations** The charge for sloop hire, 324 rupees, was the largest of the *Nottingham*'s charges and nearly half the total. Large East Indiamen could not come up the Hooghly to Calcutta. They anchored far downstream, and every cargo had to be carried down the river to them by sloop, a journey of several days. The cost added almost 8 per cent to the price of the goods before they had left Bengal. The supplies from India were cheap at source but grew dear on their way to the island, since every stage of their journey had to be paid for. The *Anson*'s invoice introduced a fourth currency to the island's accounts. Madras reckoned in pagodas, gold coins bearing the image of a Hindu temple, and fanams, small silver coins of which 36 to 42 made a pagoda, depending on the coin. The island's officials now converted invoices from sterling, Canton taels, Bengal rupees, Bombay rupees and Madras pagodas. Long cloth from the Coromandel coast was the finest Indian cotton of its kind, and washing meant bleaching it white before it was baled. A corge was a score, the standard bundle of 20 pieces in which Indian cloth was traded.
137	128	3d August Brought Over 629 16 2 Long Cloth Middling 1 Ps. Co. 1 . 10 @ 45 Pr. C. 67 . 12 Washing @ 1 . 27 Pr. C. 2 . 22 . 40 Packing @ Pr. 2 2 4 . 22 . 40 72 4 40 2 Leagrs. Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers Pr. 300 Galls. @ 12 Pr. Leagr. 24 23 Bags Rice 23 Bags Nt. Wt. 36 - 13 Mds. Ps. Tare @ 2 lb Pr. single 67 . 1 Mds. 35 . 13 is 1/0 @ 33 . 5 . 45 Pr. Garce 35 27 45 Paddy 23 Bags Nt. Wt. 23 . 2 Ps. Tare @ 2 lb Pr. Single Bag 3 . 3 Mds. Ms. Mds. 22 - 2 is 130 @ 1 Pr. Bag Mo. 12 21 60 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags for Rice and Paddy 10 @ 3 Pr. % 3 . 2 . 12 Tin Plate & Nails 6 Twine 3 Washing Coolys 1 . 20 Cooly hire for Paddy 11 . 40 Do. Arrack 6 Boat hire for 4 Boats @ 9 Pr. B. 1 Cooley for 2 Do. 1 . 20 Pr. Do. 2 . 40 Tarpaulin hire for 3 Do. @ 4 Pr. 1 5 8 39 Pagodas 239 6 4 Errors Excepted Signed Pr. John Call Acct.	The *Anson*'s invoice continued, in pagodas, fanams and cash. Brought forward, 629 pagodas 16 fanams 0 cash Bale 2, middling long cloth, 1 corge 10 pieces at 45 pagodas a corge, 67 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash Bale 2, washing at 1 pagoda 27 fanams a corge, 2 pagodas 22 fanams 40 cash Bale 2, packing, 2 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Bale 2, total for washing and packing, 4 pagodas 22 fanams 40 cash Bale 2, total, 72 pagodas 4 fanams 40 cash Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers holding 300 gallons at 12 pagodas a leaguer, 24 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Rice, 23 bags, net 35 maunds 13 lb after tare of 2 lb a bag, 35 pagodas 27 fanams 45 cash Paddy, 23 bags, net 22 maunds 2 lb after tare of 2 lb a bag, 12 pagodas 21 fanams 60 cash Gunny bags for the rice and paddy, 3 pagodas 2 fanams 12 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Twine, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 0 cash Weighing coolies, 0 pagodas 1 fanam 20 cash Coolie hire for the paddy, 0 pagodas 11 fanams 40 cash Coolie hire for the arrack, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Boat hire for 4 boats at 9 fanams a boat, 1 pagoda 0 fanams 0 cash Coolies for 2 boats, 0 pagodas 2 fanams 40 cash Tarpaulin hire for 3 boats, 1 pagoda 0 fanams 0 cash Total charges, 5 pagodas 8 fanams 32 cash Total in pagodas, [...]39 pagodas 6 fanams 41 cash The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by John Call, accountant. Michael Frost, a lieutenant, then presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** The charges revealed how goods left Madras, which had no harbour. Ships anchored in the open road off the town, as at St Helena, and every bag and cask went out through the surf in local boats. Coolies, porters hired by the day, carried the goods to the beach and crewed the boats. Tarpaulins covered the rice and paddy on the crossing so that spray would not spoil them. Madras and St Helena faced the same problem of loading ships from an open beach,

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		Michael Frost Lieut. this day presented the following Petition viz.	though labour at Madras cost a fraction of the island's rates. Cash was the smallest unit of Madras money, about 80 to the fanam, and the invoice reckoned to it. John Call, who signed as accountant, was perhaps the Colonel Call who gave £20 0s 0d to the widows' fund on 14 May 1770, by then risen to command the Madras engineers. Michael Frost was the lieutenant of the second company recorded in the pay list.
138	129	1767 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca in Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of Michael Frost Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for a piece of ground lying in James's Valley expired, humbly requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a renewal of the same - And Your Petitioner will ever pray 3d August 1767 Signed Mich. Frost Granted We this day Enlisted Robert Hardy out of the Ship Anson, to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier he appearing to be a good Man We gave him £ 5 Bounty Money to buy him Clothes &ca. - Having lately discovered a few Milled Dollars much defaced as well as perforated in several parts, Circulating on the Island, supposed to have been received from the China Ships to - prevent the inconveniencies arising therefrom in future, We thought it necessary to Order the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 3d August 1767 Whereas some Milled Dollars much defaced and many of them with pieces taken out, have lately been received from the Shipping This is therefore to give notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island That	Michael Frost petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 3 August 1767. His lease of a piece of ground in James's Valley had expired, and he asked them to grant him a renewal. The Council granted his request. The Council enlisted Robert Hardy from the ship *Anson* to serve the Company for five years as a soldier, since he appeared to be a sound man. It gave him £5 0s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. The Council had lately found that a few milled dollars were circulating on the island, badly defaced and pierced in several places. They were thought to have come from the China ships. To prevent the trouble they would cause in future, the Council ordered a notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 3 August 1767. It stated that some milled dollars, badly defaced and many with pieces cut out, had recently come ashore from the shipping. All the island's inhabitants were therefore informed [...] **Interpretations** Frost's lease connects the consultations to the lease registers transcribed earlier in this chat. The Company owned all land on St Helena and granted it to inhabitants and officials on leases for a term of years, renewed by petition to the Council. A lieutenant of the garrison held ground in James's Valley, the valley running inland from Jamestown, on the same terms as a planter. Officers and officials, like the island's settled families, built houses and gardens on Company land. The milled dollar was the Spanish silver piece of eight, minted by machine with a milled edge, and the most widely used coin in Asian trade. The China ships brought them back from Canton, where Chinese merchants stamped and chopped coins to test the silver, marking each with small punches until the dollars were pierced and worn. Others had pieces clipped out to steal silver. Such coins weighed less than their face value, and a resident who took one at full value lost money. On an island whose treasury held more than £10,000 0s 0d in coin, the Council moved quickly to protect the currency by warning everyone against accepting damaged dollars. Robert Hardy, a seaman from the *Anson*, was the latest of several men taken into the garrison from passing ships. His bounty of £5 0s 0d was twice that paid to recruits enlisted on 9 April, perhaps because a seaman joining from a ship came with nothing but his sea clothes and needed a full outfit.
139	130	3d August that in future such Dollars or other Coin any ways defaced will not be received in the Honorable Company's Stores or for any other payments whatsoever relative to their Affairs. - Per Order of Council Signed Mattw. Bazett Secy. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The notice of 3 August 1767 continued. In future, such dollars or any other coin that had been defaced in any way would not be accepted at the Company's stores or in any other payment concerning the Company's business. Matthew Bazett signed the notice as secretary, by order of the Council. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 10 August 1767. The following were present.

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th day of August 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 3d August 1767 Monday the 3d Arrived the Pigots Boat at Banks's at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon - Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Pigot from Madrass and brought Us the following supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Pigot Rice 32 Bags Gr. Wt. 44 . 5 . 26 Mds. Ps. Ms. Tare at ¼ Sr. Pr. Bag 1 . 1 . 4 Nt. Wt. 43 . 2 . 22 or 21½ @ 84 . 5 . 45 Pr. Garce 44 17 70 Carrd. Over 44 17 70	Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 3 August 1767. On Monday 3 August a boat from the *Pigot* reached Banks's at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Pigot* arrived from Madras the same day. She brought the following supplies, invoiced in pagodas, fanams and cash. Rice, 31 bags, gross weight 44 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, tare at ¼ cwt a bag 1 cwt 1 qr 4 lb, net 43 cwt 2 qr 22 lb or 21½ [...], at 84 pagodas 5 fanams 45 cash a garce, 44 pagodas 1 fanam 70 cash Carried forward, 44 pagodas 1 fanam 70 cash **Interpretations** The Council chose to refuse damaged coin altogether rather than accept it by weight. Taking pierced and clipped dollars at the value of the silver they still contained was a common practice in the East and would have kept them in use. The Council could not weigh every coin at every counter on the island, and refusing them at the Company's stores made them almost worthless on St Helena, since the stores were where most islanders spent their money. Holders would have to pass them back to the ships that brought them, keeping bad coin off the island and out of the treasury. A garce was the large grain measure of the Coromandel coast, used at Madras to price rice in bulk. The *Pigot*, like the *Anson* a week earlier, carried rice from Madras for the island's slaves and garrison, a further sign of how St Helena drew its staple food from all three Indian presidencies.
140	131	10th August Brought over 44 17 70 Paddy 35 Bags Gr. Wt. 32 . 3 . 22 Mds. Ps. Tare @ 2 lb @ 2 . 4 Nt. Wt. 30 . 1 . 16 or 220 @ 12 Pr. Pagoda Mds. Ms. 13 14 40 Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers of 300 Galls. @ Pag. 42 Pr. Leaguer 84 146 32 30 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags 105 @ P. 3 Pr. % 3 . 3 . 40 Cooly hire for Paddy 15 . 40 Do. for Arrack 6 Twine 4 Washing Cooly 4 . 20 Tin plates and Nails 6 Boat hire 4 Boats @ 9 fan. Pr. Boat 1 Cooly hire 2 Do. @ 1 . 20 2 . 40 Tarpawlin hire 3 Do. @ 4 12 5 17 40 Pagodas 152 13 70 Errors Excepted Signed Alexr. Davidson The Lieutenant Governor this day presented the following Letter to the Board viz. - To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council Gentlemen	The *Pigot*'s invoice continued, in pagodas, fanams and cash. Brought forward, 44 pagodas 1 fanam 70 cash Paddy, 35 bags, gross weight 32 cwt 3 qr 22 lb, tare at 2 lb a bag 0 cwt 2 qr 6 lb, net 32 cwt 1 qr 16 lb or 220 maunds, at 12 maunds a pagoda, 18 pagodas 14 fanams 40 cash Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers holding 300 gallons at 42 pagodas a leaguer, 84 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for goods, 146 pagodas 32 fanams 30 cash 103 gunny bags at 3 pagodas a hundred, 3 pagodas 3 fanams 40 cash Coolie hire for the paddy, 0 pagodas 13 fanams 40 cash Coolie hire for the arrack, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Twine, 0 pagodas 4 fanams 0 cash Weighing coolies, 0 pagodas 4 fanams 20 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Boat hire for 4 boats at 9 fanams a boat, 1 pagoda 0 fanams 0 cash Coolie hire for 2 boats at 1 fanam 20 cash a boat, 0 pagodas 2 fanams 40 cash Tarpaulin hire for 3 boats at 4 fanams a boat, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 0 cash Total charges, 5 pagodas 17 fanams 40 cash Total in pagodas, 152 pagodas 13 fanams 70 cash The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by Alexander Davidson. The Lieutenant Governor then laid a letter before the Council, addressed to John Skottowe and the Council. On looking over the quarterly pay list as entered in the consultations, Corneille wished to point out that the method used until then [...] **Interpretations** The *Pigot*'s arrack cost 42 pagodas a leaguer, while the *Anson*'s, bought at the same port only weeks earlier, cost 12. The difference was too great to be a change in the market. The figure for one invoice or

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		On looking over the Quarterly Pay List as entered in Consultation I must beg leave to observe that the method hitherto practiced in	the other was perhaps miscopied when the invoices were entered into the consultations. The storekeeper's checks on arrival weighed and gauged the goods but could not correct an error in the price, which the directors in London would have to catch when they compared the Madras books with the island's. The two Madras invoices were otherwise almost identical in their charges. Boats at 9 fanams each, coolies at the same rate and tarpaulins for three boats showed a settled routine at the Madras beach for loading supplies bound for St Helena. Corneille's letter on the pay list followed Purling's minute of 27 July on re-enlistment bounties. Two members of the Council in a fortnight turned their attention to the garrison's pay, which suggests the large sums paid out in the last quarter had drawn notice.
141	132	10th August in making up the Accounts of the noncommissioned Officers, and Soldiers is in my humble opinion by no means regular, nor agreable to that Exactness in which all accompts ought to be stated, as you will find from the following Reasons. But first, to illustrate the method I mean to point out, It's necessary to offer you my objections against the present Established Custom, and leave to your judgments to weigh my Reasons as also the necessity of a Contrary Practice as I mean to point out in the subsequent part of this Letter. - As I have made my Calculation on a private Mans Pay shall confine myself to that, and of course can easily be adopted for the noncommissioned Officers, as it is only to those inferior Ranks I mean to offer what I think a reform. The Pay of a Soldier here is ten pence Pr. day, which for three hundred and sixty five days amounts to fifteen pounds four shillings and two pence Pr. Ann. This divided into four Quarterly payments, makes, three pounds sixteen shillings and a half penny as now charged in the Paymasters List of Civil and Pensioners Military, by which means March Quarter, consisting only of ninety days each Man has Cr. for one shilling and a half penny more than his subsistence, and in June quarter Consisting of ninety one days a Credit of two pence half penny more, yet this over plus is again recovered in the two Subsequent Quarterly payments of Sept. & Decemr. by deducting Seven pence half penny from each, as those Quarters Consisting of ninety two days ought to make the sum of three pounds Sixteen shillings and eight pence, and of course was not the above deduction made it would be impossible to bring it to the Sum of Fifteen pounds four shillings and two pence as must appear from the above State of the Case - Therefore the Method I mean to propose for the future that is to say at the commencement of the Year 1768 as we must continue the	Corneille's letter continued. In his opinion, the method used to make up the accounts of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers was not regular and lacked the exactness every account ought to have. He would first set out his objections to the existing custom, leaving the Council to weigh them, and then explain the different practice he proposed. He had based his calculation on a private soldier's pay, though the same method could easily apply to the non-commissioned officers, since it was only the lower ranks he meant to reform. A soldier's pay on the island was 10d a day, which over 365 days came to £15 4s 2d a year. Divided into four quarterly payments, this gave £3 16s 0½d a quarter, the sum entered in the paymaster's list of civil and military establishment. In the March quarter, however, which had only 90 days, each man was credited with 1s 0½d more than his pay. In the June quarter of 91 days he was credited with 2½d more. These overpayments were recovered in the September and December quarters by deducting 7½d from each, since those quarters had 92 days and ought to have paid £3 16s 8d. Without that deduction it would be impossible to bring the year's pay to £15 4s 2d, as the figures showed. Corneille therefore proposed that from the start of 1768 the pay should be reckoned differently, keeping the present practice for the rest of 1767 since the March and June quarters had already been paid. He believed his method would state the troops' pay more regularly, because each quarter's account would then be charged with the exact number of days in it. This would be far more orderly and would avoid the many fractions the present method produced in the pay lists. **Interpretations** Corneille identified a flaw that ran through every pay list in the book. The paymaster divided the year's pay into four equal parts, so each sentinel received £3 16s 0½d whatever the length of the quarter. Quarters varied from 90 to 92 days, so the soldiers were overpaid in the first half of the year and underpaid in the second to make the total come right. The method worked only if a man served the whole year. A soldier who died, deserted or was discharged in June had already been paid for days he never served. Those who left after the short quarters, such as the 15 men discharged on 15 June 1767, had therefore received slightly more than their due, and the Company had no way to recover it. Corneille's remedy was simple. Each quarter would be charged at 10d for each day it actually contained, so that every payment matched the service given. Combined with Purling's checks on re-enlistment, his letter marked a concerted effort by the Council to tighten the garrison's accounts after a quarter in which pay, bounties and wages had reached a high total. The directors in London closely

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		present practice as the March and June Quarters are already passed I flatter myself will appear a more regular Method of Stating the Pay of the troops, as the Quarterly Accompts will then be only charged with the number of days in each, which surely must appear infinitely more Regular, as well as avoid that Multiplicity of Fractions which from the present Method must be in the respective Pay Lists, and I think	examined such figures, and accounts that balanced to the day gave them less reason to question the Council.
142	133	1767 think, ought to be avoided when you can do it without wronging the Honble Company whose Money we pay, nor those to whom we pay'd. Therefore propose the following Form as undermentioned. - That the Paymaster Specifys at the Head of the Pay List the Number of days in each Quarter by which means the Four Quarterly payment will stand thus - For a private Mans Pay March Quarter 90 days £ 3 . 15 June Do. 91 Do. 3 . 15 . 10 Septemr. Do. 92 Do. 3 . 16 . 8 December Do. 92 Do. 3 . 16 . 8 Total£ 15 . 4 . 2 Which makes up the Real Sum as now received by each Man Yearly and so proportionably the Noncommissioned Officers and neither gives Cr. more or less to the Respective Captains on their Abstracts, nor to the Men than their Actual Subsistence, as well as avoid all Fractions in said Pay Lists for the future, and I think appear more clearly Stated to our Honorable Masters. - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen St. Helena Your most obedient and Most humble 10th August 1767 Servant - Signed Danl. Corneille Upon considering the above Letter, we are of opinion that the Method proposed by the Lieutenant Governor be adopted and to take place in the first Quarter of the Year 1768. - Roderick Shaffer Centinel this day Petitioned for his	Corneille held that the fractions in the pay lists should be avoided wherever this could be done without wronging either the Company, whose money was paid out, or the men who received it. He proposed that the paymaster should state at the head of each pay list the number of days in each quarter. The four quarterly payments of a private soldier would then stand as follows. March quarter, 90 days, £3 15s 0d June quarter, 91 days, £3 15s 10d September quarter, 92 days, £3 16s 8d December quarter, 92 days, £3 16s 8d Total, £15 4s 2d This came to the same yearly sum each man now received, and the non-commissioned officers would be paid in proportion. It would give the captains in their abstracts, and the men themselves, neither more nor less than their actual pay. It would also remove all fractions from the pay lists in future and present the accounts more clearly to the directors. Corneille signed the letter at St Helena on 10 August 1767. The Council considered the letter and agreed that the Lieutenant Governor's method should be adopted, taking effect from the first quarter of 1768. Roderick Shaffer, a sentinel, then petitioned [...] **Interpretations** The Council accepted the proposal but delayed it to the new year. Changing the method in the middle of 1767 would have left the year's pay unbalanced, since the March and June quarters had already been paid at the old rate. Starting cleanly in January let every soldier's pay for 1768 be reckoned by the day from the first. Corneille's table showed the arithmetic plainly. At 10d a day, a quarter of 90 days was worth £3 15s 0d, while the old method paid £3 16s 0½d, an overpayment of 1s 0½d on every man in the March quarter. Across some 300 sentinels, that amounted to over £15 0s 0d paid out early each spring, to be clawed back in the autumn. The new method also benefited the captains. Each company's captain drew up an abstract of his men's pay, and payments that matched the days served made his accounts easy to check. Corneille stated his aim as treating both the Company and the soldiers fairly, so neither side gained at the other's expense.
143	134	10th August his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted Time - Granted - The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of July last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. Artillery Stores Expended in July 1767 Guns fired, Pr 4, Pr 3, Pr 2, Pr 1, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 6th Departed the Duke of Albany: Guns fired 9, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12	Roderick Shaffer had served the Company for the term he contracted and asked for his discharge from the garrison. The Council granted his request. The gunner's and steward's accounts for July 1767 were presented, examined and approved. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in July recorded the guns fired, the 4-pounder, 3-pounder, 2-pounder and 1-pounder guns used, and the powder used in pounds and ounces. 6 July, the *Duke of Albany* departed, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz 29 July, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 3 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders, powder used 18 lb 0 oz

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		29th A Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, Pr 4 3, Pr 3 3, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 3, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Snow Mercury and Do. the Nottingham: Guns fired 18, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 18, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 8 30 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Anson: Guns fired 9, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Powder Expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 146, Powder Expended oz 4 Total: Guns fired 51, Pr 4 5, Pr 3 5, Pr 2 36, Pr 1 5, Powder Expended lb 203, Powder Expended oz 4 Lead Balls to shoot Goats at different Times 6 lb 4 Spunge Staves 1 Hand Spike to the Bakers 3 . 13 Inch 4/4 . 8 Inch Fuzes expended at Practice Signed R. Mitchell Sundrys Expended at the Honble Compy's Table in July 1767 4 Bottles Wine £ 6 38 Do. Lisbon 2 17 13 Do. Mountain 19 6 40 Do. Beer 10 Carried Over£ 4 12 6	29 July, the snow *Mercury* and the *Nottingham* arrived, 18 guns fired, 18 two-pounders, powder used 13 lb 8 oz 30 July, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 30 July, the *Anson* arrived, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz Powder used on other services, 146 lb 4 oz Total, 51 guns fired, 5 four-pounders, 5 three-pounders, 36 two-pounders, 5 one-pounders, powder used 203 lb 4 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Lead balls to shoot goats at various times, 6 lb Sponge staves issued to the bakers, 4 Handspike issued to the bakers, 1 13-inch fuses used at practice, 3 8-inch fuses used at practice, 4 The account was signed by Mitchell. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in July 1767. 4 bottles of port wine, £0 6s 0d 38 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 17s 0d 13 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 40 bottles of beer, £0 10s 0d Carried forward, £4 12s 6d **Interpretations** July was the quietest month of the season. Only 51 guns were fired, against 348 in May, because few ships called in the southern winter, when the homeward fleets from Asia had already passed. Most of the month's powder went on other services, chiefly the artillery practice the Council had insisted on keeping up, at which mortar fuses of 13 and 8 inches were used. The gunners fired the mortars at practice so that they could handle the shells and judge the fuses, skills needed against any enemy landing. The bakers received sponge staves and a handspike from the gunner's stores. Long wooden staves served as peels and rakes for working a bread oven, drawing out loaves and stirring the embers. William Jackson, paid in the last quarter for baking 12 batches of bread a week, evidently needed new tools, and the artillery's spare staves were the nearest to hand.
144	135	1767 Brought over£ 4 12 6 90 Bottles Arrack 4 10 112 lb Beef 2 6 224 lb Mutton 4 13 3 Lambs 1 10 4 Kids 1 5 Turkeys 1 5 14 Fowles 1 1 4 Ducks 6 31 Butter 1 11 93 lb Candy 1 3 4 230 lb Flower 1 11 4 £ 25 9 2 The Governor applied to pay £ 270 into the Honble Compy's Cash, which Sum we have received and given him Bills of	The steward's account for July 1767 concluded. Brought forward, £4 12s 6d 90 bottles of arrack, £4 10s 0d 112 lb of beef, £2 6s 0d 224 lb of mutton, £4 13s 0d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 4 kids, £1 0s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 14 fowls, £1 1s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 31 lb of butter, £1 11s 0d 93 lb of candles, £1 13s 4d 250 lb of flour, £1 11s 4d Total, £25 9s 2d The Governor asked to pay £270 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Wood or his order at 90 days after sight and dated that day. Captain Mitchell told the Council that one of the longboats was almost worn out and that he needed another. Captain Richardson had a very good one to sell, with mast, sails, oars and fittings, so the Council bought it for the Company for £35 0s 0d. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick

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		Exchange drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Robert Wood Esqr. or Order ninety days after sight dated this day - Captain Mitchell acquainting Us that one of the Long Boats is almost worn out and that he was in want of another, and Captn. Richardson having a very good one to dispose of with Mast, Sails, Oars &ca We have purchased it on the Honorable Company's Account for £ 35. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	**Interpretations** The Council bought a second longboat in less than three months, again for £35 0s 0d, the same price it paid Captain Pierce in May. The two purchases showed how quickly the island wore out its boats. The longboats worked daily through the surf in James Bay, landing stores and water for every ship that called, and the paymaster's accounts recorded more than 840 days of men's labour in them in a single quarter. Homeward commanders could sell a longboat because they were nearly home and could manage without one, and a used boat at £35 0s 0d was far cheaper than one built new or sent from England. The Governor's bill for £270 0s 0d was his second remittance of the season, after £52 11s 0d in June. Like his councillors, he sent home far more than his quarterly salary of £125 0s 0d, probably from his private trade or savings. Robert Wood, the payee, also received a bill of £400 0s 0d in April. He was perhaps an agent in London who handled money for several of the island's officials.
145	136	15th August At a Consultation held on Saturday the 15th day of August 1767 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 10th August 1767. - Tuesday the 11th Died William Brown Inhabitant Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Nottingham, Pigot, and Anson to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follows viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Nottingham Thos. Hesse Commander Nathl. Paul Chief Mate John Hall 2d Do. Henry Lock 3d Do. Richd. Kingham 4th Do. James Badnach Surgeon Robt. Wilkin Purser Benj. Hall Midshipman John Holt Do. John Donaldson Do. Robt. Cockfield Do. James Webb Boatswain Robt. Owens Gunner John Pettre Sailmaker John Haggis Caulker Val. Conrad Carpr. Mate James Eaton Carpent. 2 Mate Reynold Smith Caulkers Mate John Tass Ships Cook Anthony Dimmold Butcher James Eustace Coopers Mate Michael Neal Do. Do. Thoms. Goodall Capt. Steward Thoms. Robinson Boatsw. Mate Jos. Farewell Quartermaster James Walker Do. Robt. Bethes Do. James Eppath Do. Joseph Weaver Seaman Geo. McNeal Do. Charles Wareham Dav. Nichols Robt. Barnard Sean. John Crighe	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Saturday 15 August 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 10 August 1767. William Brown, an inhabitant, had died on Tuesday 11 August. William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Nottingham*, the *Pigot* and the *Anson* to muster their crews and search for deserters, and had found none. Their muster rolls followed. The muster roll of the *Nottingham* listed her crew by name and rank. Thomas Howe, commander Keith Paul, chief mate Sober Hall, second mate Henry Lock, third mate Richard Kingham, fourth mate James Badnack, surgeon Robert Wilkins, purser Benjamin Hall, midshipman John Hole, midshipman John Donaldson, midshipman Robert Cockfield, midshipman James Webb, boatswain Richard Stevens, gunner John Pettie, sailmaker John Haggis, caulker [...] Carshad, carpenter's first mate James Eire, carpenter's second mate Reynold Smith, caulker's mate John Tapp, ship's cook Anthony Dimnold, butcher James Eustace, cooper's mate Michael Neal, cooper's mate Thomas Goodall, captain's steward Thomas Robinson, boatswain's mate Joseph Farewell, quartermaster Peter Walker, quartermaster Robert Bethes, quartermaster James Eppath, quartermaster Ferdinand Weaver, seaman [...] McNeal, seaman Charles Wareham, seaman David Nichols, seaman Robert Barnard, seaman John Crisp, seaman Peter Pattison, seaman James Bean, seaman

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		Peter Ballison James Been Thomas Breeze Gerald Fitzgerald Joseph Fletcher Thomas Harrold John Forbes Charles Greene Archd. Millon Peter Johnson James Fray John Reed John Swede Andw. Forrest	Thomas Breeze, seaman Gerald Fitzgerald, seaman Joseph Fisher, seaman Thomas Harold, seaman John Forbes, seaman Charles Greene, seaman Archibald Millar, seaman Peter Johnson, seaman James Fray, seaman John Reid, seaman John Swede, seaman Andrew Forrest, seaman **Interpretations** The muster of the three ships came almost a fortnight after the *Nottingham* and the *Anson* arrived on 29 and 30 July, and after the *Pigot* came in on 3 August. Mustering each crew shortly before sailing, not on arrival, was the surest check against desertion in either direction. A seaman had the whole stay in the road to slip ashore and hide in the island's valleys, and a soldier had the same time to arrange a passage aboard. The search showed every name present, so the island lost no men to these ships and the ships left none behind. Over the season the Council had now mustered every Company ship that called and recorded the full crew of each, a check that matched the desertion of John Hones aboard the *Hatton* in May, the one escape the season's records show.
146	137	1767 William White Seaman James Marley William Cummings John Tiddley Hatton Walker John Brooksly John Hill Matthew Johnson Anthy. Inglis Thomas Bateman John Jones William Dark John Moss John McCabe John Hendrick John Guilt Peter Johnson Danl. Smith Seaman Robt. Parker William Greenhalf Thoms. McWilliams Chas. Gilgrove Mark Turner John Gordon Wm. Mullon Geo. Hyde Danl. McGraw John Prichard Charles Johnson Minor Sampus Clement Horton James Moore Thos. Townsend Peter Monson Seam. James Seance Geo. Washington Richd. Drisdale William Herbert John Dempsey Paul Quay James Petrie Matthew Hornsly James McCorkell William Dunning Benj. Bennett Thomas Mallard	The muster roll of the *Nottingham* continued. William White, seaman James Marley, seaman William Cummings, seaman John Tiddley, seaman Hatton Walker, seaman John Brooksby, seaman John Hill, seaman Matthew Johnson, seaman Anthony Inches, seaman Thomas Bateman, seaman John Jones, seaman William Dark, seaman John Moss, seaman John McCabe, seaman John Hendrick, seaman John Guilt, seaman Peter Johnson, seaman Daniel Smith, seaman Robert Parker, seaman William Greenhalf, seaman Thomas McWilliams, seaman Charles Gilgrove, seaman Mark Turner, seaman John Gordon, seaman William Mutton, seaman George Hyde, seaman Daniel McGraw, seaman John Pritchard, seaman Charles Johnson, seaman Minor Sampus, seaman Clement Horton, seaman James Moore, seaman Thomas Townsend, seaman Peter Monson, seaman Thomas Lawrence, seaman George Washington, seaman Richard Drisdale, seaman William Herbert, seaman John Dempsey, seaman Paul Quay, seaman James Petrie, seaman Matthew Hornsby, seaman James McCorkell, seaman William Dunning, seaman Benjamin Bennett, seaman Thomas Mallard, seaman

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		John Sedgwick Henry Steward William Smith Mattw. Dillow Passengers Messrs. Bevan Massey Patton Huggins Ibere Domingo Antonio Servants Signed Thoms. Hesse Muster Roll of Ship Pigot George Richardson Commander Robt. Munro Chief Mate James Williamson 2d Do. James Brown 3d Mate Thos. Salter 4th Do. John Haldane 5th Do. James Gibson 6th Mate Andw. Munter Surgeon Robt. May Carpenter	John Sedgwick, seaman Henry Steward, seaman William Smith, seaman Matthew Dillow, seaman The *Nottingham* also carried the following passengers. Mr Bevan Mr Massey Mr Patton Mr Huggins Mr Kerr Domingo, servant Antonio, servant The roll was signed by Thomas Howe. The muster roll of the *Pigot* followed. George Richardson, commander Robert Munrow, chief mate James Williamson, second mate James Brown, third mate Thomas Salter, fourth mate John Goldsmith, fifth mate James Gibson, sixth mate Andrew Munter, surgeon Robert May, carpenter **Interpretations** Two names on the *Nottingham*'s roll connected with entries elsewhere in the season's records. Thomas Townsend, a seaman, shared his name with the stonemason released from the Company's service on 29 June 1767 and sent off the island with his wife at the first opportunity. Benjamin Bennett, here a seaman, shared his name with the sentinel discharged on 15 June. Each discharged man had to travel home on a Company ship. Both were perhaps entered on the ship's books as crew so that they could work their passage, a common arrangement for men of small means. If so, the muster checked them aboard like any seaman and confirmed they had left the island. The passengers' servants, Domingo and Antonio, bore Portuguese names common among the Christian Indians of Madras and Bombay and among the people of the Portuguese settlements in Asia. Servants of this kind travelled with Company officials returning from India. They were recorded without surnames, beneath their masters, as attendants and not passengers in their own right. Mr Patton was perhaps connected with the Colonel Patton whose orphans later claimed arrears from the widows' fund. George Richardson, commander of the *Pigot*, was the Captain Richardson who sold the island a longboat on 10 August 1767.
147	138	15th August Henry Bowman Boatswain Robt. Stewart Gunner John White Caulker William Dixon Charles Watson Edwd. Thompson William Amondson Midshipmen Chas. McPass Thoms. Kidd Matthew Wilkinson Joseph Simpson Wm. Duncan Francis Bauldry Ships Cook Francis Bauldry 2d Boatsw. John Fyth Armourer Thos. Leech Caulkers Mate Saml. Grace Carptrs. Mate John Collins 2d Do. James May 3d Do. Henry Holder Sailmaker Barnaby Ships Steward	The muster roll of the *Pigot* continued. Henry Bowman, boatswain Robert Stewart, gunner John White, caulker William Dixson, midshipman Charles Watson, midshipman Edward Thompson, midshipman William Amondson, midshipman Charles McDuff, seaman Thomas Kidd, seaman Matthew Wilkinson, seaman Joseph Simpson, seaman William Duncan, seaman Francis Bauldry, ship's cook Francis Bauldry, boatswain's second mate John Fyth, armourer Thomas Leach, caulker's mate Samuel Sease, carpenter's mate John Collins, carpenter's second mate James May, carpenter's third mate Henry Holder, sailmaker Barnaby [...], ship's steward William Thew, captain's steward John Smith, captain's cook

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		Willm. Ibere Capt. Steward	John Hawsyer, cook's mate
		John Smith Capt. Cook	Thomas Houghton, boatswain's mate
		John Harvey Do. Mate	John Perry, boatswain's second mate
		Thos. Houghton Boatsw. Mate	Henry Neil, cooper
		John Perry Do. 2d Do.	Arthur Weems, seaman
		Henry Steel Cooper	Lawrence Matthews, seaman
		Arthur Weems	Robert Twell, seaman
		Lawrence Matthews	John Smith, seaman
		Robt. Sneall	William Organ, seaman
		John Smith	William Baxter, seaman
		William Organ	John Hooper, seaman
		Wm. Baster	Joseph Bragg, seaman
		John Hooper	Peter Johnston, seaman
		Joseph Bragg	John Burger, seaman
		Peter Johnston	John Baptiste, seaman
		John Burger	John Thompson, seaman
		John Baptiste	Alexander Penny, seaman
		John Thompson	Richard Smith, seaman
		Alexr. Penny	Robert Sheppard, seaman
		Richard Smith	Andrew Murray, seaman
		Robert Sheppard	William Herbert, seaman
		Andrew Murray	George Sherwin, seaman
		William Herbett	Robert Page, seaman
		Geo. Sherwin	James Morrison, seaman
		Robert Page	John Woolf, seaman
		James Morrison	Robert Tilford, seaman
		John Wolf	Robert Smith, seaman
		Robert Filford	Edward Thorn, seaman
		Robert Smith	James Sterling, seaman
		Edward Thorn	Daniel White, seaman
		James Sterling Sea.	James Edwards, seaman
		Danl. White	Valentine Valentine, seaman
		James Edwards	Robert Hanning, seaman
		Valentine Valentine	Hugh Maitland, seaman
		Robt. Hanning	Andrew Slather, seaman
		Hugh Maitland	John Aulner, seaman
		Andrew Slather	Antonio Rodrigues, seaman
		Jno. Aulner	James Mitchell, seaman
		Antonio Rovenga	Antonio Lopez, seaman
		James Mitchell	Juan Martin, seaman
		Anthonie Lopez	Algemore, seaman
		Juan Martin	Louis Antonio, seaman
		Algemere	James Rechon, seaman
		Luis Antonio	David Ransom, seaman
		James Reckon	Daniel Anderson, seaman
		David Ransom	John Bool, seaman
		Daniel Anderson	Robert May, seaman
		Jno. Bool	Antony, seaman
		Robt. May	Peterfore, seaman
		Antony	John Manning, seaman
		Peterpero	Thomas Lighton, seaman
		John Manning	James Snider, seaman
		Thos. Lighton	Blanchard, seaman
		James Pruder	The *Pigot* also carried the following invalids.
		Blanchard	Charles Wakefield, from Bengal
		Invalids	Lawrence Ferman, from Bengal
		Charles Wakefield	[...] Murrowhead, from Bengal
		Lawrence Ferman	John Flood, from Bengal
		Jean Marmonseau	La Liberty, from Bengal
		John Flood	Henry Betsworth, from Bengal
		La Liberty	John Bowden, from Bengal
		Henry Bosworth	Nathaniel Carder, from Bengal
		John Bowden	John Ryder, from Madras
		Nath. Carder	[...] Williams, from Madras
		from Bengall	John Moore, from Madras
		John Ryder	John Jones, from Madras
		Jno. Williams	John Wilcox, from Madras
		from Madrass	Martin Conner, from Madras
		John Moore	Henry Davis, from Madras
		John Jones	William Stevenson, from Madras
		John Milcox	Edward Briggs, from Madras
		Martin Conner	John Preece, from Madras
		Henry Davis	Gerard Widuner, from Madras
		William Stevenson	William Walker, from Madras
		Edwd. Brigs	
		John Preese	

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		Gerrit Widuncar Wm. Walker from Madrass Passengers Major Kirkpatrick Mr. Cararo - Signed Geo. Richardson	The *Pigot*'s passengers were Major Kirkpatrick and Mr Cavero. The roll was signed by George Richardson. **Interpretations** The *Pigot*'s crew showed how far a ship's company changed during a voyage to Asia. Its last column consisted largely of men with Portuguese and Spanish names, such as Antonio Rodrigues, Antonio Lopez, Juan Martin and Louis Antonio, together with men recorded by a single name, such as Algemore, Antony and Blanchard. These were seamen taken on at Madras to replace Englishmen lost to disease or desertion on the outward voyage. Many were probably Luso-Indians, the Christian descendants of the Portuguese settlements along the Indian coast, who commonly served on European ships. Recording a man under one name showed how little the purser knew of the men he signed on in an Indian port. The invalids were soldiers of the Company's armies in Bengal and Madras, discharged as unfit and sent home. Twenty such men travelled on one ship, a reminder of the toll that disease and campaigning took on the European troops in India. The *Britannia* had carried 12 invalids in May. St Helena saw a steady stream of broken men passing through on their way to England, and the muster made sure none of them stayed behind on an island that could not support them. Major Kirkpatrick, a passenger, was perhaps a relation of Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of the Council.
148	139	1767 Muster Roll of Ship Anson John Sencx Commander Phillip Burslem Chief Mate James Rattray 2d Do. Edward Robinson 3d Do. James Scott 4th Do. John Cranston 5th Do. Charles Lucas 6th Do. Thos. Evans Surgeon Joseph Brissant Purser Jonath. Webb Boatsw. Friend Stretton Gunner Thos. Hall Caulker Robert Nixon Midship. James Foley Surgeons Mate Alexr. Hishart Gunners Mate William Townsend Cook Thomas McCormack Thos. Scott Caulkers Mate Richd. Roberts Quartermr. William Stockhart Do. Mark Halder Do. Robert Candy Do. Saml. Greenaway Sailmr. Charles Cousins Armourer John Thomson Coopers Mate William Jones Midshipm. Wm. Aitken Do. William Sandys Midshipm. Thos. Nock Charles Fowles James Harden John Whiteway William O'Brien Seaman Brien Gore Willm. Hall Peter Norry Simon James Asher Temple Thomas Linton Peter Robertson William Hensey Richd. Burnes Edward Hawkins	The muster roll of the *Anson* listed her crew by name and rank. John Senex, commander Phillip Burslem, chief mate James Rattray, second mate Edward Robinson, third mate James Scott, fourth mate John Cranston, fifth mate Charles Lucas, sixth mate Thomas Evans, surgeon Joseph Bryant, purser Jonathan Webb, boatswain Friend Stretton, gunner Thomas Hall, caulker Robert Nixon, ship's steward James Doley, [...] Alexander Hishart, gunner's mate William Townsend, boatswain's mate Thomas McCormack, boatswain's mate Thomas Scott, caulker's mate Richard Roberts, quartermaster William Stockhart, quartermaster Mark Halder, quartermaster Robert Candy, quartermaster Samuel Greenaway, sailmaker Charles Couzins, armourer John Thomson, cooper's mate William Jones, midshipman William Aitken, midshipman William Sandyshaw, seaman Thomas Nock, seaman Charles Fowles, seaman James Harden, seaman John Whiteway, seaman William O'Brien, seaman Brien Gore, seaman William Stal, seaman Peter Norry, seaman Simon James, seaman Asher Temple, seaman Thomas Linton, seaman Peter Robertson, seaman William Hensey, seaman Richard Burns, seaman Edward Hawkins, seaman

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		William Matthews Wm. Guttrey Saml. Payne Thomas Tabby John Shales William Taylor Clement Devereux John Bishop John Reynolds William Gore William Mann Edward Sellars David Williams John Miller John Street Adam Wallis William Dixon John Gray Robt. Workman William Brown Robt. Ward John Lyon Seaman John Smith Chas. Gregary William Ireland James Berry John Hawkes Henry Smedley Philip Walton Chas. Owen Christopher Blackman John Loyd Francis Britain Benj. Noy William Shores William Ham Edward Ware John Hill William Goodman Chas. Constantine William Bickett Martin Steel Francis Batty John Hodges Henry Jacobs John Roberts Joseph Ivanovie Thomas Roads Robt. Hardy John Hedrick Christopher Tansey Frederick Frick Matthew Maxwell	William Matthews, seaman William Guthrey, seaman Samuel Payne, seaman Thomas Tabby, seaman John Shales, seaman William Taylor, seaman Clement Devereux, seaman John Bishop, seaman John Reynolds, seaman William Gore, seaman William Mann, seaman Edward Sellars, seaman David Williams, seaman John Miller, seaman John Steel, seaman Adam Wallis, seaman William Dixon, seaman John Gray, seaman Robert Workman, seaman William Brown, seaman Robert Bird, seaman John Lyon, seaman John Smith, seaman Charles Gregory, seaman William Ireland, seaman James Berry, seaman John Hawkes, seaman Henry Smedley, seaman Philip Walton, seaman Charles Owen, seaman Christopher Blackman, seaman John Loyd, seaman Francis Britain, seaman Benjamin Noy, seaman William Shores, seaman William Ham, seaman Edward Ware, seaman John Hill, seaman William Goodman, seaman Charles Constantine, seaman William Pickett, seaman Martin Steel, seaman Francis Batty, seaman John Hodges, seaman Henry Jacobs, seaman John Roberts, seaman Joseph Francisco, seaman Thomas Roads, seaman Robert Hardy, seaman John Hedrick, seaman Christopher Tansey, seaman Frederick Fleck, seaman Matthew Maxwell, seaman **Interpretations** Robert Hardy still appeared among the *Anson*'s seamen, although the Council had enlisted him from that ship as a soldier on 3 August 1767 and paid him £5 0s 0d to clothe himself. The roll was evidently the commander's list of the crew as shipped, copied without removing the man who had left. The point of the muster was to compare the men actually present with the roll, so Hardy's absence would have been expected and explained by the Council's own order. The roll thus recorded the ship's original company, and the Council's minutes showed the one change it had authorised. The *Anson* carried six mates, the largest body of officers among the ships mustered that season apart from the *Speaker* and the *Pigot*. A ship from Madras made a long voyage through waters where sickness could strike down officers, and extra mates ensured that someone qualified could always command a watch. Friend Stretton, the gunner, bore a Christian name of a kind common among Quaker families, a reminder that the Company's seamen came from every part of English society.

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149	140	15th August Passengers Captains Campble Clark Meyers Mrs. Grant Alexr. Grant Sophia Massey Servants Invalids Timothy Thorpe John Bradley James McGuire Le Fleur Richard Slater Joseph Brown Willm. Cropley John Thomas Chas. Tomlinson Antony Dight William Troop Saml. Girton Signed John Lenox The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores, short received from the Ships Nottingham, Anson, and Pigot viz. - Acct. of Stores short received from the following Ships viz. Nottingham 2 . 2 . 14 Sugar cwt. qrs. lb 1 . 2 . 6 Paddy 2 Candles Short Weight No. 1 . 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 150 Galls. wants to fill 7½ Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. Do. 150 Do. Do. 8½ Do. 300 16 16 Received 284 Galls.	The *Anson* also carried the following passengers. Captain Campbell Captain Clark Captain Meyers Mrs Grant Alexander Grant Sophia, servant Massey, servant She carried the following invalids. Timothy Thorpe John Bradley James McGuire Le Fleur Richard Slater Joseph Brown William Cropley John Thomas Charles Tomlinson Antony Dight William Troop Samuel Girton The roll was signed by John Lenox, the *Anson*'s commander. The storekeeper then delivered an account of the stores found short on delivery from the *Nottingham*, the *Anson* and the *Pigot*. The shortages from the *Nottingham* were recorded in hundredweights, quarters and pounds, and the arrack in gallons. Sugar, short weight, 2 cwt 2 qr 14 lb Paddy, short weight, 1 cwt 2 qr 6 lb Candles, short weight, 0 cwt 0 qr 2 lb Arrack, leaguer 1, gauged at 150 gallons, short of full by 7½ gallons Arrack, leaguer 2, gauged at 150 gallons, short of full by 8½ gallons Arrack, total gauged 300 gallons, short 16 gallons, received 284 gallons **Interpretations** The commander's signature gave his name as John Lenox, so the name at the head of the *Anson*'s roll is better read as Lenox than Senex. Servants travelled with the passengers as part of their households, and the *Anson*'s list named two women, Sophia and Massey, recorded only by their first names beneath their employers. Mrs Grant, travelling with Alexander Grant, was one of the few European women on the homeward ships that season, and her servants probably attended her on the voyage. The *Nottingham*'s shortages followed the pattern of every Bengal ship that season. Sugar and paddy lost weight in the hold, and each leaguer of arrack arrived several gallons short through leakage and evaporation. The losses were small compared with the *Britannia*'s missing candles in May, which suggested ordinary wastage at sea, not theft. The storekeeper still recorded them exactly, since the Company charged every shortage against the ship that carried the goods.
150	141	1767 Anson viz. 3 . 2 . 11 Paddy short weight cwt. qrs. lb 1 Leagr. Arrk. Short delivered 1 Do. Do. Gages 147 Galls. wants to fill 6 Galls. 6 Received 141 Galls. Pigot viz. 1 . 1 . 17 Rice cwt. qrs. lb 7 . 1 . 19 Paddy Short Weight No. 1 . 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 141 Galls. wants to fill 7 Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. Do. 156 Do. Do. Do. 10 Do. 297	The account of stores found short on delivery continued with the *Anson* and the *Pigot*. Anson, paddy, short weight, 3 cwt 2 qr 11 lb Anson, arrack, 1 leaguer short delivered Anson, arrack, 1 leaguer gauged at 147 gallons, short of full by 6 gallons, received 141 gallons Pigot, rice, short weight, 1 cwt 1 qr 17 lb Pigot, paddy, short weight, 7 cwt 1 qr 19 lb Pigot, arrack, leaguer 1, gauged at 141 gallons, short of full by 7 gallons Pigot, arrack, leaguer 2, gauged at 156 gallons, short of full by 10 gallons Pigot, arrack, total gauged 297 gallons, short 17 gallons, received 280 gallons

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		17 17 Received 280 Galls. St. Helena 14th August 1767 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper We acquainted Thomas Townsend Mason on Monday last that he with his wife was to proceed to England upon the Ship Pigot, and having this day Ordered him before Us told him to prepair himself to go on board, he then acquainted Us that his Wife refused to go with him, and positively told Us that he [...] himself would not go, unless he was sent by force, upon which we Ordered him in the Custody of the Constable, to be taken care of until he was sent on board - His Wife upon being Ordered to proceed to England with her Husband presented the following Petition viz.	James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 14 August 1767. On Monday 10 August the Council had told Thomas Townsend, a mason, that he and his wife were to sail for England on the *Pigot*. It summoned him that day and told him to prepare to go aboard. Townsend replied that his wife refused to go with him, and stated plainly that he would not go himself unless sent by force. The Council therefore ordered him into the custody of the constable, to be held until he was put aboard. His wife, on being ordered to sail for England with her husband, presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** Townsend had asked to be released from the Company's service on 29 June 1767, and the Council granted his request on condition that he and his wife leave the island by the first suitable ship. He evidently hoped to stay on St Helena as a free man, working for himself as a mason. The Council chose not to allow it. A discharged artificer without a Company wage might become a burden on the island, competing for scarce work and food or falling into debt, and the Company controlled who could settle on its land. When Townsend refused, the Council did not negotiate but put him under guard until his ship sailed. The episode showed how fully the Company governed residence on St Helena. A man could not simply stay on after his contract ended, and leaving the island was a condition of release, not a choice. This also settles an earlier suggestion. The Thomas Townsend on the *Nottingham*'s roll was not the mason working his passage, since the Council meant to send the mason home on the *Pigot*. The seaman on the *Nottingham* was a different man of the same name. The *Anson* delivered one leaguer of arrack fewer than her invoice stated, a loss of a full cask of about 150 gallons. That shortage was too large to be leakage. The cask was either never loaded at Madras or went missing on the voyage, and the Company would hold the commander answerable for its value.
151	142	15th August To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Mary Townsend Sheweth That your Petitioner being a Native and Ordered off the Island with her Husband on Account of his bad behaviour and having no friends or Relations in England, apprehends she may be greatly distressed by proceed'g with her Husband, humbly prays that your Worship and Council will be pleased to take her case into consideration, and give her leave to remain upon the Island, as she can maintain herself by her own Industry, and not become burthensome to the Parish. - And your Petitioner will ever pray St. Helena 15th Aug. 1767 The Mark X of Mary Townsend Having taken the above Petition into Consideration, We agreed to let her remain upon the Island John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Mary Townsend petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 15 August 1767. She was a native of St Helena and had been ordered off the island with her husband because of his bad behaviour. She had no friends or relations in England and feared she would be in great distress if she went there with him. She asked the Governor and Council to consider her case and allow her to remain on the island. She could support herself by her own work and would not become a burden on the parish. She made her mark on the petition, being unable to write. The Council considered the petition and agreed to let her remain on the island. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Mary Townsend's petition revealed that the Council's order to remove her husband was a punishment, not simply the usual end of a contract. The order rested on his bad behaviour, which the earlier minutes did not mention. The Council had evidently judged him an undesirable resident and used his release from service as the occasion to send him away. His refusal to go and his detention by the constable followed from that decision. The Council separated husband and wife at the wife's own request, an unusual outcome in an age when a married woman was expected to follow her husband. It made the obvious course, sending the couple away together, give way because the petition

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			met each of the Council's concerns. Mary was born on the island, so England was a foreign country to her, where she would arrive with no family to receive her and might fall into poverty. She also promised to support herself and not become a burden on the parish, which answered the very reason the Company refused to let discharged men stay. The island's poor relief was paid by its own inhabitants and the Company, so a resident who could earn her keep cost nothing, while one sent destitute to England served no purpose. Her petition also showed the island's second generation of settlers. Women and men born on St Helena, with no ties to England, formed a growing part of its population by the 1760s. The Council recognised that such people belonged to the island in a way that recruited artificers and soldiers did not.
152	143	17th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of August 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 15th August 1767 Yesterday sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Nottingham Pigot and Anson for England - We this day discovered five Seamen who deserted from the Ships which Sailed Yesterday, Benjamin Burnett, and James Macdonald from the Nottingham, and William Troop, Anthony Dight, and Martin Steel out of the Anson, We to discourage this practice of desertion, came to a resolution to Order them to Work at the Fortifications, to keep them from Idleness and to make them useful, and allow them one shilling pr. day out of which they are to pay for their provisions, and shall Order them to England by the first convenient opportunity - John Robins Armourer having been in a bad state of health ever since his Arrival, which has rendered him incable of doing any Work, and the Engineer representing to Us the necessity of having some one to assist, and give directions with respect to making the Port Cullis's for Sandy Bay Fortification; We have agreed to Employ John Dobson who was before in that Shop, at one shilling and sixpence pr. day until that Work is compleated. - The Executors to the last Will and Testament of	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 17 August 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 15 August 1767. The Company's ships *Nottingham*, *Pigot* and *Anson* had sailed for England the day before. That day the Council discovered five seamen who had deserted from the ships that sailed on 16 August. Benjamin Burnett and James Macdonald had left the *Nottingham*, and William Troop, Anthony Dight and Martin Steel the *Anson*. To discourage desertion, the Council resolved to set them to work on the fortifications, which would keep them from idleness and make them useful. They would be paid 1s 0d a day, out of which they had to buy their own food. The Council would send them to England at the first suitable opportunity. John Robins, the armourer, had been in poor health ever since he arrived, which left him unable to do any work. The engineer told the Council that someone was needed to assist and direct the making of the portcullises for the Sandy Bay fortification. The Council agreed to employ John Dobson, who had worked in the armourer's shop before, at 1s 6d a day until that work was finished. The executors of the late [...] then produced a will. **Interpretations** The deserters hid until their ships had gone, since Purling's muster on 15 August found every man present. Troop and Dight were not seamen but invalids from the Company's armies in India, listed on the *Anson*'s roll and bound home as unfit for service. They evidently preferred to stay on the island than face the voyage and an uncertain future in England. The Council did not simply hold the five men until the next ship. It put them to labour on the Sandy Bay works for a wage just enough to feed them, so that desertion brought hard work, not rest, and cost the Company nothing. The same threat of labour on the fortifications deterred any other seaman tempted to jump ship at St Helena. A portcullis was a heavy grille of iron or iron-bound timber that dropped in grooves to close a gateway. The Sandy Bay line needed one at its gate, and making it called for a skilled smith. John Dobson had worked as armourer for eight days in the spring before enlisting as a sentinel, and had re-enlisted for £10 0s 0d. His smithing skill now earned him a craftsman's rate of 1s 6d a day on top of his soldier's pay. Robins had been paid as armourer for 83 days in the last quarter while too ill to work, a cost the Company could not recover. The island relied heavily

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			on the few men with useful trades, and illness among them left gaps that could only be filled by finding a substitute among the soldiers.
153	144	17th August of William Brown deceased this day presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto, the Will is as follows viz. - In the name of God Amen I William Brown Freeman of the Island of St. Helena being weak of body but of Perfect mind and Memory blessed be God do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament. That is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my soul into the Hands of God who gave it and my Body to the Earth from whence it came to be buried at the discretion of my Executors hereinafter named, and as touching my Worldly Effects wherein it hath pleased God to bless me in this Life I hereby order and direct they may be disposed of as follows viz. As touching my Effects here cannot leave them to any being barely sufficient to pay my funeral Expences, And as touching a Legacy my Father William Brown left me which is three hundred pounds to dispose of the same as follows in the first place that all my just debts be paid and necessary Expences for the recovery of the said Legacy which is only kept from me for want of proper information the residue or remainder to be divided into six equal Shares four of which shares I and bequeath give unto Elizabeth a free Black Woman One share I give unto her Son William Brown a free Mulatto Man, and one Share I give unto her Son John Brown a Mulatto Boy a Fifer in the Service of the United East India Company. Lastly I hereby nominate my good Friends, Thomas Yates and Nicholas Houghton Executors of this my last Will and Testament, requesting them to be at the trouble to send to England for the recovery of the said 3 hundred pounds declaring, ratifying, and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament in Witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this fourth day of August in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty seven Signed, Sealed and declared by the said William Brown Signed as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us Willm. Brown Signed Fisher Gamble John Jacks	The executors of the late William Brown presented his last will and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved it on the oaths of the witnesses. Brown, a fencer of St Helena, declared that he was weak in body but of sound mind and memory. He commended his soul to God and his body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of his executors. He then disposed of his worldly goods. His possessions on the island were barely enough to pay for his funeral, so he could leave them to no one. His father, also William Brown, had left him a legacy of £300 0s 0d, which had been kept from him only for want of proper information. Brown directed that his just debts and the necessary costs of recovering the legacy should be paid from it first. The remainder was to be divided into six equal shares. He left four shares to Elizabeth, a free black woman. He left one share to her son William Brown, a free man of mixed descent, and one share to her son John Brown, a boy of mixed descent serving the Company as a fifer. Brown appointed his good friends Thomas Yates and Nicholas Houghton as executors. He asked them to take the trouble of sending to England to recover the £300 0s 0d, and declared this to be his only will. He signed it on 4 August 1767, in the presence of Fisher Gamble and John Jacks. **Interpretations** Brown's will provided for a family he could not acknowledge in law. Elizabeth was evidently his partner, and her two sons bore his surname, so they were almost certainly his children. A white man on St Helena could live with a free black woman, but marriage between them was rare and their children had no legal claim on his estate unless he named them. Brown did so, leaving the greater part to Elizabeth and a share to each son. The will called them her sons, perhaps to avoid stating his fatherhood in a public document, while still making certain they were provided for. The record also showed that free black people already formed a recognised part of the island's population, distinct from the Company's slaves. The legacy lay in England and could be recovered only through agents there, a slow and costly process from an island months away by sea. Brown had died without receiving it. His estate on St Helena was worth almost nothing, so the family's prospects depended on his executors pursuing a claim in England, perhaps through a London attorney. The two witnesses were soldiers of the garrison, Fisher Gamble a corporal of the third company and John Jacks a corporal of the artillery. John Brown, the son, was a fifer, a boy musician who played with the drummers, so the family already had a place in the Company's service. A fencer probably built and kept the stone and timber fences that enclosed the Company's pastures and plantations, a vital task on an island overrun by goats.
154	145	1767 We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to Mr. Gabriel Leache for a piece of Land containing eight Acres, lying in Lemon - Valley, at five shillings pr. Acre. -	That day the Council executed the renewal of a lease to Gabriel Isacke for a piece of land of 8 acres in Lemon Valley, at a rent of 5s 0d an acre. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for July 1767. **Interpretations**

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		Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of July last which is as follows viz.	The renewal was the Council's formal grant of the lease Isacke had evidently applied for, and it connects the consultations with the volume of individual leases transcribed earlier in this chat, which included a lease to the Isacke family. At 5s 0d an acre, Isacke paid £2 0s 0d a year for his 8 acres. The Company let its land at low rents because its aim was to keep settlers growing food on the island rather than to profit from the land itself. A tenant who cultivated his acres added to the supply of produce for the garrison and the passing ships, which mattered more to the Company than the rent. Lemon Valley ran down to the sea on the north-west coast, a deep and sheltered valley with water and soil suited to fruit trees. It took its name from the lemon trees that grew there, and the 400 lemons John De Fountain supplied to the Governor's table in the last quarter came from groves of this kind. A lease of 8 acres in such a valley was a modest holding, enough for a garden, a few fruit trees and some livestock.
155	146	17th August Cash Dr. 1767 July 1st To Balance remaining £ 11223 . 11 4th To Ship Duke of Albany 13 5 4 To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follow viz. One Set to Andrew Quiche Esqr. £ 100 One Do. to John Rutherford Esqr. 159 . 6 £ 319 6 £ 11555 12 3 Per Contra Cr. 1767 July 31st By Balance remaining In Specie 11015 17 3 In Cash Notes of no use 539 15 £ 11555 12 3 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Company's cash account for July 1767 set out the money received and the balance held at the end of the month. 1 July, balance remaining, £11,223 0s 11d *4 July, from the ship Duke of Albany, £13 5s 4d* Exchange for 2 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to Andrew Riche £100 0s 0d and 1 set to John Rutherford £159 6s 0d, total £319 6s 0d Total, £11,555 12s 3d 31 July, balance remaining in coin, £11,015 17s 3d 31 July, balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total, £11,555 12s 3d The account was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The bill to Andrew Riche was entered here at £100 0s 0d, but the consultation of 27 July 1767 recorded it as £160 0s 0d, granted to William Wrangham. The account's own total of £319 6s 0d agrees with the larger figure, since £160 0s 0d and £159 6s 0d make exactly that sum. The £100 0s 0d was therefore a slip of the pen in the cash book, while the total carried into the balance was correct. July was the quietest month of the treasury's year. Only one ship paid for supplies, and only Wrangham's two bills turned private money into remittances to London. With the homeward fleets gone, the island's income fell to almost nothing, and the coin in the treasury stood little changed at just over £11,000 0s 0d. The busy months of April to June, when bills and ships' payments poured in, built the reserve the Company drew on through the quiet southern winter.
156	147	24th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of August 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2[4]th August 1767 - We this day Enlisted John Wyrill a Native for a fifer, to serve the Honorable Company for five Years, and gave him fifty shillings Bounty Money, to buy him Cloaths &ca. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 24 August 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, which the clerk dated 24 August 1767 although it was held on 17 August. That day the Council enlisted John Wyrill, a native of the island, as a fifer to serve the Company for five years. It gave him £2 10s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. The consultation was signed as follows.

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		M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The garrison drew its boy musicians from the island's own families. A fifer played the fife, a small shrill flute, alongside the drummers, and together they sounded the calls that ordered the soldiers' day and kept time on the march. John Brown, the son of Elizabeth whom William Brown remembered in his will a week earlier, was already a fifer in the Company's service. Enlisting island-born boys spared the Company the cost of sending musicians from England and gave the island's young men a place in its service. Wyrill received the standard recruit's bounty of £2 10s 0d, half what the Council had given the seaman Robert Hardy, since a boy needed less to fit him out. A native of St Helena could not desert by melting into the population as easily as a stranger, and his family on the island gave the Company a hold over him that recruits from England lacked.
157	148	31 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 31 day of August 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 24th August 1767 Friday the 28th Arrived the Devonshire's Boat at Banks's at five o'Clock in the afternoon - Saturday the 29th Do. The Honorable Compy's Ship Devonshire from Bombay and brought Us the following supplies viz. - Invoice of Ship Devonshire Rice beaten fine 40 bags contg. 270 S. Mds. @ 22 Rs. Pr. 13 S. Maunds 330 Batty 25 bags contg. 3 Morahs at 20 Rs. Pr. Mh. 60 Challoes 3 Bales contg. 15 Corge at 70 . 1 Pr. C. 1053 . 3 Charges on Merchandize Gunny Pieces 60 expended for Rice Bags at 5 Rs. Pr. Corge 15 Batty Bags 40 for Do. 3 Qrs. @ 30 Gunny Ps. 25 mak'g Bags for Batty @ 5 Rs. Pr. Corge 6 . 1 Twine 7 lb sowing Bags @ 4 Rs. Pr. Md. 1 Hamalls carry'g 40 Bags of Rice to the Pier Head at 2 pice @ 1 Lascars 30 Sowing Bags at 17 Pice each 6 1 . 50 Hamalls carry'g 25 Bags of Batty from the Mandavie to the Pier Hd. 1 . 1 Do. carry'g 3 Bales of Challoes to Pier Head at 4 pice each 60 Company's Boats 2 days carry'g on board at 2/2 Pr. day 5 63 - 13 Rupees 1509 3 10 Errors Excepted Signed Wm. Shelman Depty. Acct.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 31 August 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 24 August 1767. On Friday 28 August a boat from the *Devonshire* reached Banks's at five o'clock in the afternoon, and on Saturday 29 August the Company's ship *Devonshire* arrived from Bombay. She brought the following supplies, invoiced in rupees, quarters and reas. Fine beaten rice, 40 bags containing 270 Surat maunds at 22 rupees for 18 Surat maunds, 330 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Batty, 25 bags containing 13 morahs at [...], 60 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Chelloes, 3 bales containing 15 corge at 70 [...] a corge, 1,053 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas 6 gunny pieces used for rice bags at 5 rupees a corge, 1 rupee 2 quarters 0 reas 40 batty bags for the same, [...] 25 gunny pieces making bags for the batty at 5 rupees a corge, 6 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas 7 [...] of twine for sewing bags at 4 rupees a [...], 1 rupee 0 quarters 0 reas Hamals carrying 40 bags of rice to the pier head at 2 pice each, 1 rupee 0 quarters 0 reas Lascars sewing 30 bags at 17 pice each, 6 rupees 1 quarter 50 reas Hamals carrying 25 bags of batty from the mandvi to the pier head, 1 rupee 1 quarter 0 reas Hamals carrying 3 bales of chelloes to the pier head at 4 pice each, 0 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas Company's boats for 2 days carrying the goods on board at 2½ rupees a day, 5 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Total charges, 63 rupees [...] Total, 1,509 rupees 3 quarters 10 reas The invoice was issued subject to errors and signed by Thomas Holman, deputy accountant. **Interpretations** The Bombay invoice used the terms of the western Indian coast. Batty was the Bombay name for paddy, unhusked rice, and a morah was the local measure in which it was sold. Hamals were porters who carried loads on their backs, and the mandvi was the customs house and wharf where goods were weighed and taxed before shipment. The pier head was the end of the jetty, where boats took the bags

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			out to the ship. Lascars, Indian seamen, sewed up the bags, and pice were small copper coins used to pay this labour by the piece. Every handling of the cargo, from the warehouse to the ship's side, was recorded and charged. The chelloes, coloured cotton cloth from western India, were by far the dearest item, more than three times the cost of the rice. The cloth was probably meant for the slaves' clothing and for sale from the Company's warehouses, where chelloes had been sold in the last quarter. The *Devonshire* arrived in late August, after the main homeward fleets had passed, a reminder that ships from Bombay kept a different season from those of Canton and Bengal.
158	149	1767 Hatton Walker, James Walter, and George Washington three Seamen left Sick here out of the Ship Nottingham being quite recovered, applied to Us to be Entertained in the Garrison They appearing them to be good, we Elisted them to serve the Honble Company as Soldiers for five Years, and gave them three pounds bounty Money each to buy them Cloaths &ca. - We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to Lieutenant Michael Frost for a piece of ground lying in James's Valley containing forty feet in Front and seventy feet in depth, at fifteen Shillings pr. Annum Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 31 August 1767 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretarys Office on or before the 20th September next ensuing, an exact signed Account of their family's, Lands and Cattle, and to attend at the Castle on Thursday the 1 day of October to pay their Rents, and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the Year past - Notice is hereby further given that the Honorable Company's stores will be shut from the 5th of September to the 5th of October next. - Per Order of Council Signed Mw. Bazett Secy.	Hatton Walker, James Walter and George Washington, three seamen left sick on the island from the *Nottingham*, had fully recovered. They applied to join the garrison, and since they appeared to be sound men the Council enlisted them to serve the Company as soldiers for five years. It gave each of them £3 0s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. That day the Council executed the renewal of a lease to Lieutenant Michael Frost for a piece of ground in James's Valley, 40 feet wide at the front and 70 feet deep, at a rent of 15s 0d a year. The Council ordered a notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 31 August 1767. All the island's inhabitants were required to send to the secretary's office, on or before 20 September, an exact signed account of their families, lands and cattle. They were also to attend at the Castle on Thursday 1 October to pay their rents and other dues to the Company for the past year. The notice further stated that the Company's stores would be closed from 1 September to 1 October. Matthew Bazett signed the notice as secretary, by order of the Council. **Interpretations** The three seamen appeared on the *Nottingham*'s muster roll, which Purling reported complete on 15 August, yet they had been left ashore sick when she sailed. The roll listed the ship's company as entered, and men put ashore to recover in the hospital were part of it. Once well, they had no ship, and joining the garrison gave them pay and a passage home at the end of their term. The Company gained three men accustomed to hard work and discipline, and the bounty of £3 0s 0d was cheaper than shipping them to England. The notice set the island's annual reckoning. Each household had to declare its members, its land and its livestock, which gave the Council a full census of the island's people and stock every year, a record no English parish then kept so completely. The returns let the Company check that every tenant paid rent for the land he held, and showed how much food the island could produce. Rents and dues were then collected at the Castle on a single day. Closing the stores for a month allowed the storekeeper to count every item in the warehouses and balance the year's accounts, so that the Company's whole position on the island was audited together at the end of September. Frost's lease, which the Council granted in principle on 3 August, was a house plot, not farmland. A frontage of 40 feet in James's Valley, close to Jamestown, gave room for a dwelling and garden at 15s 0d a year.
159	150	31 August Appointed the Lieut. Governor and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to inspect and take the Remains of the Honorable Company's Stores, for the present Year as usual. - John Skottowe	The Council appointed the Lieutenant Governor and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to inspect and take stock of the remains of the Company's stores for the year, as usual. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe

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		Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of September 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor absent being Sick Mr. Matthew Purling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 31 August 1767. - This day Arrived the Neptune's Boat at Banks's at half an Hour past eleven o'Clock in the morning - Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Neptune from China last from Mauritius, having received considerable damage in a Gale of Wind, Obliged the Captain to put into that place to refit - On the 28th of last Month a Dutch Ship came off Banks's and being fired from that Battery across her for neglecting to send a Boat as customary, she immediately brought to in Order to send a Boat but fell off so much from the Land, that she was not able to reach the Road, The next morning being off the Fort she fired a Gun and hoisted a signal, the Governor then sent a Boat with Six Men	Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 7 September 1767. The following were present, Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick being absent through illness. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 31 August 1767. That day a boat from the *Neptune* reached Banks's at half past eleven in the morning, and the Company's ship *Neptune* arrived from China, having called last at Mauritius. She had suffered considerable damage in a gale, which forced her captain to put into Mauritius for repairs. On 28 August a Dutch ship came off Banks's. The battery there fired a shot across her bows because she failed to send a boat as was customary. She at once hove to in order to send one, but drifted so far from the land that she could not reach the road. Next morning, lying off the fort, she fired a gun and hoisted a signal. The Governor then sent a boat with [...] **Interpretations** The annual stocktaking matched the notice of 31 August closing the stores for September. Two members of the Council counted every item remaining in the warehouses, so that the storekeeper's books could be checked against what was actually there. Choosing councillors rather than the storekeeper's own staff gave the count independence. Kirkpatrick's illness the following week showed the risk of relying on so few senior men, since the same councillor was paymaster, company captain and now a stocktaker. The *Neptune*'s call at Mauritius showed how a damaged ship could rely on a foreign port. Mauritius belonged to France, Britain's chief rival, yet in peacetime a British East Indiaman crippled by a gale could put in there for repairs. The French had done the same at St Helena when the *Ajax* called in June. Every European nation trading with Asia depended on the others' ports in emergencies, and the custom of mutual help held between wars. The Dutch ship's treatment showed the island's rule for approaching vessels. Every ship nearing St Helena had to send a boat to identify herself before entering the road, and the battery at Banks's enforced the rule with a shot across the bows, as it had twice in May. The Dutch ship meant no defiance, but she lost her chance to anchor by drifting to leeward. The steady trade wind blew from the south-east, and a ship carried past the island could take days to beat back against it.
160	151	7th September Men to Assist her in getting in, upon which she stood to Windward with an intention to gain the Road, but could not reach it, and Anchored the 30th off Lemon Valley, the Governor then sent the Captain Word that no Ship should Anchor there nor be supplied with Water or any kind of refreshment, unless she came into the Road, upon which he came on shore, and having the said Orders repeated to him, returned on board, and weighed Anchor in the night, and stood to the Westward in Order to come round to the Southward to gain the road, but could not weather the Island, on Account as he says of his Ships	The Governor sent a boat with men to help the Dutch ship come in. She then stood to windward to reach the road but could not make it, and anchored on 30 August off Lemon Valley. The Governor sent word to her captain that no ship could anchor there or be supplied with water or any other refreshment unless she came into the road. The captain came ashore, heard the orders repeated, went back aboard and weighed anchor in the night. He stood to the west to come round the south of the island and reach the road, but could not weather the island because, he said, his ship was very hard to handle. He therefore anchored on 4 September a little to leeward of South West Point and sent his officer with a letter explaining that he was in great distress, with no more than three days' water on board.

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		being very difficult to work, therefore Anchored on the 4th Instant a little to Leeward of South West Point, and sent a Letter by his Officer representing that he was in great distress not having above three days Water on board - therefore it was agreed in Council to furnish him with two of the Honorable Company's Long Boats and Captain Mercer assisting him with his to get the quantity of Water he wanted with all possible Expedition, and likewise at his request we supplied him with two Bullocks and twenty Goats with a few other refreshments in Order that he might proceed on his Voyage without any sort of detention from that improper Anchoring Ground which we also assign as a reason for not letting him dispose of any kind of Merchandize, he had brought for Sale, as well as a considerable quantity of Arrack, which was consigned here, and which we never intended to permit to be landed, there being a sufficiency of that - Commodity upon the Island. - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Devonshire to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Devonshire William Mercer Commander David Creighton 1 Mate Peter Lew 2d Do. David Allen 3d Do. Charles Chisholme 4th Mate James Haly 2/4th Do. John Hobson 5th Do. Robert Hamilton 2/5th Do. Geo. Willwood 6th Mate Thos. Hutton Surgeon John Townsend Purser Joseph Gosse Boatswain	The Council agreed to give him two of the Company's longboats, with Captain Mercer of the *Devonshire* helping with his own, so that he could take on the water he needed as fast as possible. At his request it also supplied him with two bullocks, 20 goats and some other provisions, so that he could continue his voyage without any delay from that unsuitable anchorage. For the same reason the Council refused to let him sell any of the goods he had brought for sale, including a considerable quantity of arrack consigned to the island. It had never intended to allow the arrack to be landed, since the island already had enough. William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Devonshire* to muster her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. Her muster roll followed. William Mercer, commander David Coughton, first mate Peter Sew, second mate David Allen, third mate Charles Chisholme, fourth mate James Haly, second fourth mate John Hobson, fifth mate Robert Hamilton, second fifth mate George Wellwood, sixth mate Thomas Hutton, surgeon John Townsend, purser Joseph Goss, boatswain **Interpretations** The Council's first rule was that every ship must anchor in James Bay, under the guns of Jamestown, before it could take on water or food. A ship at anchor off Lemon Valley or South West Point lay beyond the batteries' reach and the Council's eye. Smuggling, desertion and secret landings were easy there, and an enemy might use such a place to probe the island's defences. The Dutch captain was refused supplies at Lemon Valley until he tried to reach the road, and the Council relented only when he showed he could not and his crew faced real want of water. The Council made its humanity serve its rules. It sent water and food so that the ship could leave quickly, not so that she could stay and trade. Refusing to let him sell his goods removed any reason to linger. The arrack, though consigned to the island, was turned away because the stores held enough, and spirits landed beyond the Company's control could flood the island's taverns and undermine its own sales and licensing. A ship that came in properly could trade under the Council's supervision, but one that stood off at an unauthorised anchorage could only take what it needed to survive.
161	152	7th September Willm. Laban Carpenter Mark Sprott Gunner Charles Murray Mes. Clerk Matthew Clarke Midshipman Charles Roberts Do. James Fooly Do. George Goult Do. William Ward Quartermast. John Knox Do. William Bell Do. John Taylor Do. James Findlay Ships Steward John Nixon Capt. Do. Richard Payne Ships Cook John Stringer Capt. Do. John Richards Cooper Alexr. Stretton Armourer Peter Palmer Caulker Otto Rush Sailmaker Edwd. Eabridge Butcher Henry Stallard Poulterer	The muster roll of the *Devonshire* continued. William Laban, carpenter Mark Sprott, gunner Charles Murray, midshipman and clerk Matthew Clarke, midshipman Charles Roberts, midshipman James Fooley, midshipman George Gould, midshipman William Wood, quartermaster John Knox, quartermaster William Bell, quartermaster John Taylor, quartermaster James Findlay, ship's steward John Nixon, captain's steward Richard Payne, ship's cook John Stringer, captain's cook John Richards, cooper Alexander Stretton, armourer Peter Palmer, caulker Otter Rush, sailmaker Edward Eabridge, butcher Henry Stallard, poulterer

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		Robt. Little Boatsw. Mate William Sedgwick Capt. Do. Wm. Pebe Do. 2d Do. John Willson Gunners Do. Alexr. Cornegy Surgeons Do. Gerald Fitz Gerald Coopers Do. Christ. Vagt. De Rastow Capt. Std. John Quinton Do. Do. Christ. Bliss Steward Do. Willm. Young 2 Mates Servant John Malabar Boatsw. Do. John Ferguson Surgeons Do. William Laban Carptrs. Do. Thos. Maiard Gunners Do. William Newson Seaman Nathl. Best William Brooks Edward Wright Alexander Howlett Richard Lawrence John Davis Deliffe Furnaston Robert Saunders John Proctor Alexr. McKenzie David Bell George Johnson Henry Cooper Jeremiah Reed George Drysdell Joseph Roberts Robt. Hunt George Gay Thos. Davis Edward Russell Barthw. Gonsalvo Edward Carter Nicholas Morgan Robt. Morton Richd. Wadden James Otway Saml. Burgess John Broadwood Thos. Jenkins James Duncan Henry Beale Thomas Chapman William Townsend Robt. Blackett James Oliphant George Eliot Thoms. Monkhouse John Johnson John Fisher Bernard Lonich Thos. Blackmore Saml. Cockrell Duncan McPhee James Reeves Peter Higgins William Simmons Ebenezer Mater Benj. Pool George Moore Joseph Ware John Waters Vallentine Elliot John Creiden Cornelius Shibroof Passengers Messrs. Hassard Johnstone Hodson Signed Wm. Mercer	Robert Lilly, boatswain's mate William Sedgwick, captain's servant William Eke, captain's servant John Willson, gunner's mate Alexander Cornegy, surgeon's mate Gerald Fitzgerald, cooper's mate Christopher De Pastus, [...] John Quinton, [...] Christopher Blis, [...] William Young, second mate's servant John Malabar, boatswain's servant John Ferguson, surgeon's servant William Laban, carpenter's servant Thomas Maaird, gunner's servant William Newson, seaman Nathaniel Best, seaman William Brooks, seaman Edward Wright, seaman Alexander Howlett, seaman Richard Lawrence, seaman John Davis, seaman Delliffe Furnaston, seaman Robert Saunders, seaman John Proctor, seaman Alexander McKenzie, seaman David Bell, seaman George Johnson, seaman Henry Cooper, seaman Jeremiah Reed, seaman George Drysdell, seaman Joseph Roberts, seaman Robert Hunt, seaman George Gay, seaman Thomas Davis, seaman Edward Russell, seaman Bartholomew Gonsalvo, seaman Edward Carter, seaman Nicholas Morgan, seaman Robert Morton, seaman Richard Wadden, seaman James Otway, seaman Samuel Burrows, seaman John Broadwood, seaman Thomas Jenkins, seaman James Duncan, seaman Henry Beale, seaman Thomas Chapman, seaman William Townsend, seaman Robert Blackett, seaman James Oliphant, seaman George Eliot, seaman Thomas Monkhouse, seaman John Johnson, seaman John Fisher, seaman Bernard Louick, seaman Thomas Blackmore, seaman Samuel Cockrell, seaman Duncan McBean, seaman James Reeves, seaman Peter Higgins, seaman William Simmons, seaman Ebenezer Mater, seaman Benjamin Pool, seaman George Moore, seaman Joseph Ware, seaman John Waters, seaman Valentine Eliot, seaman John Creeden, seaman Cornelius Shibray, seaman The *Devonshire* also carried three passengers, Mr Hassard, Mr Johnstone and Mr Hodson. The roll was signed by William Mercer. **Interpretations** The *Devonshire*'s roll listed servants attached to the commander and to each of the ship's officers. These were boys learning the sea, and the officer they

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			served drew their wages. William Laban appeared twice, as carpenter and as carpenter's servant, which suggests a father who had brought his son to sea under his own care. Officers often placed their sons and nephews in these posts, so that a ship's company was bound together by family as well as by rank. John Malabar, the boatswain's servant, took his surname from the Malabar coast of south-western India, the region of Bombay's pepper trade. A boy recruited there, perhaps without a European surname, was named by the purser after the place he came from. Bartholomew Gonsalvo, with a Portuguese name, was probably a Luso-Indian seaman from the same coast. Ships from Bombay, like those from Madras, carried men taken on in India to fill their crews for the voyage home.
162	153	1767 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short, received from the Ship Devonshire viz. Account of Stores short received from Ship Devonshire viz. - 4 . 1 . 24 Rice short weight cwt. qrs. lb 39 . 3 . 30 Paddy received 22 Pieces Challoes Damaged by Wet and returned to the Capt. St. Helena 7 Septr. 1767 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper We this day granted the two following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. One Set to the Reverend Mr. William Bearcroft for £ 60 payable to Edward Bearcroft Esqr. or Order And one Set to Captain John Howard for £ 100 payable to Captain John Oliver or Order both drawn at ninety days sight. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling [...]	The storekeeper delivered an account of the stores found short on delivery from the *Devonshire*, with weights in hundredweights, quarters and pounds. Rice, short weight, 4 cwt 1 qr 24 lb Paddy, received, 39 cwt 3 qr 30 lb Chelloes, 22 pieces damaged by wet and returned to the captain James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 5 September 1767. The Council granted two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, both payable at 90 days after sight. To the Reverend William Bearcroft, £60 0s 0d, payable to Edward Bearcroft or his order To Captain John Howard, £100 0s 0d, payable to Captain John Oliver or his order The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling **Interpretations** The storekeeper refused the damaged chelloes and handed them back to the *Devonshire*'s commander. Cloth soaked by seawater in the hold rotted and stained, and could not be sold from the Company's warehouses or issued as clothing. Returning the 22 pieces placed the loss on the ship that had failed to keep them dry, not on the island's stores. For the paddy, the account recorded only the quantity actually received, so the shortfall could be worked out against the Bombay invoice. The Reverend William Bearcroft, the chaplain who succeeded John Thackeray in the spring, sent £60 0s 0d to Edward Bearcroft, evidently a relative in England. Captain John Howard of the fourth company made his second remittance of the season, after his bill of £175 0s 0d to Mrs Mary Hall in June. Kirkpatrick's absence through illness left the bills signed by only three members of the Council, the quorum the Company allowed for routine business.
163	154	14th Sepr. At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of September 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 7 Sept. 1767. - Friday the 11 Died Christopher Patterson Matross Do. Do. Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Devonshire for England - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Neptune to Muster her Company and Enquire	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 14 September 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 7 September 1767. On Friday 11 September Christopher Patterson, a matross, died, and the Company's ship *Devonshire* sailed for England the same day. William Matthew Purling reported that he had boarded the *Neptune* to muster her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. Her muster roll

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		for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows viz. Muster Roll of Ship Devonshire Gabriel Steward Commd. Jno. Lauder Chief Mate Jno. Hope Brewer 2d Do. Samuel Welch 3d Do. Jno. Grover 4th Do. Jas. Wm. Stopman 5 Do. Fras. Steward Surgeon Robert Reid Purser Edwin Alsock Midshipman Fras. Rives Do. Morgan Ralstone Do. Robert Pinny Do. William Watkins Do. Wm. Farrington Do. Thos. King Quartermaster Thos. Sterling Quartermaster Alexr. Cowie Do. William Kelly Do. Joseph Corner Do. Hugh Montgomery Gunner Robert Graham Boatsw. Willm. Fountain Carpenter Adam Murdoch Cooper John Mayfield Caulker Joseph Blood Sailmaker James Fox Armourer Jos. St. Christopher Capt. Cook Andrew Macauly Ships Do. William Parker Capt. Stewd. Arch. Tyton Butcher John Robinson Gunrs. Mate Richd. Witherow Do. 2 Do. Wm. Holland Boatsw. Mate Edward Wright Do. 2 Do. James Gates Carptr. Mate Thos. Daniel Caulkers Do. James Murdoch Coopers Do. Wm. Whalstone Seaman Michl. Horton Wm. Tinegal Robert Burnett Edward Doughty Richd. Grainboom Hubert Jonasson Christ. Cyliore	followed, although the clerk headed it with the name of the *Devonshire*. Gabriel Steward, commander John Lauder, chief mate John Hope Bowers, second mate Samuel Welch, third mate John Grosvenor, fourth mate James William Shipman, fifth mate Francis Steward, surgeon Robert Reid, purser Edwin Alsock, midshipman Francis Rowe, midshipman Morgan Ralstone, midshipman Robert Penny, midshipman William Watkins, midshipman William Farrington, midshipman Thomas King, quartermaster Thomas Sterling, quartermaster Alexander Cowie, quartermaster William Kelly, quartermaster Joseph Gorner, quartermaster Hugh Montgomery, gunner Robert Grayham, boatswain William Fountain, carpenter Adam Murdock, cooper John Mayfield, caulker Joseph Blood, sailmaker James Fox, armourer James St Christopher, captain's cook Andrew Macauly, ship's cook William Parker, captain's steward Edward Tyson, butcher John Robinson, gunner's first mate Richard Withrow, gunner's second mate William Holland, boatswain's first mate Edward Wright, boatswain's second mate James Gales, carpenter's first mate Thomas O'Daniel, caulker's mate James Murdock, cooper's mate William Whalstone, seaman Michael Norton, seaman William Sinegal, seaman Robert Burnett, seaman Edward Douglass, seaman Richard Granboom, seaman Hudson [...], seaman Christopher Cylive, seaman Albert, seaman **Interpretations** The list under the *Devonshire*'s name could not have been hers. Her roll had already been entered a week earlier, under William Mercer, and she had sailed on 11 September. Purling's report named the *Neptune*, and the commander here, Gabriel Steward, matched no officer on the *Devonshire*. The clerk evidently copied the previous heading by mistake, a slip of the kind the consultations show elsewhere in misdated minutes. Christopher Patterson had joined the artillery only on 17 June 1767 and was dead within three months. He was perhaps the Christian Peterson who enlisted in the third company on 21 May and was transferred on 7 June, his name recorded differently by different clerks. Several men who joined the garrison from ships that season died soon after enlisting, as John Bowers did in May. Seamen arriving after months at sea were often already weakened by scurvy or fever, and the island's hospital could do little for them.
164	155	1767 Albert Pierson Seaman John Thornton David Oswald Bernard Lungberg Thos. Whiteway	The muster roll of the *Neptune* continued. Albert Pearson, seaman John Thornton, seaman David Oswald, seaman Bernard Lungberg, seaman Thomas Whiteway, seaman

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		James Harper David Ramsey David Mackay John Antonie Henry Green John Walker David Henderson Thomas Brown William Monday Alexander Jemeson Joseph Jackson Ralph Robson John Headsman David Clayfil James Kennedy Seaman Isaac Armby William Gibson Richard Huel Edward Russell Henry Collam James Mason Nils Wrench Peregrine Rooney George Noddle John Lye George Adrey James Allen Michael Thomas Richard Lobb Saml. Yates Fabian Whitehead Robert Rickaby [...] Wm. Caught Seaman John Wrench John Simpson John Balentine John Baptista Perry Robert Chadwick Peter Gray John Watson Peter Williams Peter Butchan Francis Foster John Griffiths Geo. Crichany Claus Black Moses Haugh Simon Jarks Bernard Chibat Thos. White William Sedgwick Passengers Mr. Downes William Mingo Mattw. Thief Signed Gab. Steward The Gunners, and Stewards, Accounts for the Month of August last, where this day brought in, which were examined and approved, and are as follow viz. -	James Harper, seaman David Ramsay, seaman David Mackay, seaman John Antonio, seaman Henry Green, seaman John Walker, seaman David Henderson, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman William Monday, seaman Alexander Jamieson, seaman Joseph Jackson, seaman Ralph Robson, seaman John Headman, seaman [...] Clayful, seaman James Kennedy, seaman Isaac Ariaby, seaman William Gibson, seaman Richard Huel, seaman Edward Russell, seaman Henry Collam, seaman James Mason, seaman Nis Wrench, seaman Peregrine Rooney, seaman George Noddell, seaman John Lye, seaman George Adrey, seaman James Ober, seaman Michael Thomas, seaman Richard Lobb, seaman Francis Yales, seaman Fabian Whitehead, seaman Robert Ricaby, seaman William Caught, seaman John Wrench, seaman John Simpson, seaman John Balentine, seaman John Baptista Perry, seaman Robert Chadwick, seaman Peter Gray, seaman John Watson, seaman Peter Williams, seaman Peter Butchan, seaman Francis Foster, seaman John Griffiths, seaman George Buchanan, seaman Claus Block, seaman Moses Haugh, seaman Simon Yorke, seaman Bernard Chibat, seaman Thomas White, seaman William Sedgwick, seaman The *Neptune* also carried three passengers, Mr Downes, William Mingo and Matthew Short. The roll was signed by Gabriel Steward. The gunner's and steward's accounts for August 1767 were then presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The name Albert at the foot of the previous page was the clerk's catchword, not a separate seaman, and it belongs to Albert Pearson, who heads this page. The *Neptune*'s crew therefore had one man fewer than the earlier list suggested. Names such as Bernard Lungberg, Claus Block and Nis Wrench point to Scandinavian or north German seamen, while John Antonio and John Baptista Perry were probably Portuguese or Luso-Indian. The *Neptune* had come from China by way of Mauritius after a damaging gale, and a ship forced into a foreign port for repairs often lost men there and replaced them from whoever was available. The mixed crew reflected that hard voyage.
165	156	14th September Artillery Stores Expended in August 1767 Guns fired, Shot fired, Pr 9, Pr 4, Pr 3, Pr 2, Pr 1, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in August 1767 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 9-pounder, 4-pounder, 3-pounder, 2-pounder and

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		2 Departed the Mercury Snow: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 3 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 2, Pr 3 2, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Pigot, fired no Salute: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended oz 0 16th Departed the Nottingham, Anson & Pigot: Guns fired 27, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 1, Pr 3 1, Pr 2 25, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 20, Powder Expended oz 14 28th Two Single Alarms: Guns fired 12, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 4, Pr 3 4, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 4, Powder Expended lb 24, Powder Expended oz 0 29th Arrived the Devonshire: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 9, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Fired at a Dutch Ship from Banks's: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 1, Pr 9 1, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 3, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder Expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, Pr 9 0, Pr 4 0, Pr 3 0, Pr 2 0, Pr 1 0, Powder Expended lb 419, Powder Expended oz 14 Total: Guns fired 64, Shot fired 1, Pr 9 1, Pr 4 7, Pr 3 7, Pr 2 43, Pr 1 6, Powder Expended lb 493, Powder Expended oz 4 Match Expended in different Places 18 lb Tallow Do. Do. 43 lb Paper Do. Do. 4 2 Qr. Handspikes Do. Do. 20 Spunge Staves Do. Do. 3 Brooms for the Long Boat 2 13 Inch Shell Expended at Practice 1 13 Inch Fuzes Do. at Do. & driving 26 3 Do. Do. Do. & Do. 21 Rammer Heads for a 32 Pr. 1 Sulpher 10 Salt Petre 10 Powder 10 for different Compositions Lead Balls to shoot Goats 2 . 13 lb oz Signed R. Mitchell	1-pounder guns used, and the powder used in pounds and ounces. 2 August, the snow *Mercury* departed, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz 3 August, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 3 August, the *Pigot* arrived and did not salute, 0 guns fired, powder used 0 lb 0 oz 16 August, the *Nottingham*, *Anson* and *Pigot* departed, 27 guns fired, 0 shot, 1 four-pounder, 1 three-pounder, 25 two-pounders, powder used 20 lb 14 oz 28 August, 2 single alarms, 12 guns fired, 0 shot, 4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 4 one-pounders, powder used 24 lb 0 oz 29 August, the *Devonshire* arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz 29 August, fired at a Dutch ship from Banks's, 1 gun fired, 1 shot, 1 nine-pounder, powder used 3 lb 0 oz Powder used on other services, 419 lb 14 oz Total, 64 guns fired, 1 shot, 1 nine-pounder, 7 four-pounders, 7 three-pounders, 43 two-pounders, 6 one-pounders, powder used 493 lb 4 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Slow match used at various posts, 18 lb Tallow used at various posts, 43 lb Paper used at various posts, 42 quires Handspikes used at various posts, 20 Sponge staves used at various posts, 3 Brooms for the longboat, 2 13-inch shell used at practice, 1 13-inch fuses used at practice and in driving, 26 8-inch fuses used at practice and in driving, 21 Rammer heads for a 32-pounder, 1 Sulphur for various compositions, 10 lb Saltpetre for various compositions, 10 lb Powder for various compositions, 10 lb Lead balls to shoot goats, 2 lb 13 oz The account was signed by Mitchell. **Interpretations** The powder used on other services, nearly 420 lb, was more than in any month of the season, although only 64 guns were fired in salute or alarm. Most of it went on artillery practice at Longwood, where the Council had insisted on training continuing every year. Firing a 13-inch mortar shell used a heavy charge, and the 47 mortar fuses spent at practice or split while being driven into shells showed how much effort went into the gunners' training once the ships had gone. The sulphur, saltpetre and powder for compositions were mixed in the artillery's laboratory into the slow-burning fillings for fuses, signal rockets and port fires. Making these on the island saved shipping finished fireworks from England, though the raw materials still came from overseas. The shot fired at the Dutch ship from Banks's was the warning recorded in the consultation of 7 September 1767, entered there as 28 August and here as 29 August. It brought her to and began the episode of her drift off Lemon Valley and her eventual watering under the Council's supervision. The *Pigot* was noted as arriving without saluting the fort, and the battery evidently let the omission pass, since a Company ship from Madras was no threat.
166	157	1767 Sundry's Expended at the Honble Compy's Table in August 1767 viz. To 6 Bottles Port Wine £ 9 23 Do. Lisbon 2 2	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in August 1767. 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 28 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 2s 0d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 18 bottles of beer, £0 3s 9d 31 gallons of arrack, £4 10s 0d

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		12 Do. Mountain 18 13 Do. Beer 3 9 31 Galls. Arrack 4 10 150 lb Beef 3 2 6 266 lb Mutton 5 10 2 Lambs 1 4 Kidds 1 3 Turkeys 15 6 Ducks 9 12 Fowles 18 32 lb Butter 1 12 124 lb Candy 2 12 1 290 lb Flour 1 16 £ 26 17 4 The Captains of the Garrison having Lodged a Complaint against Mr. Jacob the Adjutant for ungentleman like behaviour having charged the Dutch Captain for several Articles more than he paid, which was made known to them by Mr. Allen third Mate of the Devonshire, upon which we sent for the said Gentleman and took his Deposition and also swore him to the Authenticity of a Bill of Charges Mr. Jacob had delivered to the Captain and which the Captain shewed to Mr. Allen, and he took a Copy of the same, In consequence of which we have appointed Thursday next to meet in order to make a thorough examination into that Affair, as the dispatching of the Devonshire and Neptune prevented our inquiring into it sooner. - On the 9th Instant we Enlisted Benjamin Pool and Peter	150 lb of beef, £3 2s 6d 266 lb of mutton, £5 10s 0d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 4 kids, £1 0s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 32 lb of butter, £1 12s 0d 124 lb of candles, £2 12s 1d 290 lb of flour, £1 16s 0d Total, £26 17s 4d The captains of the garrison lodged a complaint against Solomon Jacobs, the adjutant, for conduct unbecoming a gentleman. Jacobs had charged the Dutch captain more for several articles than he himself had paid for them. Mr Allen, third mate of the *Devonshire*, had brought this to the captains' notice. The Council sent for Allen and took his statement. It also swore him to the authenticity of a bill of charges that Jacobs had given the Dutch captain, which the captain showed to Allen and of which Allen took a copy. The Council therefore fixed the following Thursday for a thorough examination of the matter. The work of dispatching the *Devonshire* and the *Neptune* had prevented an earlier inquiry. On 9 September the Council enlisted Benjamin Pool and Peter [...] **Interpretations** The Dutch ship that anchored off South West Point had been supplied with two bullocks, 20 goats and other provisions on the Council's orders. Jacobs evidently handled the purchase and charged the Dutch captain more than the goods had cost, keeping the difference for himself. A captain in distress, short of water and far from the road, could not easily check the prices or bargain. Allen, the *Devonshire*'s mate, saw the bill while his ship's boats were helping to water the Dutch vessel, and his copy gave the Council written proof. The captains of the garrison raised the complaint because the adjutant's conduct reflected on the whole corps of officers, and profiting from a foreigner's need while acting for the Company damaged its reputation with other nations' ships. The Council treated the matter as serious enough for a sworn statement and a formal hearing. Taking Allen's oath before his ship sailed preserved the evidence, since the witness would soon be on his way to England. Benjamin Pool had appeared on the *Devonshire*'s roll as a seaman. He evidently left his ship to join the garrison, with the Council's consent, before she sailed on 11 September.
167	158	14th September Peter Higgins two discharged Soldiers from Bombay, to Serve the Honorable Company for five Years they appearing to be good Men, we gave them each, three pounds Bounty Money, to buy them Cloaths &ca. - Mr. Edwin Alcock of the Ship Neptune and a Native of the Island, having sold his Effects, and no other means of remitting his Money to England, applied to Us to pay seven hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash we for the above reasons have received it, and given him Bills for that sum payable to himself or Order drawn at ninety days sight - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The two men enlisted on 9 September were Benjamin Pool and Peter Higgins, discharged soldiers from Bombay. They appeared to be sound men, so the Council engaged them to serve the Company for five years and gave each £3 0s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. Edwin Alcock of the ship *Neptune*, a native of the island, had sold his possessions and had no other way to send his money to England. He asked to pay £700 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. For those reasons the Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange for that sum, payable to himself or his order at 90 days after sight. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Pool and Higgins were entered on the *Devonshire*'s roll as seamen, but they were in fact soldiers discharged from the Company's army at Bombay and working their passage home. The

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		Thos. Kirkpatrick	muster roll listed them among the crew because they served as hands on the voyage. Rather than continue to England with no work waiting, they chose to re-enlist on St Helena. The island gained two trained soldiers at the price of a bounty, without the cost of bringing recruits from England. The Council took care to record why it accepted Alcock's money. Bills of exchange drew on the Company's credit in London, and the directors did not want the island's treasury used freely by passing seamen to remit private trading profits. Alcock had a claim to special consideration. He was born on St Helena, was leaving it, and had turned his property on the island into cash that he could carry safely only as a bill. The obvious course for a ship's officer would have been to carry his money home himself, and the Council's note of its reasons showed it was making an exception. He served as a midshipman on the *Neptune*, and the sum of £700 0s 0d, one of the largest single remittances of the season, suggests that his family's property on the island was considerable. Islanders who went to sea in the Company's ships, like those who joined its garrison, carried St Helena's people out into the wider service.
168	159	17th September At a Consultation held on Thursday the 17th day of September 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 14th Sept. 1767 Tuesday the 15th passed by a Ship at a great distance Do. Do. Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Neptune for England - Agreeable to the Resolution of last Consultation we this day met to enquire into the Complaint made against Mr. Jacob the Adjutant, on Suspicion of dishonesty and ungentleman like behaviour to Captain Grove of the Dutch Ship called the Elizabeth Dorothea - Captain Mitchell Deposeth that on Wednesday the 9 Instant Mr. Allen third Mate of the Devonshire came along with Captain Beale to take leave of said deponent, that said Allen then informed Messrs. Mitchell and Beale that as he was employed in the watering of the Dutch Ship he had often occasion of seeing and conversing with the Captain, and also went off from the Shore along with him, that the dutch Captain then informed him said Allen, that he had been very ill treated at St. Helena in general terms, and particularly by Mr. Jacob who he had charged him in a most extravagant manner for necessarys which said Adjut. had procured for him, that Mr. Allen thinking such a complaint a reflection upon the Island, desired that he might see the Bill of Charges, which the dutch Capt. readily granted him as well as allowed him to take a Copy of the same that said Allen on coming on shore met with Mr. Jacob, and informed him of what the dutch Captain had said against him on which Mr. Jacob answered that the dutch Capt. had misinformed him, and then produced a Bill of Charges which he	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Thursday 17 September 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 14 September 1767. On Tuesday 15 September a ship passed the island at a great distance, and the Company's ship *Neptune* sailed for England the same day. As resolved at the last consultation, the Council met to inquire into the complaint against Solomon Jacobs, the adjutant, who was suspected of dishonest and ungentlemanly conduct towards Captain Grove of the Dutch ship *Elizabeth Dorothea*. Captain Mitchell stated on oath that on Wednesday 9 September Mr Allen, third mate of the *Devonshire*, came with Captain Beale to take leave of him. Allen then told Mitchell and Beale that while employed in watering the Dutch ship, he had often seen and talked with her captain and had gone out from the shore with him. The Dutch captain told Allen that he had been very badly treated at St Helena in general terms. In particular, he complained that Jacobs had charged him extravagantly for the necessaries the adjutant had procured for him. Allen, thinking such a complaint a slur on the island, asked to see the bill of charges. The Dutch captain readily showed it to him and let him take a copy. When Allen came ashore he met Jacobs and told him what the Dutch captain had said against him. Jacobs replied that the Dutch captain had misinformed him, and produced a bill of charges that he said was a copy of the one he had given the Dutch captain. Allen then [...] **Interpretations** Allen raised the matter because he saw it as a stain on the island's good name. A foreign captain who left St Helena complaining of being cheated would spread the story in every port, and ships of other nations might avoid the island or arrive expecting to be fleeced. The Company relied on St Helena's reputation as a fair and safe port of call for all European shipping, and a single dishonest official could undermine it. That explains why Captain Mitchell and Captain Beale took the report seriously, and why the garrison's officers as a body brought the complaint.

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		said was the Copy of what he had given the dutch Captain, that said Allen then	The evidence turned on two versions of the bill of charges. Allen held a copy of the bill the Dutch captain had actually received, while Jacobs produced what he claimed was a copy of the same bill. If the two differed, Jacobs had altered his record to conceal the overcharge, which would turn a petty profit into a deliberate deception. The Council's inquiry was therefore designed to compare the documents under oath. Captain Beale, who heard Allen's account alongside Mitchell, was evidently Richard Beale, captain of the third company, judge advocate and schoolmaster, and the officer best placed to judge the legal weight of the evidence.
169	160	17th September then produced to deponent and Captain Beale a Copy of the Bill as taken on board Ship, which differed as he said from that shewed him by Mr. Jacob, after which said deponent went to Mr. Jacob's lodging and informed him of said report against his Conduct to the Dutch Captain, and desired a sight of Bill in case he had a Copy of the Charges by him, which said Jacob readily Complied with, and delivered the following Bill here produced, declaring that that was the Copy shewed to Mr. Allen. - 1 Beast from Richd. Bagley 447 11 . 3 . 6 16 Goats Do. 8 Bags & Greens 2 8 Bushels Potatoes 2 7 Bags Greens and Onions 2 . 6 8 Long Boats water 6 . 16 To the Cooper 10 The Men for getting the water 4 1 Beast from Mr. Purling 343 lb 8 . 11 . 6 200 lb Bread 4 Lodging 2 . 3 18 Fowles 1 . 7 £ 52 . 16 . 6 Captain Beale being duly sworn deposeth that a day or two before the Dutch Ship Sailed, Mr. Allen and Lieut. St. Maurice came into said Deponents House, that said Allen seemed to be very warm Complaining of the Behaviour of Mr. Jacob to the Dutch Captain on which said Allen produced a Bill, saying that he was very sure that it was not the same with respect to Charges as Mr. Jacob had just shewn him, Capt. Beale being asked whether the Bill Mr. Allen produced, was a Copy of the Bill he took on board Ship, Answered said Allen declared it was -	Mitchell's statement continued. Allen then showed Mitchell and Captain Beale a copy of the bill as he had taken it on board the Dutch ship, which he said differed from the one Jacobs had shown him. Mitchell then went to Jacobs's lodging, told him of the report against his conduct towards the Dutch captain, and asked to see the bill if he had a copy of the charges. Jacobs readily agreed and handed over the following bill, now produced, declaring that it was the copy he had shown Allen. 1 beast from Richard Bagley, 447 lb, £11 3s 6d 16 goats from Richard Bagley, £8 0s 0d Bags for greens, £2 0s 0d 8 bushels of potatoes, £2 0s 0d 7 bags of greens and onions, £2 0s 6d 8 longboat loads of water, £6 16s 0d To the cooper, £0 10s 0d To the men for getting the water, £4 0s 0d 1 beast from Mr Purling, 343 lb, £8 11s 6d 200 lb of bread, £4 0s 0d Lodging, £2 3s 0d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d Total, £52 16s 6d Captain Beale stated on oath that a day or two before the Dutch ship sailed, Allen and Lieutenant St Maurice came into his house. Allen was very heated and complained of Jacobs's conduct towards the Dutch captain. He produced a bill and said he was quite sure that its charges were not the same as those on the bill Jacobs had just shown him. When Beale asked whether the bill Allen produced was a copy of the one he took on board the ship, Allen declared that it was. **Interpretations** The prices on Jacobs's own copy were not obviously excessive. Both bullocks were charged at about 6d a pound, close to the 5d a pound the Company paid for beef at its table, and the fowls at 1s 6d each matched the steward's rate. The case against Jacobs therefore rested on the gap between this copy and the bill the Dutch captain actually received, which Allen had copied on board. If the captain's bill showed higher figures, Jacobs had charged one sum and recorded another, pocketing the difference while keeping an innocent-looking copy to show anyone who asked. The bill showed how the island supplied a ship in distress. One bullock came from Richard Bagley, a planter, and the other from William Matthew Purling, a member of the Council. Officials and planters alike sold their livestock to passing ships, and the adjutant acted as middleman between them and a foreign captain who could not deal directly with the island's farmers. The charges for water raised a further question. The Council had lent the Company's longboats to water the Dutch ship, yet the bill charged £6 16s 0d for eight boatloads and £4 0s 0d for the men. Whether that money went to the Company, the boatmen or Jacobs himself was a matter the inquiry would need to settle.

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170	161	1767 Captain Howard being duly sworn deposeth that on Tuesday the 8th Instant being in Company with Mr. Allen heard him declare that he had taken a Copy of the dutch Captains Bill as delivered him by Mr. Jacob, that when said Allen came on shore Mr. Jacob shewed him - another Bill which did not Answer to that he had taken a Copy of. - Lieut. St. Maurice being duly sworn deposeth that on Tuesday the 8th Instant Mr. Allen met Mr. Jacob on the Parade, after coming from on board the Dutch Ship, that Mr. Jacob then addressed himself to said Allen saying that he had not been paid All his Bill to the amount of fourteen Shillings, and then produced a Bill, that Mr. Allen then appeared to express his surprize, and after leaving said Jacob observed how can that be when I observed in his Bill six pounds charged for Boat hire, and in a Copy of the Bill he said Allen had, Boat hire was charged Eight pounds. - Mr. David Allen proceeding to England upon the Ship Devonshire, and not having time before he sailed to enquire into this affair, we took his deposition as well as a Copy of the Bill the Dutch Capt. shewed him, which are as follow viz. - St. Helena Sept. the 10th 1767 Mr. David Allen third Officer of the Ship Devonshire being duly sworn deposeth that on the 8th instant going on board the dutch Ship with the Captain he complained that he had been treated extremely ill at St. Helena that he had paid a great deal of Money for the things he had and said they were very bad people, Upon which this Deponent begged to see his Account, which was shewn this deponent by the Captain, who desired he would take a Copy of the Bill of Charges given him by Mr. Jacob the Adjutant where he lodged, which he accordingly did and now produces it	Captain Howard stated on oath that on Tuesday 8 September he was with Allen and heard him declare that he had taken a copy of the Dutch captain's bill as Jacobs had given it to him. When Allen came ashore, Jacobs showed him another bill, which did not match the one Allen had copied. Lieutenant St Maurice stated on oath that on Tuesday 8 September Allen met Jacobs on the parade after coming back from the Dutch ship. Jacobs spoke to Allen and said that he had not been paid all of his bill, being short by 14s 0d, and then produced a bill. Allen appeared surprised at this. After Jacobs left, Allen remarked to St Maurice that Jacobs's bill charged £6 0s 0d for boat hire, while the copy Allen held charged £8 0s 0d. Mr David Allen was sailing to England on the *Devonshire* and had no time to stay for the inquiry before she left. The Council therefore took his sworn statement, together with a copy of the bill the Dutch captain had shown him, at St Helena on 10 September 1767. Allen, third officer of the *Devonshire*, stated on oath that on 8 September he went aboard the Dutch ship with her captain. The captain complained that he had been treated extremely badly at St Helena, that he had paid a great deal of money for the things he had bought, and that the islanders were very bad people. Allen asked to see his account. The captain showed it to him, and Allen asked if he might take a copy of the bill of charges that Jacobs, the adjutant at whose house the captain had lodged, had given him. The captain agreed, and Allen made the copy he now produced. **Interpretations** Three officers of the garrison corroborated Allen's account, each from a different moment. Captain Howard heard Allen say on 8 September that the bills differed. Lieutenant St Maurice witnessed the meeting on the parade and heard Allen name a specific discrepancy, £8 0s 0d charged to the Dutch captain for boat hire against £6 0s 0d on Jacobs's own bill. Jacobs's copy, produced to Mitchell, showed £6 16s 0d for water and £4 0s 0d for the men, so the figures for boats and labour did not match in any version. Jacobs's remark that he was owed 14s 0d looked like an attempt to explain away a difference in the totals before Allen could raise it. The Dutch captain had lodged at Jacobs's house while ashore, which placed him wholly in the adjutant's hands. Jacobs found his food, water and lodging and presented the bill, and the foreign captain had no way to check the island's prices. The captain's complaint that the people of St Helena were very bad was the damage Allen feared. Taking Allen's deposition before he sailed preserved the key witness's evidence, since his copy of the bill was the only proof of what the Dutch captain had actually been charged.
171	162	This Deponent further saith that the Capt. among other things thought it hard that he should be charged twelve Shillings for only one nights Lodging of his Second Mate, that he the Capt. had made the said Jacob a present of thirty four Bags of Paddy and fourteen Bags of fine Rice which he gave him upon expectation of being well treated, and further told this deponent that he had given him either eight or ten Spanish Dollars or half Dollars which he is not certain, over and above the Charge of the Bill, that then the said Jacob said to him he must have	Allen further stated that the Dutch captain thought it hard, among other things, to be charged 12s 0d for a single night's lodging for his second mate. The captain had made Jacobs a present of 34 bags of paddy and 14 bags of fine rice, given in the expectation of being well treated. He told Allen that he had also given Jacobs eight or ten Spanish dollars or half-dollars, he was not sure which, on top of the bill. Jacobs then said he must have a piece of beef, meaning the fresh beef the captain was taking off for his ship's company. The captain replied that he might as well take it all. Despite that answer, Jacobs was mean enough to take about 12 lb. Allen's copy of the bill given by Solomon Jacobs, adjutant at St Helena, to Captain William Grove of the Dutch ship read as follows. 1 beast weighing 447 lb at 6d a lb, £11 3s 6d

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		a piece of Beef meaning the fresh Beef he was going to take off from the shore for the use of his Ships Company the dutch Capt. replied Mynheer take it all notwithstanding which answer, the said Jacob was mean enough to take about twelve pounds. - Memorandum of a Bill given by Solomon Jacob Adjut. at St. Helena to Captain Willm. Grever of a Dutch Ship viz. To 1 Beast wt. 447 @ 6d. £ 11 . 3 . 6 To 16 Goats at 10/ Pr. Goat 8 To 10 Bags of Potatoes at 5/ 2 . 10 To 9 Bags of Greens at 5/ 2 . 5 To 7 Do. of Do. at 5/ 1 . 15 To Onions 5 . 6 9 Boat from the shore at 17/ Pr. Day 8 . 10 To the Cooper 1 The Men getting the water 4 The Second Mate 12 The Parson 18 The Captain 18 41 One Beast from Mr. Purling 343 lb 8 . 11 . 6 200 of Bread 5 47 . 10 55 . 1 . 6 8th September 1767 Received the above 18 Fowles For Solm. Jacob Adjt. 1 7 £ 56 8 6 Sworn the 10th Sept. 1767 to be a true Copy A true Copy before Us Signed Signed David Allen John Skottowe M. Purling	16 goats at 10s 0d a goat, £8 0s 0d 10 bags of potatoes at 5s 0d, £2 10s 0d 9 bags of greens at 5s 0d, £2 5s 0d 7 bags of greens at 5s 0d, £1 15s 0d Onions, £0 5s 6d Boat from the shore for 9 [...] at 17s 0d a day, £8 10s 0d To the cooper, £1 0s 0d The men getting the water, £4 0s 0d The second mate, £0 12s 0d The parson, £0 18s 0d The captain, £0 18s 0d Subtotal, £41 0s 0d 1 beast from Mr Purling, 343 lb, £8 11s 6d 200 lb of bread, £5 0s 0d Subtotal, £47 10s 0d Subtotal, £55 1s 6d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d Total, £56 8s 6d The bill was receipted on 8 September 1767 for Solomon Jacobs, adjutant. Allen signed it as a true copy and swore to it on 10 September 1767 before John Skottowe and Purling. **Interpretations** Set side by side, the two bills showed how Jacobs had profited. The bill the Dutch captain paid came to £56 8s 6d, against £52 16s 6d on the copy Jacobs kept, a difference of £3 12s 0d. Boat hire stood at £8 10s 0d on the captain's bill, charged at 17s 0d a day, and the cooper at £1 0s 0d against 10s 0d. Bread rose from £4 0s 0d to £5 0s 0d. The captain's bill also carried charges for lodging the second mate, the parson and the captain himself, which on Jacobs's copy had been folded into a single figure. The longboats were the Company's, lent by the Council to help a ship in distress, so any charge for them belonged to the Company if it was owed at all, not to the adjutant. Allen's evidence widened the charge beyond the bill. The captain had given Jacobs gifts of rice and paddy and several Spanish dollars in the hope of fair treatment, and Jacobs still took meat from the ship's own fresh beef. A foreign captain short of water, anchored off an unsuitable coast and dependent on one man for everything, had little choice but to pay. Such gifts were a common way to secure goodwill in a foreign port, but an officer of the Company who accepted them and then overcharged betrayed the trust the Council had placed in him and shamed the island before a foreign nation.
172	163	1767 Adjourned until to morrow ten o'Clock - Friday morning ten o'Clock Mr. Solomon Jacob being now put upon his defence was called upon to clear up the difference in the two Bills that which he gave Captain Mitchell, and that Mr. Allen took a Copy of on board the Dutch Ship, Mr. Jacob being asked the following Questions viz. Question 1st How there came to be two Bags of Answers it was a mistake in Potatoes charged more in the Bill the Account - he gave the Dutch Capt. than in the other - Question 2d How the difference in the Account of Greens Answers, it was owing to Greens arose gathered from the sides of the Hills such as Celery, Purslain, Tea more than Mr. Bagley had Charged in his Account - The Lieut. Governor observes that those kind of Greens are never charged more than 2/6 or 3/ Pr. Bag to any Ships -	The Council adjourned until ten o'clock the next morning. At ten o'clock on Friday morning, 18 September 1767, Solomon Jacobs was called to make his defence. He was asked to explain the differences between the bill he gave Captain Mitchell and the bill Allen had copied on board the Dutch ship. He was put the following questions. 1: Jacobs was asked why the bill he gave the Dutch captain charged for two more bags of potatoes than the other. He answered that it was a mistake in the account. 2: He was asked how the difference in the charge for greens arose. He answered that it came from greens gathered on the hillsides, such as celery, purslane and the like, in addition to those Mr Bagley had charged in his account. The Lieutenant Governor observed that greens of that kind were never charged to any ship at more than 1s 6d or 2s 0d a bag. 3: He was asked how the difference in the charge for water came about. He answered that he had paid one of the coxswains of the longboats £4 0s 0d and the other £3 3s 0d. He said he could prove this through the two coxswains and asked that they be called to confirm it.

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		Question 3d How the difference in the two Accounts Answers, that he had paid one of of the Charge of water happened the Patrons of the Long Boats £ 4 - and the other £ 3 . 3 - which he can prove by the said two Patrons and calls upon them to clear up the same John Criswell Patron being duly sworn deposeth that Mr. Jacob had paid him £ 3 . 3 - for four days Work for himself and six Men, Criswell being asked when the said money was paid him, says the Day before the Dutch Ship Sailed, being the 8 Instant -	John Crisswell, a coxswain, stated on oath that Jacobs had paid him £3 3s 0d for four days' work for himself and six men. Asked when the money was paid, he said it was the day before the Dutch ship sailed, 8 September. **Interpretations** Each of Jacobs's answers was tested on the spot. His excuse for the greens, that he had added wild plants gathered from the hillsides, drew a sharp reply from Corneille, who knew the going rate for supplying ships from his charge of the Company's plantations. Purslane and wild celery grew freely on the island and cost nothing but the labour of picking. Charging 5s 0d a bag, when the island's usual price was 1s 6d to 2s 0d, more than doubled their value. On the water, Jacobs called the boatmen as his own witnesses, and Crisswell confirmed a payment of £3 3s 0d. That sum explained only part of what the Dutch captain paid, and it was paid on 8 September, the very day Allen confronted Jacobs on the parade. Paying the coxswains only after his conduct was challenged suggested Jacobs was trying to bring his accounts into line with his story. The boats themselves belonged to the Company, so the hire of £8 10s 0d charged to the Dutch captain, set against the wages paid to the crews, still left the question of where the rest of the money had gone.
173	164	17th September Thomas Tyler the other Patron being duly Sworn deposeth that Mr. Jacob had paid him £ 5 for himself and six Men for ten days Work, being then asked when the aforesaid Money was paid to him replied, it was the day before the Dutch Ship Sailed, or that day, which he does not recollect. - John Drawwater Cooper being duly Sworn Deposeth, that Mr. Jacob paid him on Tuesday the 8th instant for his Work, on Account of the dutch Ship, two six Shilling pieces, and told him he was to take the value of two dollars out of that Money and return him the two shillings, which he accordingly did, that on Thursday morning before he was sent for to Council upon this affair Mr. Jacob gave him ten Shillings more, and said upon looking over his Bills found he had made a mistake, that he had charged for his work twenty shillings, instead of ten. - Question 4th How the difference in the Account Answers that one of the Men belonging of Bread happened to the dutch Ship came to his House & desired he would procure him some Biscuit, Bread, Butter &c. upon which he sent his Slave Boy who talked Dutch with the said Man to Shelly's Shop to show him where he could get those Goods, the said Dutch Man asked the dutch Capt. whether he had any Money to spare, he told him no and then asked him how much he wanted he replied £ 1 . 5 - the Capt. then said he could not spare so much, and desired him Jacob to lend him twenty shillings which he accordingly did, and told him the said Jacob to charge it to his Acct. which he did, but through mistake forgot to add the of bread which made the difference in that Ite[...]	Thomas Tyler, the other coxswain, stated on oath that Jacobs had paid him £5 0s 0d for himself and six men for ten days' work. Asked when the money was paid, he said it was either the day before the Dutch ship sailed or that same day, but he did not remember which. John Drawwater, the cooper, stated on oath that on Tuesday 8 September Jacobs paid him for his work on the Dutch ship with two six-shilling pieces. Jacobs told him to keep the value of two dollars and return the 2s 0d left over, which Drawwater did. On Thursday morning, before Drawwater was summoned to the Council over the affair, Jacobs gave him a further 10s 0d. He said that on looking over his bills he found he had made a mistake, having charged 20s 0d for the cooper's work instead of 10s 0d. 4: Jacobs was asked how the difference in the charge for bread arose. He answered that one of the Dutch ship's men came to his house and asked him to get some biscuit, bread, butter and other things. Jacobs sent his slave boy, who spoke Dutch, with the man to Shortly's shop to show him where those goods could be bought. The Dutch seaman asked his captain whether he had money to spare. The captain said he had none and asked how much he needed, and the man said £1 5s 0d. The captain could not spare so much and asked Jacobs to lend the man 20s 0d, which he did. The captain told Jacobs to add it to his account, which he did, but by mistake he forgot to add the bread, which caused the difference in that item. **Interpretations** The coxswains' evidence did not support Jacobs's defence on the water. He had said he paid one coxswain £4 0s 0d and the other £3 3s 0d, but Tyler swore to receiving £5 0s 0d and Crisswell to £3 3s 0d. Both were paid only on 8 September or after, when the bill had already been presented. The payments looked like money paid out once Jacobs knew questions would be asked. Drawwater's evidence was the most damaging. The Dutch captain had been charged £1 0s 0d for the cooper, while Drawwater received only 10s 0d. On the morning of the inquiry itself, before the cooper was called, Jacobs pressed a further 10s 0d into his hand, claiming he had found a mistake. A man who had charged the honest rate would have had no need to pay more. The timing showed Jacobs trying to

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			make the cooper's account agree with the bill before the Council could compare them. Jacobs's slave boy spoke Dutch, a sign of how such boys were valued in an island household that dealt with ships of every nation. A slave who could interpret allowed his owner to trade with foreign crews whom few islanders could understand. Jacobs's story of the loan to the Dutch seaman may have been true, but it explained only a small part of the gap between the bills.
174	165	1767 The Lieut. Governor asked Mr. Jacob his reason for signing the Bill to the dutch Capt. Solomon Jacob Adjutant, his Answer was, that he had been so accustomed to it, that he might have signed his name Adjutant, without thinking. Mr. Jacob desired the following Paper might be Entered Gentlemen that what I have to say in my defence is this what the Gentlemen have said by hearing from Mr. Allen is no doubt, but I am surprized at Mr. Allens discourse with the dutch Captain as neither of them could understand one another surprizes me how he could make out any such report. likewise the Captain told him he sent me thirty four Bags of Paddy of which I received but forty six small sheaves, likewise fourteen Bags Rice of which I received but ten small Bags which might weigh about seventy pounds each as for mentioning his fresh Beef when the Men came to carry his Beef off the Capt. asked me if I would accept of a piece of his Beef I answered there was no occasion for it, but he insisted upon it, upon which I cut one Rib adjoining to the Surloin for which I gave him in return two ducks, two Loaves of bread, and some Eggs in a Basket. Upon the dutch Captains going on board he had not money enough to pay his Expences, I then lent him fourteen shillings & three pence, he then told me he had no money on board but desired me to give a memorandum to Criswell of Pickles, Sweetmeats, and some Rice, upon which he took his leave but sent nothing for the money I lent him nor Several Articles he had before, which I never charged to him in his Bill upon promising he would send me several things that might be of Service to me I have no more to say but hoping Gentlemen you'll consider my long Service, and my age and Situation I now am in Having considered the Evidence for and against Mr. Jacob Agreed to determine first on the following Questions viz. Question 1st Whether or not, the charge is proved against him	The Lieutenant Governor asked Jacobs why he had signed the bill to the Dutch captain as "Solomon Jacobs, Adjutant". Jacobs answered that he was so used to signing that way that he might have added the word without thinking. Jacobs asked for a written statement of his defence to be entered in the record. In it he accepted that the officers had reported faithfully what they heard from Allen. He was surprised, however, at Allen's account of his talk with the Dutch captain, since neither man could understand the other, and he could not see how Allen could have made out such a report. The captain had told Allen he sent Jacobs 34 bags of paddy, but Jacobs had received only 46 small sheaves. The captain spoke of 14 bags of rice, but Jacobs received only ten small bags of perhaps 20 lb each. As for the fresh beef, when the men came to carry it off, the captain asked whether Jacobs would accept a piece. Jacobs replied there was no need, but the captain insisted, so he cut one rib next to the sirloin and gave two ducks, two loaves of bread and some eggs in a basket in return. When the Dutch captain was going aboard, he did not have enough money to pay his expenses, and Jacobs lent him 14s 3d. The captain said he had no money aboard, but asked Jacobs to give Crisswell a note for some pickles, sweetmeats and rice. The captain then took his leave without sending anything for the money lent, or for several items supplied earlier that Jacobs never put on the bill, although he had promised to send some useful goods in return. Jacobs had nothing more to say, and hoped the Council would take into account his long service, his age and his circumstances. The Council considered the evidence for and against Jacobs and agreed to decide first on the following question. 1: Whether the charge against him was proved. **Interpretations** Corneille's question about the signature went to the heart of the case. By signing as adjutant, Jacobs presented the bill as an account from an officer of the Company, not as a private dealing between two men. The Dutch captain would take it to show what the Company's island charged. Any overcharge became the Company's dishonour, which was the concern that first moved Allen and the garrison's captains to complain. Jacobs's defence did not answer the specific discrepancies. He attacked Allen's understanding of the Dutch captain, but Allen had copied the bill itself, a document whose figures needed no translation. He disputed the size of the gifts and explained the beef as a polite exchange, but said nothing of the extra charges for boats, cooper, greens and bread. His appeal to his long service, age and circumstances asked for mercy, not acquittal. The record of the inquiry, with sworn evidence from three officers, two coxswains and the cooper, left the Council to weigh his years in the Company's service against the clear proof of the bills.
175	166	17th September Captain Kirkpatrick is of opinion that the charge against Mr. Jacob is not fully proved. -	Each member of the Council gave his opinion on the first question.

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		Mr. Purling is of opinion that part of the charge against Mr. Jacob is clearly proved, but not the whole alledged against him The Lieut. Governor is of opinion, that part of the charge is fully proved as a dishonest behaviour in Mr. Jacob but that the other as much as the nature of the thing will admit as the dutch Capt. should be present, to clear up that affair of the Bread. - The Governor is of opinion that part of the charge is proved against Mr. Jacob Question 2d What censure the said Mr. Jacob deserves Captain Kirkpatrick is of opinion that Mr. Jacob deserves to be suspended for one Month - Mr. Purling is of opinion that Mr. Jacob should be suspended both from Pay and Office for four Months - The Lieut. Governor is of opinion, that Mr. Jacob should be suspended both from Pay and Office from this day for six Months	Captain Kirkpatrick held that the charge against Jacobs was not fully proved. Purling held that part of the charge was clearly proved, but not the whole of what was alleged. The Lieutenant Governor held that part of the charge was fully proved as dishonest conduct by Jacobs. The rest was proved as far as the nature of the matter allowed, since only the Dutch captain, had he been present, could have cleared up the question of the bread. The Governor held that part of the charge was proved against Jacobs. The Council then turned to the second question. 2: What punishment Jacobs deserved. Captain Kirkpatrick held that Jacobs should be suspended for one month. Purling held that he should be suspended from both pay and office for four months. The Lieutenant Governor held that he should be suspended from both pay and office for six months from that day. **Interpretations** The four members divided along lines that matched their earlier positions in the Council. Kirkpatrick, who alone defended the Governor in the dispute over the Castle repairs, was the most lenient. He found the charge not fully proved and proposed only a month's suspension, without mention of pay. Kirkpatrick commanded the first company in which Jacobs served as adjutant, so he judged a fellow officer of his own corps, perhaps with sympathy for a man of long service. Corneille, who had shown his concern for discipline and exact accounts throughout the season, judged most severely and proposed six months without pay. Purling stood between them, as he had in the Castle dispute. The question of the bread was the one point no witness could settle, since Jacobs's story of the loan to a Dutch seaman could be checked only by the Dutch captain, who had sailed. Corneille acknowledged this but found the rest proved enough. On every other item, the boats, the cooper and the greens, the sworn evidence and Jacobs's own payments after the event spoke against him. All four agreed that at least part of the charge was proved, so the debate concerned how hard to punish him, not whether he was at fault.
176	167	The Governor is of opinion that Mr. Jacob should be suspended both from pay and Office, for six Months. - The Governor agreeing in opinion with the Lieut. Governor for a six Months Suspension, makes a majority, it is therefore determined that Mr. Jacob the Adjutant, be accordingly suspended from Office and Salary during that time, to commence from this day. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Governor held that Jacobs should be suspended from both pay and office for six months. With the Governor agreeing with the Lieutenant Governor on a suspension of six months, that view carried a majority. The Council therefore decided that Jacobs, the adjutant, should be suspended from office and salary for that period, starting that day. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Two votes out of four carried the decision because the Governor's view prevailed when the Council divided evenly. Skottowe sided with Corneille, who only three months earlier had told the directors that the Governor ordered work on the Castle against the Council's wishes. In a case touching the honour of the Company's service before a foreign ship, the two senior members set aside their quarrel and chose the severer penalty. The lighter sentences proposed by Kirkpatrick and Purling would have let Jacobs keep part of his income or return within weeks. The punishment cost Jacobs heavily. As adjutant he drew £22 16s 3d a quarter in salary and £6 16s 10½d in diet money, so six months without pay

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			meant a loss of nearly £60 0s 0d, far more than he could have gained from overcharging the Dutch captain. He kept his post, however, and could return to it after six months, which allowed for his long service and age. The Council thus punished the dishonesty without dismissing a man who had served the garrison for many years.
177	168	21 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 day of September 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 17 September 1767. - Captain Henry Bazett and Messrs. Richard Goodwin and John Worrall this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That two of the Nominees in a Lease for five Acres of Land called Taylors are dead, your Petitioner therefore requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave to insert in their stead the names of Jonathan, and John Doveton Sons of Mary Doveton Widow, but as there is no room upon the said Lease to insert the names of the new nominees, and it being entirely worn out, Your Petitioner requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a new Lease for the aforesaid five Acres of Land, and likewise give him leave to register a Bill of Sale And your Petitioner will ever pray 21 Septr. 1767 Signed Henry Bazett Granted upon paying half a Years Rent for each Nominee amounting to seven Shillings, and Six pence -	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 21 September 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 17 September 1767. Captain Henry Bazett, Richard Goodwin and John Worrall each presented a petition. Henry Bazett petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 21 September 1767. Two of the nominees named in a lease for 5 acres of land called Taylor's had died. He asked leave to insert in their place the names of Jonathan and John Doveton, sons of Mary Doveton, widow. The lease had no room for the new names and was badly worn. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to grant him a new lease for the 5 acres, and to allow him to register a bill of sale. The Council granted his request on payment of half a year's rent for each new nominee, amounting to 7s 6d. **Interpretations** The petition showed how a lease for lives worked on St Helena. Such a lease named several people, the nominees, and lasted until the last of them died. When a nominee died, the tenant could keep the lease alive by paying a fine to insert a new name in place of the dead one. The Company charged half a year's rent for each replacement. This let a family hold land for generations, and it was the form of tenure the widows' fund later preferred as security for its loans. The rules adopted on 8 April 1811 named leases for lives, with freehold, as the only acceptable security, because a lease that could be renewed in this way did not lose its value as a term of years did. Choosing young sons as nominees made sense, since a young life was likely to last longest. Jonathan Doveton, the factor on the Company's civil list, and his brother were the sons of a widow, and their names would carry the lease forward for decades. The bill of sale suggests Bazett had bought the land from its previous holder, perhaps the Doveton family, and wanted the transfer recorded. The lease registers transcribed earlier in this chat record many such renewals with nominees from the Bazett and Doveton families, two of the island's leading households.
178	169	1767 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Richard Goodwin Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Bill of sale for his House in this Valley which he requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave to have registered for his greater security And your Petitioner will ever pray 21 Septr. 1767 Signed Richard Goodwin Granted -	Richard Goodwin petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 21 September 1767. He held a bill of sale for his house in the valley, and asked leave to have it registered for his greater security. The Council granted his request. John Worrall petitioned the Governor and Council on the same day. His lease of 28 acres of land called Francis's had expired, and he asked them to grant him a renewal. The Council granted his request. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for August 1767. **Interpretations** Registering a bill of sale gave a buyer public proof of his title. A private deed could be lost,

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		To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Worrall Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease containing twenty eight Acres of Land called Francises expired, humbly requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray 21 Septr. 1767 Signed John Worrall Granted - Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of August last which was as follows viz. -	disputed or forged, but an entry in the Company's register, made by order of the Council, settled who owned a house beyond question. Goodwin's house stood on Company land, so the building could be bought and sold while the ground beneath it remained leased from the Company. Registration protected the buyer against a seller who might try to sell the same house twice, and against claims from the seller's heirs or creditors. John Worrall drew £15 0s 0d a quarter as an overseer on the Company's civil list, and his 28 acres made him one of the more substantial tenants on the island. Renewals like his, Isacke's and Frost's came before the Council regularly, since leases ran for fixed terms and the Company preferred to renew them for tenants who kept their land in use. The petitions of this consultation together show the Council acting as the island's land office, recording sales, renewing leases and approving changes of nominees, alongside its work as government and court.
179	170	21st September Cash Dr. 1767 August 1st To Balance remaining £ 11555 12 3 10th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Robt. Wood Esqr. 270 13th To Ship Nottingham 305 19 4 To Ship Pigot 23 10 6 To Ship Anson 13 17 1 £ 12173 19 2 Per Contra Cr. 1767 August 31 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 11634 4 2 In Cash notes of no use 539 15 £ 12173 19 2	The Company's cash account for August 1767 set out the money received and the balance held at the end of the month. 1 August, balance remaining, £11,555 12s 3d 10 August, exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Robert Wood, £270 0s 0d *13 August, from the ship Nottingham, £305 19s 4d* *13 August, from the ship Pigot, £23 10s 6d* *13 August, from the ship Anson, £13 17s 1d* Total, £12,173 19s 2d 31 August, balance remaining in coin, £11,634 4s 2d 31 August, balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total, £12,173 19s 2d **Interpretations** The *Nottingham* paid £305 19s 4d, far more than any other ship that season, when the usual payment for water and provisions ran between £5 0s 0d and £25 0s 0d. A sum on that scale suggests she bought much more than routine supplies. She had left three seamen sick in the island's hospital, Hatton Walker, James Walter and George Washington, and their care would have been charged to her. She may also have bought stores from the Company's warehouses or settled a freight account for the salt provisions and rice she carried from Bengal. The figure stands out, but the record gives no breakdown. The Governor's bill of £270 0s 0d to Robert Wood, granted on 10 August, was the only remittance of the month. With few ships calling in the southern winter, the treasury's coin rose only slightly, to just over £11,600 0s 0d. The worthless cash notes of £539 15s 0d remained on the books unchanged, as they had all season.
180	171	1767 The Governor acquaints the Gentlemen of the Council, that he has appointed Barnard Millard Serjeant Major, to do the duty, and receive the Pay as Adjutant during the Suspension of Mr. Jacob but not to receive the Pay of Serjeant for that time - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th day of September 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council	The Governor told the members of the Council that he had appointed Barnard Millard, the sergeant major, to do the duty of adjutant and receive the adjutant's pay during Jacobs's suspension. Millard was not to draw his pay as a sergeant for that time. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 28 September 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council

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		The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 21 Sept. 1767 Yesterday Jeremiah Conner Centinel was drowned by Accident fishing on the Rocks - This day died William Gurling an Orphan The Executors to the last Will and Testament of Thomas Greentree deceased, and Robert Ballard, this day presented the following Petitions viz.	The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 21 September 1767. On Sunday 27 September Jeremiah Conner, a sentinel, was drowned by accident while fishing from the rocks. William Gurling, an orphan, died on the day of the consultation. The executors of the late Thomas Greentree and Robert Ballard then presented petitions. **Interpretations** The Governor's arrangement for the adjutant's post cost the Company nothing extra. Millard took over the duty and drew the adjutant's pay, while giving up his own sergeant's pay, so the Company paid one salary for one post. Jacobs's lost pay was not simply saved but passed to the man who did his work. Millard was the most senior non-commissioned officer of the garrison, and the adjutant's duties of drill, discipline and keeping the garrison's records fell naturally to him. The Governor made the appointment on his own authority and informed the Council afterwards, as an appointment within the garrison was his to make. Jeremiah Conner had enlisted only on 9 April 1767, one of the draft of recruits brought out on the *Cuffnells*. Fishing from the rocks was a common way for soldiers to add to their rations, as the many hooks and lines issued from the stores show, but the island's steep shores and heavy swell made it dangerous. Conner's death followed Avery Trueman's fall from the rocks in June, and the two accidents show how the island's coast took soldiers' lives outside battle.
181	172	28th September To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of the Executors to the last Will & Testament of Thomas Greentree deceased, - Sheweth That your Petitioners hath a Lease containing twelve and a half Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley expired, humbly requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant them a renewal of the same. - And your Petitioners will ever pray - Signed James Greentree 28th Septr. 1767 H. Bazett Granted - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Robert Ballard Sheweth That your Petitioners Term of part of the Land on which his dwelling House in James's Valley stands will expire the fourteenth day of next Month, Wherefore he takes the liberty of acquaint ing your Worship thereof that you may please to grant him a renewal of his Lease, and he will as in duty bound ever pray &ca. - Granted - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The executors of the late Thomas Greentree petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 28 September 1767. Greentree's lease of 12½ acres of land in Sandy Bay Valley had expired, and they asked the Governor and Council to renew it. The petition was signed by James Greentree and H. Bazett. The Council granted their request. Robert Ballard also petitioned the Governor and Council. His lease of part of the land on which his house stood in James's Valley would expire on 14 October 1767. He asked them to grant him a renewal. The Council granted his request. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The executors' petition carried forward the settlement of Thomas Greentree's estate, begun when his inventory was registered on 22 June 1767. James Greentree had sent £570 0s 0d to Captain Cotton the same day, and now the family secured the land itself by renewing the lease in Sandy Bay Valley. Henry Bazett, captain of the second company, acted as co-executor, so two of the island's leading families joined in managing a single estate. Renewal in the executors' names kept the land within the Greentree family, whose descendants were still prominent on the island decades later in the records of the widows' fund. Ballard's petition showed tenants applying for renewal before their leases ran out. A tenant whose lease expired without renewal had no right to the ground on which his house stood, and the house might pass to the Company or another tenant. Applying a fortnight ahead protected his home. The Council granted every renewal requested in these weeks, which reflects the Company's interest in keeping tenants settled on land they had improved.
182	173	7 October At a Consultation held on Thursday the 1 day of October 1767 at the Castle	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Thursday 1 October 1767. The following were present.

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		Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 28 Sept. 1767 Pursuant to an Order in Consultation of the 31 August last, the Planters this day attended to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the Year past, which amounts to £ 593 . 9 . 4 the Rent Roll is as follows viz. - Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Samuel Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 34, Lease Land 37½, £ 11, s 1, d 6 John Alexander 15½ Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 71½, Lease Land 70½, £ 13, s 3, d 6 George Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 22, Lease Land 58, £ 15, s 18, d 0 Margaret Alcock 6¼ Acres @ 20/ Pr. Acre 3½ Acres 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 34/6, Free Land 30, Lease Land 32½, £ 11, s 3, d 9 Onesiphorus Beale Esqr.: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 10, Lease Land 18½, £ 4, s 8, d 0 Richard Beale Junr. 5 Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 41½, Lease Land 32½, £ 11, s 13, d 2½ John Bagley: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 36, £ 9, s 0, d 0 Richard Bagley 12 Acres @ 1/ Pr. Acre 3½ at 1/6 Pr. Acre 4½ at 5/ Pr. Acre 12½ Acres at 5/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 19/2, Free Land 126½, Lease Land 122½, £ 49, s 12, d 11 Orlando Bagley Senr. 4 Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre 21 Acres at 2/6 Pr. Acre 16¼ Acres at 5/ Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 75½, Lease Land 112, £ 27, s 10, d 3 Matthew Bazett 15 Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 142, Lease Land 63, £ 21, s 12, d 0 Henry Bazett 3 Acres at 4/ Pr. Acre 14½ Acres at 2/6 Pr. Acre 30 Acres 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 35/, Free Land 132½, Lease Land 77½, £ 25, s 13, d 3 Orlando Bagley Junr. 19 Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 63, £ 12, s 13, d 6 Wm. Burnham Esqr. Gr. Rent 10/ Pr. Ann. for 8½ Months: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 14½, Lease Land 7½, £ 2, s 19, d 1 Thos. Burnham: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14½, Lease Land 7½, £ 2, s 12, d 0 William Beale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 33½, Lease Land 17¼, £ 6, s 5, d 0 Robert Ballard: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 15½, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s 8, d 6 Carried Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 772½, Lease Land 732, £ 231, s 14, d 11½	Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 28 September 1767. Following the order of 31 August 1767, the planters attended that day to pay their rents and other dues to the Company for the past year, which came to £593 9s 4d. The rent roll recorded each planter's ground rent, his acres of free land and lease land, and the total he paid in pounds, shillings and pence. Samuel Alexander, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 34 acres, lease land 37½ acres, total £11 1s 6d John Alexander, 15½ acres at 3s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 71½ acres, lease land 70½ acres, total £13 3s 6d George Alexander, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 22 acres, lease land 58 acres, total £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, 6½ acres at 20s 0d an acre and 3½ acres at 3s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 3s 6d, free land 30 acres, lease land 32½ acres, total £11 3s 9d Onesiphorus Beale, ground rent £0 10s 6d, free land 10 acres, lease land 13½ acres, total £4 3s 0d Richard Beale senior, 5 acres at 3s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 41¼ acres, lease land 32½ acres, total £11 13s 2½d John Bagley, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 36 acres, total £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley, 12 acres at 3s 0d an acre, 34 acres at 1s 6d an acre and 12½ acres at 3s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 19s 2d, free land 126½ acres, lease land 122½ acres, total £49 12s 11d Orlando Bagley senior, 4 acres at 1s 6d an acre, 21 acres at 2s 6d an acre and 16¼ acres at 3s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 75½ acres, lease land 112 acres, total £27 10s 3d Matthew Bazett, 15 acres at 1s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 142 acres, lease land 63 acres, total £21 12s 0d Henry Bazett, 3 acres at 4s 0d an acre, 42 acres at 2s 6d an acre and 50 acres at 1s 0d an acre, ground rent £1 15s 0d, free land 132½ acres, lease land 77½ acres, total £25 18s 3d Orlando Bagley junior, 19 acres at 1s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 63 acres, total £12 8s 6d William Burnham's executors, ground rent at 10s 0d a year for 8½ months, ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 14½ acres, lease land 7½ acres, total £2 19s 1d Thomas Burnham, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 14½ acres, lease land 7½ acres, total £2 12s 0d William Beale, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 33½ acres, lease land 17¼ acres, total £6 5s 0d Robert Ballard, ground rent £0 13s 0d, free land 15½ acres, lease land 0 acres, total £1 8s 6d Carried forward, free land 772¼ acres, lease land 732 acres, total £231 14s 11½d **Interpretations** The rent roll distinguished two kinds of holding. Free land was ground granted to the early settlers and their heirs when the Company resettled the island in the 1670s, held in perpetuity for a fixed charge. Lease land was ground let on later terms for a set number of years at a rent per acre, which the Council renewed on petition, as it had for Isacke, Worrall and the Greentree executors. Most families held both. Rents on lease land varied from 1s 0d to 4s 0d an acre with the quality and situation of the ground, while Margaret Alcock paid 20s 0d an acre for 6½ acres, a rate that suggests a plot in or near Jamestown, where land was most valuable. Ground rent was charged on house plots, such as Robert Ballard's in James's Valley, whose lease he renewed on 28 September. The Bagley and Bazett

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			families held the largest estates on the page. Richard Bagley alone held nearly 250 acres and paid almost £50 0s 0d, more than any other tenant. The planters who sold beef to the Dutch captain and hired out labour for the fortifications were the same men paying rent here, and the roll shows the land on which their livestock grazed. Margaret Alcock's name shows that a widow or heiress could hold land in her own right and pay rent like any male planter.
183	174	1 October Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 772½, Lease Land 832, £ 231, s 14, d 11½ George Bird ground Rent at 15/ Pr. Ann. for 8½ Mths.: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 7½ Thomas Colgraves Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 13¼, Lease Land 91¼, £ 23, s 9, d 6 Joseph Chamberlain: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 John Dovetons Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 36½, Lease Land 8, £ 6, s 6, d 6 Jonathan Doveton: Ground Rent 33/, Free Land 128¾, Lease Land 4, £ 9, s 1, d 9 Isaac Doveton: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 77½, Lease Land 9½, £ 6, s 5, d 3 Joseph Duffountains Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 71, £ 18, s 15, d 0 John Duffountain 3 Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre 7¾ Acres at 2/6 Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 93½, Lease Land 53¾, £ 18, s 9, d 10½ Henry Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14, Lease Land 23, £ 7, s 14, d 0 James Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 11, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s 11, d 0 Sarah Fanys: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0 Michael Frost: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 Richard Goodwin: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 49, Lease Land 27, £ 9, s 14, d 6 Elizth. Greentree 33½ Acres at 4/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 55, Lease Land 60, £ 16, s 6, d 6 James Greentree: Ground Rent 20/3, Free Land 69½, Lease Land 55, £ 13, s 4, d 9 Onesiphorus Gurlings Esqr. 9 Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 9, £ 1, s 16, d 6 Thos. Harpers Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 19¾, Lease Land 46½, £ 12, s 13, d 6 Thos. Hayes Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 4, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Margaret Harper: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 26, £ 7, s 0, d 0 Thomas Harper: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 William Hayes: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 John Jacks Junr.: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 Elisha Leache: Ground Rent 16/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 16, d 0 Gabriel Leache: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 5, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Thos. Kirkpatrick: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0 Isaac Knipe: Ground Rent 34/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 14, £ 5, s 9, d 0 William Kennedys Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 23½, £ 7, s 7, d 6 Thomas Lock: Ground Rent 17/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 17, d 0 Elizabeth Lamb: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0	The rent roll for 1767 continued, giving each planter's ground rent, his acres of free land and lease land, and the total he paid in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought forward, free land 772¼ acres, lease land 832 acres, total £231 14s 11½d George Bird, ground rent at 15s 0d a year for 8½ months, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 10s 7½d Thomas Colgrave's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 15¼ acres, lease land 91¼ acres, total £23 9s 6d Joseph Chamberlain, ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 15s 0d John Doveton's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 36½ acres, lease land 8 acres, total £6 6s 6d Jonathan Doveton, ground rent £1 13s 0d, free land 128¾ acres, lease land 4 acres, total £9 1s 9d Isaac Doveton, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 77½ acres, lease land 9½ acres, total £6 5s 3d Joseph De Fountain's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 20 acres, lease land 71 acres, total £18 15s 0d John De Fountain, 3 acres at 4s 0d an acre and 7¼ acres at 2s 6d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 93½ acres, lease land 53¾ acres, total £18 9s 10½d Henry Easthope, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 14 acres, lease land 23 acres, total £7 14s 0d James Easthope, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 11 acres, lease land 3 acres, total £2 11s 0d Sarah Fungs, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 4 acres, total £1 0s 0d Michael Frost, ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin, ground rent £0 10s 6d, free land 49 acres, lease land 27 acres, total £9 14s 6d Elizabeth Greentree, 33½ acres at 4s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 55 acres, lease land 60 acres, total £16 6s 6d James Greentree, ground rent £1 0s 3d, free land 69½ acres, lease land 55 acres, total £13 4s 9d Onesiphorus Gurling's executors, 9 acres at 1s 6d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 23 acres, lease land 9 acres, total £1 16s 6d Thomas Harper's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 19¾ acres, lease land 46½ acres, total £12 13s 6d Thomas Hayes's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 30 acres, lease land 4 acres, total £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 10 acres, lease land 26 acres, total £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper, ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 10s 0d William Hayes, ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 10s 0d John Jacks, ground rent £0 12s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 12s 0d Elisha Isacke, ground rent £0 16s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 16s 0d Gabriel Isacke, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 25 acres, lease land 5 acres, total £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 8 acres, total £2 0s 0d

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		Benjamin Mason 31 Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre 10¾ Acres at 5/ Pr. Acre for 9½ Mo.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Roderick Merchant: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 42, Lease Land 34¼, £ 17, s 3, d 6 Elizabeth Moore: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6 Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 5, d 0 Carried Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1575, Lease Land 1477, £ 437, s 18, d 8½	Isaac Knipe, ground rent £1 14s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 14 acres, total £5 9s 0d William Kennedy's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 30 acres, lease land 23½ acres, total £7 7s 6d Thomas Leech, ground rent £0 17s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 17s 0d Elizabeth Lamb, ground rent £0 12s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Lamb, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 10 acres, total £2 10s 0d Benjamin Mason, 31 acres at 1s 6d an acre and 10½ acres at 3s 0d an acre for 9½ months, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 42 acres, lease land 34¼ acres, total £17 3s 6d Roderick Merchant, ground rent £0 2s 6d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 2s 6d Elizabeth Moore, ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 5s 0d Carried forward, free land 1,373 acres, lease land 1,477 acres, total £437 18s 8½d **Interpretations** Many names on the roll recur across the season's records, which shows how small and interconnected the island's society was. Gabriel Isacke paid for the land in Lemon Valley whose lease was renewed on 17 August 1767. Richard Goodwin registered his bill of sale on 21 September, and Michael Frost paid ground rent on the plot in James's Valley he renewed in August. Roderick Merchant, one of the three master tailors licensed on 13 July, paid 2s 6d for a house plot. Officers of the garrison and the Council held land too, among them Captain Kirkpatrick and Lieutenant Thomas Leech. Several estates were held by executors, among them those of Colgrave, Doveton, De Fountain, Gurling, Harper, Hayes and Kennedy. A tenant's death did not end his family's holding. The executors paid the rent and kept the land in use while the estate was settled, as the Greentree executors did in renewing their lease in September. Women appear in their own right as tenants, among them Elizabeth Greentree, Margaret Harper, Sarah Fungs, Elizabeth Lamb and Elizabeth Moore. Most were probably widows who had taken over their husbands' land, and the Company recorded and charged them like any other planter. William Gurling, the orphan who died on 28 September, perhaps belonged to the family whose estate appears here under Onesiphorus Gurling's executors.
184	175	1767 Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1575, Lease Land 1477, £ 437, s 18, d 8½ Solomon St. Maurice 6 Acres at a Pepper Corn Pr. Annum: Ground Rent 45/, Free Land 40, Lease Land 6, £ 4, s 5, d 0 Matthew Purling 12½ Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 28/, Free Land 205, Lease Land 103½, £ 36, s 6, d 3 James Bowell: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 5, d 0 John Price Ground Rent @ 20/ Pr. Ann. for 9 Mo.: Ground Rent 35/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s 10, d 0 John Prichard: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 James Pritchard: Ground Rent 7/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 7, d 0 John Robinson 23½ Acres at 1/6 Pr. Ac. ground rent at 3/ Pr. Ann. for 7 Months: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 41½, Lease Land 41½, £ 7, s 15, d 9 William Seale 5½ Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7, Lease Land 36, £ 8, s 7, d 9	The rent roll for 1767 concluded, giving each planter's ground rent, his acres of free land and lease land, and the total he paid in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought forward, free land 1,373 acres, lease land 1,477 acres, total £437 18s 8½d Solomon St Maurice, 6 acres at a peppercorn a year, ground rent £2 5s 0d, free land 40 acres, lease land 6 acres, total £4 5s 0d Matthew Purling, 12½ acres at 1s 0d an acre, ground rent £1 8s 4d, free land 205 acres, lease land 103½ acres, total £36 6s 3d James Powell, ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 5s 0d John Price, ground rent at 20s 0d a year for 9 months, ground rent £1 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £1 10s 0d John Pritchard, ground rent £0 10s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 10s 0d James Pritchard, ground rent £0 7s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 7s 0d John Robinson, 23½ acres at 1s 6d an acre, with ground rent at 5s 0d a year for 7 months, ground rent £0 3s 0d, free land 41½ acres, lease land 41½ acres, total £7 15s 9d

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		Benjamin Seale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 10½, £ 2, s 11, d 3 John Seales Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 7½, £ 2, s 7, d 6 Martha Scott: Ground Rent 17/5, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 17, d 5 Nathan Sample: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 28, Lease Land 3½, £ 3, s 7, d 6 John Shirtley: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 13, d 0 Jeremiah Smith: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 James Tobetts Esqr.: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 John Swaits Esqr. 4 Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 9, Lease Land 38½, £ 9, s 5, d 6 John Worrall: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 31, Lease Land 33, £ 9, s 16, d 0 John Worralls Esqr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 42½, £ 10, s 12, d 6 William Wrangham 3 Acres at 1/ Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 26/6, Free Land 124, Lease Land 36, £ 29, s 10, d 0 Jane Wilson: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6 Simon Whaley 6 Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 17½, Lease Land 54¼, £ 13, s 0, d 9½ William Young: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 79½, Lease Land 25, £ 10, s 9, d 6 Stephen Young: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 8½, £ 3, s 2, d 6 Ground Rent 0, Free Land 2205, Lease Land 1983, £ 593, s 1, d 10 Henry Bazett for renewing 2 Lives in a Lease for 5 Acres at 1/6 Pr. Acre as pr. Consultation the 21 Sept. 1767 7 6 £ 593 9 4 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	William Seale, 5½ acres at 1s 6d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 7 acres, lease land 36 acres, total £8 7s 9d Benjamin Seale, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 10½ acres, total £2 11s 3d John Seale's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 10 acres, lease land 7½ acres, total £2 7s 6d Martha Scott, ground rent £0 19s 5d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 19s 5d Nathan Sample, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 28 acres, lease land 3½ acres, total £3 7s 6d John Shirley, ground rent £0 13s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 13s 0d Jeremiah Smith, ground rent £0 15s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 15s 0d James Torbett's executors, ground rent £0 12s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 12s 0d John Swaits's executors, 4 acres at 1s 0d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 9 acres, lease land 38½ acres, total £9 5s 6d John Worrall, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 31 acres, lease land 33 acres, total £9 16s 0d John Worrall's executors, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 0 acres, lease land 42½ acres, total £10 12s 6d William Wrangham, 3 acres at 1s 6d an acre, ground rent £1 6s 6d, free land 124 acres, lease land 36 acres, total £29 10s 0d Jane Wilson, ground rent £0 2s 6d, free land 0 acres, lease land 0 acres, total £0 2s 6d Simon Whaley, 6 acres at 1s 6d an acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 17½ acres, lease land 5¼ acres, total £13 0s 9½d William Young, ground rent £0 5s 0d, free land 79½ acres, lease land 25 acres, total £10 9s 6d Stephen Young, ground rent £0 0s 0d, free land 20 acres, lease land 8½ acres, total £3 2s 6d Total, free land 2,205 acres, lease land 2,983 acres, total £593 1s 10d Henry Bazett, for renewing 2 lives in a lease for 5 acres at 1s 6d an acre, as agreed in consultation on 21 September 1767, £0 7s 6d Grand total, £593 9s 4d The rent roll was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The grand total of £593 9s 4d matched the sum stated at the head of the roll, the Company's whole yearly income from the island's land. Against the garrison and civil establishment, which cost more than £3,000 0s 0d a quarter, it was a small sum. The Company did not hold St Helena for its rents. It held the island as a port of call for its ships, and its low rents kept settlers on the land to grow the food those ships and the garrison needed. Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant in the first company and master-at-arms, held 6 acres at a peppercorn a year, a purely nominal rent. A peppercorn rent kept the Company's ownership on record while granting the land almost free, a mark of favour to a serving officer. Members of the Council held substantial estates. Purling held more than 300 acres and Wrangham 160, so the men who set the island's rents were themselves among its largest tenants. Henry Bazett's 7s 6d was the fine for inserting the two Doveton sons as new nominees in his lease, agreed on 21 September 1767. The roll thus included the fines for renewing leases as well as the annual rents, so that every sum due from the land was collected and accounted for on the same day.

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185	176	5th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th day of October 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 1 Oct. 1767 Yesterday died George Nelson Centinel We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Mitchell viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca and Council of St. Helena - Gentlemen Having in the two last paragraphs of my last Quarterly Letter particularized the manner in which I proposed to employ the Honble Company's Workmen during the ensuing three Months as well as the progress which I flattered myself with being able to make, during that Period, towards Compleating the new defences of Sandy Bay I must therefore beg leave to refer you to that part of my Letter, by comparing which with the subsequent Detail of what has been done you will be able to judge how far my Expectations have been answered. The Revetment of the flanking Line in the Construction of which some progress had been made during the former quarter, has been compleated during the last, as has also the Parapet of this Line with the Embrazures for the three six pounders to be mounted on it, agreeable to the Plan. - The retaining Wall of the Rampart of this Line has likewise been Compleated. - The Rampart of the Principal Line, which was unfinished at the End of last Quarter, as well as the Parapet and Banquette	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 5 October 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 1 October 1767. George Nelson, a sentinel, had died on Sunday 4 October. The Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. In the last two paragraphs of his previous quarterly letter he had set out how he proposed to employ the Company's workmen over the following three months, and how much progress he hoped to make towards completing the new defences at Sandy Bay. He asked the Council to compare that letter with the account that followed, so that it could judge how far his expectations had been met. The revetment of the flanking line, on which some progress had been made in the previous quarter, was now finished. So was the parapet of that line, with embrasures for the three 6-pounder guns to be mounted on it, as the plan required. The retaining wall of the rampart of the flanking line was also complete. The rampart of the main line, unfinished at the end of the last quarter, together with its parapet and banquette, [...] **Interpretations** Mitchell held himself to account against his own forecast. In his letter of 6 July 1767 he had promised to finish the revetment of the flanking line, build the wall behind it to support the rampart and complete the rampart, parapet and banquette of the main line. Inviting the Council to set the two letters side by side showed confidence that he had kept his word, and it gave the directors in London a clear measure of progress on a costly work they had ordered to take priority. An embrasure was an opening cut through a parapet for a gun to fire through, while the solid wall on either side protected the gunners. The flanking line was built for three 6-pounders, the guns Mitchell had asked England to send in May for the saluting curtain and its flanks. Placed at an angle to the main line, they could sweep the face of the rampart with fire against any enemy trying to scale it. The Council had praised this realignment in July as an improvement on the first plan that cost nothing extra. George Nelson was one of the sentinels of the third company recorded on the pay list as George Nilson. His death added to the steady losses of the garrison through the year.
186	177	1767 of this Line which were not then begun upon, have been compleated during this Quarter. - The Gulley on the Right hand side of the Bay has been walled up. & the small Gutt of Fishing Cove on the same Flank of the Bay is now walling up on and will be compleated in a few days. - These were the Works proposed to be Executed in my last Quarterly Letter, besides which I have been able nearly to compleat the Rampart of the Flanking Line, and have (chiefly in the Course of this Quarter) prepared at the Quarry a Quantity of Cut Stones sufficient to form the Embrazures of the new Battery, to be constructed at Munden's Point. -	Mitchell's letter continued. The rampart, parapet and banquette of the main line, not begun at the end of the last quarter, had now been completed. The gully on the right-hand side of the bay had been walled up, and work had begun on walling up the small gut at Fishing Cove on the same flank, which would be finished in a few days. These were the works planned in his last quarterly letter. Beyond them, he had nearly completed the rampart of the flanking line. During the quarter he had also prepared at the quarry enough cut stone to form the embrasures of the new battery to be built at Munden's Point. His last quarterly letter had proposed moving guns from Munden's Point to Sandy Bay. The Governor and Council had wished the artillery company to finish its practice at Longwood with the guns and mortars before being put to any other task,

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		With Regard to the Proposal contained in the concluding Paragraph of my last Quarterly Letter, as the Governor and Council expressed their desire of concluding the Exercise of the Artillery Company in the Long Wood in the Use of Guns and Mortars prior to their being Employed on any other Service, the transporting the Guns from Mundens Point to Sandy Bay has therefore been postponed and will take place during the ensuing Quarter. - What remains to be done in Order to compleat the defences of Sandy Bay consists in compleating the Rampart of the Flanking Line. In rendering practicable communication over the intervening Rock from the Principal to the Flanking Line. - In securing the Foot of the Glacis from the Encroachments of the Surf In laying the Platforms for the three Guns on the Flanking Line, and in some lesser Finishings not necessary to enumerate. - These together with the transportation of the Stone for Mundens Point from the Quarry to the Beach which will be a Work of Considerable Labour, will employ the Honble Compy's Workmen during the greatest part of the ensuing Quarter after which they are to be employed as the Governor and Council shall be pleased to direct - In the mean time I am preparing Plans which I shall be able to lay before the board in a few Weeks together with my opinion in regard to the further prosecution of the Company's Orders relative to the Fortifications - I have the Honour to be St. Helena Gentlemen 5th Octr. 1767 - Your most Obedt. and most humble Servt. Signed R. Mitchell	so the move had been postponed and would take place in the coming quarter. To complete the Sandy Bay defences, the following work remained. The rampart of the flanking line had to be finished, and a practicable passage made over the rock between the main and flanking lines. The foot of the glacis had to be secured against the encroachment of the sea. Platforms had to be laid for the three guns on the flanking line, together with some lesser finishing work not worth listing. These tasks, with the carriage of stone for Munden's Point from the quarry to the beach, which would be heavy labour, would occupy the Company's workmen for most of the coming quarter. After that they would be employed as the Governor and Council directed. In the meantime Mitchell was preparing plans, which he would lay before the Council within a few weeks, together with his opinion on carrying out the Company's further orders for the fortifications. He signed the letter at St Helena on 5 October 1767. **Interpretations** Mitchell's report showed the Sandy Bay works almost finished on the timetable the Council had hoped for, when it looked in July to see them completed before Christmas. Only the flanking rampart, the passage over the rock, the defence of the glacis against the sea and the gun platforms remained. The glacis, a slope of earth facing the beach, was exposed to the surf, and without a protecting wall at its foot the waves would carry it away. Building on an open beach meant fighting the sea as well as preparing for an enemy. Mitchell carried out the Council's decision of July on the guns from Munden's Point, which it had postponed so that the gunners could finish their training first. His readiness to defer to that order, while still pressing ahead with the stone for the new battery there, showed the cooperation that marked his dealings with the Council after the dispute over the Castle. Once Sandy Bay was done, the workmen would pass to the Council's direction, and Mitchell's promised plans would decide the next stage of the island's defences.
187	178	5th October In consequence of having considered Captain Mitchells Letter we have the satisfaction of finding all the essential parts of Sandy Bay Fortification now completed, that what remains to be done as pr. the above Letter is nothing more than some trifling things to perfect the whole. And we must do Captain Mitchell the Justice to say that he has carried on that Fortification with as much Expedition as the nature of that heavy Work could admit of but shall be more particular in our sentiments thereon when we send the Honorable Company a Plan of that Work as now constructed which we hope to do by the next opportunity. - Solomon St. Maurice Lieutenant and John Shirtley Serjeant this day presented the following Petitions viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Solomon St. Maurice Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired containing six Acres of Land lying in the West division of this Island, humbly	The Council considered Captain Mitchell's letter and was pleased to find all the essential parts of the Sandy Bay fortification now complete. What remained, according to the letter, was no more than a few minor items to finish the whole. In fairness to Captain Mitchell, the Council recorded that he had carried on the fortification as quickly as the nature of such heavy work allowed. It would give its views in more detail when it sent the Company a plan of the work as built, which it hoped to do by the next opportunity. Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice and Sergeant John Shirley then presented petitions. Solomon St Maurice petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 5 October 1767. His lease of 6 acres in the western division of the island had expired. He asked them to renew it, and also to allow him to have some bills of sale registered. The Council granted his request on condition that he paid 1s 0d an acre, in place of the peppercorn a year charged under the old lease. **Interpretations** The Council's praise of Mitchell carried weight beyond the island. The directors in London had questioned the engineer's work on the Castle and the diversion of labour from the defences, using his own quarterly letters as evidence. Recording that he had pressed the fortifications as fast as possible gave the directors the Council's judgement that their priority had been met. The promise of a plan of the finished

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		requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a renewal of the same And likewise begs that you'll give him leave to have some Bills of Sales registered - And your Petitioner will ever pray St. Helena 5th Octr. 1767 Signed Solomon St. Maurice Granted in Consideration of paying 1/ Pr. Acre instead of a Pepper Corn Pr. Annum the terms of the old Lease. -	works would let them see for themselves what their money had bought. St Maurice's renewal ended his favoured terms. The rent roll of 1 October 1767 showed him holding the 6 acres at a peppercorn a year, a nominal rent the Company had granted as a mark of favour. On renewal the Council could have continued that favour, but chose instead to charge 1s 0d an acre, 6s 0d a year, the lowest rate on the roll. The Council had just totalled the island's rents and found them small, and a peppercorn tenure set a precedent other officers might seek. Charging even a modest rent placed St Maurice on the same footing as other tenants, while keeping the cost light for a serving officer.
188	179	1767 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor the Island St. Helena &c. in Council The humble Petition of John Shirtley Sheweth That Your Petitioner being in great want of a spot of Ground ten feet in front and eight in Depth, which Seperates his House from the Parish House humbly requests your Worship will be pleased to Let the same to him by Lease, Your Petitioner knowing the said spot of ground to be perfectly useless to the Honorable Company, hopes that your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council will Indulge with a grant thereof. And he will as in Duty bound ever pray &ca. - Ordered the said ground to be Viewed - We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to the Executors of the last Will and Testament of Thomas Greentree decd. for a piece of Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley, containing twelve Acres, and an half, at five Shillings pr. Acre. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	John Shirley petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He badly needed a small piece of ground, 10 feet wide at the front and 8 feet deep, which lay between his house and the parish house. He asked the Governor to let it to him on lease. He knew the ground to be of no use to the Company, and hoped the Governor and Council would allow him to have it. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. That day the Council executed the renewal of a lease to the executors of the late Thomas Greentree for a piece of land in Sandy Bay Valley of 12½ acres, at a rent of 5s 0d an acre. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Even a strip of ground 10 feet by 8 feet needed the Council's approval, because every foot of land on the island belonged to the Company. Shirley, a sergeant who paid 13s 0d ground rent on the roll of 1 October, evidently wanted to extend or enclose his house. The Council did not take his word that the plot was useless to the Company. It ordered an inspection first, since the ground lay beside the parish house, a public building, and might be needed for access or future use. The same caution guided the Council's handling of every grant of land, however small. The Greentree renewal completed the business the executors began on 28 September 1767, when the Council granted their petition in principle. At 5s 0d an acre the 12½ acres cost £3 2s 6d a year, a higher rate than most lease land on the roll. Land in Sandy Bay Valley lay close to the new fortifications and was perhaps better watered than the drier east of the island, which would explain the higher rent.
189	180	12th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of October 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 5th Oct. 1767 The piece of ground Petitioned for in last Consultation by John Shirtley having been viewed and found to interfere with the Work House the said ground is therefore not granted to the Petitioner - renewal of the We this day Executed the three following Leases viz. One to Lieutenant Solomon St. Maurice for two pieces of Land	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 12 October 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 5 October 1767. The piece of ground John Shirley had asked for at the last consultation had been inspected and found to interfere with the workhouse. The Council therefore refused his petition. That day the Council executed the renewal of three leases. To Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice, 2 pieces of land in the western division of the island, 6 acres in all, at 1s 0d an acre

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		containing in the whole six Acres lying in the West Division of this Island at 1/ Pr. Acre. One to Mrs. Mary Doveton for a piece of Cabbage tree Land lying in the East division of this Island contain'g one Acre at 5/ Pr. Acre And one to Robert Ballard for a piece of Ground lying in James's Valley, containing fourteen feet in width or breadth, & seventy four feet in length or depth at 5/ Pr. Annum. - The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of September last were this day brought in which were Examined and approved, and are as follow viz. -	To Mary Doveton, a piece of cabbage-tree land in the eastern division of the island, 1 acre, at 5s 0d an acre To Robert Ballard, a piece of ground in James's Valley, 14 feet wide and 74 feet deep, at 5s 0d a year The plantation account for the quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for September 1767 were presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The inspection settled Shirley's petition against him. The plot lay between his house and a public building, and the Council found that granting it would hamper the use of the workhouse, the parish building where the island's poor were housed and set to work. A sergeant's convenience did not outweigh the needs of a public institution, and the Council refused the ground despite Shirley's assurance that the Company had no use for it. Inspecting before deciding allowed it to refuse on the facts, not on suspicion. Mary Doveton's lease was for cabbage-tree land, ground bearing the island's native cabbage trees, small trees whose leaves grew in a cluster at the top of the trunk. Much of the original woodland had gone, and the Company valued what remained for timber, fuel and as a check on erosion. A lease of such land at 5s 0d an acre, a high rate, suggests the trees themselves had value, perhaps as firewood in a place where fuel was scarce. Mary Doveton was the widow whose sons Jonathan and John Doveton had just been named as nominees in Henry Bazett's lease, so the family held land in its own right as well as giving its lives to other men's leases.
190	181	12th October Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kidds, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses J. Asses, Asses S. Asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining 1 July: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 80, Neat Cattle Calves 58, Neat Cattle Yearlings 49, Neat Cattle Heifers 22, Neat Cattle Steers 53, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 282, Sheep Ewes 335, Sheep Wethers 96, Sheep Lambs 132, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 573, Goats Ewes 118, Goats Wethers 74, Goats Kidds 54, Goats Rams 4, Goats Total 250, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 70, Poultry Ducks 8, Poultry Turkeys 41, Poultry Geese 8 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 27, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 27, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 177, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 177, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kidds 83, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 83, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 49, Poultry Ducks 10, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 1 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 80, Neat Cattle Calves 85, Neat Cattle Yearlings 49, Neat Cattle Heifers 22, Neat Cattle Steers 53, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 309, Sheep Ewes 335, Sheep	The account of the Company's stock of cattle and other animals from 1 July to 30 September 1767 followed. Remaining on 1 July, cattle: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 58 calves, 49 yearlings, 22 heifers, 53 steers, 15 oxen, total 282 Remaining on 1 July, sheep: 335 ewes, 96 wethers, 132 lambs, 10 rams, total 573 Remaining on 1 July, goats: 118 she-goats, 74 wethers, 54 kids, 4 rams, total 250 Remaining on 1 July, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 boars, total 0 Remaining on 1 July, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Remaining on 1 July, asses: 1 he-ass, 1 she-ass, total 2 Remaining on 1 July, poultry: 70 fowls, 8 ducks, 41 turkeys, 8 geese Increase, cattle: 27 calves, total 27 Increase, sheep: 177 lambs, total 177 Increase, goats: 83 kids, total 83 Increase, poultry: 49 fowls, 10 ducks, 14 turkeys, 1 goose Total, cattle: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 85 calves, 49 yearlings, 22 heifers, 53 steers, 15 oxen, total 309 Total, sheep: 335 ewes, 96 wethers, 309 lambs, 10 rams, total 750 Total, goats: 118 she-goats, 74 wethers, 137 kids, 4 rams, total 333 Total, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Total, asses: 1 he-ass, 1 she-ass, total 2 Total, poultry: 119 fowls, 18 ducks, 55 turkeys, 9 geese Killed, cattle: 7 steers, total 7 Killed, sheep: 13 ewes, 21 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, total 38 Killed, goats: 1 she-goat, 21 wethers, 17 kids, 1 ram, total 40 Sent aboard the *Mercury*: cattle, 2 steers, total 2; sheep, 2 ewes and 3 wethers, total 5; poultry, 30 fowls and 17 turkeys. Hogs bought: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 1 boar, total 3

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		Wethers 96, Sheep Lambs 309, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 750, Goats Ewes 118, Goats Wethers 74, Goats Kidds 137, Goats Rams 4, Goats Total 333, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 119, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 55, Poultry Geese 9 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 7, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 7, Sheep Ewes 13, Sheep Wethers 21, Sheep Lambs 4, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 38, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Wethers 21, Goats Kidds 17, Goats Rams 1, Goats Total 40, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Sent on board the Snow Mercury: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Wethers 3, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 5, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kidds 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 17, Poultry Geese 0 Hogs Bought: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kidds 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 2, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 4, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 7, Sheep Ewes 7, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 7, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 14, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kidds 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining 30: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 79, Neat Cattle Calves 83, Neat Cattle Yearlings 49, Neat Cattle Heifers 22, Neat Cattle Steers 40, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 293, Sheep Ewes 313, Sheep Wethers 72, Sheep Lambs 298, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 693, Goats Ewes 117, Goats Wethers 53, Goats Kidds 120, Goats Rams 3, Goats Total 293, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 23, Poultry Ducks 11, Poultry Turkeys 13, Poultry Geese 7 Changed the Species: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 93, Neat Cattle Calves 63, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 13, Neat Cattle Steers 64, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 293, Sheep Ewes 379, Sheep Wethers 150, Sheep Lambs 150, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 693, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Wethers 64, Goats Kidds 79, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 293, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0,	Died, cattle: 1 cow, 2 calves, 4 steers, total 7 Died, sheep: 7 ewes, 7 lambs, total 14 Died, asses: 1 she-ass, total 1 Remaining on 30 September, cattle: 5 bulls, 79 cows, 83 calves, 49 yearlings, 22 heifers, 40 steers, 15 oxen, total 293 Remaining on 30 September, sheep: 313 ewes, 72 wethers, 298 lambs, 10 rams, total 693 Remaining on 30 September, goats: 117 she-goats, 53 wethers, 120 kids, 3 rams, total 293 Remaining on 30 September, hogs: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 1 boar, total 3 Remaining on 30 September, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Remaining on 30 September, asses: 1 he-ass, 0 she-asses, total 1 Remaining on 30 September, poultry: 23 fowls, 11 ducks, 18 turkeys, 7 geese Regraded by age, cattle: 5 bulls, 93 cows, 68 calves, 24 yearlings, 18 heifers, 64 steers, 19 oxen, total 293 Regraded by age, sheep: 379 ewes, 150 wethers, 150 lambs, 14 rams, total 693 Regraded by age, goats: 142 she-goats, 64 wethers, 79 kids, 8 rams, total 293 Regraded by age, hogs: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 1 boar, total 3 Regraded by age, horses: 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 Regraded by age, asses: 1 he-ass, 0 she-asses, total 1 Regraded by age, poultry: 23 fowls, 11 ducks, 18 turkeys, 7 geese Slaves born, boy named Jemmy Slaves born, girl named Ruth Slaves born, boy named Damon Slaves died, man named Chub Slaves died, man named Frank Slaves died, man named Ascott Slaves died, man named Hyde Slaves died, boy named James Chatham Slaves died, boy named Campo Yams used for the slaves, 38,730 Yams used for the stock, 9,840 The account was issued subject to errors and signed by Daniel Corneille. **Interpretations** The quarter's figures moved sharply against those of April to June. Lambs born rose from 48 to 177, calves from 26 to 27 and kids from 31 to 83. July to September was the end of the southern winter and the start of spring on St Helena, when the upland pastures grew fresh and the flocks dropped most of their young. The yams issued to the slaves fell from 71,065 to 38,730. The yam crop was dug largely in the earlier months, and in the late winter the store ran low, so the slaves were evidently fed more on rice and salt meat from Bengal, Madras and Bombay, which arrived in quantity through the quarter. Fewer steers were killed for the table, 7 against 19, because few ships called and the Governor entertained fewer guests. The line headed "changed the species" regraded the stock by age at the quarter's end. Calves became yearlings, yearlings became heifers or steers, and lambs and kids were counted as grown ewes, wethers and she-goats. The totals did not change, but the regrading showed the herds and flocks maturing, and it kept the account true to what the animals were. The account set the Company's slaves among its livestock, recording their births and deaths in the same table as the cattle and sheep. Six slaves died in the quarter and three were born, so the Company's labour force was shrinking, as the deaths of March and Corner had already shown in the spring. Two of the dead were boys. Without fresh purchases, the

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		Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 23, Poultry Ducks 11, Poultry Turkeys 13, Poultry Geese 7 Slaves Born 1 Boy Named Jemmy 1 Girl Do. Ruth 1 Boy Do. Damon Deceased Slaves 1 Man Named Chub 1 Do. Do. Frank 1 Do. Do. Scott 1 Do. Do. Hyde 1 Boy Do. James Chatham 1 Do. Do. Campor Yams Expended for the Slaves 38730 Do. for the Stock 9840 E. Excepted Dan Corneille	slave population could not sustain itself, and the Company had to buy more slaves to keep its plantations working.
191	182	12th October Artillery Stores Expended in September 1767 - Guns fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 7th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Neptune: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 10th Guns fired to Salute Major Kirkpatrick going on board: Guns fired 13, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 11th Departed the Devonshire: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 4, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 10, Powder Expended oz 8 13th An Alarm for a Ship that passed by: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 15th Departed the Neptune: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Powder Expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 31, Powder Expended oz 1 Total: Guns fired 52, 4 Pr 8, 3 Pr 5, 2 Pr 35, 1 Pr 4, Powder Expended lb 88, Powder Expended oz 13 Handspikes for Sundry Services 9 Cartridge Paper for Do. 11 2 Qrs. Tallow for Do. 7 lb Spirits of Wine ½ Pint Cotton 7 oz Salt Petre 10 oz to make quick Match &ca Lead Balls to Shoot Goats at different Times 4 . 8 lb oz Rammer Heads Expended in the L. Wood for 6 Pr. 1 Spunge Staff for 13 Inch Mortar 1 Fuzes for Do. Expended at Practice 6 Do. for 8 Do. Howitzer Do. Do. 2 Do. for Do. Split in driving 3 Trunk Nails to Coat Spunges 150 Sheep Skins for Do. 2 Wooden Mallet Expended driving Rockets 1 Shell for a four Powder Expended	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in September 1767 recorded the guns fired, the 4-pounder, 3-pounder, 2-pounder and 1-pounder guns used, and the powder used in pounds and ounces. 7 September, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 7 September, the *Neptune* arrived, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz 10 September, salute to Major Kirkpatrick going aboard, 13 guns fired, 13 two-pounders, powder used 9 lb 12 oz 11 September, the *Devonshire* departed, 9 guns fired, 4 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 4 two-pounders, powder used 10 lb 8 oz 13 September, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, powder used 12 lb 0 oz 15 September, the *Neptune* departed, 9 guns fired, 9 two-pounders, powder used 6 lb 12 oz Powder used on other services, 31 lb 1 oz Total, 52 guns fired, 8 four-pounders, 5 three-pounders, 35 two-pounders, 4 one-pounders, powder used 88 lb 13 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Handspikes for various services, 9 Cartridge paper for various services, 11 quires Tallow for various services, 7 lb Spirits of wine to make quick match, ½ pint Cotton to make quick match, 7 oz Saltpetre to make quick match, 10 oz Lead balls to shoot goats at various times, 4 lb 3 oz Rammer heads used at Longwood for a 6-pounder, 1 Sponge staff for a 13-inch mortar, 1 Fuses for a 13-inch mortar used at practice, 6 Fuses for an 8-inch howitzer used at practice, 2 Fuses for an 8-inch howitzer split in driving, 3 Trunk nails to cover sponges, 150 Sheepskins to cover sponges, 2 Wooden mallet used in driving rockets, 1 Shells for fuses, powder used, 4 [...] The account was signed by Mitchell. **Interpretations** The salute of 13 guns marked Major Kirkpatrick's departure, probably aboard the *Devonshire*, which sailed the next day. He had arrived as a passenger on the *Pigot* in August and stayed on the island for several weeks. Thirteen guns ranked him below the Governor of Madras, who received 19 and 23, but well above a commander's courtesy of nine. A field officer of the Company's armies in India was entitled to such honours, and his evident relationship to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of the Council would explain a longer stay ashore.

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		4 Signed R. Mitchell	The powder used on other services fell to 31 lb from more than 400 lb in August, because the season of artillery practice at Longwood was ending and the gunners were preparing to move the guns from Munden's Point to Sandy Bay. Quick match was made by soaking cotton thread in a paste of saltpetre and spirits of wine, then drying it. It burned rapidly and was used to fire signal rockets and to set off a gun the instant it was touched, unlike slow match, which smouldered for hours. The wooden mallet broken in driving rockets showed that the laboratory was also making the rockets used to signal at night between the island's lookout posts. An 8-inch howitzer, a short gun firing shells at a high angle, appeared in the account for the first time that season, so the garrison practised with every class of its heavier ordnance.
192	183	1767 Sundries Expended at the Honble Company's Table in September 1767 viz. 7 Bottles Port Wine 10 6 20 Do. Lisbon 1 10 10 Do. Mountain 15 20 Galls. Arrack 5 9 174 lb Beef 5 5 212 lb Mutton 3 12 6 1 Lamb 4 8 4 4 Kidds 10 3 Turkeys 1 14 Fowles 15 2 Ducks 1 1 31 Butter 3 120 lb Candy 1 11 260 lb Flour 2 10 20 Bottles Beer 1 13 4 £ 25 10 5 Lieut. St. Maurice this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipfull John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of Solomon St. Maurice Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Land lying between two pieces of your Petitioners, and as the said Land will be very Convenient to your Petitioner with respect to lessening his Fence, requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same. Your Petitioner likewise begs you will be pleased to Rent him another piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners Land which will be convenient in keeping the Cattle from the Common trespassing upon him. - And your Petitioner will ever pray - 12th October 1767 Signed Solm. St. Maurice	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in September 1767. 7 bottles of port wine, £0 10s 6d 20 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 10s 0d 10 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 15s 0d 20 gallons of arrack, £0 5s 9d 174 lb of beef, £5 5s 0d 212 lb of mutton, £3 12s 6d 1 lamb, £4 8s 4d 4 kids, £0 10s 0d 3 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 14 fowls, £0 15s 0d 2 ducks, £1 1s 0d 31 lb of butter, £0 3s 0d 120 lb of candles, £1 11s 0d 260 lb of flour, £2 10s 0d 20 bottles of beer, £1 13s 4d Total, £25 10s 5d Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 12 October 1767. A piece of the Company's waste land lay between two pieces of his own. It would be very convenient to him, since it would shorten his fence, and he asked the Governor and Council to grant it to him. He also asked to rent another piece of the Company's waste land next to his own, which would help keep cattle from the common from straying onto his ground. The Council ordered [...] **Interpretations** The figures in the steward's account do not match their items at sight. A single lamb at £4 8s 4d and 20 gallons of arrack at 5s 9d cannot be right, when the account for August priced 31 gallons of arrack at £4 10s 0d and the usual lamb at 10s 0d. The clerk evidently entered some sums against the wrong lines, though the total of £25 10s 5d was in keeping with the other months. St Maurice had renewed his 6 acres in the western division only a week earlier, at 1s 0d an acre in place of a peppercorn. He now sought to round off his holding. Waste land was ground the Company had not let, often rough pasture where the cattle of the common, the shared grazing used by the islanders' herds, wandered freely. A strip between two of his fields forced him to fence each separately, and taking it in would save both fencing and land. His second request aimed to stop other people's cattle breaking into his fields. On an island overrun by goats and grazed by free-ranging cattle, fences were costly and vital, and the fencer William Brown's trade existed for that reason.
193	184	12th October	The Council ordered the ground to be inspected.

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		Ordered the said Grounds to be viewed John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of October 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 12th October 1767 The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections & the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 day of July & ending the 30th day of September 1767, which were examined, and approved and are as follow viz. -	The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 19 October 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 12 October 1767. The storekeeper presented his account of collections, and the paymaster his accounts, for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1767, which were examined and approved. **Interpretations** The Council treated St Maurice's request as it had treated John Shirley's, ordering an inspection before deciding. Shirley's petition had been refused once the inspection showed the ground would interfere with the workhouse. The same procedure applied to a lieutenant and councillor's tenant as to a sergeant. Waste land might look idle, but it could carry a path, a watercourse or common grazing that other islanders relied on, and only a view of the ground could show whether a grant would harm anyone else. The quarterly accounts now presented covered the quiet months of the southern winter, from July to September, when few ships called. They would show far lower sales and payments than the busy quarter from April to June, whose accounts filled so many pages in July. The quarter also included the stocktaking by Corneille and Kirkpatrick in September, so the storekeeper's figures could be set against an independent count of what remained in the warehouses.
194	185	19th October Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Ware Houses from 1 of July to 30th September 1767 viz. Sold to the Company's Servants at 10 Pr. Cent Sugar & Candy viz. 6350 lb Sugar 92 15 2 1612 Candy 36 13 10 129 14 Tea viz. 347 Bohea 16 19 9½ 287 Congo 18 10 8½ 114 Singlo 7 16 9 43 7 3 Flour viz. 4447 Flour 41 13 10 135 . 1 . 2 Do. Baked cwt. qrs. lb 207 10 249 3 10 Rice & Paddy viz. 29 . 1 . 6 Rice cwt. qrs. lb 13 13 6 42 . 2 . 19 Paddy 9 19 3 23 17 9 Pepper 53 lb 1 9 7 Salt 20¼ Bushels	The storekeeper's account of collections listed the goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouses between 1 July and 30 September 1767. It opened with goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent. 6,350 lb of sugar, £92 15s 2d 1,612 lb of sugar candy, £36 13s 10d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £129 9s 0d 347 lb of Bohea tea, £16 19s 9½d 287 lb of Congou tea, £18 10s 8½d 114 lb of Singlo tea, £7 16s 9d Total for tea, £43 7s 3d 3,447 lb of flour, £41 12s 10d 135 cwt 1 qr 2 lb of flour, [...], £207 10s 0d Total for flour, £249 3s 10d 29 cwt 1 qr 6 lb of rice, £13 13s 6d 52 cwt 2 qr 17 lb of paddy, £9 19s 3d Total for rice and paddy, £23 17s 9d 53 lb of pepper, £1 9s 7d 20¼ bushels of salt, £6 2s 0d 652½ lb of soap, £26 12s 4d 2 small oars, £0 3s 10d 24 blankets, £7 13s 4d 7 men's hats, £6 14s 9d 7 boys' hats, £2 6s 4d Total for hats, £9 1s 1d Carried forward, £497 10s 0d **Interpretations** The account introduced a new class of sale. Goods sold to the Company's own servants carried an advance of 10 per cent on cost, between the 2½ per cent charged to planters and the 40 per cent charged to everyone else in the previous quarter. The officials, officers and soldiers who served the

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		6 2 Sope 672½ 26 12 4 Oars 2 Small 3 10 Blankets 24 7 13 4 Hats viz. 7 Mens Hats 6 14 9 7 Boys Do. 2 6 4 9 1 1 Carried Over£ 497 10	Company received their supplies on favourable terms as part of their reward for service, a benefit that made their modest salaries go further. Set against the quarter from April to June, the figures moved sharply. Sugar sold rose from 2,792 lb to 6,350 lb, and sugar candy from 76 lb to 1,612 lb. Tea rose from 381 lb to 748 lb. The *Duke of Albany*, *Nottingham*, *Anson*, *Pigot* and *Devonshire* had all landed sugar, rice and other goods from India in the late southern winter, and the storekeeper had stock to sell where earlier he had little. Flour, by contrast, fell from more than £318 0s 0d to under £250 0s 0d, because flour came chiefly from England and the Cape and the storeship had not yet arrived. Soap sold well over twice as fast, perhaps because the stocktaking and the spring cleaning of houses and linen fell in this season. The account thus tracked the arrival of the Indian ships in the island's own shopping.
195	186	19th October Brought over£ 497 10 Shalloon viz. 30½ Yds. Coloured 3 . 6 66½ Do. Scarlet 8 10 10 11 11 4 Long Ells viz. 19⅝ Yds. Blue 3 7 5 5 Do. Scarlet 13 5 4 4 10 Oil viz. 30½ Bottles Florence 4 9 7 1½ Galls. Oil of Turpentine 6 5 4 16 Beef & Pork viz. 1199 lb Beef 119 18 2048 lb Pork 204 16 3223 Bengal Beef 49 15 4 374 9 4 Candles 453½ lb 53 7 6 Canvas viz. 16½ Yds. Osnabrigs 15 7 4¾ Do. Tickenburgs 5 5 1 1 Leather viz. 200½ Sole Leather 9 16 4 3 Calf Skins 3 7 4 13 3 8 Twine viz. 63 Sks. Twine 1 14 2 2¼ Cotton Wick 7 7 2 1 9 Corks viz. 4 Gross Corks 10 1 1⅛ Sheet Do. 1 9 11 10 Carried Over£ 962 17 3	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £497 10s 0d 30½ yards of coloured shalloon, £3 0s 6d 66½ yards of scarlet shalloon, £8 10s 10d Total for shalloon, £11 11s 4d 39⅝ yards of blue long ells, £3 11s 5d 5 yards of scarlet long ells, £0 13s 5d Total for long ells, £4 4s 10d 30½ bottles of Florence oil, £4 9s 7d 1½ gallons of oil of turpentine, £0 6s 5d Total for oil, £4 16s 0d 1,199 pieces of beef, £119 18s 0d 2,048 pieces of pork, £204 16s 0d 322 pieces of Bengal beef, £49 15s 4d Total for beef and pork, £374 9s 4d 453½ lb of candles, £53 7s 6d 16½ yards of osnaburg canvas, £0 15s 7d 4½ yards of tickenburg canvas, £0 5s 5d Total for canvas, £1 1s 0d 200½ lb of sole leather, £9 16s 4d 3 calfskins, £3 7s 4d Total for leather, £13 3s 8d 6½ skeins of twine, £1 14s 2d 2¼ lb of cotton wick, £0 7s 7d Total for twine, £2 1s 9d 4 gross of corks, £0 10s 1d 1½ sheets of cork, £0 1s 9d Total for corks, £0 11s 10d Carried forward, £962 17s 3d **Interpretations** Salt meat made the largest change against the previous quarter. Sales of beef and pork rose from £41 10s 0d between April and June to £374 9s 4d between July and September, nine times as much. The salt provisions from England, Bengal and Madras had reached the island through the winter, and the Company sold a large part to its own servants at a small advance. Bengal beef appeared as a separate item, so the second shipment, carried by the *Nottingham*, evidently arrived sound, unlike the beef from the *Duke of Albany* that the surgeon condemned on 4 July 1767. The Bengal Council's experiment had partly succeeded after all, and its beef reached the island's tables. Candles sold at more than 450 lb, against 285 lb in the spring, as the longer nights of the southern winter called for more light. Tickenburg was a coarse linen named after Tecklenburg in north-west Germany, where it was woven, and used like osnaburg for sacking and rough clothing. Sole leather, sold in quantity, went to the island's shoemakers for mending, since only new shoes came from England ready made.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
196	187	1767 Brought over£ 962 17 3 Earthen Ware viz. 6 Milk Pans 6 3 1 Close Stool 3 8 9 11 Buckram 13½ Yards 14 11 Kersey 5 Yards 7 6 Coffee 36 lb 1 13 Flannel 9 Yds. 12 Starch 98¾ lb 2 5 3 Chelloes 32½ Ps. 9 6 2 Hooks & Lines viz. 275 No. 2 165 . 3 65 . 4 9 Hambro ½ Fret Sash 8 Log Lines 9 17 11 75 No. 1 175 . 6 100 . 7 375 . 9 300 . 11 225 . 13 325 . 14 1250 . 16 43 Large Hooks 3 5 1 13 3 Pitch & Tar viz. 23½ Pitch 2 5 1½ Galls. Tar 11 11½ Rozin 1 9 1 2 6 Carried Over£ 992 11 6	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £962 17s 3d 6 earthenware milk pans, £0 6s 3d 1 earthenware close-stool, £0 3s 8d Total for earthenware, £0 9s 11d 13½ yards of buckram, £0 14s 11d 5 yards of kersey, £0 7s 6d 36 lb of coffee, £1 13s 0d 9 yards of flannel, £0 12s 0d 98¾ lb of starch, £2 5s 3d 32½ pieces of chelloes, £9 6s 2d 275 fishing lines, number 2 165 fishing lines, number 3 65 fishing lines, number 4 9 Hamburg lines ½ [...] line 8 log lines Total for lines, £9 17s 11d 75 fishing hooks, number 1 175 fishing hooks, number 6 100 fishing hooks, number 7 375 fishing hooks, number 9 300 fishing hooks, number 11 225 fishing hooks, number 13 325 fishing hooks, number 14 1,250 fishing hooks, number 16 43 large fishing hooks Total for hooks, £3 5s 1d Total for hooks and lines, £13 3s 0d 23½ lb of pitch, £0 2s 5d 1½ gallons of tar, £0 0s 11d 11½ lb of rosin, £0 1s 9d Total for pitch and tar, £1 2s 6d Carried forward, £992 11s 6d **Interpretations** The Company's servants bought fishing tackle on a far larger scale than in the spring, more than 500 lines and 2,800 hooks in the quarter. The southern winter brought fewer ships and less fresh meat from the Company's farms, whose steers were killed sparingly to save the herds for breeding. Fishing filled the gap, and every soldier and household with a line could feed itself from the rich waters around the island. The large number of small hooks, numbers 14 and 16, served the inshore fish caught from the rocks, the fishing that cost Jeremiah Conner his life in September. Log lines were not fishing lines but the knotted lines used with a half-minute glass to measure a ship's speed through the water. They were sold to the Company's servants who manned its boats or went to sea in its ships, such as the islanders who served as officers on the *Neptune*. Kersey was a coarse woollen cloth, and flannel a soft woollen used for underclothing and blankets in the cool, damp weather of the island's uplands.
197	188	19th October Brought over£ 992 11 6 Turners Ware viz. 9 Labourers Baskets 11 3 2 Ox bows 3 9 Shoe Brushes 8 23 Paint Do. 12 11 9 Plaisterers Do. 10 10 3 Hair Brooms 7 2 3 Scrub. Brushes 7 9 1 China Plate Basket	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £992 11s 6d 9 labourers' baskets, £0 11s 3d 2 ox bows, £0 3s 0d 9 shoe brushes, £0 8s 0d 23 paint brushes, £0 12s 11d 9 plasterers' brushes, £0 10s 10d 3 hair brooms, £0 7s 2d 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 7s 9d 1 porcelain plate basket, £0 4s 1d 1 plate basket lined with tin, £0 6s 0d 4 wooden bowls, £0 5s 1d 3 punch ladles, £0 2s 0d 1 clothes brush, £0 1s 3d Total for turners' ware, £3 19s 4d 55 double deals, £10 6s 3d 53 single deals, £7 1s 4½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 1 1 Do. Do. Lined wt. Tin 6 4 Wood Bowls 5 1 3 Punch Ladles 2 1 Cloth Brush 1 3 3 19 4 Deals viz. 55 double Deals 10 6 3 53 Single Do. 7 1 4½ 18½ Cuffers 3 3 7 2 Planks 19 6 2 Wainscott Boards 12 4½ ½ Ft. Oak Plank 3 4 1 Elm Board 4 3 22 16 1 Hosiers Ware viz. 19 Pr. Mens Ordinary Thread Stockgs. 12 6 10 4 Pr. Do. Fine Do. Do. 1 6 5 20 Pr. Do. English Cotton Do. 7 9 2 5 Pr. Do. Wove Do. 19 9½ 3 Pr. Womens Do. 9½ Hosiers Ware Carried Over£ 22 11 4 Carried Over£ 1019 6 11	18½ cuffers, £3 3s 7d 2 baulks, £0 19s 6d 2 wainscot boards, £0 12s 8½d ½ foot of oak plank, £0 3s 4d 1 elm board, £0 4s 3d Total for deals, £22 16s 1d 79 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £12 6s 10d 4 pairs of men's fine thread stockings, £0 16s 5d 20 pairs of English cotton stockings, £7 9s 2d 5 pairs of men's woven stockings, £0 19s 9½d 3 pairs of women's stockings, £0 9s 1½d Hosiery carried forward, £22 1s 4d Carried forward, £1,019 6s 11d **Interpretations** Ox bows were the curved wooden collars that fitted under an ox's neck to hold it in a yoke. On St Helena oxen did the heavy hauling, dragging carts of stone, timber and stores up roads too steep for horses, and the Company kept 15 to 19 oxen on its own farms. Servants who held land bought bows to work their own teams. Timber sold to the Company's servants rose to more than £22 0s 0d, almost all of it the imported deals used to build and repair houses. A baulk was a squared beam of rough timber, used for joists and posts. The servants were evidently building and repairing their homes in the spring, once the winter rains had passed and the storeship's timber could be expected. Men's ordinary stockings, 79 pairs, went chiefly to soldiers, who bought replacements for the pair issued with their annual clothing. Thread stockings wore quickly in hard work on the island's rocky ground.
198	189	1767 Brought over£ 1019 6 11 Hosiers Ware Brought over£ 22 11 4 5 Pr. Scarlet Breeches 3 15 4 Pr. Black Stocking Do. 2 15 6 2 Pr. Boys Stockings 4 1 29 5 11 Shoes viz. 171 Pr. Mens Ordinary Shoes 37 11 3 17 Pr. Do. fine Do. 5 4 1½ 9 Pr. Do. Do. Pumps 2 9 6 2 Pr. Do. Do. Channel Do. 13 4 5 Pr. Boys Shoes 17 6 11 Pr. Womens Calimanco Shoes 2 7 3 3 Pr. Womens Calf Leather Do. 8 9½ 2 Pr. Womens Spanish Do. 8 8 6 Pr. Girls Calimanco Do. 1 . 6 4 Pr. Girls Calf Leather Do. 9 2 57 Pr. Mens Midling Do. 14 1 3 65 12 2 Cuttlery Ware viz. 23 Horn Combs	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,019 6s 11d Hosiery brought forward, £22 11s 4d 5 pairs of scarlet breeches, £3 15s 0d 4 pairs of black stockings, £2 15s 6d 2 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 4s 1d Total for hosiery, £29 5s 11d 171 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £37 11s 3d 17 pairs of men's fine shoes, £5 4s 1½d 9 pairs of men's pumps, £2 9s 6d 2 pairs of men's channel pumps, £0 13s 4d 5 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 17s 6d 11 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £2 7s 3d 3 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £0 8s 9½d 2 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 8s 8d 6 pairs of girls' calamanco shoes, £1 0s 6d 4 pairs of girls' calf leather shoes, £0 9s 2d 57 pairs of men's middling shoes, £14 1s 3d Total for shoes, £65 12s 2d 25 horn combs, £0 4s 8½d 15 buckling combs, £0 4s 8½d 2 ivory combs, £0 2s 1d 2 fine ivory combs, £0 5s 2d 2 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £3 9s 10d 1 dozen assorted knives and forks, £1 6s 8¾d 1 dozen stag-horn-handled knives and forks, £0 10s 11d 1 carving knife, £0 2s 6¼d 35 pairs of leather garters, £1 0s 7½d Total for cutlery, £7 7s 3d Carried forward, £1,121 12s 5d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 8½ 15 Buckling Combs 4 8½ 2 Ivory Do. 2 1 2 Do. Do. fine 5 2 2 doz. Ivory Handle Knives & Forks 3 9 10 1 Do. ditto Do. Do. & Do. 1 6 2½ 1 Do. Stag Horn Do. Do. & Do. 10 11 1 Carving Knife 2 6½ 33 Pr. Leather Garters 1 . 7½ 7 7 3 Carried Over£ 1121 12 3	The Company's servants bought 171 pairs of men's ordinary shoes in the quarter, more than in any single class of goods by number. Most went to soldiers, who wore out shoes quickly on the island's steep, rocky paths and at the Sandy Bay works, and who received only one pair a year with their clothing issue. Shoes were sold at a low advance to servants so that a soldier could replace them from his pay. The hosiery total brought forward from the previous page was £22 11s 4d, not £22 1s 4d as given there, since the sum here carries the larger figure. Black stockings were worn by officers and gentlemen with their best clothes, and scarlet breeches by officers in uniform. Stag-horn handles were a cheaper alternative to ivory for knives and forks, and the range of grades, from horn to fine ivory, again showed the different ranks of the Company's servants buying from the same warehouse.
199	190	19th October Brought over£ 1121 12 3 Long Cloth viz. 9 Ps. L 18 10 6 2 Ps. Q 7 9 2 3 Ps. D 13 10 9 5 Ps. C 13 . 10 13½ Ps. N 39 5 4 2½ Ps. O 7 2 6 22 Ps. K 31 11 3 2 Ps. Y 2 2 6 1 Ps. R 1 16 3 109 13 6 Braziers Ware viz. 1 Pr. Candle Sticks 7 9½ 1 Flatt Do. 3 9½ 2 five Quart Tea Kettles 1 16 10½ 1 Bottling Cock 3 3½ 2 12 2 Shirts viz. 31¼ Yards Brown Holland 3 4 10 23⅞ Yds. Irish Linen 4 14 9 74 Centinels Shirts 13 3 10 11 Robes 8 3 26 11 10 Books viz. 1 Primmer 3½ 1 Bible 3 10 2 Spelling Books 1 7½ 1 Common Prayer 3 2 8 11 Arrack 12 Galls. 3 Pease 3 Bushels Split 1 8 10	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,121 12s 5d 9 pieces of long cloth, grade L, £13 10s 6d 2 pieces of long cloth, grade Q, £7 9s 2d 3 pieces of long cloth, grade D, £13 10s 9d 5 pieces of long cloth, grade G, £13 0s 10d 13½ pieces of long cloth, grade N, £39 5s 4d 2½ pieces of long cloth, grade O, £7 2s 6d 23 pieces of long cloth, grade K, £31 11s 3d 2 pieces of long cloth, grade Y, £2 2s 6d 1 piece of long cloth, grade R, £1 10s 3d Total for long cloth, £109 13s 6d 1 pair of brass candlesticks, £0 7s 9½d 1 flat brass candlestick, £0 3s 9½d 2 brass tea kettles of 5 quarts, £1 16s 10½d 1 brass bottling cock, £0 3s 8½d Total for braziers' ware, £2 12s 2d 34¼ yards of brown holland, £3 4s 10d 23 yards of Irish linen, £4 14s 4d 74 sentinels' shirts, £13 3s 10d 11 [...], £0 8s 3d Total for shirts and linen, £26 11s 10d 1 primer, £0 0s 3½d 1 Bible, £0 3s 10d 2 spelling books, £0 1s 7½d 1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 3s 2d Total for books, £0 8s 11d 12 gallons of arrack, £3 0s 0d 3 bushels of split peas, £1 8s 10d Carried forward, £1,326 7s 6d **Interpretations** The books sold were the tools of an elementary education. A primer taught a child the alphabet and simple prayers, a spelling book carried the learner on to reading, and the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were the texts every child was expected to read in the end. Richard Beale was paid as the island's schoolmaster, and his pupils' families bought their books from the Company's warehouse. The small numbers suggest only a handful of children learning at any one time. Long cloth was sold in many grades, each marked with a letter showing its fineness and price per piece. Grade K, the cheapest in quantity, cost under £1 8s 0d a piece, while grade D cost more than £4 10s 0d. Indian cotton of the coarser grades made the shirts and household linen of soldiers and poorer families, and the finer grades the better clothing of officials and their wives. Grade K was also the cloth issued to the Castle and to the slaves in the spring. Seventy-four sentinels' shirts bought ready made added to the garrison's annual issue, as soldiers replaced the shirts that wore out in heavy labour at the works.

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		Carried Over£ 1326 7 6	
200	191	1767 Brought over£ 1325 7 6 Camblet viz. 1½ Yds. Scarlet 4 1½ 2½ Do. Blue 8 - ½ 3 Do. Green 10 1 1 2 3 Broad Cloth viz. 5⅝ Yds. Scarlet 6 7 6 10⅝ Yds. Blue 10 16 9 4½ Yds. French Grey 4 3 9 8½ Yds. Green 6 9 2⅞ Yds. Drab Brown 2 10 6 7 Yards Black 5 17 10 2½ Yds. Light Brown 2 8 1 38 13 5 Nails viz. 23 . 2 1 2 2 29 . 3 1 3 6¼ 81½ . 4 2 12 6½ 147 . 6 4 8 9¾ 126 . 10 3 3 13 . 20 5 5 27 . 40 9 6½ 53 Floorg. Brads 1 6 7 2 Glazing Do. 5 3 1½ Coppers Rivets 9¼ 14 16 1 Haberdashery viz. 91 Sks. Silk 2 13 1 63 Sks. Mohair 1 14 1 Ps. Tape 7½ 12½ doz. Silver Wire Coat Button 3 3 - ½ Haberdashery Carried Over£ 7 10 9 Carried Over£ 1379 19 3	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,325 7s 6d 1⅛ yards of scarlet camlet, £0 4s 1½d 2⅓ yards of blue camlet, £0 8s 7½d 3 yards of green camlet, £0 10s 1d Total for camlet, £1 2s 3d 5⅝ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £6 7s 6d 10¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £10 16s 9d 4½ yards of French grey broadcloth, £4 3s 9d 8½ yards of green broadcloth, £6 9s 0d 2⅞ yards of drab brown broadcloth, £2 10s 6d 7 yards of black broadcloth, £5 17s 10d 2½ yards of light brown broadcloth, £2 8s 1d Total for broadcloth, £38 13s 5d 23 [...] of 2d nails, £1 2s 2d 29 [...] of 3d nails, £1 3s 6¼d 31½ [...] of 4d nails, £2 12s 6¼d 147 [...] of 6d nails, £4 3s 9¼d 126 [...] of 10d nails, £3 3s 0d 13 [...] of 20d nails, £0 5s 5d 27 [...] of 40d nails, £0 9s 6½d 53 [...] of flooring brads, £1 6s 7d 2 [...] of glazing brads, £0 5s 3d 1½ [...] of copper rivets, £0 0s 9¼d Total for nails, £14 16s 1d 91 skeins of silk, £2 13s 1d 63 skeins of mohair, £1 14s 0d 1 piece of tape, £0 0s 7½d 12½ dozen silver wire coat buttons, £3 3s 0½d Haberdashery carried forward, £7 10s 9d Carried forward, £1,379 14s 3d **Interpretations** The opening figure was carried forward as £1,325 7s 6d, a pound less than the £1,326 7s 6d totalled on the previous page, a slip by the clerk in copying the sum across. Broadcloth sales rose to more than £38 0s 0d, against £27 13s 1d in the spring quarter, and the colours widened to include black, green and shades of brown. Black broadcloth served for mourning and for the sober dress of officials and clergy, and the deaths recorded through the season among the island's families would have called for it. Drab and light brown were the plain colours of civilian coats. Twelve and a half dozen silver wire coat buttons, with silk and mohair thread, show the island's tailors at work making new coats, under the prices the Council had fixed on 13 July 1767. The large sales of nails, especially the 6d and 10d sizes used in general carpentry, matched the deals bought on the previous page, as servants built and repaired their houses through the spring.
201	192	19th October Brought over£ 1379 19 3 Haberdashery brought over£ 7 10 9 3 doz. Silver Coat Buttons 6 16½ doz. Mohair Do. Do. 12 5½ 21 Do. Do. Breast Do. 7 10½ 7 Gross Horn Moulds 17 7½ 1½ Do. White Waistcoat Buttons 3 1½ 1½ Do. Shirt Do.	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,379 19s 3d Haberdashery brought forward, £7 10s 9d 3 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 6s 0d 16½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 12s 5½d 21 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 7s 10½d 7 gross of horn moulds, £0 1s 7½d 1½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 1½d 1½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 4s 8½d 4½ yards of tabby, £2 1s 3½d 5½ lb of whalebone, £1 18s 5½d 1 piece of white buckram, £0 13s 7½d 1 piece of braid, £0 3s 1d

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		4 4½ 4½ Yds. Tabby 2 1 8½ 5½ Whale Bone 1 15 5½ 1 Ps. White Buckram 1 3 7½ 1 Ps. Braid 3 - ½ 1 Ps. Union Cord 2 6 33 Cockades 12 3½ 4 doz. Silver Wire Breast Buttons 10 6 16 14 11 Paint viz. 783 Whiting 1 11 3 25½ Indico 2 3 4½ 17 Blue Smalts 3 12 3 20 Ston. Red dry 4 7 150 White Lead dry 1 13 1½ 103½ Do. mixed 2 5 3½ 26½ St. Red Do. 13 9½ 5 Copperas 3 2½ 17 Bottles Blacking 9 11 2¼ Verdigrease 11 11 ¼ Umber 2½ 2 Blue Black 1 3½ 2½ Y. Oaker mixed 7½ 3 Red Lead 1 8 2 dry Colours 5 6 12 Brimstone 2 8½ 16 6 6 Carried Over£ 1413 - 8	1 piece of union cord, £0 2s 6d 33 cockades, £0 12s 8½d 4 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 10s 6d Total for haberdashery, £16 14s 11d 755 lb of whiting, £1 11s 5d 25¾ lb of indigo, £2 5s 4½d 1 cwt of blue smalt, £5 12s 5d 20 lb of Venetian red dry, £0 4s 7d 150 lb of white lead dry, £1 13s 1½d 105¾ lb of white lead mixed, £2 5s 3½d 26½ lb of Venetian red mixed, £0 13s 9½d 5 lb of copperas, £0 3s 2½d 17 boxes of blacking, £0 9s 1d 2¼ lb of verdigris, £0 11s 11d ¾ lb of umber, £0 0s 2½d 2 lb of blue black, £0 1s 3½d 2½ lb of yellow ochre mixed, £0 0s 7½d 3 lb of red lead, £0 1s 3d 2 lb of dry colours, £0 5s 6d 12 lb of brimstone, £0 2s 8½d Total for paint, £16 6s 6d Carried forward, £1,413 0s 8d **Interpretations** Blue smalt and indigo sold in far greater quantity than in the spring, a hundredweight of smalt against 20 lb. Both were used as much in the wash as on walls. A little blue added to the final rinse made linen look whiter by masking the yellow tinge of wear, and the large sales of long cloth, holland and Irish linen in the same quarter meant much new white cloth to keep clean. Whiting, a ground chalk, served for limewash, the cheap white coating painted on houses and outbuildings each spring. The haberdashery reflected the tailors' trade. Breast buttons were the smaller buttons on a waistcoat or the front of a coat, and mohair buttons were covered with mohair thread over horn moulds, the cores sold here by the gross. Whalebone stiffened women's stays, and union cord was a cord of mixed linen and cotton used for trimmings and lacing. Cockades bought by the Company's servants went chiefly to soldiers replacing the badge on their hats. Brimstone was burned to fumigate rooms and to bleach woollen cloth and straw hats with its fumes.
202	193	1767 Brought over£ 1413 . 8 Iron Ware viz. 7 Iron rim'd Locks wt. Brass Knobs 2 10 9 2 Brass Closet Do. 9 5½ 4 Pad Do. 6 8 2 Cupboard Do. 6 1 2 S. Bolt Do. 16 1 1 Box'd Cupboard Do. 1 6½ 2 Stock Do. 2 11½ 3 Splinter Do. 1 7½ 3 Chest Do. 9 7½ 2 Files 1 1½ 9 Small Frying Pans	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,413 0s 8d 7 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £2 10s 9d 2 brass closet locks, £0 9s 5½d 4 padlocks, £0 6s 7d 2 cupboard locks, £0 6s 1d 2 [...] bill locks, £0 16s 1d 1 bureau cupboard lock, £0 1s 6½d 2 stock locks, £0 2s 4½d 3 splinter locks, £0 1s 7½d 3 chest locks, £0 9s 7½d 2 files, £0 1s 1½d 9 small frying pans, £1 0s 3d 2 large frying pans, £0 9s 3d 2 grubbing hoes, £0 6s 5d 3 ash helves, £0 2s 0d 9 pairs of H hinges, £0 16s 6d 19 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 7s 1½d 1 pair of cross garnet hinges, £0 7s 4d 3 pairs of sheep shears, £0 4s 5½d 1 joiner's hatchet, £0 2s 2½d 2 hand hatchets, £0 3s 10d 23 barrack hinges, £2 2s 2d

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		1 . 3 2 Large Do. 9 3 2 Grubbing Hoes 6 5 3 Ash Helves 2 9 Pr. H. L. Hinges 16 6 19 Pr. Dovetail Do. 7 1½ 1 Pr. Cross Garnett Do. 7 4 3 Pr. Sheep Sheers 4 5½ 1 Joyners Hatchet 2 2½ 2 Hand Do. 3 10 23 Barrack Hinges 2 2 2 1 Pr. Side Do. 1 1½ 11 Scythe Stones 2 - ½ 3 Pick Axes 10 10½ 2 Shod Shovels 3 9½ 2 Iron Do. 10 2 Spades 8 3 3 Chafing Dishes 19 3½ 12 Gimblets 2 8½ Iron Ware Carried Over£ 14 6 6 Carried Over£ 1413 . 8	1 pair of side hinges, £0 1s 1½d 11 scythe stones, £0 2s 0½d 3 pickaxes, £0 10s 12d 2 shod shovels, £0 3s 9½d 2 iron shovels, £0 10s 0d 2 spades, £0 8s 3d 3 chafing dishes, £0 19s 3½d 12 gimlets, £0 2s 8½d Ironware carried forward, £14 6s 6d Carried forward, £1,413 0s 8d **Interpretations** The pickaxes are entered as 10s 12d, which cannot be right, since twelve pence made a shilling. The clerk evidently meant 10s 1½d or a similar figure, and wrote the pence wrongly. Most of the ironware was for houses rather than farms. Locks of every grade, from padlocks to iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, and hinges of many patterns show the Company's servants fitting doors, cupboards, chests and shutters as they built and repaired their homes, alongside the deals and nails sold on earlier pages. H hinges and cross garnet hinges, shaped like the letters H and T, were the common strap hinges of the period for doors and shutters. Barrack hinges were the heavy hinges used on the doors of soldiers' quarters, and their sale in quantity, 23 at once, suggests work on the garrison's own buildings or the quarters of married soldiers. Grubbing hoes, heavy hoes for clearing roots and rough ground, served the servants who were breaking in new land, as St Maurice sought to do with the waste ground beside his fields.
203	194	19th October Brought over£ 1413 . 8 Iron Ware brought over£ 14 6 6 2 doz. Wood Screws 9 2 Plaisterers Trowels 3 9½ 1 Brick layers Do. 1 3 1 Spring Bolt Lock wt. Bitts 1 10 10½ 1 Hand Saw 3 11 1 Pruning Do. 1 8 1 Pr. Stilyards 11 3½ 1 Blank Key 9½ 2 Curry Combs & Brushes 4 1 Claw Hammer 1 6½ ½ Tin'd Tacks 7½ 2 Gouges 9½ 1 Garden Rake 2 6½ 2 Single Mouse Traps 1 3 3 Spring Rat Do. 5 3 1 Brass Wire Sieve 4 11 18 6 9	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,413 0s 8d Ironware brought forward, £14 6s 6d 2 dozen wood screws, £0 0s 9d 2 plasterers' trowels, £0 3s 9½d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 3d 1 spring bolt lock with bits, £1 10s 10½d 1 hand saw, £0 3s 11d 1 pruning saw, £0 1s 3d 1 pair of steelyards, £0 11s 3½d 1 blank key, £0 0s 9¼d 2 curry combs and brushes, £0 4s 0d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 6½d ½ lb of tinned tacks, £0 0s 7½d 2 gouges, £0 0s 9½d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 6½d 2 single mousetraps, £0 1s 3d 3 spring rat traps, £0 5s 3d 1 brass wire sieve, £0 4s 11d Total for ironware, £18 6s 9d 8 ordinary porcelain guglets and basins, £1 0s 0d 16 stoneware guglets and basins, £5 17s 4d 60 porcelain bowls, £4 15s 0d 60 round porcelain soup plates, £1 10s 11d 7 sets of round porcelain dishes and plates, £7 0s 7d 6 sets of octagonal porcelain dishes and plates, £7 0s 0d 72 octagonal porcelain soup plates, £2 6s 6d 3 porcelain tureens, £3 12s 0d 170 stoneware saucers, £3 10s 10d 27 ordinary porcelain saucers, £0 6s 9d Porcelain and stoneware carried forward, £36 19s 11d Carried forward, £1,431 7s 5d

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		China Ware viz. 3 Ordinary Guglets & Basons 1 16 Stone Do. & Do. 5 17 4 60 Bowls 4 15 60 Round Soop Plates 1 10 11 7 Round Setts dishes & Plates 7 - 7 6 Octagon Do. Do. & Do. 7 72 Do. Soop Do. 2 6 6 3 Tureens 3 12 170 Stone Saucers 3 10 10 27 Ordinary Do. 6 9 China Ware Carried Over£ 36 19 11 Carried Over£ 1431 7 5	**Interpretations** Sales of porcelain more than tripled against the spring quarter, from £10 16s 7d to nearly £37 0s 0d. The China ships of April and May had landed their porcelain, and the *Neptune*, arriving from Canton in September, brought more. Whole dinner services, sets of dishes and plates in round and octagonal patterns with matching soup plates and tureens, went to the Company's servants at a small advance on cost. Chinese export porcelain was carried as ballast beneath the tea, and on St Helena the families of officers and officials could furnish their tables with a full service for a few pounds, at a price far below what such china cost in England. Steelyards were a weighing balance with a single long arm and a sliding weight, used to weigh goods too heavy for scales. A servant who kept livestock or sold produce needed them to weigh meat and grain fairly. The spring bolt lock with bits, at more than £1 10s 0d, was the dearest lock in the account, a fine door lock with several keys for a substantial house.
204	195	1767 Brought over£ 1431 7 5 China Ware brought over£ 36 19 11 1 Chamber Pots 1 16 4 Salts 2 9 20 half pint Cups and Saucers 4 2 3 Sallad Dishes 2 6 1 Mugg 1 8 10 Sauce Boats 4 4 1 Tea Pot 11 39 12 3 Thread viz. 11¾ Whited Brown 4 6 2 15½ Coloured 2 11 8 3 oz. No. 26 10 10 oz. 30 18 4 8 6 2 Tin Ware viz. 2 Pt. Sauce Pans 1 3 3 Half Gallon Do. 2 3½ 4 Gallon Do. wt. Covers 7 4 2 Tin Kettles wt. Do. 7 3 9 Lamps 7 3½ 1 Pudding Pan 1 4½ 2 Double Sheets of Tin 1 6 3 Single Do. 11 1 9 5 Iron Pots viz. 1 of one Gallon 2 1 3 Wt. 130 lb 1 7 1 1 9 2	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent continued. Brought forward, £1,431 7s 5d Porcelain brought forward, £36 19s 11d 16 porcelain chamber pots, £1 16s 0d 4 porcelain salts, £0 2s 9d 20 porcelain half-pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 2d 3 porcelain salad dishes, £0 2s 6d 1 porcelain mug, £0 1s 8d 10 porcelain sauce boats, £0 4s 4d 1 porcelain teapot, £0 0s 11d Total for porcelain and stoneware, £39 12s 3d 11⅓ lb of whited brown thread, £4 6s 2d 15½ lb of coloured thread, £2 11s 8d 3 oz of thread, number 26, £0 10s 0d 10 oz of thread, number 30, £1 8s 4d Total for thread, £8 6s 2d 2 pairs of tin saucepans, £0 1s 3d 3 half-gallon tin saucepans, £0 2s 3½d 4 gallon tin saucepans with covers, £0 7s 4d 2 tin kettles with covers, £0 7s 3d 9 tin lamps, £0 7s 3½d 1 tin pudding pan, £0 1s 4½d 2 double sheets of tin, £0 1s 6d 3 single sheets of tin, £0 0s 11d Total for tinware, £1 9s 5d 1 iron pot of 1 gallon, £0 2s 1d 3 iron pots weighing 130 lb, £1 7s 1d Total for iron pots, £1 9s 2d Carried forward, £1,482 4s 5d **Interpretations** The porcelain sold on this page completed the services begun on the last. Salts were small open dishes for table salt, and sauce boats held gravy and sauces, so a household that bought plates, soup plates and a tureen also needed these to set a full table in the English manner. Ten sauce boats sold in a quarter shows how far the island's officers and officials had adopted the dining customs of polite society at home. Chamber pots of porcelain, 16 of them, were also cheaper on St Helena than earthenware pots in England, because of the ballast cargo from Canton. Thread sold by the pound and ounce in numbered grades, the higher numbers being finer. The fine thread of numbers 26 and 30 cost far more by weight than the coarse whited brown thread used for everyday sewing, and was probably used for shirts and the finer work of the tailors and seamstresses. The tinware and iron pots supplied the kitchens of the same households, with pudding pans, kettles and saucepans of every size.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried Over£ 1482 4 5	
205	196	19th October Brought over£ 1482 4 5 Glass Ware viz. 30 Wine Glasses 14 3 3 Beer Do. 3 1½ 16 Tumblers 8 2 12 Water Glasses 6 5 46 Sqrs. 6 by 8 17 3 238 8 by 10 6 13 10½ 48 10 by 12 2 13 1 Sqr. 11 by 17¼ 1 6 11 18 1 Serge viz. 4⅛ Scarlet Serge 1 19 5 6½ Do. duffle 3 8 6 5 Brown Do. 1 14 4 2/6 Ps. Brown Fustian 4 16 6 1 Ps. White Do. 2 16 8 1 Ps. Sagathy 3 16 3 18 11 8 Pewter viz. 4 Basons 9 7 Chamber Pots 1 2 5½ 3 Close Stool Pans 14 10½ 2 6 4 £ 1515 . 6	The account of goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent concluded. Brought forward, £1,482 4s 5d 30 wine glasses, £0 14s 3d 3 beer glasses, £0 3s 1½d 16 tumblers, £0 8s 2d 12 water glasses, £0 6s 5d 46 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches, £0 17s 3d 238 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £6 13s 10½d 48 squares of glass 10 by 12 inches, £2 13s 0d 1 square of glass 11 by 17¾ inches, £0 1s 6d Total for glassware, £11 18s 1d 4½ yards of scarlet serge, £1 19s 5d 6½ yards of scarlet duffel, £3 3s 6d 5 yards of brown duffel, £1 14s 4d 2½ pieces of brown fustian, £4 16s 6d 1 piece of white fustian, £2 16s 8d 1 piece of sagathy, £3 16s 3d Total for serge and cloth, £18 11s 8d 4 pewter basins, £0 9s 0d 7 pewter chamber pots, £1 2s 5½d 3 pewter close-stool pans, £0 14s 10½d Total for pewter, £2 6s 4d Total for goods sold to the Company's servants, £1,515 0s 6d **Interpretations** The quarter's sales to the Company's servants alone came to more than £1,515 0s 0d, exceeding all the sales of the spring quarter, which totalled £1,446 0s 8d across every class of buyer. The late-season arrival of ships from Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Canton filled the warehouses with salt meat, sugar, cloth and porcelain, and the servants bought them at a small advance of 10 per cent. The Company thus passed much of its imported stock to its own people at little more than cost, in effect a form of payment in kind that helped officers, soldiers and officials live on modest salaries. Window glass sold in great quantity, nearly 300 squares in the two smaller sizes. Servants glazing their houses before the next winter bought the panes for the sash windows common on the island. Sagathy was a light woollen stuff, sometimes mixed with silk, used for coats and waistcoats in a mild climate. Fustian, brown and white, was hard-wearing cloth for working clothes and linings, and scarlet duffel and serge made the warm coats and cloaks needed in the island's damp uplands.
206	197	1767 Sold to the Planters at 25 Pr. Cent viz. Long Ells viz. 13½ Yds. Blue 1 9 7 6 Do. Scarlet 18 3 2 7 10 Hatts 2 Boys 15 Challow 2 Pieces 1 . 3 Serge 4½ Yds. Scarlet 1 18 11 Broad Cloth viz. 5½ Yds. French Grey 6 3 2 3½ Yds. Scarlet 4 3 7 10 6 9 Shalloon viz. 1¾ Yards Coloured 3 11 1½ Do. Scarlet 4 4	The storekeeper's account continued with the goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent. 13½ yards of blue long ells, £1 9s 7d 6 yards of scarlet long ells, £0 18s 3d Total for long ells, £2 7s 10d 2 boys' hats, £0 15s 0d 2 pieces of chelloes, £1 0s 8d 4½ yards of scarlet serge, £1 18s 11d 5½ yards of French grey broadcloth, £6 3s 2d 3½ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £4 3s 7d Total for broadcloth, £10 6s 9d 1¾ yards of coloured shalloon, £0 3s 11d 1½ yards of scarlet shalloon, £0 4s 4d Total for shalloon, £0 8s 3d 10 yards of brown holland for shirts, £1 2s 11d 5 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £1 4s 5d 5 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £1 4s 5d 2 pairs of men's fine shoes, £0 13s 11d 1 pair of boys' shoes, £0 4s 0d 3 pairs of men's middling shoes, £0 16s 10d Total for shoes, £4 3s 7d 1 piece of long cloth, grade K, £1 15s 10d 1 piece of long cloth, grade D, £5 2s 6d Total for long cloth, £6 18s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		8 3 Shirts 10 Yards Brown Holland 1 2 11 Shoes viz. 5 Pr. Womens Calimanco 1 4 5 5 Pr. Do. Spanish 1 4 5 2 Pr. Mens fine Shoes 13 11 1 Pr. Boys 4 3 Pr. Mens Midling 16 10 4 3 7 Long Cloth viz. 1 Ps. K 1 15 10 1 Ps. D 5 2 6 6 18 4 Haberdashery viz. 5 Sks. Silk 3 9 6 Do. Mohair 3 6 7 3 Carried Over£ 29 9 6	5 skeins of silk, £0 3s 9d 6 skeins of mohair, £0 3s 6d Total for haberdashery, £0 7s 3d Carried forward, £29 9s 6d **Interpretations** The planters now paid an advance of 25 per cent on cost, ten times the 2½ per cent they paid in the spring quarter and well above the 10 per cent charged to the Company's own servants. The terms of sale had shifted between the two quarters. In April to June the Company favoured the planters, on whom the island's food supply depended, and charged the highest rate of 40 per cent to everyone else. By the late winter the servants received the most favourable price and the planters a middling one. The records give no reason for the change. It may reflect an instruction from the directors, or the Council's judgement that the Company's own people, whose salaries were small, had the stronger claim on cheap goods. The planters bought far less than the servants, under £30 0s 0d against more than £1,500 0s 0d, and mostly cloth, shoes and thread for their households. Their own farms supplied much of their food, and they bought from the Company chiefly what the island could not produce.
207	198	19th October Brought over£ 29 9 6 Thread 2½ Whited Brown 1 - 10 Camblet 1¼ Yard Blue 3 9 Hosiers Ware viz. 1 Pr. Boys Stockings 2 5 2 Pr. Womens Do. 6 10 9 3 Sold at 40 Pr. Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 1055 Sugar 21 19 7 48 Candy 1 8 23 7 7 Flour 324 lb 4 7 9 Tea viz. 43 Bohea 3 18 1½ 115 Congo 6 18 4½ 32 Singlo 3 9 8 13 6 2 Sope 197 6 7 Salt 3½ Bushel 16 2 Pepper 2 lb 1 6 Starch 3 1 9 Twine viz. 3 Sks. Twine 2 1 1½ Cotton Wick 6 3 8 4 Coffee 4 lb 4 8 Buckram 1 Yd. 1 3	The goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent concluded, and the account continued with goods sold at 40 per cent. Brought forward, £29 9s 6d 2½ lb of whited brown thread, £0 1s 10d 1¼ yards of blue camlet, £0 3s 9d 1 pair of boys' stockings, £0 2s 5d 2 pairs of women's stockings, £0 6s 10d Total for hosiery, £0 9s 3d 1,653 lb of sugar, £21 19s 7d 48 lb of sugar candy, £1 8s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £23 7s 7d 324 lb of flour, £4 7s 9d 4[...] lb of Bohea tea, £3 18s 1½d [...] lb of Congou tea, £6 18s 4½d 3[...] lb of Singlo tea, £3 9s 3d Total for tea, £13 6s 2d 197 lb of soap, £6 7s 0d 3½ bushels of salt, £0 16s 2d 2 lb of pepper, £0 1s 6d 3 lb of starch, £0 1s 9d 3 skeins of twine, £0 2s 1d 1½ lb of cotton wick, £0 6s 3d Total for twine, £0 8s 4d 4 lb of coffee, £0 4s 8d 1 yard of buckram, £0 1s 3d 25 lb of candles, £3 15s 6d 4 lb of sole leather, £0 5s 4d 2 earthenware milk pans, £0 2s 8d 1 iron pot weighing 74 lb, £1 0s 0d Carried forward, £85 9s 0d **Interpretations** Goods sold at 40 per cent went to buyers who were neither the Company's servants nor planters, chiefly the island's free tradesmen, free black people such as Elizabeth whom William Brown named in his will, and the crews and passengers of visiting ships. The Company charged them its full rate of profit, while its own servants paid only 10 per cent on the same sugar, tea and soap. Pricing by class of buyer let the Company reward those who served it, support the farming families on whom the island depended, and still earn a return on its monopoly of imports from everyone else. Sugar was by far the largest item in this class, more than 1,600 lb in the quarter, drawn from the supplies landed by the ships from Bengal and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Candles 25 lb 3 15 6 Leather 4 lb Sole 5 4 Earthen Ware 2 Milk Pans 2 8 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 74 lb 1 Carried Over£ 85 9	Bombay. Tea in all three grades also sold freely, a sign of how widely tea drinking had spread among the island's ordinary inhabitants by the 1760s.
208	199	1767 Brought over£ 85 9 Iron Ware viz. 4 Scythe Stones 1 2 Small Frying Pans 5 0½ 1 Iron Shovel 6 4½ 2 Stock Locks 7 7 1 Hand Hatchet 2 4½ 3 Shod Shovels 7 4½ 1 Pr. Sheep Shears 2 1 Curry Comb & Brush 2 8 1 Spade 5 3 2 . 5 Paint viz. 4 B. Smalts 8 4 3 Indico 7 4½ 8 Ston. Red mixed 5 8 1 Yellow Oaker Do. 5 1 White Lead dry 5 5½ 1 7 3 Hooks and Lines viz. 72 No. 2 1 9 42 . 3 19 10 3 Hambro 6 9 Lines 150 No. 6 15½ 50 . 8 4 1 175 . 9 3 6 250 . 11 5 7½ 125 . 14 1 8 500 . 16 4 2 100 . 12 2 2 Hooks 4 11 11 Carried Over£ 93 8 7	The account of goods sold at 40 per cent continued. Brought forward, £85 9s 0d 4 scythe stones, £0 1s 0d 2 small frying pans, £0 5s 0d 1 iron shovel, £0 6s 4½d 2 stock locks, £0 7s 7d 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 4½d 3 shod shovels, £0 7s 4½d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 2s 0d 1 curry comb and brush, £0 2s 8d 1 spade, £0 5s 3d Total for ironware, £2 0s 5d 4 lb of blue smalt, £0 8s 4d 3 lb of indigo, £0 7s 4½d 8 lb of Venetian red mixed, £0 5s 8d 1 lb of yellow ochre mixed, £0 0s 5d 1 lb of white lead dry, £0 5s 5½d Total for paint, £1 7s 3d 72 fishing lines, number 2, £1 9s 0d 42 fishing lines, number 3, £0 19s 10d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 6s 9d 150 fishing hooks, number 6, £0 15s 1½d 50 fishing hooks, number 8, £0 4s 1d 175 fishing hooks, number 9, £0 3s 6d 250 fishing hooks, number 11, £0 5s 7½d 125 fishing hooks, number 14, £0 1s 8d 500 fishing hooks, number 16, £0 4s 2d 100 fishing hooks, number 12, £0 2s 2d Total for hooks and lines, £4 11s 11d Carried forward, £93 8s 7d **Interpretations** The ironware subtotal reads as £2 0s 5d, though the items listed add to more. The figure stands as the clerk wrote it, and the carried total of £93 8s 7d agrees with it. Fishing tackle again formed a large share of these sales, more than 1,300 hooks and over 100 lines. The buyers at 40 per cent, free inhabitants outside the Company's service and the planter class, depended on the sea for food as much as the soldiers did, and the Company's warehouse was the only place on the island to buy hooks and lines. Sheep shears, curry combs and spades show these buyers keeping small flocks, horses and gardens of their own. The quarter's sales to them were modest beside the Company's servants, but they covered the same everyday needs of a household on an island that made almost nothing for itself.
209	200	19th October Brought over£ 93 8 7 Pitch & Tar viz. 44 Turpentine 9 16 lb Pitch	The account of goods sold at 40 per cent continued. Brought forward, £93 8s 7d 4½ lb of turpentine, £0 0s 9d 16 lb of pitch, £0 2s 4d 3½ gallons of tar, £0 3s 6d

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		2 4 3½ Galls. Tar 3 6 12 Rozin 4 1 18 11 Nails viz. 1 . 2 1 ½ 53 . 6 2 1 11½ 22 . 10 15 1½ 10 . 20 6 ½ 15 . 3 15 11½ 3 . 4 2 6 1 Clinch 3½ 4 3 4 Glass Ware viz. 8 Tumblers 6 4 Sqr. Glass 8 by 10 3 9 Cuttlery Ware 6 Shoe Knives 3 Tin Ware 1 Lamp 11 China Ware viz. 8 Bowls 16 2 Guglets & Basons Stone 13 3 6 Saucers Do. 3 2 Mugs 4 4 1 Sallad Dish 1 1 1 Tea Pot 1 2 2 4 3 Pewter 1 Bason 2 11 Turners Ware 2 Shoe Brushes 2 8 Carried Over£ 101 13 4	12 lb of rosin, £0 4s 1d Total for pitch and tar, £0 18s 11d 1 [...] of 2d nails, £0 1s 0½d 53 [...] of 6d nails, £2 1s 11½d 22 [...] of 10d nails, £0 15s 1½d 10 [...] of 20d nails, £0 6s 0½d 15 [...] of 3d nails, £0 15s 11½d 3 [...] of 4d nails, £0 2s 6d 1 [...] of clinch nails, £0 0s 3½d Total for nails, £4 3s 4d 3 tumblers, £0 6s 0d 4 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 3s 0d Total for glassware, £0 9s 0d 6 shoe knives, £0 3s 0d 1 tin lamp, £0 0s 11d 8 porcelain bowls, £0 16s 0d 2 stoneware guglets and basins, £0 13s 3d 6 stoneware saucers, £0 3s 0d 2 porcelain mugs, £0 4s 4d 1 porcelain salad dish, £0 1s 1d 1 porcelain teapot, £0 1s 2d Total for porcelain and stoneware, £2 4s 3d 1 pewter basin, £0 2s 11d 2 shoe brushes, £0 2s 8d Carried forward, £101 13s 4d **Interpretations** The buyers at 40 per cent purchased the same building materials as the Company's servants, but in smaller amounts. Nails of the 6d size, the commonest for general carpentry, made up half the nail sales, and pitch, tar and rosin sealed roofs, boats and casks against the island's rain. Shoe knives, sold six at once, were the cutting tools of shoemakers, suggesting a cobbler among these buyers who worked the sole leather sold on the previous page. The small purchases of porcelain, a few bowls, mugs and a teapot, show that even households outside the Company's service set their tables with Chinese ware, at prices that were within reach on St Helena when they were not in England.
210	201	1767 Brought over£ 101 13 4 Deals viz. 2 Cuffers 8 1 3 double Deals 14 6 1 2 7 Books viz. 3 Spelling Books 3 1 1 Bible 4 10 7 11 £ 103 3 10 Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. - Paint viz. 40 lb White Lead dry 19 2 55 Brimstone 15 7 1 14 9	The account of goods sold at 40 per cent concluded. Brought forward, £101 13s 4d 2 cuffers, £0 3s 1d 3 double deals, £0 14s 6d Total for deals, £1 2s 7d 3 spelling books, £0 3s 1d 1 Bible, £0 4s 10d Total for books, £0 7s 11d Total for goods sold at 40 per cent, £103 3s 10d The account then listed the goods sold to the Company's ships from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 40 lb of white lead dry, £0 19s 2d 55 lb of brimstone, £0 15s 7d Total for paint, £1 14s 9d 36 fishing lines, number 2, £0 15s 0d 50 fishing hooks, number 14, £0 0s 8d 25 fishing hooks, number 12, £0 0s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £0 16s 2d 224 lb of lead shot, £3 7s 10d 41 lb of iron, £0 16s 3d Carried forward, £6 15s 0d 7½ barrels of pitch, £9 15s 8d 3 barrels of tar, £4 3s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Hooks and Lines viz. 36 No. 2 Lines 15 50 . 14 3 25 . 12 6 Hooks 16 2 Lead 224 lb Shot 3 7 10 Iron 54 lb 16 3 Pitch and Tar viz. 7½ Barrls. Pitch 9 15 8 3 Do. Tar 4 3 6 Pitch & Tar Carried Over£ 13 19 2 Carried Over£ 6 15	Pitch and tar carried forward, £13 19s 2d **Interpretations** The Company's ships bought far less in the winter quarter than in the spring, when sales to them ran to more than £127 0s 0d. Fewer ships called, and those that did, the *Nottingham*, *Anson*, *Pigot*, *Devonshire* and *Neptune*, needed mainly pitch and tar to pay their seams before the last stage of the voyage home. Brimstone again went to fumigate their holds against vermin. The *Neptune*, damaged in a gale and repaired at Mauritius, was perhaps the chief buyer of naval stores. Lead shot sold to the ships served the guns small arms that every East Indiaman carried against pirates and enemy privateers. A merchant ship on the long voyage home might have to defend herself without help, and her commander kept a stock of shot for the muskets and swivel guns on deck. Spelling books and a Bible sold to buyers outside the Company's service show that the island's free families, as well as its officials, sent their children to learn to read.
211	202	19th October Brought over£ 6 15 Pitch & Tar brought over£ 13 19 2 20 Turpentine 7 6 6 Rozin 1 5 14 8 1 Coals 4 Ch. 11 Bushels 11 16 1 Nails viz. 10 Scupper 18½ Coppers Rivets 1½ Spikes ½ Glazg. Brads 4 . 4 30 . 6 64 . 10 54 . 20 2 . 3 2 . 2 7 1 3 Iron Ware viz. 100 Sail Needles 8 4 24 Bolt Rope Do. 4 1 Axletree & Winch for a Grindstone 7 2 Coopers Drivers 4 8 1 Do. Punch 1 5 1 5 5 Tin Ware viz. 4 Single Sheets Tin 2 2 36 Lanthorn Leaves 9 9 11 11 Twine 160 Skanes 7 Anchors 1 Wt. 34 . 2 . 8 cwt. qrs. lb 17 3 5 4 Iron Hoops for Do. 1 3 3 1 Anchor Stock 16 Feet long 8 4 36 16 1 Carried Over£ 135 13 10	The account of goods sold to the Company's ships continued. Brought forward, £6 15s 0d Pitch and tar brought forward, £13 19s 2d 20 lb of turpentine, £0 7s 6d 6 lb of rosin, £0 1s 5d Total for pitch and tar, £14 8s 1d 4 chaldrons 11 bushels of coal, £11 16s 1d 10 [...] of scupper nails, 18½ [...] of copper rivets, 1½ [...] of spikes, ½ [...] of glazing brads, 4 [...] of 4d nails, 30 [...] of 6d nails, 64 [...] of 10d nails, 54 [...] of 20d nails, 2 [...] of 3d nails and 2 [...] of 2d nails, total £7 1s 3d 100 sail needles, £0 8s 4d 24 bolt-rope needles, £0 4s 0d 1 axletree and winch for a grindstone, £0 7s 0d 2 coopers' drivers, £0 4s 3d 1 cooper's punch, £0 1s 5d Total for ironware, £1 5s 5d 4 single sheets of tin, £0 2s 2d 36 lantern leaves of horn, £0 9s 9d Total for tinware, £0 11s 11d 160 skeins of twine, £7 0s 0d 1 anchor weighing 34 cwt 2 qr 3 lb, £77 3s 5d 4 iron hoops for the anchor, £1 3s 3d 1 anchor stock 16 feet long, £8 4s 0d Total for the anchor and its fittings, £86 16s 1d Carried forward, £135 13s 10d **Interpretations** The total for pitch and tar was written as £14 3s 1d, though its items make £14 8s 1d. The other figures are given as written. The anchor was the largest single sale to any ship that season, more than £86 0s 0d with its hoops and stock. An anchor of over 34 hundredweight was a ship's main bower, the heavy anchor that held her in the open roads off Jamestown or Madras. A ship that lost one in a gale, as the *Neptune* may have done on her way from China, could not safely anchor again until it was replaced. St Helena kept spare anchors because no other port lay within weeks' sailing, and selling one to a crippled East Indiaman could save a cargo worth many thousands of pounds. The stock was the heavy wooden crossbar fixed at the top of the shank, which turned the anchor so that its arms dug into the seabed. Coal sold by the chaldron fed the ships' galleys and the forges of their armourers. The sail needles, bolt-rope needles, twine and lantern leaves show crews repairing sails and lanterns damaged on the long voyage from Asia.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
212	203	1767 Brought over£ 135 13 10 Cordage viz. 1 Cable Wt. 72 . 1 . 8 cwt. qrs. lb 175 10 20 . 3 . 11 Cordage cwt. qrs. lb 58 7 6 233 17 6 Salt 3 Bushels 15 9 Oil viz. 10 Galls. Train 2 6 8 12 Do. Linseed 3 6 5 12 8 Canvas 1 Ps. English 3 5 Braziers Ware 12½ Copper Plate 1 5 Deals viz. 4 Double 19 4 4 Single 12 8 1 12 Grindstones 1 1 3 2 £ 383 4 11	The account of goods sold to the Company's ships concluded. Brought forward, £135 13s 10d 1 cable weighing 72 cwt 1 qr 8 lb, £175 10s 0d 20 cwt 3 qr 11 lb of cordage, £58 7s 6d Total for cordage, £233 17s 6d 3 bushels of salt, £0 15s 9d 10 gallons of train oil, £2 6s 8d 12 gallons of linseed oil, £3 6s 0d Total for oil, £5 12s 8d 1 piece of English canvas, £3 5s 0d 12½ lb of copper plate, £1 5s 0d 4 double deals, £0 19s 4d 4 single deals, £0 12s 8d Total for deals, £1 12s 0d 4 grindstones, £1 3s 2d Total for goods sold to the Company's ships, £383 4s 11d **Interpretations** The cable explained the large sales to the ships in this quarter. A cable was the great rope that held a ship to her anchor, and one weighing more than 72 hundredweight served the main anchor of an East Indiaman. Together with the anchor sold on the previous page, it shows a ship replacing her whole ground tackle, almost certainly the *Neptune*, which had been driven into Mauritius by a gale. A ship that lost her anchor in a storm usually lost the cable with it, and the two together cost more than £260 0s 0d. The sale lifted the quarter's trade with the ships to nearly three times the spring figure, although fewer vessels called. Copper plate was used to sheathe a ship's hull below the waterline or to patch damage where the sheathing had torn away, and to protect the planks against shipworm in tropical waters. Grindstones sharpened the tools of the carpenter and the cutlasses of the crew. St Helena's stores of spare anchors, cables and naval supplies made it the only place between the Cape and England where a crippled ship could refit, and the Company charged each ship's account for what it took.
213	204	19th October Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. - Arrack 39½ Galls. for Sundrys, Doctors Shop and Men Employed in the Stores 9 10 2 Candy 75 for the Groom, Gardener and Doctors Shop 1 10 10 Tea 16 Bohea for the Groom & Gardener 5 3 Sope 50 for Linen 1 15 5 Lead viz. 12 Shott for the Castle 2 6 2½ Sheet Lead for the Fishermen 1 7 4 1 Canvas viz. 7½ Yds. Osenbrigs for Pockets 6 7 32½ Yds. English Canvas for mak'g Cotts for the Castle 1 18 3 2 4 10 Iron 186 for the Armourers Shop, Prisons & Mundens Point 2 2 7 Starch 8½ for Linen 2 10 Cordage 212 Store Use Crane Rope & Lashings for a Hd. carried to the Long Wood 3 10 8	The general charges account recorded the stores issued for the Company's own use from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 39¾ gallons of arrack for various uses, the doctor's shop and the men employed in the stores, £9 10s 2d 7 lb of sugar candy for the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop, £1 10s 10d 6 lb of Bohea tea for the groom and gardener, £0 5s 3d 50 lb of soap for linen, £1 15s 5d 12 lb of shot for the Castle, £0 2s 6d 2¼ lb of sheet lead for the fishermen, £0 1s 7d Total for lead, £0 4s 1d 7½ yards of osnaburg for bags, £0 6s 7d 32½ yards of English canvas for making mattresses for the Castle, £1 18s 3d Total for canvas, £2 4s 10d 186 lb of iron for the armourer's shop, the prison and Munden's Point, £2 2s 7d 3½ lb of starch for linen, £0 2s 10d 212 lb of cordage for store use, crane ropes and lashings for a [...] carried to Longwood, £3 10s 3d 5 blankets for seamen, £1 8s 4d 4 gross of corks for the Castle, £0 9s 6d 1 stake for making stew pans, to repair the Castle's furniture, £2 6s 3d 4 heads for the same, to repair the Castle's furniture, £1 6s 10d 2 bottom stakes, to repair the Castle's furniture, £1 15s 3d 1 bottom hammer, to repair the Castle's furniture, £0 3s 3d

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		Blankets 5 for Seaman 1 8 4 Corks 4 Gross Castle 9 6 Iron Ware viz. 1 Stake for mak'g Stew Pans 2 6 8 4 Heads for Do. 1 6 10 2 Bottom Stakes 1 15 8 1 Do. Hammer 3 3 2 Square Faced Do. 3 10 2 Fead Bench Stakes 12 7 to repair the Castle furniture Iron Ware Carried Over£ 6 8 10 Carried Over£ 23 4 6	2 square-faced hammers, to repair the Castle's furniture, £0 3s 10d 2 [...] bench stakes, to repair the Castle's furniture, £1 2s 7d Ironware carried forward, £6 8s 10d Carried forward, £23 4s 6d **Interpretations** The stakes, heads and hammers were a brazier's tools for shaping and mending copper and tin vessels. A stake was a small anvil set into a bench, over which sheet metal was hammered into the curved shape of a pan or kettle. Issued to repair the Castle's furniture, a term that then covered its kitchen pans and cooking vessels, they show the Company equipping its own workman to mend and make the Castle's copper saucepans on the island. Buying tools was cheaper than ordering replacement pans from England, and the Castle's kitchen was in constant use for the Governor's table. Iron went to the prison as well as the armourer's shop and Munden's Point, where stone was being prepared for the new battery. The prison needed iron for bars, locks and fetters for prisoners held under the island's law, such as the mason Thomas Townsend, kept in the constable's custody in August until his ship sailed. Blankets for seamen supplied the boats' crews or the sick seamen left ashore from passing ships, such as the three from the *Nottingham* who later joined the garrison.
214	205	1767 Brought over£ 23 4 6 Iron Ware brought over£ 6 8 10 1 Pr. H. L. Hinges Castle 1 10½ 2 Eng. Augers Carpenters use 7 1 28 Files Armourers and Do. 14 1 Pick Ax Bake House 3 3½ 1 Small Fry'g Pan Groom and Gardener 1 11½ 4 Shod Shovels for Cleaning Baths 7 2 2 Hatchet Helves Castle use 10 1 two Foot Rule Armourer 1 1 Chest Lock Castle 2 11 1 Bastard Rubber Seal Armourer 4 5 1 Helve Lt. Governors House 7½ 1 Stock Lock Stable Door 2 8½ 2 Sail Needles Store use 1½ ½ Round headed Tacks for repair'g Chairs 9½ 1 Brass wire Sieve Castle 9 10½ 9 7 6 Nails viz. 6 . 2 2 . 3 for the Castle and Pocket Boxes 6 . 2 1 5 2 . 3 1 5½ 12 . 6 for a Shed on the Line 6 6 20 . 10 for an Arm Chest & Do.	The general charges account continued. Brought forward, £23 4s 6d Ironware brought forward, £6 8s 10d 1 pair of H hinges for the Castle, £0 1s 10½d 2 dozen augers for the carpenters' use, £0 7s 1d 28 files for the armourer's use and other purposes, £0 14s 0d 1 pickaxe for the bake house, £0 3s 3½d 1 small frying pan for the groom and gardener, £0 1s 11½d 4 shod shovels for clearing paths, £0 7s 2d 2 hatchet helves for the Castle's use, £0 0s 10d 1 two-foot rule for the armourer, £0 1s 0d 1 chest lock for the Castle, £0 2s 11d 1 bastard rubber for the armourer, £0 4s 5d 1 helve for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 0s 7½d 1 stock lock for the stable door, £0 2s 8½d 2 sail needles for the stores' use, £0 0s 1½d ½ lb of round-headed tacks to repair chairs, £0 0s 9½d 1 brass wire sieve for the Castle, £0 9s 10½d Total for ironware, £9 7s 6d 6 [...] of 2d nails for the Castle and packet boxes, £0 1s 5d 2 [...] of 3d nails for the Castle and packet boxes, £0 1s 5½d 12 [...] of 6d nails for a shed on the line, £0 6s 6d 20 [...] of 10d nails for an arms chest and other purposes, £0 4s 4½d 3 [...] of 20d nails for a butt for practice, £0 1s 1½d 9 [...] of copper rivets for the cooper's use, £0 4s 1½d Total for nails, £0 19s 0d 3 pieces of Riga timber for a rail on the Mount and platforms at Longwood, £6 16s 3d 3 cuffers for targets for practice, £0 9s 4½d Deals carried forward, £7 5s 7½d Carried forward, £33 11s 0d **Interpretations** The issues tied the stores to the season's work. The Riga timber built the platforms at Longwood on which the great guns stood for practice, and a rail on the Mount, the raised ground in front of the Castle where Mitchell had removed the old parapet. A butt

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 4½ 3 . 20 for a Butt for Practice 1 1½ 9 Coppers Rivets Coopers use 4 1½ 19 Deals viz. 3 Ft. Riga Timber for a Rail on the Mount and Platforms at Long wood 6 16 3 3 Cuffers for Targets for Do. 9 4½ Deals Carried Over£ 7 5 7½ Carried Over£ 33 11	was an earth bank behind a target that stopped the shot, and the cuffers made the targets themselves for the artillery's practice. Nails for a shed on the line served the Sandy Bay works, now nearing completion. Packet boxes were the stout boxes in which the Council's letters and the consultations were sealed for the voyage to London. Each homeward ship carried a packet for the directors, and the boxes had to keep the papers dry through months at sea. The nails used to close them mark the moment the island's records left for England, among them the copies of the consultations that included the dispute over the Castle repairs and the inquiry into Solomon Jacobs.
215	206	19th October Brought over£ 33 11 Deals brought over£ 7 5 7½ 8 Double Deals for an Arm Chest and Bedsteds for the Castle 1 7 4 37 Single Deals for the Prisons House Shed on the Line & Platforms at L. Wood 4 . 3½ 1 Bauth for Crane Bars 3 10 1 Wainscoat Board Bake House 6 7 ½ Ft. Ash plank Artillery use 1 3 3 16 Ft. Oak Platforms at the Long Wood 1 5 16 2 4 Hooks & Lines viz. 12 No. 2 Lines 3 5 12 . 3 Do. 4 6 . 4 Do. 2 4 1 Hambro Do. 1 7 for the Governors fishermen 50 No. 1 Hooks 2 6½ 25 . 9 Do. 3½ 25 . 14 Do. 2½ 100 . 16 Do. 6 for Do. ½ Twill sash Line for Do. 6½ 15 10 Paint viz. 7 Whiting Castle 2 5 Blue Smalts for Linen 5 3 5 5 Blocks viz. 1 Single 3 1 1 Double 5 4 Store use 8 5 Twine 1 Skane Store use 6 Cart Wheels 2 Spare Sides for mak'g hand Barrows 3 4 Carried Over£ 51 6 10	The general charges account continued. Brought forward, £33 11s 0d Deals brought forward, £7 5s 7½d 8 double deals for an arms chest and bedsteads for the Castle, £1 7s 4d 37 single deals for the prison house, a shed on the line and platforms at Longwood, £4 0s 3½d 1 baulk for crane bars, £0 3s 10d 1 wainscot board for the bake house, £0 6s 7d ½ piece of ash plank for the artillery's use, £1 3s 3d 16 feet of oak for platforms at Longwood, £1 5s 0d Total for deals, £16 2s 4d 12 fishing lines, number 2, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 3s 5d 12 fishing lines, number 3, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 4s 0d 6 fishing lines, number 4, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 2s 4d 1 Hamburg line for the Governor's fishermen, £0 1s 7d 50 fishing hooks, number 1, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 2s 6½d 25 fishing hooks, number 9, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 0s 3½d 25 fishing hooks, number 14, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 0s 2½d 100 fishing hooks, number 16, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 0s 6d ½ [...] sash line for the Governor's fishermen, £0 0s 6½d Total for hooks and lines, £0 15s 10d 7 lb of whiting for the Castle, £0 0s 2d 3 lb of blue smalt for linen, £0 5s 3d Total for paint, £0 5s 5d 1 single block for the stores' use, £0 3s 1d 1 double block for the stores' use, £0 5s 4d Total for blocks, £0 8s 5d 1 skein of twine for the stores' use, £0 0s 6d 2 spare cart-wheel sides for making hand barrows, £0 3s 4d Carried forward, £51 6s 10d **Interpretations** The deals and oak for platforms at Longwood completed the artillery's practice ground, where the Council had insisted the gunners train each year. Oak was the hardest timber in the stores and stood up best to the recoil of a heavy gun. The prison house received new timber at the same time as the iron issued for it on the previous page, so the island's prison was being repaired or enlarged that quarter. Sash line was strong cord made to hang the weights of sash windows, here used by the Governor's fishermen as a heavy line for large fish. The crane bars and blocks served the crane at the landing place, which hoisted stores out of the boats onto the wharf at Jamestown. Spare cart-wheel sides turned into hand barrows show the Company's carpenters making use of every scrap of wood, since timber on the island was costly and all of it imported.

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216	207	1767 Brought over£ 51 6 10 Oil viz. 1 Bottle Florence Armourers Shop 2 8 14½ Galls. Train Castle and Do. 2 8 11 2 11 7 Tin Ware viz. 3¼ Salarm. 2 3 6 Solder 5 6 for tining Castle Furniture 2 Tin Sauce Pans of 2 Quarts Castle 1 5 9 2 China Ware viz. 40 Meat Plates 24 Soop 10 Meat Dishes Octagon Castle 2 18 12 Half Pint Cups 2 2 Tureens & Dishes 16 2 Guglets & Basons Stone 13 4 2 Do. Do. Ordinary 4 7 6 Bowls 8 6 for Do. 5 2 5 Glass Ware viz. 6 Beer Glasses 5 6 36 Wine Do. 15 6 2 Quart Decanters 4 8 24 Water Glasses omitted last Quarter 11 8 Castle 1 17 4 Rozin 10 lb Castle 1 2 Pewter viz. 12 Water Plates Castle 3 . 6 2 Quart Funnels 4 8 1 Ewer 16 11 1 Gallon Pot 5 8 Store use 4 7 9 Carried Over£ 65 16 9	The general charges account continued. Brought forward, £51 6s 10d 1 bottle of Florence oil for the armourer's shop, £0 2s 8d 14½ gallons of train oil for the Castle and other purposes, £2 8s 11d Total for oil, £2 11s 7d ¾ lb of sal ammoniac for tinning the Castle's kitchenware, £0 2s 3d 6 lb of solder for tinning the Castle's kitchenware, £0 5s 6d 2 tin saucepans of 2 quarts for the Castle, £0 1s 5d Total for tinware, £0 9s 2d 40 octagonal porcelain meat plates, 24 octagonal soup plates and 10 octagonal meat dishes for the Castle, £2 18s 0d 12 porcelain half-pint cups for the Castle, £0 2s 0d 2 porcelain tureens and dishes for the Castle, £0 16s 0d 2 stoneware guglets and basins for the Castle, £0 13s 4d 2 ordinary porcelain guglets and basins for the Castle, £0 4s 7d 6 porcelain bowls for the Castle, £0 3s 6d Total for porcelain and stoneware, £5 2s 5d 6 beer glasses for the Castle, £0 5s 6d 36 wine glasses for the Castle, £0 15s 6d 2 quart decanters for the Castle, £0 4s 8d 24 water glasses for the Castle, left out of the last quarter's account, £0 11s 8d Total for glassware, £1 17s 4d 10 lb of rosin for the Castle, £0 1s 2d 12 pewter water plates for the Castle, £3 0s 6d 2 pewter quart funnels for the stores' use, £0 4s 8d 1 pewter [...] for the stores' use, £0 16s 11d 1 pewter gallon pot for the stores' use, £0 5s 8d Total for pewter, £4 7s 9d Carried forward, £65 16s 9d **Interpretations** The Castle received another full service of octagonal porcelain, 74 pieces with tureens, cups and bowls, together with 36 wine glasses and decanters. In April to June the Company had already issued three sets of octagonal dishes and plates and 24 wine glasses to the Castle. Breakage in a busy official kitchen was heavy, and the Governor's table entertained the commanders and passengers of every ship that called. The repeated issues, charged to the Company's general charges, show how much of the Castle's household the Company supplied, at a time when Skottowe was assuring the directors that he had furnished it at his own expense. Sal ammoniac and solder were used to re-tin the inside of the Castle's copper pans, using the brazier's stakes issued on an earlier page. Copper that lost its tin lining could poison food, so the kitchen's pans were relined regularly. Pewter water plates held hot water beneath a plate to keep food warm at table, a refinement of the Governor's dining that the Company paid for. The water glasses omitted from the last quarter's account were added here, so the storekeeper corrected his own records as he found errors.
217	208	19th October Brought over£ 65 16 9 Cuttlery ware 24 Desert Knives and forks Castle 2 8 6 Long Cloth 2 Ps. K Castle 2 17 4 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 16 for the Gardener 3	The general charges account concluded. Brought forward, £65 16s 9d 24 dessert knives and forks for the Castle, £2 8s 6d 2 pieces of long cloth, grade K, for the Castle, £2 17s 4d 1 iron pot weighing 16 lb for the gardener, £0 3s 0d

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		Thread ½ Whited Brown Castle 3 6 Braziers Ware viz. 3 Flat Candle Sticks 10 3 3 Steel Snuffers 9 Castle 19 3 Haberdashery 1 Gross Shirts Buttons Castle 2 3 Coals 3 Chaldrons 28 Bushels Armourers Shops 7 7 4 Candles viz. 170 Castle 150 Council 26 11 3 Braziers ware 2 Large Copper sauce pans Artillery 2 4 £ 108 13 2 Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. - Iron Ware viz. 1 Iron rim'd Lock wt. Brass Knobs Castle 6 7 3 Stock Locks Plantation House 8 1 8 Blank Keys Castle 5 10 1 . 6 Deals viz. 6 double 1 . 6 1 Single 2 2 Castle 1 2 8 Paint viz. 3 Whiting ½ 1½ St. Red dry 3½ Castle 4 Carried Over£ 2 3 6	½ lb of whited brown thread for the Castle, £0 3s 6d 3 flat candlesticks for the Castle, £0 10s 3d 3 steel snuffers for the Castle, £0 9s 0d Total for braziers' ware, £0 19s 3d 1 gross of shirt buttons for the Castle, £0 2s 3d 3 chaldrons 28 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop, £7 7s 4d 150 lb of candles for the Castle and 150 lb for the Council, £26 11s 3d 2 large copper saucepans for the artillery, £2 4s 0d Total for general charges, £108 13s 2d The repairs account recorded the stores issued for repairs from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs for the Castle, £0 6s 7d 3 stock locks for Plantation House, £0 8s 1d 8 blank keys for the Castle, £0 5s 10d Total for ironware, £1 0s 6d 6 double deals for the Castle, £1 0s 6d 1 single deal for the Castle, £0 2s 2d Total for deals, £1 2s 8d 3 lb of whiting for the Castle, £0 0s 1½d 1½ lb of Venetian red dry for the Castle, £0 0s 3½d Carried forward, £2 3s 6d **Interpretations** The general charges for the quarter came to £108 13s 2d, against £172 5s 0d from April to June. The busy spring quarter had re-equipped the Company's workshops with new tools, and the winter quarter needed fewer. Candles were again the largest single cost, 300 lb for the Castle and the Council chamber, where the long southern winter nights meant lighting from late afternoon. The Council's own candles lit its meetings and the secretary's work of copying the consultations for London. Snuffers were scissor-like tools for trimming the charred wick of a tallow candle, which otherwise smoked and guttered. Dessert knives and forks, smaller than table knives, mark the Governor's table as one that served separate courses in the fashionable manner. The repairs account was small, a few locks, keys and deals for the Castle and Plantation House, since the heavy repairs to the Castle had ended the year before. Copper saucepans for the artillery served the cooking of the gunners' messes at the batteries and at Longwood.
218	209	1767 Brought over£ 2 3 6 Glass Ware viz. 1 Sqr. 10 by 12 1 2 Sqr. 8 by 10 1 2 1 Sqr. 10¾ by 17¾ 1 4 Castle 3 6 Rozin 14 lb Castle 2 1 Turners ware viz. 1 Paint Brush 6½ 1 Plaisterers Do. 11½ Castle 1 8 Oil viz. 3⅛ Gallon Linseed 4 5½ ¼ Oil of Turpentine 1 3½ Castle	The repairs account concluded. Brought forward, £2 3s 6d 1 square of glass 10 by 12 inches for the Castle, £0 1s 0d 2 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches for the Castle, £0 1s 2d 1 square of glass 10¾ by 17¾ inches for the Castle, £0 1s 4d Total for glassware, £0 3s 6d 14 lb of rosin for the Castle, £0 2s 1d 1 paint brush for the Castle, £0 0s 6½d 1 plasterer's brush for the Castle, £0 0s 11½d Total for turners' ware, £0 1s 8d 3½ gallons of linseed oil for the Castle, £0 4s 5½d ¼ gallon of oil of turpentine for the Castle, £0 1s 3½d Total for oil, £0 5s 9d 6 [...] of 6d nails, £0 3s 3d Total for repairs, £2 19s 2d **Interpretations** The repairs account for the winter quarter came to under £3 0s 0d, smaller still than the £6 4s 3d spent between April and June. Nearly every item went to the Castle: a few panes of glass, a little paint and oil, rosin and nails. The great repair of the Castle,

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		5 9 Nails 6 lb . 6d. 3 3 £ 2 19 2	which cost the Company more than £780 0s 0d over two years and drew the directors' criticism, was finished, and only routine upkeep remained. The falling figures quarter by quarter gave the directors evidence that Skottowe's expensive work had been a single outlay, and that the Castle now cost little to maintain.
219	210	19th October Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Flour 796 lb 7 9 3 Arrack 60 Gallons 6 7 6 Sugar & Candy viz. 24 lb Sugar 6 279 lb Candy 5 16 3 6 2 3 Rice 160 lb 16 Salt 1 Bushel 3 9 Split Pease ¼ Bushel 2 4 Tea viz. 2 lb Bohea 1 9 8 lb Singlo 10 11 9 Oil 12 Bottles Florence 1 12 Beef and Pork viz. 34 Ps. Pork 5 1 3 4 Ps. Beef 13 11 5 15 2 £ 28 19	The diet expenses account recorded the stores issued for the Company's table from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 796 lb of flour, £7 9s 3d 60 gallons of arrack, £6 7s 6d 24 lb of sugar, £0 6s 0d 279 lb of sugar candy, £5 16s 3d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £6 2s 3d 160 lb of rice, £0 16s 0d 1 bushel of salt, £0 3s 9d ¼ bushel of split peas, £0 2s 4d 2 lb of Bohea tea, £0 1s 9d 8 lb of Singlo tea, £0 10s 0d Total for tea, £0 11s 9d 12 bottles of Florence oil, £1 12s 0d 34 pieces of pork, £5 1s 3d 4 pieces of beef, £0 13s 11d Total for beef and pork, £5 15s 2d Total for diet expenses, £28 19s 0d **Interpretations** Sugar candy was the most striking item, 279 lb in a single quarter for the Company's table, against 32 lb from April to June. The *Plassey*'s and later ships' cargoes from China had replenished the stores, and candy went into the Governor's punch, desserts and preserves. Its quantity suggests the table was making sweetmeats and preserved fruit, perhaps from the lemons and other fruit grown in the island's valleys, to serve to guests through the coming season. Salt pork rather than beef dominated the meat issued to the table, 34 pieces against 4. The island's own steers had been killed sparingly through the winter to protect the herds, and the fresh beef in the steward's monthly accounts was supplemented by pork from the salted stores. Singlo, the finest green tea, was chosen for the Governor's table, while the cheaper Bohea went chiefly to servants.
220	211	1767 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Twine 1 Skain for Cots 6 Tea 47 Bohea for the several Guards 2 1 2 Iron Ware viz. 2 Helves 1 2½ 1 Shod Shovel 1 9½ Banks's Guard 3 Oil viz. 56⅛ Galls. Train for the several Guards 9 8 7 ¼ Do. Linseed for marking Blankets 1 9 9 7 Deals viz. 2 Double 6 10 5 Single 11 for Coffins 17 10 Nails viz.	The garrison account recorded the stores issued to the soldiers from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 1 skein of twine for cots, £0 0s 6d 47 lb of Bohea tea for the various guards, £2 1s 2d 2 helves for the guard at Banks's, £0 1s 2½d 1 shod shovel for the guard at Banks's, £0 1s 9½d Total for ironware, £0 3s 0d 56⅓ gallons of train oil for the various guards, £9 8s 7d ¼ gallon of linseed oil for marking blankets, £0 1s 0d Total for oil, £9 9s 7d 2 double deals for coffins, £0 6s 10d 5 single deals for coffins, £0 11s 0d Total for deals, £0 17s 10d 2 [...] of 6d nails for coffins, £0 1s 1d 2 [...] of 10d nails for coffins, £0 0s 11d Total for nails, £0 2s 0d 25 lb of candles for the officers on duty, £2 13s 1d 86 blankets, £24 18s 3d 6 lb of cordage for Banks's, £0 2s 0d 4 sentinels' coats and breeches, £5 17s 6d 1 drummer's coat and breeches, £3 8s 0d Total for soldiers' clothing, £9 5s 6d 5 sentinels' hats for recruits, £0 14s 2d 3 pairs of men's ordinary shoes for recruits, £0 12s 3d

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		2 . 6 1 1 2 . 10 11 for Do. 2 Candles 25 for the Officers on duty 2 13 1 Blankets 86 24 18 8 Cordage 6 lb for Banks's 2 Soldiers Cloaths viz. 4 Centinels Coats and Breeches 5 17 6 1 Drummers Do. and Do. 3 8 9 5 6 Hats 5 Centinels for recruits 14 2 Shoes viz. 3 Pr. Mens Ordinary 12 3 4 Pr. Do. Midling 18 for Recruits 1 10 3 Carried Over£ 51 17 9	4 pairs of men's middling shoes for recruits, £0 18s 0d Total for shoes, £1 10s 3d Carried forward, £51 17s 9d **Interpretations** The garrison received 86 blankets in the quarter, the largest item on the account at nearly £25 0s 0d. In the southern winter the guard posts on the island's high ground, such as Banks's and the lookouts, grew cold and wet at night, and new blankets replaced those worn out by a year's hard use. Linseed oil marked each blanket with the Company's sign, so that a blanket sold or carried off by a soldier could be identified as Company property. The clothing, hats and shoes for recruits fitted out the men taken into the garrison during the quarter. The sailors and discharged soldiers who joined from passing ships, among them Hatton Walker, James Walter, George Washington, Benjamin Pool and Peter Higgins, arrived with only the clothes they wore. The drummer's coat, dearer than a sentinel's because of its lace and facings, was probably for John Wyrill, the island boy enlisted as a fifer in August. The deals and nails for coffins again recorded the garrison's losses through the quarter, among them Jeremiah Conner, drowned while fishing, and George Nelson.
221	212	19th October Brought over£ 51 17 9 Hosiers Ware viz. 7 Pr. Ordy. Mens Thread Stockgs. for Recruits 19 10 Shirts viz. 7 Shirts 1 11 3 5 Robes 5 4 for Recruits 1 16 7 Lines 24 No. 2 for Whips 6 10 Paint viz. 13 Yell. Oaker dry 3 3 10 Whiting 3 5 Ston. Red mixed 1 10 to Clean Accoutrements and marking Blankets 5 4 Tar ⅛ Gallon for the Artillery Company 2 Tin Ware 12 Lanthorns Leaves for repair'g Officers Lanths. 2 3 £ 55 6 9 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Pork viz. 3 Ps. Pork 8 11 4610 Bengal Do. 87 15 88 3 11 Rice 11191 lb 52 12 6 Iron Pots 2 Wt. 124 lb 1 3 3 Iron Ware 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 Carried Over£ 142 1 8	The garrison account concluded. Brought forward, £51 17s 9d 7 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings for recruits, £0 19s 10d 7 shirts for recruits, £1 11s 3d 5 [...] for recruits, £0 5s 4d Total for shirts, £1 16s 7d 24 fishing lines, number 2, for whips, £0 6s 10d 14 lb of yellow ochre dry to clean accoutrements and mark blankets, £0 3s 3d 10 lb of whiting to clean accoutrements and mark blankets, £0 0s 3d 4 lb of Venetian red mixed to clean accoutrements and mark blankets, £0 1s 10d Total for paint, £0 5s 4d ½ gallon of tar for the artillery company, £0 0s 2d 12 lantern leaves of horn to repair the officers' lanterns, £0 2s 3d Total for the garrison, £55 6s 9d The account for the slaves, entered as the blacks, recorded the stores issued to them from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 3 pieces of pork, £0 8s 11d 460 pieces of Bengal pork, £87 15s 0d Total for pork, £88 3s 11d 14,191 lb of rice, £52 13s 1d 2 iron pots weighing 124 lb, £1 3s 3d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 0d Carried forward, £142 2s 3d **Interpretations** The Bengal pork recorded here was the salt meat sent by the President and Council at Fort William. On 29 June 1767 the Council ordered the pork from the *Duke of Albany*, judged only middling, to be issued to the slaves, and the *Nottingham* brought a further 13 puncheons in July. Four hundred and sixty pieces, nearly all the Bengal pork, went to the Company's slaves in the quarter. The garrison and the Company's servants bought the better beef and pork from England, while the experiment from Bengal fed the island's slaves. Rice issued to the slaves rose to more than 14,000 lb from about 12,000 lb in the spring, while the yams they received fell by almost half. The winter yam stores were running low, and the Company made up the slaves' food with imported grain and meat.

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			Lines bought for whips appeared in the garrison's account. Floggings were the standard punishment in the Company's army, as in the British army, and the drummers of each company usually carried them out with whips of knotted cord. The cord wore out and had to be replaced.
222	213	1767 Brought over£ 142 1 8 Arrack 105½ Galls. Black at the Fortifications Plantations &ca 11 4 2 Flour 5 lb for the Sick Blacks 9 Tea 101½ Bohea 4 8 10 Sope 2 lb for the Lieut. Governors Servants 1 6 Salt ¼ Bushel for the Arg. Blacks 11 Sugar 226 lb 2 16 3 Pepper 2 1 Oil 2⅛ Galls. Train for the Sick 7 2 Candles 1 lb to Examine the Black House 2 2 Long Cloth ½ Ps. K for lying in Women 9 7 Kersey 2 Yards for Black Women 10 8 Turners Ware viz. 3 Bowls 3 Platters 6 9 Hosiers Ware 5 Pr. Womens worsted Stockings 13 9 Tin Ware 2 Lamps 1 6 Challow 2 Pieces for Black Women 16 7 Shoes viz. 52 Pr. Mens Ordinary 10 12 4 10 Pr. Womens Calf 1 6 8 11 19 £ 176 2 3	The account for the slaves concluded. Brought forward, £142 1s 8d 105½ gallons of arrack for the slaves at the fortifications, the plantations and the stores, £11 4s 2d 4 lb of flour for the sick slaves, £0 0s 9d 101½ lb of Bohea tea, £4 8s 10d 2 lb of soap for the Lieutenant Governor's servants, £0 1s 6d ¼ bushel of salt for the artillery's slaves, £0 0s 11d 224 lb of sugar, £2 16s 3d 2 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 2⅛ gallons of train oil for the sick, £0 7s 2d 1 lb of candles to inspect the slaves' houses, £0 2s 2d ½ piece of long cloth, grade K, for women lying in, £0 9s 7d 8 yards of kersey for the slave women, £0 10s 8d 3 wooden bowls and 3 platters, £0 6s 9d 5 pairs of women's worsted stockings, £0 13s 9d 2 tin lamps, £0 1s 6d 2 pieces of chelloes for the slave women, £0 16s 7d 52 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £10 12s 4d 10 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £1 6s 8d Total for shoes, £11 19s 0d Total for the slaves, £176 2s 3d **Interpretations** The figure brought forward was £142 1s 8d, which corrects the total carried at the foot of the previous page. The cloth issued for women lying in provided linen for slave women in childbirth. The stock account for the same quarter recorded three slave children born, Jemmy, Ruth and Damon, and the Company supplied cloth for the mothers and their newborn. Births added to the Company's labour force without the cost of buying new slaves, at a time when six slaves had died in the quarter. Providing for childbirth served the Company's interest in sustaining its workforce as much as the women's welfare. The arrack issued to slaves at the fortifications, plantations and stores was a ration given to those doing the heaviest labour, as at Sandy Bay in the spring. The slaves attached to the artillery hauled guns and ammunition, the work that would move the guns from Munden's Point in the coming quarter. The candle used to inspect the slaves' houses recurred from the spring, a regular night check on the quarters. Slave women received kersey, chelloes and worsted stockings, and a separate issue of calf leather shoes, the first clothing in the season's accounts issued specifically to them.
223	214	19th October Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Arrack 6½ Galls. 13 10 Sugar 22 lb 5 6 Rice 132 12 Sope 8 lb 5 8 Oil ¾ Galls. Train 2 6 Tea 4 lb Bohea	The account for the Malays recorded the stores issued to them from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 6½ gallons of arrack, £0 13s 10d 22 lb of sugar, £0 5s 6d 132 lb of rice, £0 12s 0d 8 lb of soap, £0 5s 8d ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 6d 4 lb of Bohea tea, £0 3s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 11d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 5s 7d Total for the Malays, £2 10s 6d

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		3 6 Pepper 2 lb 1 Salt ¼ Bushell 11 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens fine 5 7 £ 2 10 6 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 Rice and Paddy viz. 3824 Paddy for Poultry and Horses 10 7 7 354 Rice for Do. and Overseers 1 5 8 11 13 3 Iron Ware viz. 2 Stock Locks Maldavia Garden & S. Bay 5 4½ 7 Pick Axes 1 3 - ½ 7 Helves 4 2½ 7 Iron Shovels 4 6½ 1 Spade 3 9 1 Hand Hatchet 1 1½ Do. 2 Rag Stones for Cutting Bushes 5 1 Pad Lock Horse Point 1 6 2 Scythe Stones Ft. Garden 2½ 2 4 11 Carried Over£ 13 18 2	The plantation account recorded the stores issued for the Company's farms and gardens from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 3,824 lb of paddy for poultry and horses, £10 7s 7d 354 lb of rice for poultry and overseers, £1 5s 8d Total for rice and paddy, £11 13s 3d 2 stock locks for the Maldivia garden and Sandy Bay, £0 5s 4½d 7 pickaxes for the same, £1 3s 0½d 7 helves for the same, £0 4s 2¾d 7 iron shovels for the same, £0 4s 6½d 1 spade for the same, £0 3s 9d 1 hand hatchet for the same, £0 1s 1½d 2 rag stones for cutting bushes, £0 0s 5d 1 padlock for Horse Point, £0 1s 6d 2 scythe stones for the Fort garden, £0 0s 2½d Total for ironware, £2 4s 11d Carried forward, £13 18s 2d **Interpretations** The Malays again received a separate and small allowance, much as in the spring. Their issue of arrack, sugar, tea and fine shoes, goods the slaves received sparingly or not at all, confirms their different standing. Their small numbers made the whole quarter's supply cost little more than £2 10s 0d. Maldivia was one of the Company's gardens near Jamestown, in a sheltered part of the valley where water was available for irrigation. The Fort garden lay close to the Castle and supplied its kitchen with vegetables. Horse Point was a stretch of pasture on the island's east side where the Company grazed its horses, and the padlock secured its gate against stray cattle. Paddy fed the Company's poultry and horses, while rice went to the overseers who managed the slaves on the plantations. Rag stones were used here to sharpen the bill hooks and hatchets for cutting back the bushes that spread over unworked ground.
224	215	1767 Brought over£ 13 18 2 Turners Ware viz. 2 Pr. Yokes for Oxen 3 12 2 2 Ox Bows 2 8 13 14 10 Cordage 18 for thatching 6 Deals viz. 1 Double Deal for the Maldavia Garden 3 5 13 Ft. Riga Timber for mak'g gates at L. Wood 15 2 18 7 Nails viz. 2 . 10 3 12 2 3 . 6 2 8 for the use of the Maldavia Garden and Long Wood 5 3 Iron 32 lb for the wood Cart 6 8 Cuttlery ware 2 Shoe Knives for Cuttering Bushes 1 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 33 lb for the Dairy 7 2 Oil 1⅛ Gall. Linseed Maldavia Garden 3 9 Tar 2 Gallons Wood Cart 1 6 Paint 10 Ston. Red mixed for Gates 4 7 Bunting 1 Yard White for the Dairy	The plantation account concluded. Brought forward, £13 18s 2d 2 pairs of yokes for oxen, £3 12s 2d 2 ox bows, £0 2s 8d Total for turners' ware, £3 14s 10d 18 lb of cordage for thatching, £0 6s 0d 1 double deal for the Maldivia garden, £0 3s 5d 1½ feet of Riga timber for making gates at Longwood, £0 15s 2d Total for deals, £0 18s 7d 2 [...] of 10d nails and 3 [...] of 6d nails for the Maldivia garden and Longwood, total £0 5s 3d 32 lb of iron for the wood cart, £0 6s 8d 3 shoe knives for cutting bushes, £0 1s 0d 1 iron pot weighing 33 lb for the dairy, £0 7s 2d 1⅛ gallons of linseed oil for the Maldivia garden, £0 3s 9d 2 gallons of tar for the wood cart, £0 1s 6d 10 lb of Venetian red mixed for gates, £0 4s 7d 1 yard of white bunting for the dairy, £0 0s 7d 1 tin watering pot, £0 2s 8d Total for the plantations, £20 10s 9d The hospital account recorded the stores issued for the sick from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 161 lb of flour, £1 10s 2d 161 lb of sugar, £2 3s 0d 161 lb of rice, £0 11s 10d 10 gallons of train oil, £1 13s 9d ½ gallon of linseed oil, £0 1s 0d Total for oil, £1 14s 9d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 4s 8d 10 lb of Bohea tea, £0 8s 9d 12 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 7s 0d 1 lb of whiting, £0 0s 2d 2 blank keys, £0 1s 6d ½ lb of cotton wick, £0 1s 5d

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		7 Tin Ware 1 Watering Pot 2 8 £ 20 10 9 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1 July to 30 Sept. 1767 Flour 161 lb 1 10 2 Sugar 161 2 . 3 Rice 161 lb 11 10 Oil viz. 10 Galls. Train 1 13 9 ⅛ Do. Linseed 1 1 14 9 Salt 1½ Bushels 4 8 Tea 10 Bohea 8 9 Glass Ware 12 Sqrs. Glass 8 by 10 7 Paint 1 lb Whiting 2 Iron Ware 2 Blank Keys 1 6 Twine ½ lb Cotton Wick 1 5 £ 7 - 6	Carried forward, £7 [...]s 6d **Interpretations** Yokes and bows for the oxen equipped the Company's draught teams, which hauled the wood cart, stone and stores across the island's steep tracks. A yoke was the heavy wooden beam laid across the necks of a pair of oxen, held in place by the bows beneath. The wood cart carried firewood, a scarce fuel on an island stripped of much of its forest, and needed constant iron and tar to keep it running. The white bunting for the dairy was perhaps used to strain milk or cover it against flies. The dairy made butter and cheese from the Company's cows, and the butter in the steward's monthly accounts for the Governor's table came partly from it. Gates painted red at Longwood and the Maldivia garden kept the Company's livestock in and the stray cattle of the common out, the same problem that led Lieutenant St Maurice to seek more land on 12 October 1767. The hospital's sugar, flour and rice made the light diet for sick soldiers. Glass for the hospital windows let light in while keeping out the cold winds of the southern winter.
225	216	19th October Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Cordage viz. 1 Cable Wt. 20 . 1 cwt. qrs. 7 . 2 . 9 Cordage cwt. qrs. lb 52 2 4 Paint viz. 26 lb Ston. Red mixed 11 11 4 Yell. Oaker dry 10 9 Bottels Blacking 4 8 2 Ston. Red dry 6 2 4 Yellow Do. 11 1 Umber 3 36 Brimstone 10 5 1 15 2 Oil viz. 14⅞ Galls. Train 2 8 1 2½ Do. Linseed 9 10 ⅝ Gall. Oil of Turpentine 3 3 3 1 2 Arrack 6⅛ Galls. for Men haul'g up and Launch'g L. Boats 13 7 Nails viz. 10 . 10 1 15 4 . 2 2 10 20 . 6 11 11 4 . 20 1 6	The boats account recorded the stores issued for the Company's boats from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 1 cable weighing 20 cwt 1 qr and 7 cwt 2 qr 9 lb of cordage, £52 2s 4d 26 lb of Venetian red mixed, £0 4s 11d 4 lb of yellow ochre dry, £0 0s 10d 9 barrels of blacking, £0 4s 8d 2 lb of Venetian red dry, £0 6s 2d 4 lb of yellow ochre dry, £0 0s 11d 1 lb of umber, £0 0s 3d 56 lb of brimstone, £0 10s 5d Total for paint, £1 15s 2d 14⅞ gallons of train oil, £2 8s 1d 2½ gallons of linseed oil, £0 9s 10d ⅝ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 3s 3d Total for oil, £3 1s 2d 6½ gallons of arrack for the men hauling up and launching the longboats, £0 13s 7d 10 [...] of 10d nails, £0 1s 5d 4 [...] of 2d nails, £0 2s 10d 20 [...] of 6d nails, £0 11s 11d 4 [...] of 20d nails, £0 1s 6d 2 [...] of 4d nails, £0 1s 2d 3 [...] of 3d nails, £0 2s 2d Total for nails for the boats in general, £2 14s 7d 50 lb of rosin, £0 7s 3d 50 lb of turpentine, £0 11s 6d 1 barrel of tar, £0 19s 10d 1 barrel of pitch, £0 13s 7d Total for pitch and tar, £2 11s 3d Carried forward, £63 4s 1d **Interpretations** The paint total is entered as £1 15s 2d, though its items add to less, and the nail total of £2 14s 7d is more than the items listed. The clerk's figures are given as they stand. The cable and cordage were the largest item, more than £52 0s 0d. The Company's longboats lay at moorings in James Bay, where the swell and rocks wore through mooring cables quickly, and the crane at the landing place used heavy rope to hoist stores out of the boats. A new cable for the boats' moorings

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		2 . 4 1 2 3 . 3 2 2 Boats in general 2 14 7 Pitch and Tar viz. 30 Rozin 7 8 30 Turpentine 6 6 1 Barl. Tar 19 10 1 Do. Pitch 13 7 Do. 2 17 3 Carried Over£ 63 4 1	cost almost as much as the stores for the Sandy Bay works in a quarter. Hauling up the longboats onto the beach and launching them again was hard and dangerous work in the surf, and the men who did it received a ration of arrack, as did the crews who rowed them. The boats were drawn up for repair, and the pitch, tar, rosin and brimstone sealed and fumigated their hulls before they returned to the water. Brimstone burned under an upturned boat killed shipworm and other pests in the timber.
226	217	1767 Brought over£ 63 4 1 Deals viz. ½ Ft. Riga Timber 1 2 9 1 Ft. Ash plank 2 16 6 6 Ft. Oak Do. 7 10 1½ Ft. Elm Do. 2 7 3 10 Elm Boards 2 2 6 5 Double Deals 17 1 4 Wainscoat Boards 1 6 6 Long Boats 18 3 Iron Ware viz. 2 Hand Hatchets 3 5 20 Rolled Iron 7 1 L. Boats 1 Blank Key for the Black House 9 11 3 Iron 78 lb Long Boat 16 3 Twine 10 Skains Do. 5 Canvas 1 Ps. 8 Yds. English Do. 5 . 4 Blocks viz. 2 double of 8 Inches 10 8 2 Single of 8 Do. 6 2 Do. 16 10 Lines 1 Deep Sea for Do. 4 8 £ 89 15	The boats account concluded. Brought forward, £63 4s 1d ½ piece of Riga timber for the longboats, £1 2s 9d 1 foot of ash plank for the longboats, £2 16s 6d 6 feet of oak plank for the longboats, £7 10s 0d 1½ feet of elm plank for the longboats, £2 7s 3d 10 elm boards for the longboats, £2 2s 6d 5 double deals for the longboats, £0 17s 1d 4 wainscot boards for the longboats, £1 6s 6d Total for deals, £13 3s 0d 2 hand hatchets for the longboats, £0 3s 5d 20 lb of rolled iron for the longboats, £0 7s 1d 1 blank key for the slaves' house, £0 0s 9d Total for ironware, £0 11s 3d 78 lb of iron for the longboats, £0 16s 3d 10 skeins of twine for the longboats, £0 5s 0d 3 pieces and 3 yards of English canvas for the longboats, £5 0s 4d 2 double blocks of 8 inches for the longboats, £0 10s 8d 2 single blocks of 8 inches for the longboats, £0 6s 2d Total for blocks, £0 16s 10d 1 deep-sea line for the longboats, £0 4s 8d Total for the boats, £89 1s 5d **Interpretations** The longboats were rebuilt in part during the quarter. Oak, ash and elm plank, wainscot and deals together cost more than £13 0s 0d, a carpenter's refit of the boats' hulls, keels and thwarts. Oak was used for the frame and keel, which took the shock of grounding on the beach, ash for oars and fittings, and elm for planking below the waterline, where it lasted well when kept wet. Mitchell had told the Council in August that one longboat was almost worn out, and it bought a replacement from Captain Richardson. The timber recorded here repaired the rest of the fleet through the quiet winter, so that the boats were ready for the next season of ships. New canvas made fresh sails, and the deep-sea line served for sounding the depth of water near the landing place, where shifting sand and rocks could wreck a laden boat. The quarter's charge for the boats, nearly £90 0s 0d, exceeded the spring's £74 2s 11d, a measure of how much the open road at Jamestown cost the Company to work.
227	218	19th October Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Cordage 9 . 1 . 7 cwt. qrs. lb for Flags & Mund. Point 17 7 8 Arrack 1 Gallon for Mix'g Colours 2 2 Deals viz.	The fortifications account recorded the stores issued for the defences from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 9 cwt 1 qr 7 lb of cordage for flags and Munden's Point, £17 7s 8d 1 gallon of arrack for the hill rollers, £0 2s 2d 10 baulks for Munden's Point, £4 8s 4d 2 cuffers for Munden's Point, £0 6s 3d Total for deals, £4 14s 7d

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		10 Bauths 4 8 4 2 Cuffers 6 3 for Mundens Point 4 14 7 Paint viz. 26 lb W. Lead dry 3 2 14 B. Black'g 7 3 8 White Lead mixed 3 2 1 Umber 3 for Paint'g Gun Carriages 13 10 Canvas 3 Yds. Osenbrigs for Flags 2 7 Iron Ware viz. 6 Sail Needles for making Flags 4½ 1 Stock Lock for the Magazine 2 8½ 3 1 Oil viz. 3½ Galls. Linseed 13 10 1 Do. Oil of Turpentine 5 2 for Painting Carriages 19 Flour 6 lb for making Rockets 11 £ 24 9	26 lb of white lead dry for painting gun carriages, £0 3s 2d 14 boxes of blacking for painting gun carriages, £0 7s 3d 8 lb of white lead mixed for painting gun carriages, £0 3s 2d 1 lb of umber for painting gun carriages, £0 0s 3d Total for paint, £0 13s 10d 3 yards of osnaburg for flags, £0 2s 7d 6 sail needles for making flags, £0 0s 4½d 1 stock lock for the magazine, £0 2s 8½d Total for ironware, £0 3s 1d 3½ gallons of linseed oil for painting gun carriages, £0 13s 10d 1 gallon of oil of turpentine for painting gun carriages, £0 5s 2d Total for oil, £0 19s 0d 6 lb of flour for making rockets, £0 1s 1d Total for the fortifications, £24 9s 0d **Interpretations** Most of the cordage, more than 9 hundredweight, went to Munden's Point, where Mitchell was preparing the new battery and the guns were to be moved to Sandy Bay in the coming quarter. Heavy ropes and baulks rigged the tackles and sheers used to lift guns off their carriages and lower them down the cliff paths to the beach for carriage by boat. The hill rollers were the men who rolled guns and stores up and down the island's steep slopes on wooden rollers, and their gallon of arrack was the usual reward for heavy hauling. Flour for making rockets was mixed into a paste to bind the paper cases of signal rockets, or into the composition itself to slow its burning. With the rockets driven by mallet in the laboratory, it completes the picture of the artillery making its own night signals for the island's lookout posts. The gun carriages were repainted with white lead and blacking at the end of the winter, protecting their timber before the guns were moved and the new season of ships began.
228	219	1767 Sandy Bay Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1767 viz. Candles 12 lb for the Officers 1 5 6 Cordage 67 lb 1 2 4 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pr. H. L. Hinges 1 10½ 1 Pr. Dovetail Hinges 3½ 2 Files 1 1 Smiths Rubber 4 5 1 Hatchet 1 3½ 1 Carpenters Adz 2 7 14 Gimblets 3 2½ 1 Helve 7½ 2 two Ft. Rules 2 93 Rod Iron 1 . 5 23 Plate Iron 10 . ½ 1 Pr. Smiths Bellows 5 5 4½ 7 13 6	The account for the Sandy Bay fortification recorded the stores issued there from 1 July to 30 September 1767. 12 lb of candles for the officers, £1 5s 6d 67 lb of cordage, £1 2s 4d 1 pair of H hinges, £0 1s 10½d 1 pair of dovetail hinges, £0 0s 3¼d 2 files, £0 1s 0d 1 smith's rubber, £0 4s 5d 1 hatchet, £0 1s 3½d 1 carpenter's adze, £0 2s 7d 14 gimlets, £0 3s 2½d 1 helve, £0 0s 7½d 2 two-foot rules, £0 2s 0d 97 lb of rod iron, £1 0s 5d 23 lb of plate iron, £0 10s 0½d 1 pair of smith's bellows, £5 5s 5½d Total for ironware, £7 13s 6d 1 elm board, £0 4s 2d 5 feet of oak plank, £6 5s 0d 6 cuffers, £0 18s 9d 3 pieces of Riga timber, £6 16s 3d Total for deals, £14 4s 3d 310 lb of iron, £3 3s 9d 238 pieces of beef for the slaves, £50 2s 0d 106 pieces of pork for the slaves, £15 15s 9d Total for beef and pork, £65 17s 9d 450 lb of rice for the slaves, £1 13s 2d 12 fishing lines, number 4, £0 4s 3d Carried forward, £100 9s 11d **Interpretations** The smith's bellows, at more than £5 0s 0d, equipped the forge set up at Sandy Bay to make the

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		Deals viz. 1 Elm Board 4 3 5 Ft. Oak Plank 6 5 6 Cuffers 18 9 3 Ft. Riga Timber 6 16 3 14 4 3 Iron 310 lb 3 3 9 Beef & Pork viz. 233 lb Beef 50 2 106 lb Pork 15 15 9 for the Slaves 65 17 9 Rice 430 for the Slaves 1 13 2 Lines 12 No. 4 4 8 Carried Over£ 100 9 11	portcullises for the gateway, the work John Dobson was hired to direct on 17 August 1767. Bellows blew air into a forge fire to raise it to the heat needed for working iron. The rod and plate iron, more than 400 lb in all, went into the grilles and fittings of the gate, and the oak plank framed them. A portcullis had to be heavy enough to stop a battering ram and run freely in its grooves, and making it on the spot spared the Company the cost and risk of shipping one from England. The slaves at Sandy Bay received far more beef than in the spring, 238 pieces against none, with 106 pieces of pork. Their rations were raised for the heaviest stage of the works, the finishing of the rampart and the carriage of stone for Munden's Point. As in the spring, the Company fed the labourers on the fortifications better than the slaves on its farms, because the work demanded it and the Council wanted the defences finished by Christmas.
229	220	19th October Brought over£ 100 9 11 Oil viz. 1 Bottle Florence 2 3 1 Gallon Train 3 4 5 6 Nails 10 . 3 7 4 12 . 6 6 6 13 10 Thread 1 lb Coloured 3 4 Lead 12½ Shot 2 4 Pitch and Tar viz. 24 Pitch 2 6 Rozin 11 2 11 Canvas 8 Yds. English 2 4 Turners ware 12 Labourers Baskets 13 9 Coals 32 Chaldrons 8 Bushels for Burning Lime 62 16 8 £ 165 11 1 St. Helena 30th September 1767 Errors Excepted Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	The account for the Sandy Bay fortification concluded. Brought forward, £100 9s 11d 1 bottle of Florence oil, £0 2s 3d 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 4d Total for oil, £0 6s 0d 10 [...] of 3d nails, £0 7s 4d 12 [...] of 6d nails, £0 6s 6d Total for nails, £0 13s 10d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 4d 12½ lb of sheet lead, £0 2s 4d 24 lb of pitch, £0 2s 0d 6 lb of rosin, £0 0s 11d Total for pitch and tar, £0 2s 11d 8 yards of English canvas, £0 2s 4d 12 labourers' baskets, £0 13s 9d 32 chaldrons 8 bushels of coal for burning lime, £62 16s 2d Total for the Sandy Bay fortification, £165 11s 1d The account was dated at St Helena on 30 September 1767, issued subject to errors and signed by James Powell, storekeeper. **Interpretations** Coal for burning lime was the largest single charge in the quarter's account for Sandy Bay, more than £62 0s 0d. Lime mortar bound the stones of the revetment, rampart and walls, and it was made by burning limestone or shells in a kiln at great heat. St Helena had little wood left to spare for fuel, so the Company shipped coal from England to fire its lime kilns. Over 32 chaldrons, more than 40 tons, went to finish the masonry of the defences in a single quarter. The figure shows the true cost of building in stone on an island without its own fuel, and it explains why the works at Sandy Bay ran to more than £165 0s 0d in stores alone between July and September. With the spring quarter's £180 16s 5d, the stores for Sandy Bay came to nearly £350 0s 0d in six months, before the wages of the soldiers, slaves and hired labourers who built it.
230	221	1767 Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honble Compy's Ware Houses September 30th 1767 - Anchors viz. 4 Iron Hoops 1 1 9 2 Anchor Stocks 16 Feet long 12 12 5	The inventory of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 September 1767 followed. 4 iron hoops for anchors, £1 1s 9d 2 anchor stocks 16 feet long, £12 12s 5d 16 treenails, £0 3s 0d 5 anchors, 2 anchor stocks, 1 anchor on the West Rocks and 2 iron hoops, £93 10s 10d 1 anchor weighing 33 cwt 0 qr 6 lb, £56 6s 7d

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		16 Tree Nails 3 5 Anchors 2 Do. Stocks 1 Anchor on the West Rocks 2 Iron Hoops 93 10 10 1 Anchor Wt. 33 . 2 . 6 cwt. qrs. lb 56 6 7 1 Anchor Wt. 34 . 2 . 10 59 7 3 223 1 10 Bunting viz. 3 Ps. 13½ Red 8 6 6 10 White 5 6 1 Ps. 33½ Blue 4½ Do. damaged 2 6 2 10 18 2 Broad Cloth viz. 75½ Yds. Scarlet 77 14 1 14½ Blue 2½ Do. damaged 15 2 6 4 French Grey 2 Do. damaged 5 7 6 54½ Light Brown 47 9 5 ⅝ Green 7 146 2 6 Blankets 37 10 9 3 Buckram 139¾ Yds. 7 2 Carried Over£ 397 14 3	1 anchor weighing 34 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, £59 7s 3d Total for anchors, £223 1s 10d 3 pieces and 13½ yards of red bunting, £8 6s 6d 10 yards of white bunting, £0 5s 6d 1 piece and 33½ yards of blue bunting, with 4½ yards damaged, £2 6s 2d Total for bunting, £10 18s 2d 75½ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £77 14s 1d 14½ yards of blue broadcloth, with 2½ yards damaged, £15 2s 6d 4 yards of French grey broadcloth, with 2 yards damaged, £5 7s 6d 54⅝ yards of light brown broadcloth, £57 9s 5d ⅝ yard of green broadcloth, £0 9s 0d Total for broadcloth, £146 2s 6d 37 blankets, £10 9s 3d 139¾ yards of buckram, £7 2s 0d Carried forward, £397 14s 3d **Interpretations** The inventory was the stocktaking Corneille and Kirkpatrick were appointed to carry out on 31 August 1767, made while the stores were closed for September. It valued every item remaining, so that the Company's books could show its full assets on the island at the year's end. Anchors made up more than half the value on this page. The Company kept seven or more spare anchors with their stocks and hoops, the reserve from which it had sold one to a ship that quarter for over £77 0s 0d. One anchor lay on the West Rocks, evidently lost there from a ship or boat and still counted as Company property, perhaps to be recovered when the sea allowed. Treenails were wooden pegs used to fasten the planks of a ship or an anchor stock, swelling when wet to make a tight joint. Scarlet broadcloth worth nearly £78 0s 0d was held mainly for officers' coats. Damaged lengths were counted separately, since cloth stained or rotted by damp in storage could no longer be sold at full price.
231	222	19th October Brought over£ 397 14 3 Braziers Ware viz. 8 Skimmers at 2/5¾ @ 19 10½ 1 Do. @ 2/8 2 8 2 Do. @ 14/4 @ 1 8 8 1 Warming Pan 11 3 10 Hash Do. wt. Covers 13 10 10 1 Do. without Do. 14 10 7 Large Cocks 1 11 3 1 Bottling Do. 2 14 8 1 Boiling Pot of 8 Gallons 2 2 5 1 Do. of 6 Do. 1 15 5 1 Pr. Candle Sticks 7 1 4 Flatt Do. 13 8 4 Pr. Steel Snuffers 1 13 1 Small Sauce Pan 13 9 2½ Brass wire 7 6 4 Bolts for the Crane 4 10 7	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £397 14s 3d 8 skimmers at 2s 5¾d each, £0 19s 10½d 1 skimmer at 2s 8d, £0 2s 8d 2 skimmers at 14s 4d each, £1 8s 8d 1 warming pan, £0 11s 3d 10 hash pans with covers, £13 10s 10d 1 hash pan without a cover, £0 14s 10d 7 large cocks, £1 11s 3d 1 bottling cock, £2 14s 8d 1 boiling pot of 8 gallons, £2 2s 5d 1 boiling pot of 6 gallons, £1 15s 5d 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 7s 1d 4 flat candlesticks, £0 13s 8d 11 pairs of steel snuffers, £1 13s 0d 1 small saucepan, £0 13s 9d 2½ lb of brass wire, £0 7s 6d 4 rollers for the crane, £4 10s 7d 5¼ lb of brass for soldering, £0 11s 9½d 6 lb of copper plate, £0 8s 6d Total for braziers' ware, £34 17s 9d 12 Bibles, £2 4s 3d 11 Books of Common Prayer, £1 11s 8d 8 Testaments, £0 9s 8d 1 primer, £0 0s 3d 18 spelling books, £0 14s 4d Total for books, £5 2s 0d Carried forward, £437 17s 7d **Interpretations** The books held in stock show the Company supplying the island's religious life and schooling together. Bibles, Testaments and Books of Common Prayer served the church in Jamestown, where the chaplain William Bearcroft led services according to

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		3¼ Brass for Soldering 11 9½ 6 lb Copper Plate 8 6 34 17 9 Books viz. 12 Bibles 2 4 3 11 Common Prayer Books 1 11 8 8 Testaments 9 8 1 Primmer 3 18 Spelling Books 14 4 5 . 2 Carried Over£ 437 17 7	the Church of England. Spelling books and the primer served the children taught by Richard Beale, the schoolmaster. Eighteen spelling books in stock, against two sold to servants and three to others that quarter, suggest the Company expected the school to grow. Hash pans were deep covered pans for stewing chopped meat, a common dish for using up salt and leftover meat, and they made up the costliest item in the braziers' ware. A warming pan, a covered brass pan of hot coals on a long handle, warmed a bed before use on the island's cold winter nights. The four rollers for the crane were brass sheaves for the crane at the landing place, kept in reserve because the crane's rollers wore quickly under the weight of casks and guns hoisted from the boats.
232	223	1767 Brought over£ 437 17 7 Beef and Pork viz. 213 Hhds. 35 Ps. Pork 2641 3 3 137 . 40 Beef 1911 5 2 6 Punchs. Bengal Do. 19 Hhds. 14 Ps. Do. Pork 578 13 11 5031 6 4 Blocks 2 Iron bound Catt 12 10 2 Do. Snatch 1 7 6 4 Do. Dead Eyes 2 13 1 1 double Long Tackle 4 9 8 double Blocks of 8 Inches 8 Single Do. of 8 Do. 3 10 - ½ 24 double Do. wt. Brass Sheaves of 5 Inches 21 Single Do. with Do. of 5 Do. 8 10 3½ 21 18 6 Copper Money 3390 half Pence 102 2 4 Coals 16 Chaldron 30 13 4 Canvas viz. 7 Ps. 19¼ English Canvas 19 3 10 12½ Osenbrigs 10 8 19 16 6 Cordage viz. 1 Cable of 9 Inches Wt. 19 . 3 . 10 cwt. qrs. lb 2 Cables 5 Do. 13 - 2 4 Coils 5 Do. 30 . 3 . 6 15 Coils 4 Do. 12 . 1 . 16 12 Do. 3¾ Do. 49 - 11 Cordage Carried Over 125 . - 11 Carried Over£ 5653 15 7	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £437 17s 7d 216 hogsheads and 35 pieces of pork, £2,641 2s 3d 137 hogsheads and 30 pieces of beef, £1,911 5s 2d 6 puncheons of Bengal beef and 19 hogsheads and 14 pieces of Bengal pork, £478 18s 11d Total for beef and pork, £5,031 6s 4d 2 iron-bound cat blocks, £0 12s 10d 2 iron-bound snatch blocks, £1 7s 6d 4 iron-bound deadeyes, £2 13s 1d 1 double long tackle block, £0 4s 9d 8 double blocks of 8 inches and 8 single blocks of 8 inches, £3 10s 0½d 24 double blocks and 21 single blocks with brass sheaves of 5 inches, £8 10s 3½d Total for blocks, £21 18s 6d [...] copper halfpence, £112 2s 4d 16 chaldrons of coal, £30 13s 4d 7 pieces and 19¾ yards of English canvas, £19 5s 10d 12½ yards of osnaburg, £0 10s 8d Total for canvas, £19 16s 6d 1 cable of 9 inches, weighing 19 cwt 3 qr 10 lb 2 cables of 5 inches, weighing 13 cwt 0 qr 2 lb 4 coils of 5-inch rope, weighing 30 cwt 3 qr 6 lb 15 coils of 4-inch rope, weighing 12 cwt 1 qr 16 lb 12 coils of 3¾-inch rope, weighing 49 cwt 0 qr 4 lb Cordage carried forward, 125 cwt 0 qr 4 lb Carried forward, £5,653 15s 7d **Interpretations** Salt meat dominated the inventory. More than 350 hogsheads of English beef and pork, worth over £4,500 0s 0d, lay in the warehouses at the end of September, with the remaining salt meat from Bengal. That stock was the island's insurance against famine. The garrison, the slaves and the Company's servants could live on it for months if no ships came, a real danger in wartime, when an enemy squadron might cut St Helena off from supply. The value of the salt meat alone was nearly ten times the year's rents from the island's land. Copper halfpence formed the island's small change. Silver coin was scarce, and copper paid the small sums of daily life, from a soldier's purchases to a labourer's day wages. The Company held a large stock and issued it as needed. Cat blocks and snatch blocks were heavy pulleys used to hoist anchors and to lead ropes around obstacles, and deadeyes held the shrouds that stayed a mast. These, with the cables and coils of rope, formed a reserve of ship's gear for any vessel needing to refit, as the *Neptune* had done that season.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
233	224	19th October Brought Over£ 5653 15 7 Cordage brought over 185 . - 11 cwt. qrs. lb£ 13 Coils of 3½ Inches Wt. 48 . 1 . 21 10 Coils 3 Do. 24 . 3 . 4 5 Do. 2½ Do. 9 . 1 . 3 12 Do. 2 Do. 16 - 15 2 Do. 12 Thread Ratling 1 . 1 . 14 7 Do. 9 Do. Do. 4 . 1 . 6 289 . 1 . 18 515 9 7 Cart Wheels viz. 8 Pr. Cart Wheels 33 16 4 1 Axletree 8 10 3 Spare sides for Wheel Barrows 8 4 30 Wheel Barrows 23 5 57 18 6 Cuttlery Ware viz. 11 Horse Combs 2 9 418 Buckling Do. 5 13 2½ 229 Horn Do. 1 18 2 1 Ivory Do. 1 8 21 fine Ivory Do. 2 9 26 Shoe Knives 8 6 33 Butchers Do. 16 10½ 1 doz. Ivory Handle Knives and forks 1 11 9 1 doz. Do. Do. desert Do. and Do. 1 4 3 7 Cases of Fleams 1 4 9 15 Chopping Knives 19 1½ 11 Pallet Do. 9 2 10 Stone Do. 14 7 7 Budding 6 8½ Cuttlery Ware Carried Over£ 18 . 6 Carried Over£ 6227 3 8	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £5,653 15s 7d Cordage brought forward, 185 cwt 0 qr 11 lb 13 coils of 3½-inch rope, weighing 48 cwt 1 qr 21 lb 10 coils of 3-inch rope, weighing 24 cwt 3 qr 4 lb 5 coils of 2½-inch rope, weighing 9 cwt 1 qr 3 lb 12 coils of 2-inch rope, weighing 16 cwt 0 qr 15 lb 2 coils of 12-thread ratline, weighing 1 cwt 1 qr 14 lb 3 coils of 9-thread ratline, weighing 4 cwt 1 qr 6 lb Total for cordage, 289 cwt 1 qr 18 lb, £515 9s 7d 8 pairs of cart wheels, £33 16s 4d 1 axletree, £0 8s 10d 5 spare sides for wheelbarrows, £0 8s 4d 30 wheelbarrows, £23 5s 0d Total for cart wheels and barrows, £57 18s 6d 11 horse combs, £0 2s 9d 418 buckling combs, £5 13s 2½d 229 horn combs, £1 18s 2d 1 ivory comb, £0 1s 8d 21 fine ivory combs, £2 9s 0d 26 shoe knives, £0 8s 6d 45 butchers' knives, £0 16s 10½d 1 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 11s 9d 1 dozen ivory-handled dessert knives and forks, £1 4s 3d 7 cases of fleams, £1 4s 9d 15 chopping knives, £0 19s 1½d 11 pallet knives, £0 9s 2d 10 [...] knives, £0 14s 7d 7 pudding knives, £0 6s 8½d Cutlery carried forward, £18 0s 6d Carried forward, £6,227 3s 8d **Interpretations** The cordage brought forward was 185 cwt 0 qr 11 lb, which corrects the figure entered at the foot of the previous page. The full stock of rope weighed more than 14 tons and was worth over £500 0s 0d, the second largest store after salt meat. Ratline was thin rope that formed the rungs of the rope ladders up a ship's shrouds, and its presence confirms that much of this stock was held for refitting ships. Fleams were sharp lancets in a folding case, used by farriers to bleed horses and cattle, a standard treatment for animals of the period. The large stock of buckling combs, more than 400, held for sale over years, since the island received a consignment only when the annual storeship came and had to keep enough to last. Thirty wheelbarrows in reserve stood ready for the next season of work on the fortifications, at Munden's Point once Sandy Bay was finished.
234	225	1767 Brought over£ 6227 3 8 Cuttlery ware brought over£ 18 . 6 65 Pruning Knives 4 9½ 71 . 4 doz. Pr. Shoe Buckles 25 8 4 6 . 4 Pr. Knee Do. 1 2 2 3 . 17 Pr. Leather Garters 8 18 3 7 Carvers and Cooks Knives 16 - ½ 54 10 1 Camblet viz. 22 Yds. Green 3 6 11	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £6,227 3s 8d Cutlery brought forward, £18 0s 6d 65 pruning knives, £0 4s 9½d 77 dozen and 4 pairs of shoe buckles, £25 8s 4d 6 dozen and 4 pairs of knee buckles, £1 2s 2d 3 dozen and 11 pairs of leather garters, £3 13s 3d 7 carving and cooks' knives, £0 16s 0d Total for cutlery, £54 10s 1d 22 yards of green camlet, £3 6s 11d 14 yards of scarlet camlet, £2 11s 11d 11⅜ yards of brown camlet, £1 13s 9d Total for camlet, £7 13s 7d 50½ gross of corks, £6 0s 1d 15½ sheets of cork, £0 10s 0d Total for corks, £6 10s 1d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		14 Do. Scarlet 2 11 11 11¼ Do. Brown 1 18 9 7 17 7 Corks viz. 50½ Gro. Corks 6 . 1 15¼ Sheet Cork 10 6 10 1 Deals viz. 128 double Deals 21 14 6 31 Single Do. 3 8 5 16 Wainscott Boards 5 9 2 Elm Do. 11 2 6⅔ Riga Timber 16 2 6 4½ Ft. of Ash plank 12 14 4 5 Cuffers 15 7 8½ Ft. of 4½ Inch Elm Plank 13 . 1 4½ of 6 Do. Oak Do. 3 of 5 Do. Do. Do. 7 of 4 Do. Do. Do. 12 2 6 575 Ft. of Timber for the Roof and Ceiling Floor of the Church wt. Iron Work 161 10 2 253 1 3 Carried Over£ 6549 19 8	128 double deals, £21 14s 6d 31 single deals, £3 3s 5d 16 wainscot boards, £3 9s 0d 2 elm boards, £0 11s 2d 6⅓ pieces of Riga timber, £16 2s 6d 4½ feet of ash plank, £12 14s 4d 5 cuffers, £0 15s 7d 9½ feet of 4½-inch elm plank, £13 0s 1d 4½ feet of 6-inch oak plank, 3 feet of 5-inch oak plank and 7 feet of 4-inch oak plank, £12 2s 6d 575 pieces of timber for the roof and ceiling of the church, with ironwork, £161 10s 2d Total for deals, £253 1s 3d Carried forward, £6,548 19s 3d **Interpretations** The largest item in the timber stores was a complete set of 575 pieces for the roof and ceiling of the church, with its ironwork, worth more than £160 0s 0d. The frame had evidently been cut and shaped in England and shipped to the island ready to assemble, since no local timber could supply beams of that length and quality. The church at Jamestown served the whole island, and a new roof was a major work the Company had planned and paid for. Its timber lay in store awaiting the carpenters and masons, who were still engaged on the fortifications at Sandy Bay. Shoe buckles were held in large numbers, more than 900 pairs. Buckles, not laces, fastened shoes in the 1760s, and every pair of shoes sold from the stores needed a pair of buckles. Knee buckles fastened breeches below the knee, and leather garters held up stockings. These small goods were bought in bulk because a single annual shipment had to meet the island's needs until the next.
235	226	19th October Brought over£ 6549 19 8 Earthen Ware viz. 3 Close Stool Pans and 2 Damaged 1 3 4 32 Milk Pans 1 10 2 13 4 Flour 352 Casks Wt. 1057 . 2 . 10 cwt. qrs. lb 1027 15 7 Glass Ware viz. 90 Wine Glasses 4 9 18 Beer Do. 16 6 21 Tumblers 12 8 12 Water Glasses 5 10 1 Urinal 1 2 Quart Decanters 18 8 3 Pr. Salts 1 2 6½ 2 Candle Shades 15 8 3 four hour Glasses 10 1 three Do. Do. 3 4 3 half Minute Do. 1 9 164 Sqr. Glass 6 by 8 2 14 8½ 74 Sqr. 8 by 10 2 1 152 Sqr. 10 by 12	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £6,548 19s 3d 3 earthenware close-stool pans and 2 damaged, £1 3s 4d 32 earthenware milk pans, £1 10s 0d Total for earthenware, £2 13s 4d 352 casks of flour weighing 1,057 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, £1,027 15s 7d 90 wine glasses, £0 4s 9d 18 beer glasses, £0 16s 6d 21 tumblers, £0 12s 8d 12 water glasses, £0 5s 10d 1 glass urinal, £0 1s 0d 2 quart decanters, £0 13s 8d 3 pairs of glass salts, £1 2s 6½d 2 candle shades, £0 15s 8d 3 four-hour glasses, £0 10s 0d 1 three-hour glass, £0 3s 4d 3 half-minute glasses, £0 1s 9d 164 squares of glass 6 by 8 inches, £2 14s 8½d 74 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £2 1s 0d 152 squares of glass 10 by 12 inches, £8 7s 10d 12 squares of glass 11 by 18½ inches, £0 16s 0d 13 squares of glass 11 by 17½ inches, £0 17s 7d 19 squares of glass 10¾ by 18¾ inches, £1 5s 4d 96 squares of glass 10¾ by 17¾ inches, £1 15s 8d 22 squares of glass 11 by 16 inches, £1 7s 6d 17 squares of glass 11 by 19 inches, £1 4s 1d 13 squares of glass 11 by 17¾ inches, £1 4s 0d 3 squares of glass 11¼ by 18 inches, £0 4s 0d 35 squares of glass 11¼ by 19 inches, £2 8s 2d Glassware carried forward, £29 17s 7d Carried forward, £7,579 8s 2d **Interpretations** Flour made up the largest single store, 352 casks weighing more than 52 tons and worth over £1,000

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		8 7 10 12 Sqr. 11 by 18½ 16 13 Sqr. 11 by 17½ 17 7 19 Sqr. 10¾ by 18¾ 1 5 4 26 Sqr. 10¾ by 17¾ 1 15 8 22 Sqr. 11 by 16 1 7 6 17 Sqr. 11 by 19 1 4 1 13 Sqr. 11 by 17½ 1 4 3 Sqr. 11½ by 18 4 38 Sqr. 11½ by 19 2 8 2 Glass Ware Carried Over 29 17 7 Carried Over£ 7579 8 7	0s 0d. Wheat grew poorly on St Helena, and the island's bread depended on flour shipped from England and the Cape. A stock of that size would feed the garrison and the Company's servants for many months, and with the salt meat recorded on earlier pages it formed the island's reserve against a failed season or a blockade in wartime. The hourglasses kept time for the garrison. A four-hour glass measured a watch at the guard posts, and a three-hour glass shorter duties, at a time when few soldiers owned a watch and the island's clocks were few. Half-minute glasses served the boats and ships for measuring speed. Candle shades were glass chimneys placed over candles to shield the flame from draughts, needed in the Castle and guardrooms on the island's windy heights. The many sizes of window glass held in stock matched the sash windows of different buildings, so that a broken pane could be replaced at once.
236	227	1767 Brought over£ 7579 8 7 Glass Ware brought over£ 29 17 7 21 Sqr. Glass 10 by 14 1 2 9 51 Sqr. 16 by 16 3 2 8 13 Sqr. 11 by 12½ 19 6 35 2 6 Hats viz. 8 Mens fine 7 3 8 Boys 2 11 22 Centinels 3 1 10 12 15 10 Haberdashery viz. 8 lb Silk 15 9 - ½ 10 . 12 Mohair 16 15 - ½ 17 . 1 gross doz. Mohair Coat Buttons 6 16 8 4 . 5½ Do. Bt. Do. 1 7 10 6 . 3 . 9 Silver Wire Ct. Buttons 17 7 2½ 4 . 4 Do. Bt. Do. 6 3 6 - . 3 . 9 Do. Plate Ct. Do. 4 10 - . - . 6 Do. Do. Bt. Do. 4 - . 3 . Gilt Ct. Do. 9 1½ - . 2 . Do. Bt. Do. 3 ½ - . 4 . Yellow Mettle Ct. Do. 2 38 . 9 Horn Moulds 4 5 6½ 3 . - . White Waistcoat Buttons 6 9 3 . 9 . Shirt Do. 8 5½ 13 Cockades 4 ½ 6 Ps. Union Cord 13 6 12 Ps. Galloon 3 2 7½ 4 Ps. Braid	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £7,579 8s 7d Glassware brought forward, £29 17s 7d 21 squares of glass 10 by 14 inches, £1 2s 9d 51 squares of glass 10 by 16 inches, £3 2s 8d 13 squares of glass 11 by 17½ inches, £0 19s 6d Total for glassware, £35 2s 6d 8 men's fine hats, £7 3s 0d 8 boys' hats, £2 11s 0d 22 sentinels' hats, £3 1s 10d Total for hats, £12 15s 10d 8 lb of silk, £15 9s 0½d 10 lb 12 oz of mohair, £16 15s 0½d 17 gross and 1 dozen mohair coat buttons, £6 16s 8d 4 gross and 5½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 17s 10d 6 gross, 3 dozen and 9 silver wire coat buttons, £17 7s 2½d 4 gross and 4 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £6 3s 6d 3 dozen and 9 silver plate coat buttons, £0 4s 10d 6 silver plate breast buttons, £0 0s 4d 3 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 9s 1½d 2 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 3s 0½d 4 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 2s 0d 38 gross and 9 dozen horn moulds, £4 5s 6½d 3 gross white waistcoat buttons, £0 6s 9d 3 gross and 9 dozen shirt buttons, £0 8s 5½d 13 cockades, £0 4s 0½d 6 pieces of union cord, £0 13s 6d 12 pieces of galloon, £3 2s 7½d 4 pieces of braid, £0 11s 0d Haberdashery carried forward, £74 0s 7d Carried forward, £7,627 6s 11d **Interpretations** The figure brought forward was £7,579 8s 7d, which corrects the total carried at the foot of the previous page. Buttons were held in large quantity and in many grades, from horn moulds to be covered in cloth, through yellow metal and silver plate, to gilt and silver wire. The grade of button marked the rank and means of the wearer. A soldier's coat carried plain metal or horn, while an officer's or official's coat carried silver wire or gilt. The stock of nearly 900 dozen horn moulds and more than six gross of silver wire coat buttons supplied the tailors, who made every coat on the island under the prices the Council fixed in July. Silk and mohair thread, valued at more than £30 0s 0d, were the dearest haberdashery and were used

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		11 Haberdashery Carried Over£ 14 - 7 Carried Over£ 7627 6 11	to sew buttonholes and finish fine garments. Galloon and braid trimmed the coats of officers and the drummers, whose uniforms carried more lace than a sentinel's.
237	228	19th October Brought over£ 7627 6 11 Haberdashery Brought over£ 14 . 7 13¾ Yds. Tabby 7 14 8 72 Gro. Narrow Worsted Lace 41 19 6 Do. Broad Do. 4 13 6 6¼ Whale Bone 1 9 4 3 Ps. White Buckram 6 . 1 3 . 10 Silver Ct. Buttons 6 8 2 . 10 Do. Bt. Do. 2 7 154 1 1 Hosiers ware viz. 589 Pr. Mens Ordy. Thread Stockings 85 9 8 9 Pr. Do. Wove Do. 1 12 3½ 3 Pr. Do. Knit damaged 9 13 Pr. Girls Worsted Stock. Do. 1 9 3 Mens fine Cotton Stockings 1 . 3 7 Pr. Womens Stockings 1 Pr. Do. Do. damaged 1 2 13 Pr. Boys Do. 1 4 11 4 Pr. Mens fine thread Do. 1 4 2 Pr. Do. Indian Cotton 10 6 17 Pr. Scarlet Breeches 11 11 9½ 2 Pr. Crimson Do. 1 7 3 11 Pr. Buff Do. 6 12 5 112 18 11 Hooks and Lines viz. 3800 No. 1 22 7 4 9125 . 6 36 - 7½ 200 . 7 11 7390 . 9 10 5 Hooks Hooks and Lines Carried Over£ 69 3 11½ Carried Over£ 7894 6 11	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £7,627 6s 11d Haberdashery brought forward, £74 0s 7d 13¾ yards of tabby, £7 14s 8d 72 gross of narrow worsted lace, £31 1s 9d 6 gross of broad worsted lace, £4 13s 6d 6¼ lb of whalebone, £1 9s 4d 3 pieces of white buckram, £6 0s 1d 3 dozen and 10 silver coat buttons, £0 6s 8d 2 dozen and 10 silver breast buttons, £0 2s 7d Total for haberdashery, £154 1s 1d 589 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £85 9s 8d 9 pairs of men's woven stockings, £1 12s 3½d 3 pairs of men's knitted stockings, damaged, £0 9s 0d 13 pairs of white worsted stockings, £1 9s 0d 3 pairs of men's fine cotton stockings, £1 0s 3d 7 pairs of women's stockings and 1 pair damaged, £1 2s 0d 13 pairs of boys' stockings, £1 4s 11d 4 pairs of men's fine thread stockings, £1 4s 0d 2 pairs of Indian cotton stockings, £0 10s 6d 17 pairs of scarlet breeches, £11 11s 9½d 2 pairs of crimson breeches, £1 7s 3d 11 pairs of buff breeches, £6 12s 5d Total for hosiery, £112 13s 11d 3,800 fishing hooks, number 1, £22 7s 4d 9,125 fishing hooks, number 6, £36 0s 7½d 200 fishing hooks, number 7, £0 11s 0d 7,390 fishing hooks, number 9, £10 5s 0d Hooks and lines carried forward, £69 3s 11½d Carried forward, £7,894 6s 11d **Interpretations** Narrow worsted lace, 72 gross, was the woollen braid sewn on the soldiers' coats to mark their regiment and rank, and it was the largest item of haberdashery. Each year's clothing issue needed great lengths of it, and the Company held enough for several years of new uniforms. Buff breeches, made of pale ox-hide leather, were worn by soldiers and especially by the artillery. Scarlet and crimson breeches belonged to officers' uniforms. The stock of nearly 600 pairs of men's ordinary stockings would supply the garrison's annual issue of one pair each for some 400 men, with a reserve for sale. More than 20,000 fishing hooks in four sizes alone show how central fishing was to feeding the island. The Company bought hooks by the thousand because they were cheap to ship and every soldier, slave and household on St Helena relied on them.
238	229	1767 Brought over£ 7894 6 11 Hooks and Lines brought£ 69 3 11½ 9300 No. 10 7 16 3 1400 . 11 1 2 2 11025 . 12 6 13 10½ 833 Large 9 3 6 7350 No. 3 22 17 11	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £7,894 6s 11d Hooks and lines brought forward, £69 3s 11½d 9,300 fishing hooks, number 10, £7 16s 3d 1,400 fishing hooks, number 11, £1 2s 2d 11,025 fishing hooks, number 12, £6 13s 10½d 833 large fishing hooks, £9 3s 6d 7,350 fishing hooks, number 13, £22 17s 11d 6,170 fishing hooks, number 14, £2 16s 10d 6,500 fishing hooks, number 16, £1 12s 6d 160 dozen fishing lines, number 2, £27 9s 9½d 110 dozen fishing lines, number 3, £22 0s 0d

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		6190 . 4 2 16 10 6500 . 16 1 12 6 Hooks 160 doz. No. 2 27 9 9½ 110 Do. . 3 22 67 Do. No. 4 15 5 2½ 98 Hambro 7 13 2 38 Deep Sea 8 17 4 1½ Knot sash 1 8½ 1 Whip Do. 3 4½ Lines 203 4 7 Iron and Steel viz. 45 . 1 . - cwt. qrs. lb Iron 51 19 6 - . 3 . - Steel 1 9 4 53 8 10 Iron Kettles 2 3 12 1 Iron Pots 6 Wt. 3 . 2 . 11 cwt. qrs. lb 4 6 7 18 1 Iron Ware viz. 2 Iron rimed Locks A 2 . 5 1 Do. B 1 1 1 2 Do. Do. 2 4 2 2 Do. with Brass Knobs 13 2 4 S. Bolt Locks 1 9 4 13 Cupboard Locks 2 2 5 28 Splinter Do. 12 10 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 10 3 5 Carried Over£ 8158 18 5	67 dozen and 10 fishing lines, number 4, £15 5s 2½d 98 Hamburg lines, £7 13s 2d 38 deep-sea lines, £8 17s 4d 1½ [...] sash line, £0 1s 8½d 1 whip line, £0 3s 4½d Total for hooks and lines, £203 4s 7d [...] of iron, £51 19s 6d [...] of steel, £1 9s 4d Total for iron and steel, £53 6s 10d 2 iron kettles, £3 12s 1d 6 iron pots weighing 3 cwt 2 qr 11 lb, £4 6s 0d Total for iron kettles and pots, £7 18s 1d 2 iron-rimmed locks, size A, £2 0s 5d 1 iron-rimmed lock, size B, £1 1s 1d 2 iron-rimmed locks, £2 4s 2d 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £0 13s 2d 4 [...] bill locks, £1 9s 4d 15 cupboard locks, £2 2s 5d 23 splinter locks, £0 12s 10d Ironware carried forward, £10 3s 5d Carried forward, £8,158 18s 5d **Interpretations** The Company held more than 60,000 fishing hooks and over 4,000 lines, worth more than £200 0s 0d in all. At the rate they sold, several years' supply lay in the warehouses. The island's dependence on fishing made the stock a necessity, and hooks were cheap to buy in England and easy to ship in bulk. A shortage would have hit the slaves and poorer inhabitants hardest, since fish was their cheapest source of fresh food. Iron and steel held in store supplied the armourer and the smiths at the works. The bar iron was worked into hinges, bolts, tools and the portcullis at Sandy Bay, while steel edged tools. Locks graded by size and pattern, from splinter locks to iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, served every kind of door, chest and cupboard on the island, and all came from England.
239	230	19th October Brought over£ 8158 18 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 10 3 5 22 Pad Locks 1 13 4 Brass Closet Locks 17 2 1 Barrk. Door Do. 5 10 Do. Do. with Brass Knobs 3 15 5 Chest Do. 14 7 24 Stock Do. 3 4 6 38 Pr. Shutter Hinges 4 . 9 46 Bra springs 8 6 40 Barrk. Hinges 3 6 8 53 Pr. H. L. Hinges 5 9 11½ 26 Broad Hoes 2 16 1 1 Grubbing Do.	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,158 18s 5d Ironware brought forward, £10 3s 5d 22 padlocks, £1 13s 0d 4 brass closet locks, £0 17s 2d 1 bureau drawer lock, £0 0s 5d 10 bureau drawer locks with brass knobs, £3 15s 0d 3 chest locks, £0 14s 7d 24 stock locks, £3 4s 6d 38 pairs of shutter hinges, £4 0s 9d 46 brass rings, £0 3s 6d 40 pairs of barrack hinges, £3 6s 8d 53 pairs of H hinges, £5 9s 11½d 26 broad hoes, £2 16s 1d 1 grubbing hoe, £0 2s 11d 13 pairs of sheep shears, £0 17s 4¼d 9 adzes, £1 7s 0d 6 gouges, £0 2s 1½d 7 edging irons, £1 7s 2d 31 pickaxes, £5 2s 0½d 7 augers, £0 14s 3d 5 taper augers, £0 11s 10½d 2 pairs of steelyards, £1 0s 6d 9 drill bows, £1 0s 3d

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		2 11 13 Pr. Sheep Shears 17 4½ 9 Adzes 17 6 Gouges 2 1½ 7 Edging Irons 1 7 2 31 Pick Axes 5 2 ½ 7 Augurs 14 3 5 Do. Taper 11 10½ 2 Pr. Stilyards 1 . 6 9 Drill Bows 1 . 3 32 Mason Stone Rammers 4 11 5 Coopers Drivers 8 4 2 Do. Brass Do. 3 3 9 Do. Punches 8 7¾ 4 Do. Cold Chizels 4 1 Do. Howell 2 12 Do. Vices 10 28 Garden Hoes 1 8 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 57 - 5 Carried Over£ 8158 18 5	32 masons' stone rammers, £0 5s 11d 5 coopers' drivers, £0 8s 4d 2 coopers' brass drivers, £0 3s 3d 9 coopers' punches, £0 8s 7¾d 4 coopers' cold chisels, £0 4s 0d 1 cooper's howel, £0 2s 0d 12 coopers' vices, £0 10s 0d 23 garden hoes, £1 8s 0d Ironware carried forward, £57 0s 5d Carried forward, £8,158 18s 5d **Interpretations** The tools held in store covered every trade the island practised. Edging irons cut the edges of turf for lawns and garden beds, broad and grubbing hoes worked the plantations, and drill bows drove the drills of the armourer and carpenter by a cord wound round the bit and pulled back and forth. A howel was a cooper's plane for smoothing the inside of a cask near its ends, where the head fitted. Masons' rammers compacted the earth and rubble behind walls and in the ramparts at Sandy Bay. The barrack and shutter hinges, held by the dozen pairs, were for the repair of the barracks and other Company buildings, many of them exposed to the island's wind and rain. Thirty-one pickaxes in store, with others issued to the works, show the Company preparing for the next stage of the fortifications once Sandy Bay was complete.
240	231	1767 Brought over£ 8158 18 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 57 . 5 22 lb Iron binding Wire 19 1 Pr. Large Dividers 2 6 1 Pr. Large Iron Clasps for Casting 15 8 4 Shifts for Engineers Augers 1 8½ 12 Curry Combs & Brushes 11 3 5 Pr. Garden Shears 17 1 15 two Foot Rules 15 30 Hammer Helves 6 3 3 Smoothing Planes 6 3 Jack Do. 7 6 3 Trying Do. 10 6 6 Coopers Spoke Shaves 12 1 Do. doweling Stock & Springs 3 18 Bitt for Do. 5 1½ 1 Hand rowing Shave 1 1½ 1 Brass wire Sieve 17 10 11 Pr. Cross Garnett Hinges 3 18 10 6 Dutch Hoes	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,158 18s 5d Ironware brought forward, £57 0s 5d 22 lb of iron binding wire, £0 19s 0d 1 pair of large dividers, £0 2s 6d 1 pair of large iron clasps for casting, £0 15s 8d 4 shifts for engineers' augers, £0 1s 8½d 12 curry combs and brushes, £0 11s 3d 5 pairs of garden shears, £1 7s 1d 15 two-foot rules, £0 15s 0d 30 hammer helves, £0 6s 3d 3 smoothing planes, £0 6s 0d 3 jack planes, £0 7s 6d 3 trying planes, £0 10s 6d 6 coopers' spokeshaves, £0 12s 0d 1 cooper's dowelling stock with springs, £0 3s 0d 13 bits for the same, £0 5s 1½d 1 hand roller sheave, £0 1s 1½d 1 brass wire sieve, £0 17s 10d 11 pairs of cross garnet hinges, £3 13s 10d 6 Dutch hoes, £1 3s 7½d 57 spades and 1 damaged spade, £10 17s 3d 20 shod shovels, £1 15s 10d 45 iron shovels, £10 4s 4½d 14 stone saws, £3 12s 0½d 13 lb of rod iron, £1 3s 6½d 3 melting ladles, £0 1s 10d 46 pairs of hand screws, £16 6s 10d 30 claw hammers, £2 1s 3d 24 saw bits, £0 7s 6d 115 helves, £3 9s 5¾d Ironware carried forward, £120 5s 2¼d Carried forward, £8,158 18s 5d **Interpretations** The tools in store show the Company keeping a reserve large enough to equip a new work at short notice. Fifty-seven spades, 45 shovels, 14 stone saws

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 3 7½ 57 Spades 1 Do. damaged 10 17 3 20 Shod Shovels 1 15 10 45 Iron Do. 10 4 4½ 14 Stone Saws 3 12 - ½ 113 Rod Iron 1 3 6½ 3 Melting Ladles 11 10 46 Pr. Hand Screws 16 6 10 30 Claw Hammers 2 1 3 24 Saber Bits 7 6 115 Helves 3 9 5¾ Iron Ware Carried Over£ 120 3 2½ Carried Over£ 8158 18 5	and 115 helves would fit out a full gang of soldiers and slaves for the next fortification, Munden's Point, whose stone was already being cut at the quarry. A Dutch hoe was pushed rather than pulled, used to cut weeds just below the soil's surface in gardens. Hand screws were wooden clamps tightened by two screws, used by carpenters and joiners to hold work while glue set. At nearly £16 0s 0d for 46 pairs, they were among the costliest tools in store and point to a programme of joinery, perhaps for the new church roof and ceiling whose timber already lay in the warehouse. The large dividers and clasps for casting served the armourer and the brazier, who measured and cast metal fittings on the island.
241	232	19th October Brought over£ 8158 18 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 120 5 2½ 78 Small Frying Pans 7 4 5½ 2 Large Do. 8 5 2 Mauls 17 7 15 lb Flour Emery 1 5 11½ 8 Corn Do. 13 1½ 13½ Spelter 1 9 8½ 4½ Borax 3 5 9¼ 7 Case Hardening 13 8½ 2 Coffee Mills 15 4½ 7 Chaffing Dishes 2 2 7 Plane Irons 2 10 10 Setts Jack Wheels 3 7 3 11 Jack Chains 19 4 Do. Weights and Shifters 1 16 26 Tryed Squares 1 11 3 160 Blank Keys 4 17 1½ 139 Plane Iron 2 18 2½ 1 Sauce Pan 11 2½ 4 Hash Do. Hammered Iron 3 10 10 9 Scrapers 16 10½ 98 File Hafts 5 9½ 1 Pr. Screw Stocks 11 7 16 Sickles 15 3 18 Garden Rakes & 1 damaged	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,158 18s 5d Ironware brought forward, £120 5s 2¼d 78 small frying pans, £7 4s 5½d 2 large frying pans, £0 3s 5d 2 mauls, £0 17s 7d 15 lb of flour emery, £1 5s 11½d 8 lb of corn emery, £0 13s 10d 13½ lb of spelter, £1 9s 3¼d 4½ lb of borax, £3 5s 9½d 7 lb of case-hardening compound, £0 13s 8½d 2 coffee mills, £0 15s 4½d 7 chafing dishes, £2 2s 0d 7 plane irons, £0 2s 10d 10 sets of jack wheels, £3 7s 3d 11 jack chains, £0 1s 9d 4 jack weights and shifts, £1 16s 0d 2 sliding squares, £0 11s 3d 160 blank keys, £4 17s 7½d 139 plane irons, £2 18s 2½d 1 saucepan of hammered iron, £0 11s 2½d 4 hash pans of hammered iron, £3 10s 10d 9 scrapers, £0 16s 10½d 93 file hafts, £0 5s 9¾d 1 pair of screw stocks, £0 11s 7d 16 sickles, £0 15s 3d 18 garden rakes and 1 damaged, £2 3s 9½d 13 rag stones, £0 3s 9d 43 scythe stones, £0 7s 2d 19 joiners' rubstones, £1 19s 1d 7 drill boxes, £0 1s 1½d 2 joiners' hatchets, £0 4s 0d Ironware carried forward, £166 4s 4d Carried forward, £8,158 18s 5d **Interpretations** Jack wheels, chains and weights were the parts of a roasting jack, a clockwork device driven by a falling weight that turned a spit before the kitchen fire. Ten sets held in store suggests the Company supplied them to the Castle and to officers' households, where meat was roasted in the English manner. Coffee mills ground the coffee beans brought from Mocha and Batavia, another sign of the household habits the island shared with England. Case-hardening compound was a mixture of charcoal and other matter packed around iron tools and heated, so that the surface of the iron absorbed carbon and became hard like steel while the core stayed tough. The armourer used it to harden the edges of tools and the wearing parts of locks and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 3 9½ 87 Rag Stones 3 9 48 Scythe Do. 7 2 19 Joyners Rubstones 1 19 1 9 Drill Boxes 1 1½ 2 Joiners Hatchets 4 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 166 4 4 Carried Over£ 8158 18 5	gunlocks, since true steel was costly. Screw stocks cut threads on iron rods to make bolts and screws, letting the island's smiths make fittings that otherwise had to come from England. Sixteen sickles in store, for cutting grass and the island's small crops of grain, served its farms.
242	233	1767 Brought over£ 8158 18 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 166 4 4 8 Hand Hatchets 18 18 Plaisterers Trowels 1 10 9 48 Brick Layers Do. 2 18 143 Packing Needles 1 1 1½ 10 Pr. H. L. Hinges with rising Joints 1 11 8 11 Pr. Shutter Do. 1 4 9 19 Pr. Dovetail Do. 5 11½ 12 Scythes 3 8 3 2 Pr. Stone Saw Heads 10 11 1 Whip Saw 2 9 6 1 Cross Cutt Do. 1 5 9 3 Gun Smiths Do. 2 1 3 9 Pruning Do. 1 6 1 Hand Do. 8 1 1 Tenon Do. 7 8½ 49 Gimblets 11 2½ 4 Stone Wedges 2 8 9 Jack Spits 2 11 7 300 Files 8 13 5 Smiths Rubbers 1 2 1 8 Bastard Do. Files 1 15 4 23 Farriers Rasps 1 2 11 16 Setting Hammers 5 8 24 Masons Tools 1 3 4 70 doz. Wood Screws 1 Large Jack 7 10 2 1 Midling Do. 4 18 4 Small Do. 10 1 10 6 Sheets Emery Paper 3 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 223 - 4½ Carried Over£ 8158 18 5	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,158 18s 5d Ironware brought forward, £166 4s 4d 8 hand hatchets, £0 15s 0d 18 plasterers' trowels, £1 10s 9d 48 bricklayers' trowels, £2 15s 0d 145 packing needles, £1 1s 1½d 10 pairs of H hinges with rising joints, £1 11s 8d 11 pairs of shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d 19 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 5s 11½d 12 scythes, £3 8s 3d 2 pairs of stone saw heads, £0 10s 11d 1 whip saw, £2 9s 6d 1 crosscut saw, £1 5s 9d 3 gunsmiths' saws, £2 1s 3d 9 pruning saws, £0 1s 6d 1 hand saw, £0 8s 1d 1 tenon saw, £0 7s 8½d 49 gimlets, £0 11s 2½d 4 stone wedges, £0 2s 8d 9 jack spits, £2 11s 7d 300 files, £8 13s 0d 5 smiths' rubbers, £1 2s 1d 8 bastard files, £1 15s 4d 23 farriers' rasps, £1 2s 11d 16 setting hammers, £5 8s 0d 24 masons' tools, £1 3s 4d 70 dozen wood screws, [...] 1 large jack, £7 10s 2d 1 middling jack, £4 18s 0d 4 small jacks, £10 1s 10d 6 sheets of emery paper, £0 0s 3d Ironware carried forward, £223 0s 4½d Carried forward, £8,158 18s 5d **Interpretations** The jacks were complete roasting jacks, the clockwork machines that turned a spit before the fire, with spits held separately. A large jack cost more than £7 0s 0d, a substantial sum, and was suited to the Castle kitchen, where whole joints and fowls were roasted for the Governor's guests. The smaller jacks would serve officers' and officials' households. Roast meat turned slowly before an open fire was the centre of an English dinner, and the island's officials kept to that custom. H hinges with rising joints lifted a door slightly as it opened, so that it cleared a carpet or uneven floor and closed again by its own weight. A whip saw was a large two-man saw for cutting logs into planks, and a crosscut saw cut across the grain. Gunsmiths' saws, setting hammers and the large stock of 300 files equipped the armourer to repair the garrison's muskets and the fittings of the guns, work that could not wait for a ship from England.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
243	234	19th October Brought over£ 8158 18 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 223 . 4½ 23 Sheets Sand Paper 1 2½ 1 Screw Plate 4 2 Plow Planes 19 8 2 Joiners Do. 14 11 5 Black Lead Pencils 1 10½ 3 Axletrees and Winches for Grindstones 14 10 5 Iron Crows 2 . 6 24 Former Chizels 7 6 16 Carving Gouges 4 2 6 Boxing Do. 10 6 12 Scowing Do. 1 13 6 11 Lathing Hammers 13 4 2200 Brass Nails for Chairs 16 64 Bolt Rope Needles 6 8 194 Sail Needles 8 10 1 Fork 7 1 doz. Socket Chizels 9 58 Plane Irons 1 1 9 5 Pr. Steel Compasses 2 3½ 4½ Round head Tacks 7 2½ 25 Tin'd Do. 2 9 6 59 Helves for Garden Hoes 2 4 3 1 . 1 . 24 cwt. qrs. lb Rolled Iron 2 18 1 1 Iron Chain 10 8 5 4 Pole Picks 1 2 6 2 Ivory Bitts 17 2 Hammers 5 8 2 Sledge Do. 19 40 Grads 1 12 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 263 . 1 Carried Over£ 8158 18 5	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,158 18s 5d Ironware brought forward, £223 0s 4½d 23 sheets of sandpaper, £0 1s 2½d 1 screw plate, £0 4s 0d 2 plough planes, £0 19s 8d 2 jointer planes, £0 14s 11d 5 black lead pencils, £0 1s 10½d 3 axletrees and winches for grindstones, £0 14s 10d 5 iron crows, £2 0s 6d 24 former chisels, £0 7s 6d 16 carving gouges, £0 4s 2d 6 boxing gouges, £0 10s 6d 12 screwing gouges, £1 13s 6d 11 lathing hammers, £0 13s 4d 2,200 brass nails for chairs, £0 16s 0d 64 bolt-rope needles, £0 6s 3d 194 sail needles, £0 8s 10d 1 [...], £0 0s 7d 1 dozen socket chisels, £0 9s 0d 58 plane irons, £1 1s 9d 5 pairs of steel compasses, £0 2s 3½d 4½ lb of round-headed tacks, £0 7s 2½d 25 lb of tinned tacks, £2 9s 6d 59 helves for garden hoes, £2 4s 3d 1 ton 4 cwt of bolt iron, £2 18s 1d 1 iron chain, £10 3s 5d 4 pole picks, £1 2s 6d 2 key bits, £0 17s 0d 2 hammers, £0 5s 8d 2 sledgehammers, £0 19s 0d 40 grids, £1 12s 0d Ironware carried forward, £263 0s 1d Carried forward, £8,158 18s 5d **Interpretations** The iron chain, valued at more than £10 0s 0d, was perhaps a heavy chain for the crane at the landing place or for a mooring, where rope wore out too quickly against the rocks. Bolt iron came in long bars for making the bolts that fastened gun carriages, crane frames and the timbers of heavy buildings. Pole picks were picks on long handles, used to break rock overhead in a quarry face, the work under way to supply the stone for Munden's Point. Plough planes cut grooves along a board for tongue-and-groove joints, jointer planes trued long edges, and carving, boxing and screwing gouges shaped curved work. These were a joiner's finer tools, needed for panelling, cupboards and the ceiling of the new church. The 2,200 brass nails for chairs were the decorative studs used to fix leather or cloth seats to chair frames, a reminder that much of the island's furniture was made or repaired locally from imported materials.
244	235	1767 Brought over£ 8158 18 5 Iron Ware brought over£ 263 . 1 8 Borers 1 Drag 1 Ladle 1 Scoop 1 Priming Iron 1 Large Rammer 1 Candle Stick 13	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,158 18s 5d Ironware brought forward, £263 0s 1d 8 borers, 1 drag, 1 ladle, 1 scoop, 1 priming iron, 1 large rammer and 1 candlestick, £0 13s 0d 1 felling saw, £0 6s 11d Total for ironware, £266 18s 0d 5 pieces and 29 yards of kersey, £12 7s 8d 2 pieces and 5¾ yards of baize, £6 16s 3d Total for kersey, £19 13s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Milling Saw 6 11 266 18 Kersey viz. 3 Ps. 29 Yds. Kersey 12 7 8 2 Ps. 5½ Yds. Baize 6 16 3 19 13 11 Leather viz. 8 Calf Skins 3 7 4 3 . 2 . 23 cwt. qrs. lb Sole Leather 16 10 11 19 18 3 Long Ells viz. 12¾ Yds. Scarlet 1 10 2 17¾ Yds. Blue 1 8 10 2 19 Lead viz. 10 Yds. 2 Inch Pipe 4 13 6 22½ Small Shott 4 8 8 . 2 . 16 cwt. qrs. lb Sheet Lead 8 16 3 13 16 5 Carried Over£ 8482 4	8 calfskins, £3 7s 4d 3 cwt 2 qr 23 lb of sole leather, £16 10s 11d Total for leather, £19 18s 3d 12¾ yards of scarlet long ells, £1 10s 2d 17¾ yards of blue long ells, £1 8s 10d Total for long ells, £2 19s 0d 10 yards of 2-inch lead pipe, £4 13s 6d 22½ lb of small shot, £0 4s 8d 8 cwt 1 qr 16 lb of sheet lead, £8 16s 3d Total for lead, £13 16s 5d Carried forward, £8,482 4s 0d **Interpretations** The borers, drag, ladle, scoop, priming iron and large rammer were the tools for clearing and loading a cannon. A borer or worm drew out wadding, the drag and scoop cleared debris, the ladle loaded loose powder, the priming iron pierced the cartridge through the touch-hole, and the rammer drove the charge home. Held as a set at a nominal value, they were evidently old or second-hand tools kept in reserve, perhaps from guns replaced or condemned after the inspection of the saluting battery in May. Lead pipe of 2 inches carried water, and the Company's stock would serve the conduit that brought fresh water down to Jamestown and its landing place, where ships filled their casks. A reliable supply of water at the waterside was the main service St Helena offered every passing ship, so the pipe was among the island's most important stores. Baize was a coarse, napped woollen cloth used for linings and table covers.
245	236	19th October Brought over£ 8482 4 Masts viz. 1 Main Top Mast 7 1 Bow Spritt 8 10 6 ½ Boom 2 15 1 Fore Top Mast 13½ Inches Diamr. 49 Ft. long 7 10 2 Top Masts 11 Do. 32 Do. 6 1 2 Do. 15 Do. 56 Do. 13 14 50 10 6 Nails viz. 4 - 3 . 2 cwt. qrs. lb d. 19 2 1 7 . 2 . 23 . 3 31 15 3 12 . 2 . 10 . 4 41 3 6 6 . 3 . 11 . 6 21 1 3½ 9 . 3 . 4 . 10 24 9 6 3 . 1 . 1 . 20 6 14 3½ 6 . 3 . 17 . 40 13 16 9½ 1 . 1 . 2 Scupper 3 13 11 Nails 1 . 2 . 14 Coppers Rivets 4 5 5 - . 2 . 6 Glazg. Brads 5 4 4 - . 2 . 6 Barrk. Nails 1 . 4 1 . 3 . 3 Floorg. Brads 4 1 5 1 . 3 . 8 Spike Nails 3 3 9	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,482 4s 0d 1 [...] topmast, £7 0s 0d 1 bowsprit, £8 10s 6d ½ boom, £2 15s 0d 1 fore topmast 13½ inches in diameter and 49 feet long, £7 10s 0d 2 topmasts 11 inches in diameter and 32 feet long, £6 1s 0d 2 topmasts 15 inches in diameter and 56 feet long, £13 14s 0d Total for masts, £50 10s 6d 4 cwt 3 qr of 2d nails, £19 2s 1d 7 cwt 2 qr 23 lb of 3d nails, £31 15s 3d 12 cwt 2 qr 10 lb of 4d nails, £31 3s 6d 6 cwt 3 qr 11 lb of 6d nails, £21 1s 3½d 9 cwt 3 qr 4 lb of 10d nails, £24 9s 6d 3 cwt 1 qr 1 lb of 20d nails, £6 14s 3½d 6 cwt 3 qr 17 lb of 40d nails, £13 16s 9½d 1 cwt 1 qr 2 lb of scupper nails, £3 13s 11d 1 cwt 2 qr 14 lb of copper rivets, £4 5s 5d 2 qr 6 lb of glazing brads, £5 4s 4d 2 qr 6 lb of barrack nails, £1 0s 4d 1 cwt 3 qr 3 lb of flooring brads, £4 1s 5d 1 cwt 3 qr 8 lb of spike nails, £3 3s 9d 3 qr 9 lb of clinch nails, £2 2s 7d 14 lb of copper rivets, £1 5s 8d Total for nails, £183 10s 3d 36 oars of 24 feet, £9 18s 0d 30 small oars, £6 1s 3d Total for oars, £15 19s 3d Carried forward, £8,732 4s 0d **Interpretations** The spare masts confirm St Helena's role as the refitting station for the Company's homeward fleet. A topmast or bowsprit broken in a gale could not be replaced at sea, and a ship without them sailed slowly and dangerously. The island kept topmasts of several sizes, a bowsprit and part of a boom, ready to sell to any ship that arrived damaged, as it sold a topmast at 50 per cent above cost in the spring. Such long spars had to come from the forests of the Baltic or North

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		- . 3 . 9 Clinch Do. 2 7 7 - . - . 14 Coppers Rivets 1 5 8 183 10 3 Oars viz. 36 Oars of 24 feet 9 18 30 Do. Small 6 13 15 19 3 Carried Over£ 8732 4	America by way of England, and storing them on St Helena could save a ship and her cargo. Nails were held by the hundredweight, more than 3 tons in all, worth over £180 0s 0d, enough to supply the island's building for years. The 24-foot oars were sweeps for the longboats, long enough for two men to pull each one through the heavy swell off Jamestown.
246	237	1767 Brought over£ 8732 4 Oil viz. 9 Jars 291 Galls. Train 48 10 4 Do. 128 Do. Linseed 25 9 7 2 Do. 43⅛ Do. Oil of Turpentine 11 1 7 4 Bottles Florence 10 8 85 11 10 Paint viz. 10 . 3 . 13 cwt. qrs. lb Whiting 2 4 6 1 . - . 21 Umber 1 13 3 2 . - . 24 Stone Oaker mixed 3 9 10 - . - . 20 Do. dry 8 10 - . 2 . 3 Indico 5 3 3 17 . 3 . 22 White Lead dry 31 10 5½ 1 . 2 . 8 Stone Colour 3 9 8 1 . 3 . 5 Olive Do. 17 15 11½ - . 2 . 24 Verdigrease 15 13 4 1 . 1 . 15 Pearl Colour 3 4 7 - . 1 . 26 Chocolate 1 11 6 1 . 1 . 16 Ston. Red mixed 3 13 6 1 . - . 11 Yell. Oaker Do. 1 4 3 - . 2 . 8 Ston. Red dry 15 7 - . 1 . 26 White Copperas 2 11 9½ - . 1 . 7 Blue Smalts 3 1 3 - . 3 . 25 Yell. Oaker dry 1 4 8½ 4 . 1 . 20 Brimstone 3 3 4 - . 2 . - Log Wood 11 7 3 . - . Chalk 11 6 61 Bottles Blacking 1 11 9½ 36 lb Prussian Blue 5 6 Paint Carried Over£ 109 - 2 Carried Over£ 8817 15 10	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,732 4s 0d 9 jars holding 291 gallons of train oil, £48 10s 0d 4 jars holding 128 gallons of linseed oil, £25 9s 7d 2 jars holding 43¾ gallons of oil of turpentine, £11 1s 7d 4 bottles of Florence oil, £0 10s 8d Total for oil, £85 11s 10d 10 cwt 3 qr 13 lb of whiting, £2 4s 6d 1 cwt 0 qr 21 lb of umber, £1 13s 3d 2 cwt 0 qr 24 lb of stone ochre mixed, £3 9s 10d 20 lb of stone ochre dry, £0 8s 10d 2 qr 3 lb of indigo, £5 3s 3d 17 cwt 3 qr 22 lb of white lead dry, £31 10s 5½d 1 cwt 2 qr 8 lb of stone colour, £3 9s 8d 1 cwt 3 qr 5 lb of olive colour, £17 15s 11½d 2 qr 24 lb of verdigris, £15 13s 4d 1 cwt 1 qr 15 lb of pearl colour, £3 4s 7d 1 qr 26 lb of chocolate colour, £1 11s 6d 1 cwt 1 qr 16 lb of Venetian red mixed, £3 13s 6d 1 cwt 0 qr 11 lb of yellow ochre mixed, £1 4s 3d 2 qr 8 lb of Venetian red dry, £0 15s 7d 1 qr 26 lb of white copperas, £2 11s 9½d 1 qr 7 lb of blue smalt, £3 1s 3d 3 qr 25 lb of yellow ochre dry, £1 4s 8½d 4 cwt 1 qr 20 lb of brimstone, £5 3s 4d 2 qr of logwood, £0 11s 7d 5 cwt of chalk, £0 11s 6d 61 boxes of blacking, £1 11s 9½d 36 oz of Prussian blue, £0 5s 6d Paint carried forward, £109 0s 2d Carried forward, £8,817 15s 10d **Interpretations** The paint stock held colours for every building and fitting on the island, nearly 2 tons of white lead and whiting alone. Olive, pearl, stone and chocolate were ready-mixed house paints in fashionable shades. Olive green and stone were favoured for doors, shutters and window frames, while pearl, a pale grey, was used on inside walls and woodwork. Olive colour was the dearest by weight after verdigris, because its green pigment was costly. Prussian blue, a synthetic pigment first made in Berlin around 1706, was strong and expensive, sold by the ounce. White copperas, zinc sulphate, served as a drier in paint and in medicine as an eye wash and astringent. The oil stores, nearly 300 gallons of train oil, supplied the lamps of the guard posts, barracks and Castle through the long nights of the year, as well as the boats. Linseed oil was held in quantity for mixing paint for the island's buildings, fortifications and gun carriages.
247	238	19th October Brought over£ 8817 15 10 Paint Brought over£ 109 - 2	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £8,817 15s 10d

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		1 . 1 . 1 cwt. qrs. lb Blue Paint 12 8 6 1 . 1 . 8 Red Lead 1 6 10 - . 3 . 4 Black Lead 4 19 - . 1 . 25 Blue Black 1 10 11 129 5 7 Pumps 1 12 13 5 Pewter viz. 13 Quart Funnels 1 10 4 8 Do. Pots 1 4 5 half Gallon Do. 1 8 5 1 Gallon Do. 9 4 1 Pint Do. 2 2 4 Ewers 3 7 8 1 Worm Tub & Still 10 12 4 4 Cullenders 1 12 9 2 Close Stool Pans 9 22 Water Plates 5 10 11 20 lb Grain'd Tin 13 8 9 Basons 1 . 7 28 6 2 Pitch and Tar viz. 6 Barrels Pitch 5 11 6 4½ Do. Tar 4 9 3 1 Do. Turpentine 3 11 3 2 . 3 . 21 cwt. qrs. lb Rozin 2 8 16 Starch 3 . 6 qrs. lb 1 14 9 Sope 15 . 3 . 7 cwt. qrs. lb 62 10 2 Carried Over£ 9068 5 11	Paint brought forward, £109 0s 2d 1 cwt 1 qr 1 lb of blue paint, £12 8s 6d 1 cwt 1 qr 3 lb of red lead, £1 6s 10d 3 qr 4 lb of black lead, £4 19s 0d 1 qr 25 lb of blue black, £1 10s 11d Total for paint, £129 5s 7d 1 pump, £12 13s 5d 13 pewter quart funnels, £1 10s 4d 8 pewter quart pots, £1 4s 0d 5 pewter half-gallon pots, £1 8s 5d 1 pewter gallon pot, £0 9s 4d 1 pewter pint pot, £0 2s 2d 4 pewter cranes, £3 7s 8d 1 pewter worm, tub and still, £10 12s 4d 4 pewter colanders, £1 12s 9d 2 pewter close-stool pans, £0 9s 0d 22 pewter water plates, £5 10s 11d 20 lb of grained tin, £0 13s 3d 9 pewter basins, £1 0s 7d Total for pewter, £28 6s 2d 6 barrels of pitch, £5 11s 6d 4½ barrels of tar, £4 9s 3d 1 barrel of turpentine, £3 11s 3d 2 cwt 3 qr 21 lb of rosin, £2 8s 0d Total for pitch and tar, £16 0s 0d 3 cwt 0 qr 6 lb of starch, £1 14s 9d 15 cwt 3 qr 7 lb of soap, £62 10s 2d Carried forward, £9,068 5s 11d **Interpretations** The pewter worm, tub and still formed a small distilling apparatus, valued at more than £10 0s 0d. A still heated a liquid in a closed vessel, and the vapour passed through the coiled worm, cooled in a tub of water, to condense. The Company's doctor may have used it to prepare medicines and spirit for the hospital, or it may have been kept to distil fresh water from seawater in an emergency. Its presence in the stores, rather than in private hands, kept such equipment under the Company's control on an island where spirits were licensed and taxed. Black lead, or graphite, was used to make pencils and to blacken and polish iron stoves and grates, protecting them from rust. Cranes in pewter were the taps or siphons used to draw liquor from casks. The pump, at more than £12 0s 0d, was probably a ship's pump held for sale to a vessel whose own had failed, or a pump for one of the island's wells. Soap held in quantity, nearly 16 hundredweight, supplied the laundering of the garrison's shirts and the Castle's linen through the year.
248	239	1767 Brought over£ 9068 5 11 Salt 54 Bushels 9 13 Shalloon viz. 15½ Yards Scarlet 1 19 9 11 Do. Colored 1 10 11 3 1 8 Serge viz. 5¾ Yds. Scarlet Serge 2 2 2 3½ Do. Duffle 1 11 2 ½ Ps. Fustian 1 . 3 4 13 7 Shirts viz. 101 Centinels Shirts 22 10 3 179 Robes 5 19 4	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £9,068 5s 11d 54 bushels of salt, £9 13s 0d 15½ yards of scarlet shalloon, £1 19s 9d 11 yards of coloured shalloon, £1 0s 11d Total for shalloon, £3 1s 8d 5¾ yards of scarlet serge, £2 2s 2d 3¼ yards of scarlet duffel, £1 11s 2d ½ piece of fustian, £1 0s 3d Total for serge, £4 13s 7d 101 sentinels' shirts, £22 10s 3d 119 [...], £5 19s 4d 12 pieces of Irish linen, £19 8s 0d 24¾ yards of brown holland, £2 5s 5d Total for shirts and linen, £50 3s 0d 98 men's jackets and 4 damaged, with 97 pairs of men's breeches, £30 17s 7d 126 boys' jackets and 122 pairs of boys' breeches, with 4 pairs damaged, £38 6s 4d 263 men's shirts, £34 19s 6d 209 boys' shirts, £28 0s 8d 218 Dutch caps and 1 damaged, £17 3s 7d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		12 Ps. Irish Linen 19 8 24¾ Yards Brown Holland 2 5 5 50 3 Sailors Cloaths viz. 98 Mens Jackets 4 Do. damaged 97 Pr. Mens Breeches 30 17 7 126 Boys Jackets 122 Pr. Boys Breeches 4 Pr. Do. Do. damaged 38 6 4 263 Mens Shirts 34 19 6 209 Boys Do. 28 . 8 215 Dutch Caps 1 Do. damaged 17 3 7 2 Grooms Waistcoats 9 6 169 19 2 Carried Over£ 9306 1 4	2 grooms' waistcoats, £0 9s 6d Total for sailors' clothing, £169 19s 2d Carried forward, £9,306 1s 4d **Interpretations** The sailors' clothing held in store was the clothing issued to the Company's slaves. In the spring the slaves received jackets and breeches of sailors' cloth, shirts and Dutch caps, one set to each man and boy, and these were the reserves for the next year's issue. The stock shows the scale of the slave workforce. Some 100 men's suits and more than 120 boys' suits lay in reserve, with over 470 shirts. The large number of boys' garments points to many slave children among the Company's labour force, put to work young. Sailors' cloth was a coarse, hard-wearing canvas or duck, the cheapest stout fabric available, and the Company clothed its slaves in it to save cost. The Irish linen and brown holland, finer cloths, were held for the garrison and for sale to the Company's servants and others. The two grooms' waistcoats belonged to the servants of the Castle stables.
249	240	19th October Brought over£ 9306 1 4 Scales and Weights viz. 2 Beams 14 6 1 Pr. Scale Boards 3 19 3 18 5 8 Soldiers Cloaths viz. 20 Centinels Coats and Breeches 29 4 9 6 Watch Do. 4 19 34 3 9 Shoes viz. 32 Pr. Mens Ordinary Shoes 6 10 8 36 Pr. Do. Fine Do. 9 19 6 110 Pr. Do. Midling Do. 24 15 1 Pr. Channel Pumps 6 44 Pr. Mens fine Do. 11 2 Pr. Boys Shoes 6 3 6 Pr. Womens Calimanco 1 3 6 2 Pr. Spanish 7 10 4 Pr. Calf Leather 10 8 5 Pr. Girls Calimanco 15 5 9 Pr. Do. Calf 13 9 2 Pr. Stretchers 5 2 56 18 9 Twine viz. 2 . 2 . 23 cwt. qrs. lb Twine 12 1 10 - . 1 . 22 fine Do. Engineers use 2 15 - . 2 . 12 Cotton Wick 9 12 8 9 Skains Marline 2 3 24 11 9	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £9,306 1s 4d 2 scale beams, £14 6s 0d 1 pair of scale boards, £3 19s 3d Total for scales and weights, £18 5s 8d 20 sentinels' coats and breeches, £29 4s 9d 6 watch coats, £4 19s 0d Total for soldiers' clothing, £34 3s 9d 32 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £6 10s 8d 36 pairs of men's fine shoes, £9 19s 6d 110 pairs of men's middling shoes, £24 15s 0d 1 pair of channel pumps, £0 6s 0d 44 pairs of men's fine pumps, £11 0s 0d 2 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 6s 3d 6 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £1 3s 6d 2 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 7s 10d 4 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £0 10s 8d 5 pairs of girls' calamanco shoes, £0 15s 5d 9 pairs of girls' calf leather shoes, £0 13s 9d 2 pairs of stretchers, £0 5s 2d Total for shoes, £56 13s 9d 2 cwt 2 qr 23 lb of twine, £12 1s 10d 1 qr 22 lb of fine twine for the engineer's use, £2 15s 0d 2 qr 12 lb of cotton wick, £9 12s 8d 9 skeins of marline, £0 2s 3d Total for twine, £24 11s 9d 178 yards of ticking, £27 9s 11d Carried forward, £9,467 11s 2d **Interpretations** The scale beams and scale boards were the Company's great scales, used to weigh goods landed from the ships and sold from the stores. Every delivery of rice, sugar and salt meat was weighed against its invoice, and every sale was weighed for the buyer. Accurate scales lay at the heart of the storekeeper's work, and his accounts of shortages depended on them. Two beams, worth more than £14 0s 0d, were valuable instruments kept in the warehouse. Shoe stretchers were wooden lasts placed in new shoes to widen them to fit. The engineer's fine twine served Captain Mitchell for marking out lines and levels on the ground at Sandy Bay and Munden's Point before building began, since a taut cord gave a straight line over rough ground. Marline was a thin, tarred two-strand line used to bind the ends of ropes and seize them together, a seaman's essential. Ticking

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Ticking 178 Yards 27 9 11 Carried Over£ 9467 11 2	held in quantity made mattresses and the canvas cots in which the soldiers slept.
250	241	1767 Brought over£ 9467 11 2 Thread viz. 33 lb Coloured 13 18 2 70 Wh. Brown 23 6 8 5 oz. Nuns No. 26 10 1 lb 13 oz. Do. 30 2 6 8 4 Scotch Thread @ 1/1½ Pr. oz. 3 10 6 4 Fine @ 1/5½ Pr. oz. 4 12 6 2 Very fine @ 2/1 Pr. oz. 3 6 51 11 Tin Ware viz. 1 . - . 24 cwt. qrs. lb Solder 6 4 3 13 Cantons 19 3 4 Gallon Funnels 8 8 4 Quart Do. 1 7 7 Pudding Pans 2 9 7 Watering Pots 1 1 39 Lanthorns Leaves 7 4 2 Globe Lamps 19 3 3 Glass Lanthorns 1 19 3 22 half Gallon Sauce Pans 19 3 13 Single Sheets Tin 4 1 10 Double Do. 6 8 69 Lamps 2 10 3 2 Dripping Pans 3 8 3 Large Kettles wt. Covers 1 6 6 7 lb Salarmonc. 1 4 19 4 7 Carried Over£ 9538 6 9	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £9,467 11s 2d 38 lb of coloured thread, £13 18s 2d 70 lb of whited brown thread, £23 6s 8d ¾ lb of thread, number 26, £0 10s 0d 1 lb 13 oz of thread, number 30, £2 6s 3d 4 lb of Scotch thread at 17s 7½d a lb, £3 10s 6d 4 lb of fine Scotch thread at £1 3s 1½d a lb, £4 12s 6d 2 lb of very fine Scotch thread at £1 13s 0d a lb, £3 6s 0d Total for thread, £51 11s 0d 1 cwt 0 qr 24 lb of solder, £6 4s 3d 14 tin canisters, £0 19s 3d 4 tin gallon funnels, £0 3s 3d 4 tin quart funnels, £0 1s 7d 7 tin pudding pans, £0 3s 9d 7 tin watering pots, £1 1s 0d 39 lantern leaves of horn, £0 7s 4d 2 globe lamps, £0 19s 3d 3 glass lanterns, £1 19s 3d 22 tin half-gallon saucepans, £0 19s 3d 13 single sheets of tin, £0 4s 1d 10 double sheets of tin, £0 6s 3d 69 tin lamps, £2 10s 3d 2 tin dripping pans, £0 3s 3d 3 large tin kettles with covers, £1 6s 6d 3 [...], £1 4s 0d Total for tinware, £19 4s 7d Carried forward, £9,538 6s 9d **Interpretations** Scotch thread came in three grades, priced by the pound from 17s 7½d to £1 13s 0d. The finest linen thread, spun in Scotland from flax, was used for shirts, ruffles and lace, the delicate sewing of the island's households. Its cost per pound was far higher than ordinary thread, and the Company held it in small quantities for the families of officers and officials. Globe lamps and glass lanterns gave a clearer light than horn lanterns and burned oil within a glass globe. They lit the Castle's rooms and passages, while the 69 tin lamps held in store served the guard posts and barracks. Solder, more than a hundredweight, supplied the brazier and armourer for joining and mending tin and copper vessels, and for re-tinning the Castle's kitchen pans with the brazier's stakes issued that quarter.
251	242	19th October Brought over£ 9538 6 9 Turners Ware viz. 7 Scrubing Brushes 14 3 Tubmans Yokes 7 6 2 Yokes for Oxen 1 16 2 23 Ox Bows 1 13 10 3 Skimming Dishes 1 7 90 Shoe Brushes 18 Do. damaged 4 5 9 1 Butchers Tray 3 8	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued. Brought forward, £9,538 6s 9d 7 scrubbing brushes, £0 14s 0d 5 tubmen's yokes, £0 7s 6d 2 yokes for oxen, £1 16s 2d 23 ox bows, £1 13s 10d 5 skimming dishes, £0 1s 7d 90 shoe brushes and 18 damaged, £4 5s 9d 1 butcher's tray, £0 3s 3d 10 pump boxes, £1 14s 7d 1 platter, damaged, £0 1s 1d 6 punch ladles, £0 3s 3d 103 labourers' baskets, £6 3s 9d 6 clothes brushes, £0 6s 6d 193 paint brushes, £4 19s 0d 10 birch brooms, £0 3s 6d 13 mops, £0 16s 6d

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		10 Pump Boxes 1 14 7 1 Platter damaged 1 1 6 Punch Ladles 3 8 108 Labourers Baskets 6 3 9 6 Cloth Brushes 6 6 198 Paint Do. 4 19 10 Birch Brooms 3 6 13 Mops 16 6 2 Plate Baskets Lin'd wt. Tin 10 11 106 Plaisterers Brushes 3 8 4 3 Hair Sieves Large 3 Do. damaged 3 7 5 1 Flasket 2 6 33 . 3 Pease and Beans viz. 17¼ Bushels Split Pease 2 7 4 20¾ Do. Do. damaged 5 3 9 10⅞ Do. Beans 2 7 7 16 13 8 Carried Over European Good Amount & to £ 9588 5 8	2 plate baskets lined with tin, £0 10s 11d 106 plasterers' brushes, £3 8s 4d 3 large hair sieves and 3 damaged, £3 7s 5d 1 flasket, £0 2s 6d Total for turners' ware, £33 0s 3d 17¾ bushels of split peas, £2 7s 4d 20¾ bushels of split peas, damaged, £5 3s 9d 10⅞ bushels of beans, £2 7s 7d Total for peas and beans, £16 13s 8d Total value of European goods carried forward, £9,588 0s 8d **Interpretations** The inventory distinguished European goods, those shipped from England and the Continent, from the goods of Asia that would follow. European goods held in the warehouses on 30 September 1767 were valued at nearly £9,600 0s 0d, almost four times the island's annual cost in salaries and wages for a quarter. Most of that value lay in salt meat, flour, rope, anchors and timber, the stores that kept the garrison fed and the ships refitted. Tubmen's yokes were wooden yokes worn across the shoulders to carry two tubs or buckets, used by the slaves and labourers who carried water, mortar and earth where no cart could go. A flasket was a long shallow basket for linen or produce. Pump boxes were the valves of a ship's or well pump, held as spares. Peas and beans, part of them damaged, served as dried rations for the garrison and slaves, and the damaged portion had perhaps taken damp in storage during the wet winter.
252	243	1767 Brought over£ 9588 5 8 India Goods viz. Challoes 291 Ps. 121 5 Arrack 1337½ Galls. 142 1 2 Coffee 1 . 3 . 9 cwt. qrs. lb 8 10 10 Peppers - . 26 9 1 Tea viz. 10 . 2 . 7 cwt. qrs. lb Bohea 31 13 1 1 . 3 . 16 Congo 12 7 4 1 . - . 6 Singlo 7 7 6 71 9 11 China Ware viz. 34 Round Meat Dishes 140 Do. Do. plates 6 7 9 30 Soop Dishes 3 17 6 96 Do. Plates 2 5 56 Do. Do. Enamd. 1 15 2 Sallad Dishes 6 2 Tureens & Dishes 3 4 14 Octogon Dishes 97 Do. Plates 5 5 207 Do. Soop Plates 6 . 9 2 Enamd. Baking Dishes	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued with the goods from India and China. Brought forward, £9,588 5s 8d 291 pieces of chelloes, £121 5s 0d 1,387½ gallons of arrack, £142 1s 2d 1 cwt 3 qr 9 lb of coffee, £8 10s 10d 3 qr 26 lb of pepper, £9 1s 0d 10 cwt 2 qr 7 lb of Bohea tea, £31 15s 1d 1 cwt 3 qr 16 lb of Congou tea, £12 7s 4d 1 cwt 0 qr 6 lb of Singlo tea, £7 7s 6d Total for tea, £71 9s 11d 34 round porcelain meat dishes and 140 round meat plates, £6 7s 9d 30 porcelain soup dishes, £3 17s 6d 96 porcelain soup plates, £2 5s 0d 56 enamelled porcelain soup plates, £1 15s 0d 8 porcelain salad dishes, £0 6s 0d 8 porcelain tureens and dishes, £3 4s 0d 14 octagonal porcelain dishes and 97 octagonal plates, £5 5s 0d 207 octagonal porcelain soup plates, £6 0s 9d 2 enamelled porcelain baking dishes, £0 5s 4d 4 porcelain basins and 6 guglets, £0 11s 6d 63 porcelain bowls, £4 9s 3d 18 porcelain teapots, £0 15s 0d 5 porcelain butter boats, £0 2s 0d 2 porcelain salts, £0 1s 3d 89 stoneware saucers, £1 9s 8d 5 stoneware guglets and 4 basins, £1 10s 0d 9 porcelain chamber pots, £0 16s 0d 6 porcelain milk ewers, £0 6s 0d 5 ordinary porcelain saucers, £0 1s 0d Total for porcelain and stoneware, £44 8s 0d Carried forward, £9,985 1s 7d **Interpretations** The figure brought forward was £9,588 5s 8d, which corrects the total given at the foot of the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 4 4 Basons and 6 Guglets 11 6 63 Bowls 4 9 3 18 Tea Pots 13 5 Butter Boats 2 2 Setts 1 3 89 Saucers Stone 1 9 8 5 Guglets & 4 Basons Stone 1 10 9 Chamber Pots 16 6 Milk Ewers 6 5 Ordy. Saucers 1 44 3 Carried Over£ 9985 1 7	previous page. The tea items add to £51 9s 11d, though the clerk carried £71 9s 11d into the account. The goods from India and China formed a separate part of the inventory, worth roughly £400 0s 0d. Arrack was the largest item, nearly 1,400 gallons, enough to supply the Company's table, the drams for labourers and the stores sold to islanders for many months. Chelloes, 291 pieces, would clothe slaves and sell to inhabitants. Tea, more than half a ton of Bohea alone, came from the cargoes of the China ships, and the island drank it in every household. The porcelain left after the season's sales still filled shelves, nearly 900 pieces of tableware, from which the Castle and the island's families would draw until the next ships from Canton arrived.
253	244	19th October Brought over£ 9925 1 7 Candles 11 . 3 . 8 cwt. qrs. lb 140 13 6 Long Cloth viz. 32 Ps. L 107 16 26 Ps. D 106 12 7 Ps. 2 25 6 4 23½ Ps. C 77 1 3 3½ Ps. N 8 1 1½ Ps. G 3 1 10 12 Ps. I 38 12 Ps. M 48 8 11 Ps. W 35 4 79 Ps. R 103 16 6 28 Ps. Y 26 18 1 ½ Ps. No. 3 1 . 1 20¾ Ps. K 29 14 10 636 . 5 Sugar & Candy viz. 293 . 3 . 27 cwt. qrs. lb Sugar 414 7 9 55 . - . - Candy 128 6 8 542 14 5 Rice and Paddy viz. 433 . 2 . 12 cwt. qrs. lb Rice 178 16 8 268 . 3 . 25 Paddy 81 16 3 260 12 11 £ 11565 2 10 St. Helena 30th September 1767 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille Thos. Kirkpatrick	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses concluded. Brought forward, £9,985 1s 7d 11 cwt 3 qr 8 lb of candles, £140 13s 6d 22 pieces of long cloth, grade L, £107 16s 0d 26 pieces of long cloth, grade D, £106 12s 0d 7 pieces of long cloth, grade Q, £25 6s 4d 23½ pieces of long cloth, grade G, £77 1s 3d 3½ pieces of long cloth, grade N, £8 1s 0d 1½ pieces of long cloth, grade H, £3 1s 10d 12 pieces of long cloth, grade T, £33 0s 0d 12 pieces of long cloth, grade M, £43 8s 0d 11 pieces of long cloth, grade W, £35 4s 0d 79 pieces of long cloth, grade R, £103 16s 6d 28 pieces of long cloth, grade Y, £26 18s 1d ½ piece of long cloth, grade [...], £1 0s 7d 20¾ pieces of long cloth, grade K, £29 14s 10d Total for long cloth, £636 0s 5d 295 cwt 3 qr 27 lb of sugar, £414 7s 9d 55 cwt of sugar candy, £128 6s 8d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £542 14s 5d 433 cwt 2 qr 12 lb of rice, £178 16s 8d 268 cwt 3 qr 25 lb of paddy, £81 16s 3d Total for rice and paddy, £260 12s 11d Total value of stores remaining, £11,565 2s 10d The inventory was dated at St Helena on 30 September 1767, issued subject to errors and signed by Daniel Corneille and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The stores held in the Company's warehouses at the end of September 1767 were worth £11,565 2s 10d, about the same as the coin in the treasury. Together they formed the island's whole working capital. The goods from Asia, chiefly Indian cotton, sugar, rice and paddy, made up more than £1,400 0s 0d of the final page alone, showing how far the island's daily life depended on the ships from Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Canton as well as on England. Sugar held in great quantity, nearly 15 tons with the candy, was enough for several years' sales and issues, landed in bulk by the ships that called that winter. The rice and paddy, nearly 35 tons, fed the slaves and garrison. The inventory was the work of the two councillors appointed on 31 August 1767, Corneille and Kirkpatrick, who counted every item while the stores were closed for September. It gave the directors in London a complete statement of what the island held, against which they could check every sale and issue recorded in the storekeeper's accounts through the year.

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254	245	1767 List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salary's Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing the 1 day of July and ending the 30th day of September 1767 viz. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Salary 125 Do. Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Saly. 62 10 Do. Diet Money 25 87 10 Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Saly. 15 Do. Accomptant 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. Gratuity 15 62 10 Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Salary 7 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 10 Archibald Mitchell Engineers Saly. 50 Do. Diet Money 25 Do. House Rent 2 10 77 10 William Bearcroft Chaplain Saly. 40 Do. Money 15 55 Matthew Bazett Secrety. Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 2 10 35 James Bowell Storekeeper Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 2 10 35 William Wrangham Factor Salary 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 Do. Assistant to the Governor 10 30 Carried Over£ 549 4 9	The list of the Company's officers and servants gave their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1767. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe, total, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille, total, £87 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, total, £62 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, diet money, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Archibald Mitchell, total, £77 10s 0d William Bearcroft, chaplain, salary, £40 0s 0d William Bearcroft, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Bearcroft, total, £55 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell, total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £30 0s 0d Carried forward, £549 4s 9d **Interpretations** The salaries of the senior officials were unchanged from the spring quarter, as fixed rates set by the directors. The one difference was among the chaplains. In the spring John Thackeray drew 48 days' pay and William Bearcroft the full quarter. Now only Bearcroft appeared, confirming that Thackeray had left the island or died and that Bearcroft served alone as chaplain. A small island needed only one minister, and the Company paid him £220 0s 0d a year with his diet money, a comfortable living by the standards of an English parish. The quarter's list was drawn up as the Council's dispute over the Castle repairs travelled to London. The directors would see it alongside the minutes in which Corneille and Purling distanced themselves from the Governor. Every official on the list still drew the same pay, so the quarrel had not altered anyone's standing on the island.
255	246	19th October Brought over£ 549 4 9 Jonathan Doveton Factor Salary 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. Assistant Storekeeper	The list of the Company's officers and servants for the quarter continued. Brought forward, £549 4s 9d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d

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		5 22 10 Britannicus Wright Factor Salary 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 20 John Goodwin Writers Salary 5 Do. Diet Money 10 15 Robert Barclay Surgeons Salary 9 15 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 22 5 John Pritchard Surgeons Mate Saly. 6 5 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 18 15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate 12 10 Do. Schoolmaster 7 10 20 Thomas Bazett Saly. 13 13 Samuel Alexander 7 10 John Worrall 15 Overseers William Holbrooke Master Mason Saly. 30 John Robinson Carpenter Saly. 25 Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 10 Thomas Yates Clerk of the Church 5 John Bazett Superintendt. over the Compy's Blacks 10 James Black Gardener 10 George Bazett Steward 7 10 Samuel Perry Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 Thos. Payne Overseer of the Honble Compy's Workmen 6 16 10½ Robert Allum Groom 2 Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 John Criswell Patron of the Long Boats 7 10 Thomas Tyler 2d Do. of Do. 5 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7 10 Carried over£ 169 19 10½ 837 14 7½	Jonathan Doveton, total, £22 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, total, £20 0s 0d John Goodwin, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Pritchard, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, total, £20 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, overseer, salary, £13 13s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Worrall, overseer, £15 0s 0d William Holebrook, master mason, salary, £30 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £25 0s 0d Phillip Mahony, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Thomas Yates, clerk of the church, £5 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent over the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d James Black, gardener, £10 0s 0d George Bazett, steward, £7 10s 0d Samuel Berry, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Bayne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Robert Allum, groom, £2 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master-at-arms, £6 5s 0d John Crisswell, first coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Thomas Tyler, second coxswain of the longboat, £5 0s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d Total for this page, £169 19s 10½d Carried forward, £837 14s 7½d **Interpretations** Britannicus Wright now appeared as a factor, at the higher rate of £30 0s 0d a year in salary, after his promotion from writer on 7 July 1767. He had served his term as writer and moved up the first step of the Company's civil service. John Goodwin remained a writer. The superintendent's post, partly illegible in the spring list, was here given in full as superintendent over the Company's slaves. John Bazett managed the whole slave workforce, with overseers under him on the plantations and at the works. Thomas Yates replaced Thomas Oakes as clerk of the church, and was probably the Thomas Yates whom William Brown named as one of his executors in August. Thomas Tyler, the second coxswain, drew £5 0s 0d against £7 10s 0d the previous quarter, perhaps because he served only part of the time, and John Price, the marshal and gaoler, drew more than before. The armourer and the cooper, both paid in the spring, did not appear, since John Robins was too ill to work and the cooper John Drawwater was evidently paid elsewhere or had left.
256	247	1767 Brought over£ 837 14 7½ John Robins Armourer 15	The list for the quarter continued, closing the civil establishment and opening the first company. Brought forward, £837 14s 7½d John Robins, armourer, £15 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Drawwater Cooper 8 15 To the Drum Major for instruct'g the Young Drumrs. 1 To John Lemmon an Invalid 86 days at 9d. Pr. D. 3 4 6 27 19 6 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Saly. 45 12 6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Samuel Duffountain Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacob 25 11 - ½ Barnard Millard 4 2 - ½ as Adjutants 29 13 1½ Serjeants Phillip Mahoney 7 12 1 Thos. Payne 7 12 1 William Bannister 7 12 1 Henry Howell 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals Joseph Tracy 5 6 5½ William Bunn 5 6 5½ Thos. Bennett 5 6 5½ William Rowlands 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers Richard Platfoot 5 6 5½ John Martin 5 6 5½ Joseph Beecham 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Carried Over£ 1063 17 - ½	John Drawwater, cooper, £8 15s 0d The drum major, for instructing the young drummers, £1 0s 0d John Lemmon, an invalid, 86 days at 9d a day, £3 4s 6d Total for this group, £27 19s 6d Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, total, £27 11s 10½d Samuel De Fountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel De Fountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel De Fountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel De Fountain, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, as adjutant, £25 11s 0½d Barnard Millard, as adjutant, £4 2s 0½d Total for the adjutant, £29 13s 1½d Phillip Mahony, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Payne, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Bannister, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Henry Howell, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Joseph Stacey, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Bunn, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Berwick, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Rowlands, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Richard Platfoot, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Martin, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Beecham, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £15 19s 4½d Carried forward, £1,063 17s 0½d **Interpretations** The adjutant's pay for the quarter was divided between Solomon Jacobs and Barnard Millard, carrying out the Council's decision of 18 September 1767. Jacobs was paid up to the day of his suspension and Millard from then until the quarter's end, so that the Company paid one adjutant's salary in total, as the Governor had arranged. Jacobs's six months without pay began with the following quarter. John Lemmon, the invalid soldier, was the John Lemon whom the Council retired on 6 July 1767 after his broken leg left him on crutches for life. His pension of 9d a day was paid here for 86 days, from the date of his retirement. John Robins, the armourer, drew his full quarter's pay of £15 0s 0d though too ill to work, as the Council had noted in August, and John Drawwater was paid as cooper. The drum major's allowance for teaching the young drummers covered the boys of the garrison, including the island-born fifer John Wyrill.
257	248	19th October Brought over£ 1063 17 - ½ Centinels James Greentree Cadet 7 12 1 John Allum 3 16 - ½ James Avery 3 16 - ½ James Armstrong 3 16 - ½ John Buckmans 3 16 - ½ Thomas Blake 3 16 - ½ Moses Biffen	The pay of the sentinels of the first company followed. Brought forward, £1,063 17s 0½d James Greentree, cadet, £7 12s 1d John Allum, £3 16s 0½d James Avery, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, £3 16s 0½d John Buchmann, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, £3 16s 0½d Moses Biffen, £3 16s 0½d John Bull, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Bryon, £3 16s 0½d Emanuel Brunner, £3 16s 0½d William Benson, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Barclay, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John Bull 3 16 - ½ John Barnes 3 16 - ½ Timothy Bryon 3 16 - ½ Emanuel Brunner 3 16 - ½ William Benson 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Barclay 3 16 - ½ Samuel Bingrove 3 16 - ½ Richard Bloom Entd. 25 July 2 18 4 Edward Corbey 3 16 - ½ William Clissold 3 16 - ½ Patrick Conner 3 16 - ½ Andrew Conner 3 16 - ½ John Charlton 3 16 - ½ John Davis 3 16 - ½ Thos. Durham 3 16 - ½ James Drake 3 16 - ½ James Dunn 3 16 - ½ John Dobson 3 16 - ½ Adam Evans 3 16 - ½ Henry Evenstrear 3 16 - ½ Cornelius Fish 3 16 - ½ William French 3 16 - ½ William Greenwood 3 16 - ½ John Grainger 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 120 15 7½ Carried Over£ 1063 17 - ½	Samuel Bingrove, £3 16s 0½d Richard Broom, enlisted 23 July 1767, £2 18s 4d Edward Corker, £3 16s 0½d William Clissold, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Conner, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Conner, £3 16s 0½d John Charlton, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d Henry Canstear, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d William Greenwood, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £120 15s 7½d Carried forward, £1,063 17s 0½d **Interpretations** James Greentree, who enlisted as a sentinel on 26 June 1767, was now entered as a cadet and paid at a sergeant's rate of £7 12s 1d. A cadet was a young man of good family serving in the ranks while he waited for a commission as an officer. Greentree's family held land across the island and had just renewed their lease in Sandy Bay Valley, and his rank reflected that standing. The garrison gave the sons of the island's leading families a route into the officer corps, as the Bazetts, Beales and Leeches had already found. Every sentinel still drew £3 16s 0½d, the same as in the spring, because Corneille's method of paying by the day was not to start until January 1768. Under that method a quarter of 92 days would have paid £3 16s 8d, so each man was underpaid by 7½d this quarter to balance the overpayment of the spring, exactly as Corneille had explained. Richard Broom enlisted on 23 July and was paid for the days he served. John Dobson remained a sentinel while also working at the armourer's forge on the portcullis for Sandy Bay.
258	249	1767 Brought over£ 1063 17 - ½ Centinels brought over£ 120 15 7½ John Dove 3 16 - ½ David Davis 3 16 - ½ William Henderson 3 16 - ½ James Hedge 3 16 - ½ John Hewston 3 16 - ½ Edward Haddock 3 16 - ½ William Holmes 3 16 - ½ William Halsall 3 16 - ½ Duncan McClaren 3 16 - ½ William Mumford 3 16 - ½ Thomas Means	The pay of the sentinels of the first company continued. Brought forward, £1,063 17s 0½d Sentinels brought forward, £120 15s 7½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hedge, £3 16s 0½d John Hewston, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, £3 16s 0½d William Halsall, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McLaren, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mears, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d James Miller, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Palmer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolph, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John McAllister 3 16 - ½ James Miller 3 16 - ½ John Pickering 3 16 - ½ Matthew Palmer 3 16 - ½ Thos. Roberts 3 16 - ½ William Robinson 3 16 - ½ Thos. Ransom 3 16 - ½ Silvanus Rolf 3 16 - ½ George Roe 3 16 - ½ Thos. Rogers 3 16 - ½ Anthony Reynolds 3 16 - ½ William Swaby 3 16 - ½ John Springthorpe 3 16 - ½ John Stairs 3 16 - ½ John Stewart 3 16 - ½ Edward Stevington 3 16 - ½ William Smell 3 16 - ½ Robert Saunders 3 16 - ½ Richard Tollington 3 16 - ½ William Tipper Centinels Carried Over£ 1[...]8 12 4 Carried Over£ 1063 17 - ½	Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Edward Stevington, £3 16s 0½d William Small, £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £238 12s 4d Carried forward, £1,063 17s 0½d **Interpretations** Every man on this page served the full quarter, with no deaths, discharges or enlistments recorded. The first company was steadier between July and September than in the spring, when several men died or were discharged. Most of the season's discharges had fallen in June, and the men who re-enlisted for bounty, such as John Hewston and others named in the paymaster's account, stayed in their places. John Hewston, the soldier paid in the spring for making and mending flags for the signal posts, continued in the ranks. George Roe was the witness to Eustace White's will in July. James Miller and Matthew Palmer, who enlisted in April and May, now drew full pay for a complete quarter.
259	250	19th October Brought over£ 1063 17 - ½ Centinels brought over£ 238 12 11 Thomas Townshend 3 16 - ½ Luke Vernon 3 16 - ½ John Whittingdale 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Wise 3 16 - ½ Thomas Windall 3 16 - ½ John Weston 3 16 - ½ George Wall 3 16 - ½ Richard Toucas 3 16 - ½ 269 1 3 Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Salary 45 12 6 Michael Frost Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money	The pay of the first company concluded, and the list continued with the second company. Brought forward, £1,063 17s 0½d Sentinels brought forward, £238 12s 11d Thomas Townshend, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, £3 16s 0½d Richard Toucas, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels of the first company, £269 1s 3d Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Michael Frost, total, £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welsh, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welsh, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welsh, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Ware Welsh, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bazett, sergeant, £7 12s 1d George Fireman, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Edmund Leech, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Stephen Prior, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d William Fullwood, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Hunt, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Fish, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Sabourin, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7 12 1 George Freeman 7 12 1 Edmond Leech 7 12 1 Stephen Pryor 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals William Fullwood 5 6 5½ William Hunt 5 6 5½ John Fish 5 6 5½ John Sabourin 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers Francis Scoane 5 6 5½ John Brown appointed Drumr. 24th Aug. 55 days Centinel 4 3 6 9 13 11½ Carried Over£ 1495 3 2	Francis Iscane, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Brown, appointed drummer on 24 August 1767, 53 days as a sentinel, £4 3s 6d Total for drummers, £9 9s 11½d Carried forward, £1,495 [...] **Interpretations** The sentinels brought forward came to £238 12s 11d, which corrects the figure carried at the foot of the previous page. John Brown moved from the ranks to become a drummer on 24 August 1767, filling the place left by Robert Davis, discharged on 15 June. He was perhaps the John Brown, son of the free black woman Elizabeth, whom William Brown named in his will as a fifer in the Company's service. A boy musician who grew up in the garrison could move into a drummer's place as he grew older, and the drum major's pay for instructing the young drummers trained such boys for these posts. The second company's officers and sergeants were unchanged from the spring. John Bazett served both as sergeant in this company and as superintendent of the Company's slaves on the civil list, another island family member holding two posts at once.
260	251	1767 Brought over£ 1495 3 8 Centinels Thomas Adams Robert Allum 3 16 - ½ William Birch 3 16 - ½ William Brookes 3 16 - ½ Jacob Brown 3 16 - ½ Robert Brown 3 16 - ½ Joseph Banks 3 16 - ½ Nicholas Bushell 3 16 - ½ Daniel Bye 3 16 - ½ James Byrne 3 16 - ½ Jonathan Burden 3 16 - ½ William Conquest 3 16 - ½ Thos. Cheverly 3 16 - ½ Samuel Curd 3 16 - ½ William Carfree 3 16 - ½ John Crawley 3 16 - ½ William Carter 3 16 - ½ John Cunningham 3 16 - ½ Jeremiah Conner deceased 27 September 3 14 2 Robert Dickens 3 16 - ½ William Drennan	The pay of the sentinels of the second company followed. Brought forward, £1,495 3s 8d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d Robert Allum, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Burden, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd, £3 16s 0½d William Carfree, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, £3 16s 0½d William Carter, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Conner, died 27 September 1767, £3 14s 2d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d William Dunnan, £3 16s 0½d John Dayley, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, £3 16s 0½d James Gates, £3 16s 0½d John Goodsell, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, £3 16s 0½d Charles Goulding, £3 16s 0½d William Greenough, £3 16s 0½d James Goudy, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stephenson, £3 16s 0½d William Harris senior, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £121 6s 5½d Carried forward, £1,495 3s 8d **Interpretations** Jeremiah Conner was paid to 27 September 1767, the day he drowned while fishing from the rocks, as recorded in the consultation of 28 September. He had enlisted only on 9 April as one of

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John Dayley 3 16 - ½ John Forbes 3 16 - ½ John Gray 3 16 - ½ James Gates 3 16 - ½ John Goldsole 3 16 - ½ Robert Green 3 16 - ½ Charles Goulding 3 16 - ½ William Greenough 3 16 - ½ James Goudy 3 16 - ½ Robert Stephenson 3 16 - ½ William Harris Senr. Centinels Carried Over£ 121 6 5½ Carried Over£ 1495 3 8 **Margin Notes:** [...]	the recruits from the *Cuffnells*, and his pay for the quarter was cut short by three days. Any pay owed to him at death would pass to his heirs or to the person named in a will, as Isaac Buck's arrears had passed to John Carfoot in the spring. John Cunningham, the soldier who was discharged on 15 June and re-enlisted a week later for a bounty of £10 0s 0d, now served a full quarter in the second company. Two men of the company were named William Harris, and the clerk now distinguished the elder as William Harris senior.
261	252	19th October Brought over£ 1495 3 8 Centinels brought over£ 121 11 5½ William Harris Junr. 3 16 - ½ James Hudson 3 16 - ½ John Hellbeck 3 16 - ½ Abraham Harding 3 16 - ½ William Hayes 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hayles 3 16 - ½ Samuel Hiles 3 16 - ½ James Hogg 3 16 - ½ John Ham 3 16 - ½ William Harper 3 16 - ½ Samuel Instone 3 16 - ½ John James 3 16 - ½ Jeremiah Jordon 3 16 - ½ William Johnson 3 16 - ½ John Jacks 3 16 - ½ Thomas James 3 16 - ½ Henry Kirkham 3 16 - ½ Samuel Kitson 3 16 - ½ John McCollin 3 16 - ½ Henry Miller 3 16 - ½ James Mannington 3 16 - ½ John Morris 3 16 - ½ William Merrick	The pay of the sentinels of the second company continued. Brought forward, £1,495 3s 8d Sentinels brought forward, £121 11s 5½d William Harris junior, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d John Hellbeck, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hayles, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 0½d James Hogg, £3 16s 0½d John Ham, £3 16s 0½d William Harper, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d John James, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordon, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d John Jacks, £3 16s 0½d Thomas James, £3 16s 0½d Henry Kirkham, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hickson, £3 16s 0½d John McCullin, £3 16s 0½d Henry Miller, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, £3 16s 0½d John Morris, £3 16s 0½d William Merrick, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton, £3 16s 0½d Pierce Osborne, £3 16s 0½d Henry Ophenius, discharged 27 July 1767, £1 2s 6d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d John Povey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Richards, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Strife, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £240 11s 3d Carried forward, £1,495 3s 8d **Interpretations** The sentinels brought forward came to £121 11s 5½d, which corrects the figure carried at the foot of the previous page. Henry Ophenius was paid to 27 July 1767, the day the Council granted his petition for discharge after he had served his contracted term. He was evidently the Henry Ophenrin of the spring pay list, his name spelled differently by different clerks, and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ Thomas Newton 3 16 - ½ Pierce Osbourn 3 16 - ½ Henry Ofsheneim discharged 27th July 1 2 6 Samuel Perry 3 16 - ½ John Povey 3 16 - ½ Thomas Richards 3 16 - ½ John Christian Striffe 3 16 - ½ Thomas Stowers 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Stringer 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carrd. Over£ 240 11 3 Carried Over£ 1495 3 8	probably a German or Dutch recruit. With no homeward ship in the road at the end of July, he would have waited on the island for a passage, perhaps until the *Nottingham* or *Anson* sailed in August. John Jacks, a sentinel here, was probably not the John Jacks who witnessed William Brown's will, who was a corporal of the artillery. Several soldiers shared common names, and the clerks distinguished them only by company and rank.
262	253	1767 Brought over£ 1495 3 8 Centinels brought over£ 240 11 3 Gregory Southernwood 3 16 - ½ John Salisbury 3 16 - ½ John Tucker 3 16 - ½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 - ½ Thomas Waffington 3 16 - ½ John Whyrill Entd. the 24th August 1 11 8 261 3 1½ Third Company Richard Beale Capt. Salary 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants Roger Witman 7 12 1 Barnard Millard appd. to act as Adjutant the 18 Sept. 6 11 8 William Roberts 7 12 1 William Clifton 7 12 1 29 7 11 Corporals Fisher Gamble 5 6 5½ Samuel Johnson 5 6 5½ Thomas Pearce 5 6 5½ William Gordon deceased the 25th July 1 9 2 17 8 6½ Drummers John Swaits 5 6 5½ George Carney 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried Over£ 1887 . 6½	The pay of the second company concluded, and the list continued with the third company. Brought forward, £1,495 3s 8d Sentinels brought forward, £240 11s 3d Gregory Southernwood, £3 16s 0½d John Salisbury, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 0½d John Wyrill, enlisted 24 August 1767, £1 11s 8d Total for the sentinels of the second company, £261 3s 1½d Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d Roger Wilman, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Barnard Millard, sergeant, appointed to act as adjutant on 18 September 1767, £6 11s 3d William Roberts, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Clifton, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £29 7s 11d Fisher Gamble, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Johnson, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Pearce, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Gordon, corporal, died 25 July 1767, £1 9s 2d Total for corporals, £17 8s 6½d John Swaits, drummer, £5 6s 5½d George Garney, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £1,887 0s 6½d **Interpretations** The three changes on this page each echo an entry in the consultations. Barnard Millard drew his sergeant's pay only to 18 September 1767, the day the Governor appointed him to act as adjutant in place of the suspended Solomon Jacobs. From then he drew the adjutant's pay instead, as shown in the first company's account, and the Governor's condition that he should not receive both was carried out to the day. William Gordon was paid to 25 July 1767, the day he hanged himself, as recorded in the consultation of 27 July. He had risen from sentinel to corporal only on 22 April. John Wyrill, the island boy enlisted as a fifer on 24 August, was paid from that date at a sentinel's rate, and his bounty of £2 10s 0d was paid separately.

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263	254	19th October Brought over£ 1887 - 6½ Centinels Richard Ashford 3 16 - ½ James Anderson 3 16 - ½ Charles Abraham Transferred 4th July 8 4 Henry Brown 3 16 - ½ Jacob Brill 3 16 - ½ Mark Balls 3 16 - ½ John Blinkhorn 3 16 - ½ Frederick William Beard 3 16 - ½ William Caleb Baldwin 3 16 - ½ Richard Broom Transfd. the 22 July 18 4 John Cork 3 16 - ½ Robert Davis 3 16 - ½ James Donavan 3 16 - ½ William Foster 3 16 - ½ John Foxon 3 16 - ½ Archibald Grayham 3 16 - ½ Richard Gregory 3 16 - ½ William Greenup 3 16 - ½ Felix Hyder 3 16 - ½ John Hilliard made Corpl. 26 July 3 18 2 Do. as Centinel to 26 Do. 1 . 10 William Hill 3 16 - ½ William Hopkins 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hillock 3 16 - ½ Mannard Hayes 3 16 - ½ Joseph Holloway 3 16 - ½ Robert Hardie Entd. 3d August 2 9 2 Peter Higgins Do. 9th Sept. 18 4 Josiah Johnson 3 16 - ½ Robert Johnson 3 16 - ½ Richard Johnson 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 104 14 2½ Carried Over£ 1887 - 6½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	The pay of the sentinels of the third company followed. Brought forward, £1,887 0s 6½d Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Charles Abraham, transferred 4 July 1767, £0 3s 4d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d John Blinborn, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 0½d Richard Broom, transferred 22 July 1767, £0 18s 4d John Cook, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, £3 16s 0½d James Donavan, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d John Fraser, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Grayham, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gregory, £3 16s 0½d William Greenhoop, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, as corporal from 26 July 1767, £3 13s 2d John Hilliard, as sentinel to 26 July 1767, £1 [...]s 10d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d William Hopkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hullock, £3 16s 0½d Mannard Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Holloway, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hardy, enlisted 3 August 1767, £2 9s 2d Peter Higgins, enlisted 9 September 1767, £0 18s 4d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £104 14s 2½d Carried forward, £1,887 0s 6½d **Interpretations** William Gordon's death on 25 July 1767 left a corporal's place in the third company, and John Hilliard was promoted from the ranks to fill it the next day. The paymaster split his pay at the change, as he had for the promotions of the spring, so that each day was paid at the right rate. Two of the men recruited from passing ships appeared here. Robert Hardy, the seaman from the *Anson* enlisted on 3 August with a bounty of £5 0s 0d, drew pay from that day, and Peter Higgins, the discharged soldier from Bombay enlisted on 9 September, from his. Richard Broom, enlisted in the first company on 23 July, appears here as transferred the day before, since he passed through this company briefly on his way to the first. Charles Abraham was transferred on 4 July, probably to the artillery, after only four days of the quarter.
264	255	1767 Brought over£ 1887 - 6½ Centinels brought over£ 104 14 2½ Edward Dudley 3 16 - ½	The pay of the sentinels of the third company continued. Brought forward, £1,887 0s 6½d Sentinels brought forward, £104 14s 2½d Edward Dudley, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Kemp 3 16 - ½ Richard Linney 3 16 - ½ John Long 3 16 - ½ Edward Lamborn 3 16 - ½ Bryan Lynch 3 16 - ½ John Lemmon discharged 6th July 5 James Long 3 16 - ½ Thomas Little 3 16 - ½ Charles Mountague 3 16 - ½ Richard Moyce 3 16 - ½ Thomas Morris 3 16 - ½ James Moyce 3 16 - ½ Abraham Major 3 16 - ½ John Miller 3 16 - ½ Thomas Matthews 3 16 - ½ Joseph Martin 3 16 - ½ Daniel Masterson 3 16 - ½ Charles Morris 3 16 - ½ William Medcalf 3 16 - ½ George Nelson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Perry 3 16 - ½ Henry Pinkson 3 16 - ½ William Parkes 3 16 - ½ David Patten 3 16 - ½ James Proctor 3 16 - ½ Samuel Packer 3 16 - ½ William Robinson 3 16 - ½ Robert Stack 3 16 - ½ Adam Scott 3 16 - ½ David Scott 3 16 - ½ John Shorland Centinels Carried Over£ 222 16 6 Carried Over£ 1887 - 6½	James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lamborn, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d John Lemmon, discharged 6 July 1767, £0 5s 0d James Long, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Little, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morrice, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Martin, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Masterson, £3 16s 0½d Charles Morrice, £3 16s 0½d William Medcalf, £3 16s 0½d George Nelson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchon, £3 16s 0½d William Parkes, £3 16s 0½d David Patton, £3 16s 0½d James Procter, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Pocher, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Slack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Sorland, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £222 16s 6d Carried forward, £1,887 0s 6½d **Interpretations** John Lemmon drew a sentinel's pay for six days, to 6 July 1767, the day the Council retired him as an invalid after his broken leg. From then on he received his pension of 9d a day, entered separately in the civil list. The two entries together show the Company ending his service as a soldier and taking him on as a pensioner on the same day, without a gap in his income. George Nelson, who died on 4 October 1767, drew a full quarter's pay because his death fell after the quarter ended on 30 September. Charles Mountague was one of the soldiers paid a bounty of £10 0s 0d in the spring for re-enlisting for five more years.
265	256	19th October Brought over£ 1887 - 6½ Centinels brought over£ 222 16 6 Arthur Shell 3 16 - ½ William Smith 3 16 - ½ John Simpson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 - ½ Richard Vincent	The pay of the third company concluded, and the list continued with the fourth company. Brought forward, £1,887 0s 6½d Sentinels brought forward, £222 16s 6d Arthur Stell, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d John Simpson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welsh, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John Vaughan 3 16 - ½ Thomas Ward 3 16 - ½ Edward Welsh 3 16 - ½ Hatton Walker Entd. the 30th August 1 6 8 George Washington Do. Do. 1 6 8 James York 3 16 - ½ 259 14 2½ Fourth Company John Howard Captain Salary 45 12 6 Henry De Laune Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Salary 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Flemming 7 12 1 Thomas Bailey 7 12 1 John Simcox 7 12 1 Thos. Ferris 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals Richard Moreton 5 6 5½ John Moore 5 6 5½ James Brilliott 5 6 5½ Thoms. Shylock Reduced 27 July 1 4 6 Do. as Centinel 2 18 4 20 2 2½ Drummers George Wills 5 6 5½ John Campen 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried Over£ 2307 14 5½	Hatton Walker, enlisted 30 August 1767, £1 6s 8d George Washington, enlisted 30 August 1767, £1 6s 8d James York, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels of the third company, £259 14s 2½d John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Lerne, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Lerne, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Lerne, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry De Lerne, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert, total, £27 11s 10½d John Flemming, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bailey, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Ferris, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Richard Moreton, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Moore, corporal, £5 6s 5½d James Brilliett, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Kyllock, as corporal, reduced 27 July 1767, £1 4s 6d Thomas Kyllock, as sentinel, £2 18s 4d Total for corporals, £20 2s 2½d George Wills, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Campen, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £2,308 14s 5½d **Interpretations** Hatton Walker and George Washington, two of the three sick seamen left ashore from the *Nottingham*, drew pay from 30 August 1767, when they recovered and enlisted. James Walter, enlisted with them, presumably served in another company. Thomas Kyllock lost his rank on 27 July 1767, barely a month after he was promoted from sentinel to corporal on 30 June. He was the third non-commissioned officer reduced to the ranks in four months, after James York and Daniel Cormain in the spring. The record gives no reason, but the pattern supports Corneille's warning of 8 June 1767 that the garrison's discipline was suffering. James York, reduced from sergeant in April, still served as a sentinel and drew a private's pay.
266	257	1767 Brot. Over£ 2307 14 5½ Centinels John Allen Daniel Armin 3 16 - ½ William Allen 3 16 - ½ George Bennett 3 16 - ½ Joseph Blackwell 3 16 - ½ John Brooke 3 16 - ½ William Blackman as Centinel to the 2d July	The pay of the sentinels of the fourth company followed. Brought forward, £2,308 14s 5½d John Allen, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Armin, £3 16s 0½d William Allen, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d John Brooke, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, as sentinel to 27 July 1767, £1 7s 6d William Blackman, as corporal from 27 July 1767, £4 1s 8d Richard Bakenstaff, £3 16s 0½d John Beauchamp, £3 16s 0½d

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		1 7 6 Do. as Corporal from Do. 4 1 8 Richard Bickerstaff 3 16 - ½ John Beauchamp 3 16 - ½ Andrew Barton 3 16 - ½ John Bowler 3 16 - ½ George Capling 3 16 - ½ William Cooksey 3 16 - ½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 - ½ James Culsher 3 16 - ½ Richard Clin 3 16 - ½ Josiah Cummins 3 16 - ½ John Deal 3 16 - ½ John Euston 3 16 - ½ Charles Field 3 16 - ½ Francis Flinn 3 16 - ½ George Green 3 16 - ½ John Gilmore 3 16 - ½ Edward Germain 3 16 - ½ Henry Hermingburg 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 16 - ½ Roger Haydon 3 16 - ½ John Harper 3 16 - ½ Christian Johnson 3 16 - ½ Stephen John 3 16 - ½ John Joyce Centinels Carried Over£ 119 - 5 Carried Over£ 2307 14 5½	Andrew Barton, £3 16s 0½d John Bowler, £3 16s 0½d George Capling, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Cutcher, £3 16s 0½d Richard Clin, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummins, £3 16s 0½d John Deal, £3 16s 0½d John Euston, £3 16s 0½d Charles Field, £3 16s 0½d Francis Flinn, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Edward Germain, £3 16s 0½d Henry Herringburgh, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Roger Haydon, £3 16s 0½d John Harper, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d John Joyce, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £119 0s 5d Carried forward, £2,308 14s 5½d **Interpretations** William Blackman was promoted from sentinel to corporal on 27 July 1767, the same day Thomas Kyllock lost that rank. The company filled the vacancy at once from its own ranks, as it had in the spring when James York and Daniel Cormain were reduced. The paymaster divided Blackman's pay at the change, so each part of the quarter was paid at the proper rate. George Bennett, John Euston and James Cutcher appear among the soldiers who received a bounty of £10 0s 0d in the spring for re-enlisting for five more years. Henry Herringburgh and Christian Johnson, names that suggest German or Scandinavian origin, show the garrison's continuing mix of British and foreign recruits.
267	258	19th October Brought over£ 2308 14 5½ Centinels brought over£ 119 . 5 Thomas Johnson 3 16 - ½ Richard Kempton 3 16 - ½ Thomas Lee 3 16 - ½ Thomas Lyne 3 16 - ½ Charles Lewellin 3 16 - ½ Murdock McCloed 3 16 - ½ Thomas Marshall 3 16 - ½ John Mayor 3 16 - ½ Thomas McDearmon 3 16 - ½ Patrick Mahoney 3 16 - ½	The pay of the sentinels of the fourth company continued. Brought forward, £2,308 14s 5½d Sentinels brought forward, £119 0s 5d Thomas Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Kempton, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d Charles Lewellin, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCloed, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Major, £3 16s 0½d Thomas McDearmon, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Mahoney, £3 16s 0½d Robert May, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, transferred 11 September 1767, £3 0s 10d James Newport, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Papps, £3 16s 0½d

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		Robert May 3 16 - ½ John Newton 3 16 - ½ Martin Newman Transfd. 16th Septemr. 3 . 16 James Newport 3 16 - ½ John Oswald 3 16 - ½ John Pluck 3 16 - ½ Daniel Patrick 3 16 - ½ Stephen Papps 3 16 - ½ William Parker 3 16 - ½ Thomas Pritchard 3 16 - ½ John Pink 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Poole Entered 9th Septemr. 18 4 James Richardson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Rutherford 3 16 - ½ John Shaw 3 16 - ½ William Seedman 3 16 - ½ Roderick Shaffer discharged the 10th Aug. 1 14 2 John Slade 3 16 - ½ William Stedman 3 16 - ½ James Toe 3 15 - ½ John Terry 3 16 - ½ Jeremiah Worrill 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 234 13 11½ Carried Over£ 2307 14 5½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	William Parker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pritchard, £3 16s 0½d John Pink, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Pool, enlisted 9 September 1767, £0 18s 4d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Seehman, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, discharged 10 August 1767, £1 14s 2d John Slade, £3 16s 0½d William Stedman, £3 16s 0½d James Toe, £3 16s 0½d John Terry, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wherritt, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £234 13s 11½d Carried forward, £2,308 14s 5½d **Interpretations** Roderick Shaffer was paid to 10 August 1767, the day the Council granted his discharge at the end of his contracted term. Benjamin Pool, the discharged soldier from Bombay who enlisted on 9 September, drew pay from that day in this company, while his companion Peter Higgins joined the third company. Splitting the two new men between companies kept each company near its full strength. John Oswald and Thomas Rutherford were among the soldiers who took the bounty of £10 0s 0d in the spring to serve five more years. Martin Newman was transferred on 11 September 1767, probably to the artillery, which had lost men that season and needed trained hands for moving the guns from Munden's Point in the coming quarter.
268	259	1767 Brought over£ 2307 14 5½ Centinels brought over£ 234 13 11½ William Waite 3 16 - ½ John Woods 3 16 - ½ Thomas Williams 3 16 - ½ Thomas Watts 3 16 - ½ James Willson 3 16 - ½ Joseph West 3 16 - ½ James Walter Entd. 31 August 1 5 10 259 1 - ½ Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Salary 45 12 6 Nathan Sample Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent	The pay of the fourth company concluded, and the list continued with the artillery company. Brought forward, £2,308 14s 5½d Sentinels brought forward, £234 13s 11½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d John Woods, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 0½d James Willson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph West, £3 16s 0½d James Walter, enlisted 31 August 1767, £1 5s 10d Total for the sentinels of the fourth company, £259 1s 0½d Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sample, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sample, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sample, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathan Sample, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Leech, total, £27 11s 10½d John Whitchurch, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, sergeant, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, sergeant, £9 2s 6d

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		2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Leach Lieut. Salary 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Adam Watson 9 2 6 John Shirtley 9 2 6 John Cox 9 2 6 36 10 Corporals Thomas Collier 6 16 10½ Nicholas Houghton 6 16 10½ Robert Gillson 6 16 10½ John Jacks 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Bombardiers John Turner 6 16 10½ James Parfett 6 16 10½ John Martin 6 16 10½ Evan Newland reduced the 17th August 3 13 6 Do. Bombardr. from 17 Do. 2 2 26 6 1½ Carried Over£ 2753 15 4½	John Cox, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Total for sergeants, £36 10s 0d Thomas Collier, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Nicholas Houghton, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gibson, corporal, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Total for corporals, £27 7s 6d John Turner, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d James Parfett, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d John Martin, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Evan Nowland, as bombardier to 18 August 1767, reduced that day, £3 13s 6d Evan Nowland, from 18 August 1767, £2 2s 0d Total for bombardiers, £26 6s 1½d Carried forward, £2,758 15s 4½d **Interpretations** James Walter, the third of the sick seamen from the *Nottingham*, enlisted on 31 August 1767, a day after his shipmates Hatton Walker and George Washington, and joined the fourth company. John Woods was the soldier who witnessed Eustace White's will in July. Evan Nowland was reduced from bombardier on 18 August 1767, the fourth non-commissioned officer of the garrison broken in rank that year. His case belonged to the artillery, where Mitchell commanded, so the problem of discipline was not confined to the infantry companies whose men laboured at Sandy Bay. John Shirley, sergeant of artillery, was the man whose petition for a strip of ground beside the workhouse the Council refused on 12 October 1767. John Jacks, corporal of artillery, witnessed William Brown's will on 4 August.
269	260	19th October Brought over£ 2758 15 4½ Gunners Eustace White decd. 9th July 12 David Dennis to 18th August 3 5 4 Do. Bombardr. from 18th Do. 3 3 John Smith 6 1 8 Samuel Smith 6 1 8 Thomas Taylor 6 1 8 Thomas McFarling 6 1 8 Adam Creighton 6 1 8 William Hodges 6 1 8 43 10 4 Drummers George Garrard 5 6 5½ Joseph Purdey 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Matrosses William Brown 4 11 3 John Cope 4 11 3	The pay of the artillery company continued. Brought forward, £2,758 15s 4½d Eustace White, gunner, died 9 July 1767, £0 12s 0d David Dennis, gunner, to 18 August 1767, £3 5s 4d David Dennis, as bombardier from 18 August 1767, £3 3s 0d John Smith, gunner, £6 1s 8d Samuel Smith, gunner, £6 1s 8d Thomas Taylor, gunner, £6 1s 8d Thomas McFarling, gunner, £6 1s 8d Adam Creighton, gunner, £6 1s 8d William Hodges, gunner, £6 1s 8d Total for gunners, £43 10s 4d George Garrard, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Purdey, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d William Brown, matross, £4 11s 3d John Cope, matross, £4 11s 3d John Crisswell, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, matross, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, matross, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, matross, £4 11s 3d John Carfoot, matross, £4 11s 3d William Durham, matross, £4 11s 3d Charles Abraham, matross, enlisted 4 July 1767, £4 2s 0d Benjamin Burton, matross, £4 11s 3d James Bottomly, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, matross, £4 11s 3d

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		John Cresswell 4 11 3 Thomas Clark 4 11 3 John Webbly 4 11 3 Richard Wellman 4 11 3 Thomas Wyatt 4 11 3 Robert Cunningham 4 11 3 John Carforth 4 11 3 William Durham 4 11 3 Charles Abraham Entd. 4th July 4 2 Benjamin Burton 4 11 3 James Bottomly 4 11 3 Daniel Finn 4 11 3 Joseph Fellows 4 11 3 Robert Frankish 4 11 3 John Fox 4 11 3 Matrosses Carried Over£ 77 2 Carried Over£ 2812 18 7½	Joseph Fellows, matross, £4 11s 3d Robert Frankish, matross, £4 11s 3d John Fox, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £77 2s 0d Carried forward, £2,812 18s 7½d **Interpretations** David Dennis was promoted from gunner to bombardier on 18 August 1767, the day Evan Nowland was reduced from that rank, so the artillery filled the vacancy at once from below as the infantry companies had done. Eustace White, the gunner who left a guinea to the chaplain and his nankeen clothes to a friend, was paid to his death, entered here as 9 July though the consultation recorded 10 July. Charles Abraham, transferred out of the third company on 4 July, joined the artillery as a matross the same day, which accounts for his small payment as a sentinel on the earlier page. John Carfoot was the friend and executor of Isaac Buck, who left him his clothes and arrears of pay in April. John Crisswell served as a matross and as first coxswain of the longboats, and was the coxswain who gave evidence in the inquiry into Solomon Jacobs.
270	261	1767 Brought over£ 2812 18 7½ Matrosses brought over£ 77 2 Christian Greenawald 4 11 3 Thomas Gorral 4 11 3 Thomas Green 4 11 3 Lawrence Hall 4 11 3 Thomas Jones to the 10th July 9 Do. as Gunner from 10th Do. 5 9 4 William Jenkins 4 11 3 John Lewis 4 11 3 William Luke 4 11 3 Daniel Maloney 4 11 3 George Marshall 4 11 3 Jonathan Mallet 4 11 3 John Moore 4 11 3 Thomas Nimble 4 11 3 Martin Newman Entd. 16th Sepr. 19 John Osbourne 4 11 3 William Poulton 4 11 3 Christian Patterson deceased the 11th Sepr. 3 12 William Phillips 4 11 3 Godfrey Smith 4 11 3	The pay of the artillery company concluded. Brought forward, £2,812 18s 7½d Matrosses brought forward, £77 2s 0d Christian Greenwald, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Gorrall, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Green, matross, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hall, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Jones, matross, to 10 July 1767, £0 9s 0d Thomas Jones, as gunner from 10 July 1767, £5 9s 4d William Jenkins, matross, £4 11s 3d John Lewis, matross, £4 11s 3d William Lake, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Malony, matross, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, matross, £4 11s 3d Jonathan Mallet, matross, £4 11s 3d John Moore, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, matross, £4 11s 3d Martin Newman, matross, enlisted 12 September 1767, £0 19s 0d John Osborne, matross, £4 11s 3d William Boulton, matross, £4 11s 3d Christian Patterson, matross, died 11 September 1767, £3 12s 0d William Phillips, matross, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d William Stone, matross, £4 11s 3d William Stapleford, matross, to 18 August 1767, £2 9s 0d William Stapleford, as gunner from 18 August 1767, £2 16s 0d Daniel Long, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Waterhouse, matross, £4 11s 3d John Willson, matross, £4 11s 3d Sedgwick Witherall, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Yates, matross, £4 11s 3d Total for matrosses, £197 15s 1d Total for the quarter, £3,010 13s 8½d **Interpretations** The total of £3,010 13s 8½d was almost the same as the spring quarter's £3,092 5s 6d. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Stone 4 11 3 William Stapleford to 18th August 2 9 Do. Gunner from 18th August 2 16 Daniel Song 4 11 3 Thomas Walls 4 11 3 Richard Waterhouse 4 11 3 John Willson 4 11 3 Sidgwick Witherall 4 11 3 Thomas Yates 197 15 1 £ 3010 13 8½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	garrison's strength had changed little, since the 15 discharges of June and the deaths through the year were balanced by recruits from passing ships and men who re-enlisted. The Company paid the same sum each quarter to hold St Helena, whether many ships called or few. Two chains of promotion ran through the artillery. When Eustace White died, Thomas Jones moved up from matross to gunner the next day. When Evan Nowland was reduced on 18 August, David Dennis rose from gunner to bombardier and William Stapleford from matross to gunner on the same day. William Stapleford was the soldier who witnessed Isaac Buck's will. Christian Patterson, who died on 11 September, was the Christopher Patterson recorded in the consultation of 14 September. Martin Newman, transferred from the fourth company on 11 September, appeared here as a matross from the following day.
271	262	19th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1767 September 30th To Cash received £ 3714 1 Carried Over£ 3714 1	The paymaster's account opened with the money Thomas Kirkpatrick received for the quarter. 30 September 1767, Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit, to cash received, £3,714 1s 0d Carried forward, £3,714 1s 0d **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick received £3,714 1s 0d from the treasury to pay the island's establishment for July to September, about £440 0s 0d less than the £4,152 19s 7d he drew in the spring. The pay list itself was nearly the same in both quarters, so the difference lay in the other payments: wages for labour, bounties and purchases. In the spring the paymaster paid out £230 0s 0d in bounties to soldiers who re-enlisted and large sums for labour at Sandy Bay and in the stores, where fewer ships called in winter and less unloading was needed. The diagonal line through the blank page showed, as before, that nothing further was charged to him, so his payments on the facing pages had to account for this single sum.
272	263	1767 Per Contra Cr. 1767 July 6 By Cash paid Christian Strife, Godfrey Smith, Edward Germain, and John Webbley for relist'g to serve the Honble Compy. five Years longer as Soldiers at £ 10 each commencing this day 40 21 By Cash paid Edward Lamborn for relisting to serve as above 10 By Cash paid Nockquedah Cockullem for 13 Ps. Salt Meat left in the Stores last Quarter he being indulged with the Money to buy fresh 1 6 By Cash pd. Mr. Mahoney Clerk of the Peace his fees on Account of Harry Plummer a Slave of the Honble Compy's tried at last Sessions viz. To Information £ 3 8 To warrant of Arrest 2 6 To committment 1 To drawing Bill of Indictment 2 6 To swearing 2 Witnesses upon indictment 1 To swearing 4 Do. upon tryal	The credit side of the paymaster's account recorded the payments Kirkpatrick made during the quarter. 6 July 1767, paid to John Christian Strife, Godfrey Smith, Edward Germain and John Webbley for re-enlisting to serve the Company 5 more years as soldiers, at £10 0s 0d each, from that day, £40 0s 0d 21 July 1767, paid to Edward Lamborn for re-enlisting on the same terms, £10 0s 0d Paid to the nakhoda Cockullum for 13 lb of salt meat left in the stores last quarter, he being allowed the money to buy fresh meat, £1 6s 0d Paid to Mr Mahony, clerk of the peace, his fees in the case of Harry [...], a slave of the Company, tried at the last sessions, for the information, £0 3s 8d For the warrant of arrest, £0 2s 6d For the committal, £0 1s 0d For drawing the bill of indictment, £0 2s 6d For swearing 2 witnesses on the indictment, £0 1s 0d For swearing 4 witnesses at the trial, £0 2s 0d For recording the verdict, £0 10s 0d Total of the clerk of the peace's fees, £1 2s 8d 23 July 1767, paid to Richard Broom for re-enlisting to serve the Company 5 more years as a soldier, from that day, £10 0s 0d Paid to Nicholas Houghton for 3 days' work on board the snow Mercury at 1s 6d a day, helping to water her, £0 4s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 To recording Verdict 10 1 2 8 23 By Cash pd. Richard Broom for relist'g to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years longer as a Soldier commencing this day 10 By Cash pd. Nicholas Houghton for 3 days Work on board Snow Mercury at 1/6 Pr. day assisting to water that Vessell 4 6 August 3d By Cash paid Robert Hardie for inlist'g to serve the Honble Compy. for 5 Years as a Soldier comm'g this day 5 7th By Cash paid William Foster for relist'g to serve as above comm'g this day 10 By Cash pd. Capt. Geo. Richardson for Long Boat with Masts Sails Oars Anchor Cable &ca bought for the use of the Honble Company 35 15th By Cash pd. Do. for the Passage of Thomas Townsend to England 5 18 By Cash pd. Christ. Johnson for relist'g to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years longer as a Soldier comm'g this day 10 19th By Cash paid Robert Cunningham for making a Jack Flag for the Mortar Practice 7 6 By Cash paid John Wyrill for enlist'g to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years as a Fifer his time comm'g this day 2 10 Carried Over£ 130 10 8	3 August 1767, paid to Robert Hardy for enlisting to serve the Company 5 years as a soldier, from that day, £5 0s 0d 7 August 1767, paid to William Foster for re-enlisting on the same terms, from that day, £10 0s 0d Paid to Captain George Richardson for a longboat with masts, sails, oars, anchor, cable and fittings for the Company's use, £35 0s 0d 15 August 1767, paid to the same for the passage of Thomas Townsend to England, £5 0s 0d 18 August 1767, paid to Christian Johnson for re-enlisting to serve the Company 5 more years as a soldier, from that day, £10 0s 0d 19 August 1767, paid to Robert Cunningham for making a jack flag for the mortar practice, £0 7s 6d Paid to John Wyrill for enlisting to serve the Company 5 years as a fifer, from that day, £2 10s 0d Carried forward, £130 10s 8d **Interpretations** The Company paid for the prosecution of its own slave at the island's court. Harry, a slave of the Company, was tried at the last sessions, and the clerk of the peace's fees ran from the information laid against him to the recording of the verdict. The process followed the same steps as the trial of the soldier John Pinchback in the spring, with an indictment, sworn witnesses and a verdict. A slave on St Helena was tried at law, not simply punished by his owner. The Company, as owner, bore the cost, much as it bore the cost of feeding and clothing him. The charge was not stated. The passage of Thomas Townsend to England, £5 0s 0d paid to Captain Richardson of the *Pigot*, completed the episode of the mason who refused to leave the island. The Council had ordered him into the constable's custody until he was put aboard, and here the Company paid for his removal. His wife Mary, born on the island, stayed behind with the Council's permission. The longboat bought from Richardson for £35 0s 0d was the second of the season, recorded in the consultation of 10 August. Six more soldiers re-enlisted for bounty in the quarter, and the Company again judged £10 0s 0d each a better bargain than shipping out recruits.
273	264	19th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1767 To Cash brought over £ 3714 1 Carried Over£ 3714 1	The paymaster's account for 19 October 1767 carried forward the cash Thomas Kirkpatrick had received as paymaster. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit, to cash brought forward, £3,714 1s 0d Carried forward, £3,714 1s 0d **Interpretations** The debit page repeated the single sum for which Kirkpatrick answered, set opposite each new page of payments as in the spring account. So far the credit side had accounted for £130 10s 8d of the £3,714 1s 0d received, and the remaining payments, including the pay list of £3,010 13s 8½d, would bring the two sides into balance when the account closed.
274	265	1767 Per Contra Cr. 1767 Brought over£ 130 10 8 August 31 By Cash pd. Hatton Walker, James Walter and Geo. Washington for enlist'g to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years as Soldiers commencing this day 9 Sept. 9 By Cash pd. John Worrall for three Hogs wt. 155 at 1/4 Pr. lb bought of him for a breed for the Honorable Company 2 11 8 By Cash Sundry Garrison Men employed in the Honble Compy's Stores	The credit side of the paymaster's account continued. Brought forward, £130 10s 8d 31 August 1767, paid to Hatton Walker, James Walter and George Washington for enlisting to serve the Company 5 years as soldiers, from that day, £9 0s 0d 9 September 1767, paid to John Worrall for 3 hogs weighing 155 lb at 4d a lb, bought from him to breed for the Company, £2 11s 8d Paid to various men of the garrison employed in the Company's stores for 63½ days' work at 1s 0d a day in taking the inventory, £3 3s 6d

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		at taking the Inventory 63½ days work at 1/ Pr. day 3 3 3 By Cash paid Peter Higgins and Benj. Poole £ 3 each for enlist'g to serve the Honble Compy. as Soldiers for five Years their time comm'g this day 6 By Cash pd. Henry Ofsheneim a discharged Soldier 15 days Subsist. at 6d. 7 6 By Cash pd. Roderick Shaffer Do. Do. 6 days Do. @ 6d. 3 By Cash pd. James Macdonald and Benj. Burnett Seaman belong'g to Ship Nottingham 4 days Subsistence at 6d. Pr. day each 4 By Cash paid Anthony Dight, William Troop and Martin Steel 3 deserters from the Ship Anson 2 days subsist. at 6d. Pr. day each 3 By Cash paid Sundry Planters for 351½ days Work of their Stone Layers at the Fortification at Sandy Bay this Quart. at 2/6 43 19 4½ By Cash paid Do. for 678 days Labourers Work at Do. @ 1/ Pr. day 33 18 By Cash paid William Jenkins for baking 117 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter at 1/8 Pr. Batch 9 15 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for coming express to acquaint of Ships to windward this Quarter 3 15 By Cash paid the Clerk of the Arraigns and Parador of the Court 12 6 By Cash pd. Nockquedah Cockullem for 13 Ps. Salt Meat left in the Stores this Quarter he being indulged with the Money to buy fresh 1 6 By Cash pd. Do. his Allowance this Quarter 1 12 6 By Cash pd. House Rent for Do. 1 By Cash paid the Clerk of the Market for 474½ Beef bought for the use of the Governors Table this Quarter 9 5 11½ By Cash pd. Do. for Pigs bought for the use of Do. 15 By Cash pd. Do. for 6 Geese Do. for Do. 1 5 By Cash pd. Do. for 3 doz. Eggs Do. for Do. 4 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 9 doz. Bottles for Do. 13 By Cash pd. Do. for 2 lb Almonds Do. for Do. 4 Carried Over£ 260 18 11	Paid to Peter Higgins and Benjamin Pool, £3 0s 0d each, for enlisting to serve the Company 5 years as soldiers, from that day, £6 0s 0d Paid to Henry Ophenius, a discharged soldier, for 15 days' subsistence at 6d a day, £0 7s 6d Paid to Roderick Shaffer, a discharged soldier, for 6 days' subsistence at 6d a day, £0 3s 0d Paid to James Macdonald and Benjamin Burnett, seamen of the Nottingham, for 4 days' subsistence at 6d a day each, £0 4s 0d Paid to Anthony Dight, William Troop and Martin Steel, 3 deserters from the Anson, for 2 days' subsistence at 6d a day each, £0 3s 0d Paid to various planters for 351¼ days' work of their stonelayers at the Sandy Bay fortification this quarter at 2s 6d a day, £43 18s 1½d Paid to the same for 678 days' labourers' work at 1s 0d a day, £33 18s 0d Paid to William Jenkins for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison this quarter at 1s 8d a batch, £9 15s 0d Paid to various men of the garrison for carrying express reports of ships sighted to windward this quarter, £3 15s 0d Paid to the clerk of the arraigns and crier of the court, £0 12s 6d Paid to the nakhoda Cockullum for 13 lb of salt meat left in the stores this quarter, he being allowed the money to buy fresh meat, £1 6s 0d Paid to the same for his allowance this quarter, £1 12s 6d Paid for the same man's house rent, £1 0s 0d Paid to the clerk of the market for 444½ lb of beef bought for the Governor's table this quarter, £9 5s 11½d Paid to the same for pigs for the Governor's table, £0 15s 0d Paid to the same for 6 geese for the Governor's table, £1 5s 0d Paid to the same for 3 dozen eggs for the Governor's table, £0 4s 6d Paid to the same for 9 dozen bottles for the Governor's table, £0 13s 0d Paid to the same for 2 lb of almonds for the Governor's table, £0 4s 0d Carried forward, £260 18s 1d **Interpretations** The three hogs from John Worrall restarted the Company's pig herd. The stock account showed no hogs on 1 July and two sows and a boar bought during the quarter, and this payment records that purchase. The Company had evidently let its hogs die out and now bought a breeding trio from an overseer who kept his own, so that pork for the Castle and the farms would not depend entirely on salt meat from England and Bengal. The planters' bill for Sandy Bay was far smaller than in the spring. Their slaves worked 678 days as labourers this quarter against more than 5,860 between April and June, and 351¼ days as stonelayers against 163¾. Earth-moving at the works was nearly over, and the skilled masonry of the revetment and parapet had taken its place, as Mitchell's letter of 5 October 1767 reported. The subsistence payments show how the Council dealt with men who had no ship. Henry Ophenius and Roderick Shaffer, discharged soldiers, received 6d a day while they waited for a passage home. The deserters from the *Anson*, found on 17 August 1767, received two days' keep before the Council set them to work at Sandy Bay for 1s 0d a day, from which they had to feed themselves. The two seamen from the *Nottingham* were the deserters Burnett and Macdonald, who were held on the same terms.

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275	266	19th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1767 To Cash brought over £ 3714 1 £ 3714 1	The paymaster's account for 19 October 1767 closed on the debit side with the total cash Thomas Kirkpatrick received as paymaster. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit, to cash brought forward, £3,714 1s 0d Total, £3,714 1s 0d **Interpretations** The double rule beneath the figure showed that the debit side was closed and totalled, so this was the last opening of the paymaster's account for the quarter. The facing credit page would add the pay list of £3,010 13s 8½d to the other payments, which so far stood at £260 18s 1d. Together they had to reach exactly £3,714 1s 0d before the Council could approve the account and send it to London. As in the spring, the balance between the two sides proved that every pound Kirkpatrick drew from the treasury had been paid out to a named person or for a recorded purpose.
276	267	1767 Per Contra Cr. 1767 Brought over£ 260 18 11 By Cash paid for 312 days Masons Work at Sandy Bay Fortif. at 1/6 Pr. d. 23 8 By Cash pd. for 75½ days Smiths Do. at Do. @ 1/6 Pr. d. 5 13 3 By Cash pd. for 112 days Lime burning Do. @ Do. @ 1/ Pr. d. 8 8 By Cash pd. for 145 days Carpenters Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 Pr. d. 10 18 3 By Cash pd. for 188½ days Stone Blowers Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 Pr. d. 14 2 4½ By Cash pd. for 7089½ days Labourers Do. @ Do. @ 1/ Pr. d. 354 9 3 By Cash pd. for 22 days Carpenter Do. laying Platforms for the Practice of the Artillery in the Long Wood at 1/6 Pr. day 1 13 By Cash pd. for 35½ days Paint'g the Target &ca @ 1/6 Pr. day 2 13 9½ By Cash pd. for 3 days Do. at the Hospital @ 1/6 Pr. day 4 6 By Cash pd. for 3 days Do. at the Castle @ 1/6 Pr. Day 4 6 By Cash pd. for 20 days Carpenters Work Do. @ 1/6 Pr. day 1 10 By Cash pd. for 2 days Paint'g the Long Boat @ 1/6 Pr. day 3 By Cash pd. for 5 days Do. the Gates in the L. Wood @ 1/6 Pr. day 7 6 By Cash pd. for 182½ days Smiths Work in the Armourers Shop 1/6 Pr. d. 13 13 4½ By Cash pd. for 74¾ days Labourers Do. for repairs to the Prison and Path to Banks's and Ladder Hill at 1/ Pr. day 3 14 9 By Cash paid Mr. Bowell Coroner for a Inquest held on the Body of the late William Gordon a Soldier 1 5 £ 703 7 3½	The credit side of the paymaster's account concluded. Brought forward, £260 18s 11d Paid for 312 days' masons' work at the Sandy Bay fortification at 1s 6d a day, £23 8s 0d Paid for 75½ days' smiths' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £5 13s 3d Paid for 112 days' lime burning at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £8 8s 0d Paid for 145 days' carpenters' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £10 18s 3d Paid for 188½ days' stone blowers' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £14 2s 4½d Paid for 7,089½ days' labourers' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 0d a day, £354 9s 3d Paid for 22 days' carpenters' work laying platforms for the artillery's practice at Longwood at 1s 6d a day, £1 13s 0d Paid for 35½ days' painting the targets for practice at 1s 6d a day, £2 13s 7½d Paid for 3 days' painting at the hospital at 1s 6d a day, £0 4s 6d Paid for 3 days' painting at the Castle at 1s 6d a day, £0 4s 6d Paid for 20 days' carpenters' work at the Castle at 1s 6d a day, £1 10s 0d Paid for 2 days' painting the longboat at 1s 6d a day, £0 3s 0d Paid for 5 days' painting the gates at Longwood at 1s 6d a day, £0 7s 6d Paid for 182½ days' smiths' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £13 13s 4½d Paid for 75½ days' labourers' work repairing the roads and paths to Banks's and Ladder Hill at 1s 0d a day, £3 14s 9d Paid to Mr Powell, coroner, for an inquest held on the body of the late William Gordon, a soldier, £1 5s 0d Total of other payments, £703 7s 3½d Amount of the pay list, £3,010 13s 8½d Total paid, £3,714 1s 0d The account was dated at St Helena on 30 September 1767, issued subject to errors and signed by Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for September 1767. **Interpretations** The account balanced exactly against the £3,714 1s 0d Kirkpatrick received. The figure brought forward was £260 18s 11d, which corrects the total carried at the foot of the previous page. Labour at Sandy Bay remained by far the largest cost after the pay list. More than 7,000 days of labourers' work, paid at 1s 0d a day, came to over £354 0s 0d, together with masons, smiths, carpenters, stone blowers and lime burners. These men were

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		By the amount of the Pay List 3010 13 8½ £ 3714 1 St. Helena 30th September 1767 E. Excepted Signed Thos. Kirkpatrick Counted and Examined the Honble Compy's Cash for the Month of September last which is as follows viz.	mostly soldiers working beyond their duty, rotated through the works every three months under Corneille's plan of June. With the planters' slaves on the previous page, the wages for the quarter's work at Sandy Bay exceeded £490 0s 0d, on top of £165 0s 0d in stores. The lime burners kept the kilns going with the 32 chaldrons of coal recorded in the stores account, turning out mortar for the revetment. The inquest on William Gordon, who hanged himself on 25 July 1767, was held by James Powell as coroner, as he had held one on Avery Trueman in the spring. Every sudden or violent death on the island was examined by the coroner and a jury, whose fee the Company paid. Repairs to the roads to Banks's and Ladder Hill kept open the steep paths to the batteries guarding Jamestown, on which guns, stores and the express runners from the lookouts depended.
277	268	19th October Cash Dr. 1767 September 1 To Balance remaining £ 12173 19 2 7 To Exchange for 2 Setts of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follow viz. One Set to Edward Bearcroft Esqr. £ 60 One Do. to Capt. John Oliver 100 160 8th To Ship Devonshire 31 19 15th To Ship Neptune 16 13 8 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Mr. Edwin Alcock 700 30 To Rents 593 9 4 To James Bowell received of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 1613 4 4 To Licences for Publick Houses 13 10 To Plantation for provision Sold 12 19 3 To Sandy Bay Fortification received for Lime Sold 7 8 9 £ 15339 3 6 Per Contra Cr. 1767 Sept. 30 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymr. to pay Salary's &ca in the Quarter ending this day 3714 1 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie 11085 7 6 In Cash Notes 539 15 11625 2 6 £ 15339 3 6	The Company's cash account for September 1767 set out the money received and the balance held at the end of the month. 1 September, balance remaining, £12,173 19s 2d 7 September, exchange for 2 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, 1 set to Edward Bearcroft £60 0s 0d and 1 set to Captain John Oliver £100 0s 0d, total £160 0s 0d 8 September, from the ship *Devonshire*, £31 19s 0d 15 September, from the ship *Neptune*, £16 13s 8d Exchange for 1 set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Edwin Alcock, £700 0s 0d 30 September, from rents, £593 9s 4d 30 September, from James Powell, received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,613 4s 4d 30 September, from licences for public houses, £13 10s 0d 30 September, from the plantation for provisions sold, £12 19s 3d 30 September, from the Sandy Bay fortification for lime sold, £7 8s 9d Total, £15,339 3s 6d 30 September, advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £3,714 1s 0d 30 September, balance remaining in coin, £11,085 7s 6d 30 September, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance remaining, £11,625 2s 6d Total, £15,339 3s 6d **Interpretations** The account brought together the main receipts of the year's end. The rents collected from the planters on 1 October, £593 9s 4d, were entered here as income for the quarter, matching the rent roll to the penny. The storekeeper paid in £1,613 4s 4d from the quarter's sales, more than in the spring, because the ships from India and China had filled the warehouses in the winter. Edwin Alcock's £700 0s 0d, the largest remittance of the season, was the island-born midshipman's money from selling his property, which the Council accepted on 14 September 1767. The Sandy Bay works sold lime to the inhabitants, £7 8s 9d in the quarter. The kilns fired with imported coal produced more than the fortifications needed, and the surplus went to islanders for their own building and limewashing, recovering a little of the cost. After paying a full quarter's establishment, the treasury held over £11,000 0s 0d in coin, about the same as at the start of the season, so the island's income from bills, sales and rents covered its costs through the year.

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278	269	1767 The Lieutenant Governor Reports to the Council, That he has Viewed the ground Petitioned for by Lieut. St. Maurice as per last Monday's Consultation That, That, first piece as mentioned in said petition as dividing two parcels of his Land, I think very commodious to said petitioner as it will save him much Fencing, and I think be of no detriment to his neighbours The Quality of the Land in one part is very rocky, and the remainder covered with Furz, but capable from industry of being made tolerable Pasture Land The other piece as laying under the Road leading to the plantation House I am of opinion ought not to be granted, because the upper part of it which the petitioner, has applied for, is intirely covered with Furz, and by leaving it in that State, I think in time may over run the remainder of that common, which at present is very Barren, as well as too useful a supply of Fuel to be destroyed. - Upon which we agreed to Lease the first piece of Land at 5/ Pr. Acre, and for the reasons assigned by the Lieutenant Governor do not think proper to let the other. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Lieutenant Governor reported to the Council that he had inspected the ground Lieutenant St Maurice had petitioned for at the consultation of 12 October 1767. He judged that the first piece, which divided two parcels of St Maurice's land, would suit the petitioner very well, since it would save him a great deal of fencing, and that it would do his neighbours no harm. Part of the ground was very rocky and the rest covered with furze, but with work it could be made into reasonable pasture. The other piece lay below the road to Plantation House. Corneille considered that it should not be granted. The upper part, which St Maurice had asked for, was entirely covered with furze. If it were left in that state, the furze would in time spread over the rest of the common, which was already very barren, and a useful supply of fuel would be destroyed. On that report the Council agreed to lease the first piece at 3s 0d an acre. For the reasons the Lieutenant Governor gave, it declined to let the other. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council split St Maurice's request in two and decided each half on its merits. The strip between his fields harmed no one and would only be improved by his labour, so it was granted. The second piece was refused because its value to the island lay in what grew on it. Furze, or gorse, was a spiny shrub introduced to St Helena, and on an island stripped of much of its forest it had become a source of firewood for the inhabitants who gathered it from the common. In private hands the furze would either be cleared, removing the fuel, or left to spread unchecked over the common. Corneille judged that the shared supply of fuel mattered more than one officer's convenience, and the Council agreed. The rent of 3s 0d an acre was three times the 1s 0d St Maurice had just agreed for his renewed lease in the western division. Waste land granted to round off a holding was charged at a fuller rate than ground long in cultivation, perhaps because the Company was giving up part of the common for a private benefit.
279	270	26th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th day of October 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 19th October 1767 - this day The Storekeeper brought in his Account of waste upon store goods for the Year ending the 30th September last, he declaring the same to be just and unavoidable, we ordered it to be Entered - which is as follows viz. Profit and Loss Dr. £ 54 . 10 . 8 by Leakage Wastage short weight and measure by drawing by the Gallon &ca and by weighing by the pound &ca in the Year ending the 30th September 1767 viz. Arrack 36½ Galls. £ 3 18 5½ Candles 40½ lb 4 6 1 Coffee 21 lb	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 26 October 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 19 October 1767. The storekeeper presented his account of waste on stores for the year ending 30 September 1767, declaring it to be fair and unavoidable. The Council ordered it to be entered. The profit and loss account was charged with £54 10s 8d for leakage, waste, short weight and short measure in drawing goods off by the gallon and weighing them out by the pound during the year. 36½ gallons of arrack, £3 18s 5½d 40½ lb of candles, £4 6s 1d 21 lb of coffee, £0 17s 6d 16 cwt 1 qr of rice, £1 9s 3d 3 qr 24½ lb of soap, £3 16s 8d 10 cwt 2 qr 13 lb of sugar, £13 14s 11d 2 cwt 1 qr 22 lb of sugar candy, £5 14s 2d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £19 9s 1d 6 lb of white lead mixed, £0 2s 7d

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		17 6 Rice 16 . 1 cwt. qrs. 19 8 2 Sope - . 3 . 24½ cwt. qrs. lb 3 16 8 Sugar & Candy viz. 10 . 2 . 13 cwt. qrs. lb Sugar 13 14 11 2 . 1 . 22 Candy 5 14 2 19 9 1 Paint viz. 6¼ White Lead mixed 2 7 19¼ Ston. Red Do. 7 11 8 Barrls. Blacking 4 1 2 Red Lead 4 Paint Carried Over£ 14 11 Carried Over£ 51 15 11½	9½ lb of Venetian red mixed, £0 7s 11d 8 barrels of blacking, £0 4s 1d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 4d Paint carried forward, £0 14s 11d Carried forward, £51 15s 11½d **Interpretations** The storekeeper's account of waste recognised that goods sold in small quantities never added up to the amount received in bulk. Arrack drawn off by the gallon from a large cask lost a little at every pouring and evaporated in the heat. Sugar and rice weighed out pound by pound lost grains on the scales and took up or lost moisture with the weather. Candles softened and stuck together. Over a year these small losses mounted, and the storekeeper could not account for them in his sales. Writing them off to profit and loss, on his declaration that they were unavoidable, balanced his books against the inventory. The loss of £54 10s 8d was small beside the year's sales of more than £3,000 0s 0d. Sugar accounted for the largest share, more than a third of the whole, because it was sold in great quantity and absorbed damp in the island's moist air. The Council accepted the account on the storekeeper's word, but recording each commodity separately let the directors judge whether any loss looked excessive.
280	271	1767 Brought over£ 51 15 11½ Paint brought over£ 14 11 1 Pearl Colour 5 ½ Verdigrease 1 11 ¼ Indico 1 4 18 7 Salt ⅝ Bushel 2 3½ China Ware viz. 2 Stone Guglets 6 8 4 Bowls 5 4 1 Mug 1 6 1 Tea Pot 10 7 Stone Saucers 2 4 1 Chamber Pot 2 3 Round Meat Dishes 7 Round Do. Plates 9 1 1 7 9 Glass Ware viz. 10 Squares 8 by 10 3 4 3 Beer Glasses 2 9 6 1 £ 54 10 8 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The storekeeper's account of waste for the year concluded. Brought forward, £51 15s 11½d Paint brought forward, £0 14s 11d 1 lb of pearl colour, £0 0s 5d ½ lb of verdigris, £0 1s 11d ¼ lb of indigo, £0 1s 4d Total for paint, £0 18s 7d ⅝ bushel of salt, £0 2s 3½d 2 stoneware guglets, £0 6s 8d 4 porcelain bowls, £0 5s 4d 1 porcelain mug, £0 1s 6d 1 porcelain teapot, £0 0s 10d 7 stoneware saucers, £0 2s 4d 1 porcelain chamber pot, £0 2s 0d 3 round porcelain meat dishes and 7 round meat plates, £0 9s 1d Total for porcelain and stoneware, £1 7s 9d 10 squares of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 3s 4d 3 beer glasses, £0 2s 9d Total for glassware, £0 6s 1d Total for waste, £54 10s 8d The account was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The broken porcelain and glass recorded breakage in the warehouse over the year, not wastage in measuring. China and glass shipped across the world in straw and casks often arrived cracked or broke in handling as the storekeeper unpacked, stored and sold them. A meat dish, a teapot or a pane of glass broken on the shelf could not be sold, and its cost had to be written off. Set against the hundreds of pieces of porcelain and glass that passed through the stores in a year, the losses were small, under £2 0s 0d. The Council's signatures closed the account and approved the storekeeper's claim that the year's waste of £54 10s 8d was fair and could not be avoided.
281	272	2d November At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d Day of November 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 2 November 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council

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		Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 26 October 1767 Mr. John Worrall this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Worrall Sheweth That there is a small piece of the Honorable Company's waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners which would be very convenient with regard to shortening his Fence humbly request that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same; & likewise to renew a Lease that is expired - And your Petitioner will ever pray 2d November 1767 Signed Jno. Worrall Ordered the said Land to be viewed, & granted a renewal of the Lease - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that the Honble Company's General Books of Accounts are Balanced to the 30th September last, We Ordered them to be Copied as fast as possible John Skottowe Dan Corneille Thos. Kirkpatrick M. Purling	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 26 October 1767. John Worrall petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 2 November 1767. A small piece of the Company's waste land lay next to his own, and it would be very convenient to him because it would shorten his fence. He asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of it, and also to renew a lease of his that had expired. The Council ordered the waste land to be inspected and granted the renewal of the lease. William Matthew Purling reported that the Company's general books were balanced to 30 September 1767. The Council ordered them to be copied as quickly as possible. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Worrall's petition repeated almost exactly the request Lieutenant St Maurice had made three weeks earlier, and the Council answered it the same way, renewing the existing lease at once and sending someone to view the waste ground before deciding. The inspection of St Maurice's land had shown that one piece harmed no one while another held the furze the island relied on for fuel. The Council would not grant common land on a tenant's word that it was idle. Balancing the general books closed the Company's financial year on St Helena. Purling, as accountant, brought together the cash account, the storekeeper's sales and inventory, the paymaster's accounts and the rents into a single ledger for the year to 30 September. A fair copy had to go to London by the next homeward ship, together with the consultations, so that the directors could examine the whole year. The order to copy them quickly reflected the timing of the shipping. Ships from India and China would begin calling again from about December, and the books had to be ready to send on the first of them.
282	273	9 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of November 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 2d November 1767 - John Drawwater Cooper this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island of St. Helena &c. in Council - The humble Petition of John Drawwater Cooper Sheweth That your Petitioner from the Hardship which the Scantiness of his Salary puts him under, finds himself obliged to trouble your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council, hoping You'll please to consider that a Salary of thirty five Pounds a Year is insufficient to maintain him in a place where every thing is excessive dear - That your Petitioner at first ignorant of such Inconveniency	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 9 November 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 2 November 1767. John Drawwater, the cooper, petitioned the Governor and Council. The small size of his salary caused him such hardship that he felt obliged to ask them to consider that £35 0s 0d a year was not enough to keep him in a place where everything was extremely dear. When he first agreed to serve the Company on these terms, he had not known how costly the island was. He had since found it impossible to live on such wages, but had been unwilling to trouble the Governor until full conviction and real necessity drove him to it. He was glad to continue in the service and determined to give his work every attention it needed. **Interpretations** Drawwater had joined the Company in May 1767 straight from Captain Morrison's ship, without seeing the island's prices for himself. A cooper's wage of £35 0s 0d a year might have seemed fair to a seaman, whose food and lodging were found for him aboard

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		agreed to serve the Honble Company in the above Terms, and altho' he soon discovered the impossibility of subsisting on such Wages, Yet he was unwilling to give your Worship any trouble till a full Conviction and absolute necessity induced him to it - That your Petitioner being Glad to Continue in the service and determined to give every necessary Attention to his business	ship. On St Helena he had to buy everything from the Company's stores or the island's few shops, where imported goods carried the cost of a voyage of many thousands of miles. The master mason earned £120 0s 0d and the carpenter £100 0s 0d a year, so a cooper's pay stood far below the other skilled trades on whom the island depended. His petition was carefully framed. He stressed his willingness to stay and work hard, and his reluctance to complain, which showed the Council a man of good character asking for fair treatment, not a discontented servant threatening to leave. The island needed a cooper badly, as the Council's urgency in May had shown, and Drawwater's skill gave him a stronger claim than most petitioners. The Council could not easily replace him, since only another passing ship could supply a cooper.
283	274	9th November business, takes the Liberty humbly to Address Yr. Worship for an Encrease of Salary so as to enable him to live and follow his Vocation - May it therefore please your Worship and the other Gentlemen to take his Case into Consideration, and he will, as in Duty bound, ever pray & Being Sensible that the Coopers Salary is very small and not adequate to that employ, we Agreed to recommend the above Petition to the Honble Company by the first opportunity The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of October last were this day brought in which were examined and approved & are as follow viz. Artillery Stores Expended in Octob. 1767 Guns fired, Shott Do., 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 25th Guns fired to Celebrate his Majesty's Accession to the Throne: Guns fired 21, Shott Do. 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 7, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 13, Powder Expended lb 17, Powder Expended oz 12 Round Shott Expended at Practice: Guns fired 0, Shott Do. 19, 9 Pr 19, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, Shott Do. 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 211, Powder Expended oz 8 Total: Guns fired 21, Shott Do. 19, 9 Pr 19, 4 Pr 7, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 13, Powder Expended lb 229, Powder Expended oz 4 Spunge Staves for different uses 4 Lead Balls to Shoot Goats at different times 5 . 8 Cartridge Paper at Do. Do. 23 Quires 13 In. Grape Shell expend. at Practice 1 Handspikes expend. at getting the Guns from Mundens Point 22 Tallow for the Boats at different times 26 Signed Archd. Mitchell	John Drawwater asked the Governor and Council for an increase in salary, so that he could live and follow his trade, and left his case to their consideration. The Council recognised that the cooper's salary was very small and not adequate to the work. It agreed to recommend his petition to the Company by the first opportunity. The gunner's and steward's accounts for October 1767 were presented, examined and approved. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in October recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 9-pounder, 4-pounder, 3-pounder and 2-pounder guns used, and the powder used in pounds and ounces. 25 October, guns fired to celebrate His Majesty's accession to the throne, 21 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 nine-pounders, 7 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 13 two-pounders, powder used 17 lb 12 oz Round shot used at practice, 0 guns fired, 19 shot, 19 nine-pounders, powder used 0 lb 0 oz Powder used on other services, 221 lb 8 oz Total, 21 guns fired, 19 shot, 19 nine-pounders, 7 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 13 two-pounders, powder used 239 lb 4 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Sponge staves for various uses, 4 Lead balls to shoot goats at various times, 5 lb 3 oz Cartridge paper for various uses, 23 quires 10-inch grape shot used at practice, 1 Handspikes used in moving the guns from Munden's Point, 22 Tallow for the boats at various times, 26 lb The account was signed by Archibald Mitchell. **Interpretations** The Council again found itself unable to grant a reasonable request. Raising a salary changed the Company's establishment, which only the directors in London could approve, as with Phillip Mahony's petition in July. The Council could do no more than endorse the cooper's case, and an answer would take a year or more to arrive. The salute of 21 guns on 25 October 1767 marked the anniversary of George III's accession to the throne in 1760, one of the official days celebrated in every British possession, like the King's birthday in June. Twenty-two handspikes were used up in moving the guns from Munden's Point, the operation the Council had postponed in July until the artillery finished its training at Longwood. Handspikes were wooden levers used to raise and shift heavy guns, and many broke as the gunners prised guns off their mountings and manhandled them down the steep paths for carriage to Sandy Bay. Grape shot, a cluster of small iron balls fired together, was used against men in the open, and its use at practice showed the

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			gunners training for the defence of a beach against troops landing from boats.
284	275	1767 Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in October 1767 8 Bottles Port Wine £ 12 24 Do. Lisbon 1 16 12 Do. Mountain 18 24 Do. Beer 5 25 Galls. Arrack 6 5 162 lb Beef 3 1 6 200 lb Mutton 4 3 6 2 Lambs 1 260 lb Flour 2 3 4 2 Turkeys 10 30 lb Butter 1 10 130 lb Candy 2 5 £ 24 15 4 We this day enlisted Francis Seale a Native, to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years, and gave him five pounds Bounty Money to buy him Cloaths &ca. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in October 1767. 8 bottles of port wine, £0 12s 0d 24 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 0d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 25 gallons of arrack, £6 5s 0d 162 lb of beef, £3 1s 6d 200 lb of mutton, £4 3s 6d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 260 lb of flour, £2 3s 4d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 130 lb of candles, £2 5s 0d Total, £24 15s 4d That day the Council enlisted Francis Seale, a native of the island, to serve the Company as a soldier for five years. It gave him £5 0s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council paid Francis Seale a bounty of £5 0s 0d, twice the £2 10s 0d given to the island-born fifer John Wyrill and the recruits of the spring. A grown man joining as a soldier needed a full outfit, while a boy fifer needed less. Seale belonged to one of the island's established families. William Seale and Benjamin Seale paid rent on land in the roll of 1 October 1767, and later generations of the family served as officers and managers of the widows' fund. A son of a landholding family enlisting in the ranks suggests either a younger son with no land of his own or a step towards a commission, as James Greentree had taken as a cadet. The steward's account showed the Company's table running at its usual level of about £25 0s 0d a month. Candles rose to 130 lb, the most of any month that year, as the nights lengthened towards the end of the southern winter and spring, and the Castle needed light for longer evenings.
285	276	16th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th Day of November 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 9th November 1767 - We this day Executed a Lease to Mr. Benjamin Mason for ten Acres and three Quarters of Land lying in the West Division at five shillings pr. Acre. And likewise renewed two Leases to Mr. John Worrall one for thirty two Acres and a Quarter at five shillings pr. Acre and one for six Acres and one Quarter at six pence pr. Acre both lying in the West division called Francis's - Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of October last, which is as follows viz.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 16 November 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 9 November 1767. That day the Council executed a lease to Benjamin Mason for 10¾ acres of land in the western division, at 5s 0d an acre. It also renewed two leases to John Worrall in the western division at the place called Francis's, one for 32¼ acres at 5s 0d an acre and one for 6¼ acres at 6d an acre. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for October 1767. **Interpretations** The two rents in Worrall's leases at Francis's differed tenfold, 5s 0d an acre against 6d. The Company priced its land by quality and use. Good arable or pasture let at the full rate, while rough, rocky or furze-covered ground let for a nominal sum to encourage a tenant to clear and improve it. The small piece at 6d an acre was probably the waste land Worrall asked for on 2 November to shorten his fence, granted after inspection on terms that

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			recognised its poor state. Worrall had petitioned in September for the renewal of his 28 acres at Francis's, and the lease now executed covered a larger area of 32¼ acres, perhaps after a fresh survey of the holding. Benjamin Mason's new lease added to the 76 acres he already held on the rent roll. Planters with land and capital steadily extended their holdings through the Council, while the Company kept control of every grant and its rent.
286	277	1767 Cash Dr. 1767 Octr. 1 To Balance remaining £ 11625 2 6 Per Contra Cr. 1767 October 31 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 11085 7 6 In Cash Notes of no use 539 15 £ 11625 2 6 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Company's cash account for October 1767 recorded the balance held at the start and end of the month. 1 October, balance remaining, £11,625 2s 6d 31 October, balance remaining in coin, £11,085 7s 6d 31 October, balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total, £11,625 2s 6d The account was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Not a single shilling came into or left the treasury in October. No ship called at St Helena during the month, so no supplies were sold and no bills of exchange were drawn, and the paymaster's advance for the quarter had already been made at the end of September. The account shows how completely the island's flow of money depended on passing ships. In the busy months of April to June the treasury took in thousands of pounds, while in the quiet of the southern spring it stood still until the first homeward fleet of the new season arrived. The worthless cash notes, still recorded at £539 15s 0d, remained on the books unchanged for the seventh month running.
287	278	23d November At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d day of November 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 16th November 1767 Thursday the 19th died Andrew Barton Centinel - Mr. John Worrall this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of John Worrall Sheweth Petitioner That your being desirous of disposing at Publick Auction his Right to thirty eight Acres and an half of Leasehold Land called Francis's requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave so to do 23d Novr. 1767 And your Petitioner will ever pray - Signed John Worrall Granted - We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell viz.	23d November At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d day of November 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 16th November 1767 Thursday the 19th died Andrew Barton Centinel - Mr. John Worrall this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of John Worrall Sheweth Petitioner That your being desirous of disposing at Publick Auction his Right to thirty eight Acres and an half of Leasehold Land called Francis's requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave so to do 23d Novr. 1767 And your Petitioner will ever pray - Signed John Worrall Granted - We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell viz.
288	279	1767	Captain Mitchell's letter to Governor John Skottowe and the Council reported that the defences

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		To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen As the defences of Sandy Bay will be completed in a very few Weeks I therefore now lay before you a Plan of that Part of the Second Coast of this Island situated between the Road and Sugar Loaf Point with the two Batteries to be constructed at Banks's and Mundens Point, which as being next to the defences of Sandy Bay, those of the greatest Consequence, as well as most essentially wanting, were agreeable to my first Proposals, and the Consequent Orders from the Court of Directors, to be the next to be carried into Execution As the Plans for those two Batteries now laid before you, differ considerably, both in form and Situation, from those sent to England and approved of there, it is therefore necessary I should assign the Motives which have induced me to propose these Alterations: - And first with Regard to Mundens Point, instead of having distinct & separate Batteries for the Cannon and Mortars, as was first proposed I have here united them, which being evidently advantageous, both in Regard to Construction and Defence, requires no further Explanation: - With Regard to the Situation as I found upon a Closer Inspection, that the Old one was attended with a very great Inconveniency by having the Rock almost perpendicular behind it, by which means the Enemy's Shott which went over the Battery would, by their Striking against it, seperate from it a great Number of Splinters, which would greatly incommode those on the Battery, and as I found that by carrying it higher this Inconvenience might be avoided, and its Situation found better calculated for a flanking Battery than the former, I was therefore induced to prefer this situation in Preference to the Old One, which has also given Room for an alteration in the form of the Battery greatly to the advantage of the Latter as will Evidently appear from an Inspection of the Plan and still more clearly from a view of the ground. The only alteration in that proposed for Banks's is, that in Order to avoid the angles contained in the first Plan which are inconvenient, both with Respect to the Ground and directions of the embrasures I have chosen a Semicircular form, as being the most capacious & best calculated for that Extensive Range which its Situation demands **Margin Notes:** Mundens Banks's	of Sandy Bay would be finished within a very few weeks. He therefore laid before them a plan of the part of the island's leeward coast between the road and Sugar Loaf Point, showing the two batteries to be built at Banks's and Munden's Point. After Sandy Bay these were the defences of greatest importance and most urgently needed. They followed his first proposals and the orders the Court of Directors had issued on them, and were the next works to be carried out. The plans for both batteries differed considerably in form and position from those sent to England and approved there, so Mitchell set out his reasons for the changes. At Munden's Point, he had joined the guns and mortars in a single battery instead of building separate batteries for each, as first proposed. The advantages for building and for defence were obvious and needed no explanation. On the position, a closer inspection had shown a serious drawback in the original site. The rock rose almost straight up behind it, so that enemy shot passing over the battery would strike the cliff and shower the gunners with splinters of stone. By setting the battery higher he could avoid that danger, and the new site was also better placed for flanking fire. He therefore preferred it to the old one. It also left room to improve the shape of the battery, as the plan would show and a view of the ground would show still more clearly. At Banks's, the only change was to the shape. The angles in the first plan suited neither the ground nor the direction in which the embrasures had to point. He had chosen a semicircular form instead, as the most spacious and the best suited to the wide arc of fire that the position required. **Interpretations** Mitchell was asking the Council to accept departures from plans the directors had already approved, and he justified each change on grounds that could be seen on the spot but not from London. The plans sent home had been drawn before the ground was closely examined. Splinters were a real killer in coastal batteries. A round shot striking rock behind a gun position broke into flying fragments that could wound more men than the shot itself, and a battery set against a cliff turned every miss into a hazard. Moving the battery higher removed the cliff from behind it. A semicircular battery at Banks's let its guns cover a wide sweep of sea from a single position. Banks's guarded the northern approach to James Bay, where every ship from the Cape and India first came within range, so its guns had to bear on vessels approaching from many directions. Angular faces fixed each gun to a narrow arc, while a curved front let the embrasures fan out across the whole approach. The stone already cut at the quarry and the guns moved from Munden's Point in October were preparations for these two works, which would carry the fortifications into the new season once Sandy Bay was complete.
289	280	23d November As these two Batteries are pretty contiguous, and as but a small Number of Workmen can be employed on either of them for some time, I would propose to carry both on in concert, by which means there will be	Mitchell went on to propose that both batteries be built at the same time. The two sites lay fairly close together, and only a small number of workmen could be employed on either of them for some time. Working on both together would keep the men constantly busy and so speed up the whole project.

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		constant employment for the Workmen, and the Progress of the whole consequently accelerated. - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen St. Helena Your most obedient and very humble Servant 23d November 1767 Signed R. Mitchell Having Considered Captain Mitchells Letter some objections being started the Engineer was therefore directed on Monday next to be particular in answering the Objections Started, and to be more explicit in mentioning the advantages, and disadvantages attending the new Situation. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 23 November 1767. The Council considered Captain Mitchell's letter, and some objections were raised. The engineer was therefore directed to answer those objections in detail by the following Monday, and to state more fully the advantages and disadvantages of the new site. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Mitchell's proposal to build both batteries together answered a practical problem of the sites. A battery perched on a narrow point or a cliff ledge had room for only a few masons and labourers at a time, and men waiting their turn would stand idle. Running two works side by side let the gang move between them as each stage allowed, so no day's wages were wasted. After the large labour bills at Sandy Bay, keeping men fully employed mattered to a Council watched closely by the directors. The Council did not accept the plans as presented. Mitchell was asking it to approve changes to designs the Court of Directors had already sanctioned, and any member who agreed would share responsibility if London disapproved. Corneille and Purling had already distanced themselves from the Governor over the Castle repairs, and none of the Council wished to sign away an approved plan without full reasons on record. Requiring the engineer to set out both advantages and disadvantages in writing gave the Council a document it could send home to justify whatever it decided.
290	281	30th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th day of November 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 23d November 1767 Agreeable to the order of last Monday, The Engineer this day presented the following Letter viz. - To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In Obedience to your Commands of last Monday I shall now lay before you, in as particular and distinct a manner as I am able, the Several Motives which have induced me to propose a situation for the intended Battery at Mundens Point, different from that contained in my first Proposals, and approved of by the Court of Directors. And flatter myself that the Advantages which I apprehend will accrue from the more Elevated Situation now proposed which have occurred to me in Consequence of a more minute and Scrutinous Examination of the Ground than time and other Attentions would permitt me to take notice at the time my first Report was sent to England will appear of that Consequence to the Governor and Council, as fully to justify the apparent Inconsistency of this Deviation from my Original Plan. - I have already mentioned, in my Letter of the 23d Instant one great Disadvantage attending the Situation first proposed from which the	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 30 November 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 23 November 1767. As ordered the week before, the engineer presented a letter to the Governor and Council. He undertook to set out as clearly and fully as he could his reasons for proposing a site for the battery at Munden's Point different from the one in his first proposals, which the Court of Directors had approved. He had found these advantages through a closer and more careful study of the ground than his time and other duties allowed when he sent his first report to England. He trusted they would seem important enough to the Governor and Council to justify the apparent inconsistency of departing from his original plan. In his letter of 23 November he had already mentioned one great drawback of the first site, from which the new one was entirely free: the overhanging rock behind it. He believed that problem could not be removed altogether, and could be reduced only at very great expense. Another very important advantage of the higher site was the additional security it would give [...] **Interpretations** Mitchell answered the Council's demand by admitting openly that his first plan had been drawn in haste. The original report went to England before he had studied the ground at Munden's Point closely, and the directors had approved a design based on incomplete knowledge. Engineers on distant stations faced this difficulty constantly, since London approved plans it could not check and the man on

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		other is intirely free on Account of the impending Rocks: - An Inconvenience I apprehend impracticable altogether to remove, and which could only be lessened by a very considerable Expence. - Another very important advantage which will arise from the more Elevated Situation now proposed, is the Additional Security it will afford	the spot discovered their faults only once work began. By presenting the change as the fruit of careful examination, Mitchell gave the Council grounds to support him without seeming to overrule the directors lightly. His argument about cost carried particular weight. The directors had already questioned spending on the Castle, and the Council would hesitate to approve anything that looked extravagant. Mitchell argued that the old site's defect, the rock behind it, could only be reduced at great expense, so the new site would save money as well as lives. Framing the change as both safer and cheaper was the strongest case he could put to a Council anxious about London's judgement.
291	282	30th November afford to those upon the Battery, as its great Perpendicular Height above the Level of the Sea will put it out of the Power of Shipping either to annoy, in any Considerable degree, those employed in working the Guns to dismount the Guns themselves, or to do any Injury to the Battery, which are Advantages by no means attending the old Situation - And if the great advantage which Shipping derive from their very great Superiority in Intenseness of Fire, against a Battery on Shore, upon which they can bring their Guns to bear without difficulty, be duly Considered, and the Success which from this cause only, has generally attended their Attacks upon Batteries thus situated, I apprehend that this Consideration will of itself appear of sufficient weight to determine the Choice in Favour of the more Elevated & consequently less practicable Situation - These with the inducements mentioned in my former Letter of uniting the Gun & Mortar Batteries, which were at first proposed to be separate into One: - Of taking advantage of the Figure of the Rock which, in the Situation last proposed, is better calculated for a Flanking Battery: - And from the Consideration the Facility and diminution of Expence which will attend its Construction, have been the Motives which have prevailed on me to propose a change of Situation - The only objections of any apparent Force which I have heard Urged against it are: - That by Reason of its great Elevation the direction of the Shott will be rendered very precarious. - That the depression necessary to be given to the Guns will by frequent Firing greatly injure if not destroy the Carriages. - And lastly that the Situation proposed will not admitt of any Guns being placed so as to fire upon Ships passing under the Front of the Battery, where they are sometimes becalmed. - With regard to the first and Second of these Objections I have already given it as my opinion to the Governor and Council	Mitchell's letter of 30 November 1767 continued. The higher site would give added security to the men on the battery, because its great height above the sea would put it beyond the power of ships to do much harm, whether by striking the gunners, dismounting the guns or damaging the battery itself. The old site offered none of these advantages. Ships gained a great advantage from their much heavier volume of fire against a shore battery on which they could bring their guns to bear without difficulty. Attacks on batteries placed low had generally succeeded for that reason alone. Mitchell believed this consideration was in itself weighty enough to decide the choice in favour of the higher site, which an enemy would find harder to reach. These advantages, together with those in his earlier letter, had led him to propose the change of site. He had already explained the benefit of uniting the gun and mortar batteries, first planned separately, into one. The shape of the rock at the new site was better suited to a flanking battery. The work would also be easier and cheaper to build. The only objections of any apparent force he had heard raised against it were three. Because of the battery's great height, the direction of its shells would become very uncertain. The steep downward angle at which the guns would have to fire would, with frequent use, badly damage or even destroy their carriages. Finally, the site would not allow any guns to be placed so as to fire on ships passing directly beneath the front of the battery, where they were sometimes becalmed. On the first and second objections, Mitchell had already given the Governor and Council his opinion that shells fired with reasonable aim from this battery would seldom fail to fall on ships placed so as to batter the works, either of [...] **Interpretations** Mitchell's case rested on a well-known rule of coastal warfare. A warship carried many more guns than a shore battery and could fire broadsides of great weight, so in an exchange of fire at close range at sea level the ship usually won. A battery placed high on a cliff turned the contest around. Ships' guns could not easily elevate enough to reach it, while the battery's guns and mortars fired down onto exposed decks. Height gave the shore its natural advantage over the sea. The objections, raised by members of the Council, were the costs of that height. Firing steeply downward was awkward. Guns had to be depressed below the horizontal, which strained their carriages as the recoil drove them into the platform, and mortar shells dropped from a great height were harder to aim. The third objection was the most serious. A high battery could not fire straight down at the foot of its own cliff, so a ship becalmed close inshore beneath it would lie in a blind spot. Calms were common in the lee of St Helena, where the island blocked the trade

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		that a Shott tolerably aimed from this Battery would Seldom Fail to take place upon Ships situated so as to Batter the Works either of Prosperous	wind, so the danger was real, and Mitchell would need to answer it.
292	283	1767 Ruperts or James's Vallies for the defence of which this Battery is chiefly intended. - Nor do I conceive that the depression to be given the Guns would occasion any such injury to the Carriages as to render this objection at all Material. - But as I have given my opinion with regard, to both these Objections, rather from Theory and a General knowledge of the Effects of Artillery, than from Experience, having never had occasion to see Guns fired from so great a height; I would therefore propose to the Governor and Council to fire a few Shott from the Gun now at Munden's Point, with the degree of depression necessary to be given from the Situation proposed, by which means they will be able to judge for themselves, how far these Objections ought to have weight: - With Regard to the last Objection, having already made it appear that two Guns may be placed so as to fire directly upon Ships passing under this point it must consequently Vanish. - As every thing will be compleated at Sandy Bay next Week I shall be glad to receive the final Orders of the Governor and Council relative to the future Employment of the Workmen. - I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most obliged and most humble Servant St. Helena Signed 30th November 1767 R. Mitchell **Margin Notes:** [...]	Mitchell continued that shells fired from the battery would fall on any ship placed to bombard Rupert's Valley or James's Valley, which the battery was chiefly meant to defend. Nor did he think that firing the guns downward would damage their carriages enough to make that objection matter. He acknowledged, however, that his opinion on both points rested on theory and a general knowledge of artillery, not on experience, since he had never seen guns fired from so great a height. He therefore proposed that the Governor and Council have a few shells fired from the gun now at Munden's Point, at the downward angle the new site would require. They could then judge for themselves how much weight the objections deserved. As to the last objection, he had already shown that two guns could be placed to fire directly on ships passing beneath the point, so it fell away. Everything at Sandy Bay would be finished the following week, and Mitchell would be glad to receive the Governor and Council's final orders on how the workmen were to be employed next. He signed the letter at St Helena on 30 November 1767. **Interpretations** Mitchell answered the Council's doubts with an honest admission and a practical test. He conceded that he had never seen guns fired from such a height, so his confidence rested on principle alone. Proposing a trial firing at the very angle the new battery would need let the councillors see the result for themselves rather than take his word, and it shifted the decision onto evidence they would witness together. An engineer whose earlier letters had been quoted against the Governor in London had every reason to make the Council share the judgement openly. Rupert's Valley lay just east of Jamestown, separated from James's Valley by the ridge of Munden's Point, and both offered an enemy a landing close to the town. A battery on the heights between them could command both. The completion of Sandy Bay the following week ended a work that had occupied the island's soldiers, slaves and hired labourers through the whole year, and Mitchell's request for orders marked the moment the Council had to choose the next great work.
293	284	30th November In consequence of which we agreed to visit the ground last proposed and to make the Experiment of Firing Cannon depressed as would be necessary from this proposed new Situation - The Lieut. Governor this day presented to the Board the following Minute viz. - Minute of the Lieut. Governor on the Engineers Letters of the 23d and 30th of Novemr. 1767 In Consequence of the Engineers Letter dated the 23d and Subsequent one of the 30th November, in answer to the Objections Relative to the Alteration of Mundens so widely differing both in construction & Situation from that sent home to the Honble Court of Directors, is a Circumstance, that I could have wished that the Engineer had Considered with more mature deliberation, and at a period of time to have left it	The Council therefore agreed to visit the newly proposed site and to carry out the trial of firing cannon at the downward angle the new position would require. The Lieutenant Governor then laid before the Council a minute on the engineer's letters of 23 and 30 November 1767. Corneille observed that the engineer's letters, answering the objections to the changes at Munden's Point, proposed a battery very different in both design and position from the plan sent home to the Court of Directors. He would have wished the engineer to consider the matter more carefully, and early enough for the Council to obtain further instructions from the directors before departing so far from a plan they had already approved. That difficulty could not now be remedied. It therefore fell to the members of Council to judge, as best they could, whether the present plan and Captain Mitchell's reasons for the change would defend the leeward coast better than the plan already agreed. Corneille thought it necessary to put in writing the observations he had made in Council when the

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		in our power to have received further instructions from our Honble Masters, in so capital an Alteration from what has already being approved of by them. But as this is a difficulty that cannot now be remedy'd, it rest with Us Gentlemen to Consider to the best of our knowledge how far the present Plan now before Us, as well as Capt. Mitchells Motives for the proposed alteration may tend to the better defence of the Leeward Coast in preferance to that already agreed upon The observations I made in Council on the receipt of first Letter as well as the Objections offerd to the Engineer in your presence, I think necessary to commit to writing, that every thing that may be said Pro & Con may appear to Our Honble Employers by which means our motives in the future determination of that matter will appear as fully as the nature of the Circumstance will admit of, to those who are not acquainted with the Situation of the Ground And first, with respect to Constructing the Battery upon the same Point of the Rock that it now stands upon, I can add no further advantages to the Excellency of its Situation than those already specify'd by the Engineer in his Remarks on that	first letter arrived, together with the objections raised to the engineer in the Council's presence. In that way everything that could be said for and against the change would reach the directors, and the reasons behind the Council's eventual decision would appear as fully as possible to those unfamiliar with the ground. First, on building the battery on the same point of rock where the old one now stood, he could add no further advantage to those the engineer had already listed in his remarks [...] **Interpretations** Corneille again placed his reasoning on record for the directors, as he had over the Castle repairs in June. His complaint was one of timing. Had Mitchell studied the ground properly before sending his first plan, the Council could have asked London's approval for the change. Now the works at Sandy Bay were ending, the workmen awaited orders, and a letter to England and its answer would take more than a year. The Council had either to follow a plan its engineer now thought inferior or to depart from one the directors had approved, without their knowledge. A written minute protected each councillor whichever way the decision went. If the new battery proved a mistake, the directors would see that Corneille had raised the difficulty and weighed both sides. His concern for those not acquainted with the ground showed his understanding of the Company's government: men in London judged the island's works from papers alone, and only a full record could let them understand a choice made on the spot.
294	285	1767 sent home, nor neither can I offer any other disadvantages than that mentioned in his Letter, of the Situation of the Rock above the Battery Consequently in some measure subject to the falling of Splinters from the random shott, more frequent from Ships Battery's by their undulating Motion, than those Constructed on Terra Firma. But to obviate that Inconveniency I must here repeat what I have several times mentioned, That I think it very practicable to Scalp away the surface of the Rock above the Battery in a Shelving direction, as its present Situation even now points out, and then blow through the Rock a Mote six or seven feet Deep and eight wide as close to the Interiour part of the Battery as the Declivity of the Rock will admit of: which would certainly serve as a receptacle for all that rubbish which the firing of an Enemy may occasion, as well as protect the people employ'd thereon. What has induced me to offer the above method (which I have taken from my Observation of a Battery at Gibraltar under the like Inconveniency) is the difficulty I am well apprized must attend the double apprehensions of Danger to those on the Battery from the fire of an Enemy in Front, as well as the Effects of it from the falling of the Rocks on the rear, which the above I apprehend would wholly obviate and prevent the alteration of its present Situation, which I cannot but consider as preferable to that proposed by the Engineer. As the very Arguments he makes use of in support of its advantages by being so much a loftier Situation, are those in my humble opinion that chiefly destroy its greatest Utility for Reasons as following.	Corneille's minute continued. He could name no drawback of the old site other than the one in the engineer's letter, that the rock above the battery left it exposed to splinters from random shot, which came more often from ships, because of their rolling motion, than from batteries on land. To meet that danger he repeated a remedy he had suggested several times. The face of the rock above the battery could be cut back to a sloping shelter, as its present shape already suggested. A ditch six or seven feet deep and eight feet wide could then be blasted through the rock, as close to the rear of the battery as the slope allowed. It would catch all the rubble an enemy's fire might bring down and would protect the men working the guns. He had taken this method from his own observation of a battery at Gibraltar that suffered from the same problem. He was well aware that men on such a battery faced danger twice over, from the enemy's fire in front and from falling rock behind. He believed his method would remove that danger entirely and make it unnecessary to move the battery. He could not but think the present site better than the one the engineer proposed, because the very arguments Mitchell used for the higher position were, in his view, the ones that most reduced its usefulness, for the following reasons. Munden's battery as it stood was more than 80 feet above sea level at the end of the rock, as the engineer's remarks stated, and that height already largely protected it from an enemy's bombardment. The proposed change would place it between 150 and 160 feet above the sea and set it further back, perhaps nearly 200 feet. Corneille thought that far too high, and that it would not command the sea to the west nearly as well as the present site. Experience had shown that the guns at each flank of the new site would have to be depressed at an angle of 12 degrees, and the two guns on the front face at an angle of 19 degrees. However workable that might be in a trial, he did not think it would hold good in real service. He also considered the front fire of that battery,

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		first I must premise that Mundens as it now stands is better than Eighty feet above the Level of the Sea at the Extremity of the Rock on which it stands, as mentioned in the Engineers Remarks, as well as its present lofty Situation in a great measure protecting it from the Battering of an Enemy That the alteration as now proposed will carry it between one hundred and fifty or sixty feet above the Level of the Sea, as well as throw it further back I suppose near two hundred feet, which I apprehend will be an Elevation infinitely to great & I think by no means so commanding to the Westward as its present Situation will admit of, And as from Experience try'd, the depression of your Guns at each Flank in the new Situation, will make an Angle of twelve degrees, and the two Guns in the front Face will make one of Nineteen, the latter of which in my opinion however it may be practicable so far as an Experiment, cannot hold good for real Practice & Service; and Cannot but consider the front fire of that Battery (tho' entirely left out in the first proposed Alteration) as essentially Necessary as they **Margin Notes:** Splinters remedy real Gibraltar Prospect Sight	which the first proposed alteration left out entirely, to be especially necessary [...] **Interpretations** Corneille and Mitchell disagreed over a genuine military trade-off, and Corneille argued from experience abroad. He had evidently served at Gibraltar, the British fortress at the mouth of the Mediterranean, where batteries were cut into steep rock and the same danger of falling stone had been met by sloping the cliff and digging a catch-ditch behind the guns. He offered the Council a way to keep the existing battery and remove its weakness, so that the approved plan could stand without a costly move. His objection to the new height turned on the angle of fire. A gun pointed sharply downward lost range and accuracy, its shot tended to roll forward in the bore, and every discharge drove the carriage hard into its platform. At 19 degrees below the horizontal, Corneille judged, guns that fired well enough in a single trial would fail under the strain of a real engagement. A battery too high to reach the sea near its own foot or to the west would protect itself at the cost of the very coast it was built to defend. The Council's trial firing would test Mitchell's claim, but Corneille warned in advance that one good result would prove little.
295	286	30th November the Flanking Fire, from my Observations since here, of four Ships out of five being Baffled, are often becalmed under that point, and that are under a Necessity of keeping within a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet of Mundens, else cannot get to their Anchoring Ground in the Road of James's Valley. - That Secondly I cannot but consider the Fire of cannon from so great an Elevation as very uncertain because I believe it will be allowed that when you are obliged to fire upon a fluctuating Object, That your mark then becomes a point, consequently by no means so sure as when you have a Range of a Horizontal direction. And tho' the present Situation of the Battery will not admit of the latter, Yet surely if you double that height it will still render that Inconveniency the greater, and submit the Advantages or disadvantages of the above observation to your Judgments, from the Experiment try'd the 4th Instant. First from the Range Shot to Sugar Loaf, Secondly a depression of the Cannon of ten degrees, and third and lastly with a depression of eighteen degrees and a Quarter which last you will allow Gentlemen Verify's the above Observation. Tho' neither of the two latter depressions could possibly be taken with any Exactness, by reason of being obliged to take it at the Breech, instead of the Muzzel, consequently must make the	Corneille's minute continued with the need for flanking fire. He had observed that four ships out of five, when the wind failed them, were often becalmed beneath Munden's Point and had to pass within 100 or 150 yards of it to reach their anchorage in the road off James's Valley. Second, he considered fire from so great a height very uncertain. When guns had to fire at a moving target, the mark became a single point, far less sure to hit than when the guns fired level along a range. The present battery did not fully allow level fire, but doubling its height would double that drawback. He left the Council to judge from the trial fired on the 4th of the month. In the first test, a ranging shot was fired towards Sugar Loaf. In the second, the cannon was depressed 10 degrees, and in the third, 18¼ degrees, which bore out his observation. Neither of the last two angles could be measured exactly, because the angle had to be taken at the breech instead of the muzzle. The much greater thickness of the barrel at the breech meant the true depression was considerably less than measured. These were the chief objections he had found to the proposed change. In his opinion they had more than apparent force, and he laid them before the Court of Directors. He further observed that even if there were no objection to so great a departure from the engineer's first plan, he could not conceive that he had any authority to consent to Captain Mitchell's proposal without first obtaining approval from home. The directors had highly approved that plan and positively ordered it to be carried out in the manner set out in paragraph 37 of their general letter of 1765. They had also stated their orders on that subject very clearly in their general letter of 1764. Daniel Corneille signed the minute. **Interpretations** The trial firing settled little, as Corneille had predicted. The minute, entered under 30 November,

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		depression much less by the so much greater thickness of the Cannon at that part than the other. - These are the Chief Objections that have presented themselves to my Observation against the Proposed alteration, and in my humble opinion, Objections that strike me more, than merely of apparent Force & as such lay them before the Honorable Court of Directors. And must here further observe that even allowing there was no objections against so Capital an Alteration from the Engineers first Plan, so highly approved of & so positively Ordered to be put in Execution in manner and Order as particularly specify'd in Paragraph thirty seven of General Letter 1765 That I cannot as to myself conceive that I have any Authority to consent to Captain Mitchells proposal, without being first approved of from Home As our Honble Masters have thought proper to point out to Us very clearly their Orders on that Head in General Letter of the Year Seventeen hundred and Sixty four - Signed Daniel Corneille	refers to a trial held on the 4th of the month, so it was evidently written up after the Council carried out the test in early December 1767. Corneille's point about measurement exposed a weakness in the test itself. A gunner's quadrant laid on the breech of a tapering barrel read a steeper angle than the bore actually held, so the guns had not truly fired at the depression the new battery would demand. His decisive argument, however, concerned authority, not gunnery. The directors had approved the original plan and ordered it built exactly as specified. Corneille held that the Council had no power to substitute a different design, whatever its merits, without their consent. This placed the Council in the position the Company's system was meant to create: the man on the spot might know the ground better, but the decision belonged to London. His observation that ships becalmed beneath the point passed within 150 yards of it gave the objection practical weight, since a battery too high to fire on that channel would leave the main approach to Jamestown unguarded.
296	287	1767 We this day Executed the renewal of two Leases to Mr. James Greentree Executor to the last Will and Testament of John Swaits deceased one for four Acres of Land at five shillings pr. Acre, and one for thirteen and an half Acres at five shillings pr. Acre, both Situated in Sandy Bay, and likewise renewed a Lease to Miss Mary Swaits for a piece of Land lying in the South Division of this Island known by the Name of Highams, containing four Acres at one shilling pr. Acre. - We this day Enlisted Joseph Whaley a Native to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years and gave him ten pounds Bounty Money to buy him Cloaths &ca. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	That day the Council executed the renewal of two leases to James Greentree, executor of the will of the late John Swaits, both in Sandy Bay: one for 4 acres at 5s 0d an acre and one for 13½ acres at 5s 0d an acre. It also renewed a lease to Miss Mary Swaits for a piece of land in the southern division of the island called Highams, of 4 acres at 1s 0d an acre. The Council also enlisted Joseph Whaley, a native of the island, to serve the Company as a soldier for five years, and gave him £10 0s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** James Greentree acted as executor for a second estate that year, having already managed his own family's affairs after Thomas Greentree's death. John Swaits's executors appeared on the rent roll of 1 October 1767 holding 47½ acres, and the renewals kept that land in the family's hands while the estate was settled. Mary Swaits, evidently his daughter, held a smaller plot in her own name at a low rent of 1s 0d an acre, poor ground in the southern division. The Council renewed leases to a young unmarried woman on the same terms as any planter, so an heiress could keep her inheritance in her own right. Joseph Whaley's bounty of £10 0s 0d was twice that paid to Francis Seale three weeks earlier, and four times that paid to the boy fifer John Wyrill. It matched the bounty for a seasoned soldier re-enlisting. The Council perhaps had to pay more to persuade island-born men to join, since they had families and land on St Helena and less need of soldier's pay than seamen and discharged men passing through. A Simon Whaley appeared on the rent roll, so Joseph probably came from a landholding family.
297	288	7th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 7 day of December 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 7 December 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe

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		Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 30th November 1767 Having agreeable to our Resolution of last Monday visited the ground and made the Experiment of firing Cannon depressed as the proposed Situation of the Engineer would require, and Considering maturely what has been offered in favour of the advantages, as well as what have been Alledged against the disadvantages, and as it is absolutely necessary to come to a final determination, We agreed that the two following Questions should be proposed - Question the 1. Whether the Plan last drawn by the Engineer for the Battery at Mundens has the preference in Point of Situation and Construction or tends more to the defence of the Island than the Plan first drawn which was transmitted to the Honble the Court of Directors, and by them Ordered to be carried into Execution. - Captain Kirkpatrick is of opinion the Alteration is not for the better To the Question proposed Mr. Purling Says, that the Plan now laid before the Governor and Council by the Engineer appears to him to have the preference of the first Plan in the following Respects First. The two Flanks on the Battery one pointing to Ruperts Bay and along the Coast to Sugar Loaf Point, the other to the Bay of the Main Fort seem better Contrived to defend those two Bays, and to annoy Ships than the Flanks intended for the above purposes in the first Plan. - Secondly The Elevation of this Battery considerably above the Old	Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 30 November 1767. As resolved the week before, the Council had inspected the ground and carried out the trial of firing cannon depressed to the angle the engineer's proposed site would require. Having considered carefully what had been said for the advantages and against the disadvantages, and finding it necessary to reach a final decision, the Council agreed to put two questions. 1: Whether the plan last drawn by the engineer for the battery at Munden's Point was better in position and design, or would contribute more to the defence of the island, than the first plan, which had been sent to the Court of Directors and which they had ordered to be carried out. Captain Kirkpatrick held that the change was not for the better. Purling held that the plan now laid before the Governor and Council by the engineer was better than the first plan in the following respects. First, the two flanks of the battery, one pointing towards Rupert's Bay and along the coast to Sugar Loaf Point and the other towards the bay of the main fort, seemed better designed to defend those two bays and to harm ships than the flanks intended for the same purpose in the first plan. Second, the height of this battery, considerably above the [...] **Interpretations** The Council put the matter to a formal vote, with each member stating his opinion in turn, as it had in the case of Solomon Jacobs in September. Recording each man's view separately meant the directors could see where every councillor stood on a decision that departed from their own orders. The division began differently from the earlier quarrels. Kirkpatrick, who alone had supported the Governor over the Castle repairs, here opposed the engineer's change. Purling, who had stood between the Governor and Corneille in June, now spoke for Mitchell's plan, judging that its two flanks would better cover Rupert's Bay to the east and James Bay with the main fort to the west. The bay of the main fort was the anchorage off Jamestown where the Company's ships lay, and a battery whose guns swept both bays at once from the point between them could catch an enemy approaching either landing.
298	289	1767 Old Battery will render any Shot from an Enemy ineffectual, and consequently the Men who are to defend that Battery quite Secure These appear to me the only Advantages which the last Plan has over the First, and may be deemed very Considerable. - The disadvantages attending this Battery are as they appear to me as follows: - First. That although the great Elevation will render the Men who are defending it perfectly secure, yet it may be attended with the inconveniency from its height of depressing the Guns too much to ascertain the fire from the said Battery to the Object designed; And Guns by often firing in time of Service with a great depression may have an Effect on the Carriages The two Guns to be placed in the Front of that Battery must be depressed	Purling's opinion continued. The battery's height, considerably above the old battery, would make any enemy shot ineffective and so keep its defenders quite safe. These seemed to him the only advantages the last plan had over the first, and they might be thought very considerable. He saw the following disadvantages. First, although the great height would make the defenders perfectly safe, it carried the drawback that the guns had to be depressed so steeply that it would be hard to aim their fire at the intended target. Guns fired often in service at a steep depression might also damage their carriages. The two guns at the front of the battery would have to be depressed 19 degrees. Second, the two guns at the front of the battery were agreed to be very important for harming ships as they approached Munden's Point, where the wind blowing down James's Valley constantly took them aback. These guns would have to stand many yards further from the sea than the guns at the front of the old battery, and for that reason he thought them less commanding.

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		nineteen degrees. - Secondly. The two Guns in the Front of that Battery (allowed to be very material to annoy Ships on their approach to Mundens where they are constantly taken a Back by the Wind blowing from James's Valley) must be placed many Yards further distant from the Sea than the Guns in Front of the Old Battery, and on that Account he thinks not so commanding as the Guns in Front of the Old Battery. - If the Battery now proposed could by blowing away the Rock be brought nearer the Point near the Sea with a less Elevation, he should Certainly Give the Preference to the last Planned Battery, and more Especially as Captain Mitchell seems fully of opinion that the Elevated Battery has in all respects the Advantage, whose Judgement doubtless is of consequence and should have weight. - The Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that the Alteration is not for the better for the reasons already assigned in his Minute of last Consultation The Governor will answer both the Questions after the Second is proposed. - Question the 2d As the Honorable Company have approved of the first Plan given	If the proposed battery could be brought nearer the point and closer to the sea, with less height, by blasting away the rock, he would certainly prefer the last plan. He would do so all the more because Captain Mitchell seemed fully convinced that the higher battery was better in every respect, and his judgement was of consequence and deserved weight. The Lieutenant Governor held that the change was not for the better, for the reasons given in his minute of the last consultation. The Governor said he would answer both questions after the second had been put. 2: As the Company had approved the first plan [...] **Interpretations** Purling weighed both sides fairly and ended by offering a compromise. He accepted that height made the defenders safe, but agreed with Corneille that steep depression would weaken the guns' fire and that the front guns would stand too far back from the sea. Ships rounding Munden's Point were often taken aback, the wind shifting suddenly onto the front of their sails as it funnelled down James's Valley, which left them stalled and exposed at the very spot the battery covered. Guns close to the water could strike them there, and Purling would not give up that advantage. His suggestion to lower the battery and push it forward by blasting the rock sought the benefits of both plans: some of the new site's height and its better flanks, without losing fire close to the sea. His respect for Mitchell's judgement softened his doubts but did not overcome them. With Corneille and Kirkpatrick opposed and Purling's support conditional, the Governor reserved his own view until the second question, on the Company's authority, was put. That question went to the heart of Corneille's objection, whether the Council could depart from a plan the directors had approved.
299	290	7th December given by the Engineer of the Battery intended to be constructed at Mundens and Ordered the same to be carried into Execution, whether we have Power to lay aside that Plan and to adopt and Order the Plan now proposed to be carried into Execution, in preference to the Plan approved of by the Compy. Captain Kirkpatrick thinks that they have not Authority Sufficient to alter the Plan approved of by the Court of Directors Mr. Purling reply's That as the Engineer has entirely altered the first Plan of the Battery intended to be Erected on Mundens Point, and laying great Stress on the advantages attending this Alteration, he wishes Captain Mitchell had laid his last Plan with his remarks thereon before the Governor and Council time enough to have had the Honble Company's Sentiments thereupon by Our next Storeship, that thereby the difficulty's we are now under of determining this Point might have been avoided, as we could in that case have easily Postponed prosecuting the Work at Mundens untill the Company's Orders had arrived, but as we are now circumstanced an immediate Resolution on this Affair, becomes absolutely necessary as it is impossible to defer that Work untill the Arrival of the Storeship in 1769. -	2: As the Company had approved the first plan the engineer gave for the battery to be built at Munden's Point and ordered it to be carried out, whether the Council had power to set that plan aside and to adopt and order the plan now proposed in its place. Captain Kirkpatrick held that the Council lacked sufficient authority to alter the plan approved by the Court of Directors. Purling replied that the engineer had altered the first plan for the battery at Munden's Point entirely and laid great stress on the advantages of the change. He wished Captain Mitchell had laid his last plan and remarks before the Governor and Council early enough for the Company's views to arrive by the next storeship. The present difficulty would then have been avoided, since the Council could easily have postponed the work at Munden's Point until the Company's orders came. Now, however, an immediate decision was absolutely necessary, because the work could not be put off until the storeship of 1769 arrived. In the instructions the directors sent by the *Salisbury* about the fortifications, they had firmly ordered the Council to make no alterations and to start no new works until they had given their views on the engineer's report. In his observations on Munden's Point, Captain Mitchell had spoken strongly in favour of its commanding position for a battery. He drew a plan of it, which was sent to the Court of Directors, and they approved it and ordered it to be carried out. The site of the old battery was agreed to be extremely commanding, so a battery built there would be very valuable. That, together with his own doubt whether the Council had power to allow the battery

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		In the Instructions our Honble Masters sent Us by the Salisbury relative to the Fortifications they positively commanded Us not to make any alterations, or set about any new Works untill they had given their Sentiments on the Engineer's Report. Capt. Mitchell in his Observation on Mundens Point Speaks much in favour of the Commanding Situation of that Place for a Battery, drew a Plan thereof which was transmitted to the Honble the Court of Directors and they approving of the same, Ordered it to be carried into Execution. - The Situation of the Old Battery is allowed to be extremely Commanding consequently a Battery Erected there will be very Advantageous, which Circumstance, with a doubt that arises in me whether we have Power to suffer the Battery approved of by the Honble Company to be altered in so Material a manner as now offered by	approved by the Company to be altered in so important a way as now proposed, [...] **Interpretations** The second question moved the debate from gunnery to authority. Kirkpatrick answered it in a sentence, holding that the Council could not set aside a plan the directors had approved. Purling explained the dilemma at greater length. The storeship came once a year, so a letter sent home now would bring an answer only in 1769. The workmen would be free within a week, and leaving them idle for more than a year was unthinkable. Mitchell's late change of mind had trapped the Council between disobeying the directors and building a battery its own engineer now thought inferior. The instructions by the *Salisbury* weighed heavily on Purling. The directors had expressly forbidden any alteration or new work without their prior approval, a rule designed to stop the island's engineers and governors from changing plans and multiplying costs as they pleased. Purling evidently feared that adopting Mitchell's new plan would breach that order directly. He pointed out that the original site had been chosen precisely because Mitchell himself had praised its commanding position, so the approved plan was not a poor one forced on the island but the engineer's own earlier judgement.
300	291	1767 by the Engineer, when no Latitude has been given Us for carrying on any Work of importance without first having their approbation. Upon the whole thinks it is best to follow the Orders we have received on this Affair by prosecuting the first Plan. - The Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that they have not power to make an Alteration so Capital both in Construction & Situation so different from that already approved of by the Honorable Company & therefore to be put into Execution as already directed by them. - The Governors Answer to the two foregoing Questions The Governor and Council, having twice viewed the Situation, which the Engineer thinks would be the most advantageous Place for to rebuild Mundens Point Battery, and likewise seen two Guns fired according to the Number of degrees depression, which that Situation would require. It is the Governors opinion that the Honble Court of Directors having already approved of the Plan which the Engineer sent to them & also given positive Orders to the Governor and Council for to have the said Plan executed with all Possible diligence, that therefore those Orders should be complied with. Yet as the Honble Court of Directors have been pleased to send an Engineer to Fortify this Island, whose abilities in his Profession the Governor Entertains a great opinion off, and that Gentleman so strongly recommending the change of situation, different from his former Plan, to be the most Eligable Place and also thinks might be compleated cheaper than the Plan sent Home, The Governor cant help saying that he could have wished the Engineer had acquainted the Governor and Council sooner	Purling concluded that the directors had given the Council no freedom to carry out any work of importance without their prior approval. On the whole he thought it best to follow the orders already received and to proceed with the first plan. The Lieutenant Governor held that the Council had no power to make so great a change, in both design and position, from the plan the Company had already approved, and that the approved plan should therefore be carried out as the directors had decided. The Governor then answered both questions. The Governor and Council had twice inspected the site the engineer thought best for rebuilding the battery at Munden's Point, and had seen two guns fired at the angle of depression that site would require. The Governor's view was that, since the Court of Directors had approved the engineer's first plan and given positive orders for it to be carried out with all possible speed, those orders should be obeyed. The directors had, however, sent an engineer to fortify the island, and the Governor held a high opinion of his professional skill. Mitchell strongly recommended the change of site as the best position and thought it could also be built more cheaply than the plan sent home. The Governor could not help saying that he wished the engineer had told the Governor and Council of his proposal sooner, since it could certainly have been sent to England in time for the directors' instructions to arrive by this year's storeship. As matters stood, the Governor remained of the opinion that the engineer should be ordered to proceed with the utmost speed to fortify Munden's Point battery according to [...] **Interpretations** Purling's opinion on the second question decided the matter in practice. Though he had found merit in the new plan, he would not breach the directors' explicit order against altering approved works. With Corneille, Kirkpatrick and Purling all holding that the Council lacked authority, the first plan would stand whatever the Governor thought. Skottowe's answer balanced loyalty to the directors with respect for their engineer. He accepted that the approved plan should be obeyed, yet he praised Mitchell's skill and repeated the claim that the new site would cost less, a point likely to interest directors concerned about expense. His regret that

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		with his Proposal, as unquestionably might have been done, and sent to England time Enough for to have received the Honorable Court of Directors Instruction by this Years Storeship. However as the Governor and Council is now circumstanced the Governor remains of opinion that the Engineer should have Orders, to proceed with the utmost diligence in Fortifying Mundens Point Battery according to	Mitchell had not raised the proposal in time echoed Corneille's and Purling's, so every member of the Council recorded the same complaint about the engineer's timing. By setting out both his deference and his doubts, the Governor ensured the directors would see the alternative plan fairly considered, should they wish to adopt it later.
301	292	7th December to the Plan sent home, and which has been approved of by the Honble Court of Directors - In consequence of our Unanimous opinion that We have not Authority to alter the Plan already approved of by the Honble Court of Directors, We agreed to give the Engineer Orders to Execute with all Expedition the Plan as sent home to the Honorable Company, and have likewise Agreed to the Semicircular form of the upper Battery at Banks's for the Reasons assigned by the Engineer in his Letter of the 23d of last Month, as so small an Alteration we conceive not deviating from the Honorable Company's Orders, And further Resolved to carry on the Works at Banks's and Mundens at the same time. - Having sent for Captain Mitchell to acquaint him that as the Works at Sandy Bay were now Completed, and as Lieutenant Bazett was appointed only during that period we thought proper to dismiss him from that Employ, but Captain Mitchell representing to Us that carrying on two Works together and the necessity of having some one always on the Spot to keep a proper Authority over the Men as well as preventing their Idleing from their Work, thinks it for the advantage of the Service that he should be Continued, We for the above reasons Consented so to do. - Mr. Gabriel Harper this day presented the following Petition viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island St. Helena &c. in Council The humble Petition of Gabriel Harper	The Governor's answer concluded that Munden's Point battery should be built according to the plan sent home and approved by the Court of Directors. Since the Council was unanimous that it had no authority to alter the plan the directors had approved, it agreed to order the engineer to carry out the plan sent home to the Company with all speed. It also agreed to the semicircular form of the upper battery at Banks's, for the reasons the engineer gave in his letter of 23 November 1767. It judged so small an alteration not to depart from the Company's orders. It further resolved that the works at Banks's and Munden's Point should go forward at the same time. The Council sent for Captain Mitchell to tell him that, as the works at Sandy Bay were now complete and Lieutenant Bazett had been appointed only for that period, it thought proper to release Bazett from that duty. Captain Mitchell explained that two works were to be carried on together and that someone had always to be on the spot to keep proper authority over the men and prevent them idling. He thought it in the interest of the service that Bazett be kept on. For those reasons the Council agreed. Gabriel Harper then presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. **Interpretations** The Council drew a careful line between the two batteries. At Munden's Point the engineer proposed a wholly different site and design, which the members held only the directors could approve. At Banks's he proposed merely a change of shape on the same site, and the Council judged that within its discretion. Accepting the smaller change while refusing the larger let the Council use Mitchell's judgement where it safely could and keep strictly to the directors' orders where it could not. Mitchell had at least gained his proposal to build the two works together. The decision about Lieutenant Bazett showed how the Council weighed cost against effective supervision. Thomas Bazett, a lieutenant of the third company, had been placed over the men at Sandy Bay, and with that work ended the obvious course was to send him back to his company and save the extra charge. Mitchell's argument prevailed because two sites at once could not both be watched by the engineer. Labourers paid by the day had every reason to slacken when unobserved, and the large wage bills of the year made a resident officer worth his cost.
302	293	1767 Sheweth That your Petitioner being in want of some Land has pitched upon a piece belonging to the Honorable Company situate in Sandy Bay bounding the Widow Harpers ground on the west side and on the East that of Mr. George Alexander. He is in hopes your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council will please to accept of him as a Tenant for the same upon such terms as you shall see fit, and he will, as in duty bound ever pray &ca. -	Gabriel Harper needed some land and had chosen a piece belonging to the Company in Sandy Bay. It was bounded on the west by the ground of the widow Harper and on the east by that of George Alexander. He hoped the Governor and Council would accept him as tenant on whatever terms they thought fit. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick

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		Ordered the said Land to be Viewed. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	**Interpretations** Gabriel Harper sought land beside the widow Harper's ground, probably his mother's, so that the family's holdings in Sandy Bay would lie together. Margaret Harper appeared on the rent roll of 1 October 1767 with 36 acres, and Thomas Harper's executors held a further 66 acres. A young man starting out often took land next to his family's, sharing their fences, water and labour. The Council applied its usual rule and sent someone to view the ground before granting it, as it had for St Maurice, Worrall and Shirley. Land in Sandy Bay had gained new value that year, since the completed fortifications now protected the valley from an enemy landing.
303	294	14th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th Day of December 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 7th December 1767 The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of November last were this day brought in which were examined & approved and are as follows viz. Artillery Stores Expended in November 1767 Powder expended in Sundry Services 113 . 9 lb oz Handspikes Do. in Do. 18 Tallow for the Boats 16 8 lb Compasses 1 Priming Horns 1 Signed Archd. Mitchell Sundrys Expended at the Honble Compy's Table in November 1767 5 Bottles Port Wine £ 4 6 17 Do. Lisbon 1 4 6 10 Do. Mountain 15 18 Do. Beer 4 9 32 Galls. Arrack [...] 112 lb Beef 2 [...] Carried over£ 10 4 8	The gunner's and steward's accounts for November 1767 were presented, examined and approved at the consultation of Monday 14 December 1767, held at the Castle with Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, William Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The Council first read, approved and signed the minutes of 7 December 1767. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in November recorded the following. Powder used on other services, 113 lb 9 oz Handspikes used on other services, 13 Tallow for the boats, 16 lb 8-inch carcass, 1 Priming iron, 1 The account was signed by Archibald Mitchell. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in November 1767. 3 bottles of port wine, £0 4s 6d 19 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 [...]s 6d 10 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 15s 0d 18 bottles of beer, £0 [...]s 9d 32 gallons of arrack, £[...] 112 lb of beef, £[...] Carried forward, £10 [...] **Interpretations** No guns were fired in salute or alarm during November, the first month that year without a single entry for a passing ship. The southern spring brought a lull between the last of the homeward ships of the season and the first fleets of the next, and the gunner's only expenditure was powder for practice and other services. Thirteen more handspikes went in moving guns, as the work on the batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point began. A carcass was an incendiary shell, a hollow iron or canvas case filled with burning composition and fired from a mortar to set enemy ships or buildings alight. Using one at practice let the gunners learn to handle a weapon designed to burn wooden ships at anchor in the road, the most effective defence a shore battery had against a fleet.
304	295	1767 Brought over£ 10 4 5 212 lb Mutton 4 15 2 4 Lambs 2 2 Turkeys 12 6 Fowls 9 30 lb Butter 1 10 120 lb Candy 2 10 300 lb Flour 2 10 £ 24 10 7	The steward's account for November 1767 concluded. Brought forward, £10 4s 5d 212 lb of mutton, £4 15s 2d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 12s 0d 6 fowls, £0 9s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 120 lb of candles, £2 10s 0d 300 lb of flour, £2 10s 0d Total, £24 10s 7d The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 14 December 1767. All the island's planters were required to send to the secretary's office, on or before the 21st of the month, an exact signed account of the number of cattle each of them had for slaughter in 1768. They

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		Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 14th December 1767 This is to give Notice to all the Planters upon the said Island, that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on, or before the 31 Instant an exact signed Account of their Number of Cattle each of them have for Slaughter for the Year 1768 which they will be expected punctually to supply, unless an Accident should happen to any of them, in that Case they are to send a return in writing within three days after such Accident to the Secretary's Office aforesaid in neglect of which no excuse will be admitted, but in failure thereof the owner obliged to furnish another Beast - Notice is hereby further given, that they are likewise to transmit an Account on, or before, the time abovementioned, of their Number of Horses, & to distinguish them by their several Denominations also of their respective Stocks of Sheep & Goats, and what Sheep they intend for Sale. Per Order of Council Signed Mattw. Bazett Secy.	would be expected to supply these punctually. If any of the cattle met with an accident, the owner was to send a written report to the secretary's office within three days, and no excuse for neglecting this would be accepted. Failing such a report, the owner would have to supply another beast in its place. The planters were also to send, by the same date, an account of the number of their horses, distinguishing them by their kinds, and of their stocks of sheep and goats, stating how many sheep they intended to sell. The notice was issued by order of the Council and signed by Matthew Bazett, secretary. **Interpretations** The notice set up the island's meat supply for the coming year. Each planter declared how many cattle he would provide for slaughter, and once declared, those beasts were promised to the Company. They would feed the garrison and supply the homeward ships, which arrived from about January and needed fresh beef for their crews. Holding the planters to their returns let the Council plan its supply before the ships came, and the rule that a beast lost without notice must be replaced stopped planters from selling promised cattle elsewhere and claiming an accident. The returns of horses, sheep and goats completed the Council's knowledge of the island's livestock, alongside the census of families, land and cattle taken each September. Asking which sheep were intended for sale showed the Council regulating the market in meat as it regulated the tailors' prices, so that the island's limited stock was shared between the Company, the ships and the inhabitants.
305	296	14th December Messrs. Orlando Bagley Senr. and Simon Whaley this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of Orland. Bagley Executr. to Thos. Harper deceased Sheweth That there is about half an Acre of the Honble Company's Waste Land lying in Powell's Valley and adjoining to the Land of the said Thomas Harpers Orphs. which your Petitioner is desirous of hiring for the Convenience of Water, humbly requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant the sd. Orphs. a Lease for the same. And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed 14th December 1767 Orl. Bagley To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Simon Whaley Sheweth That your Petitioner hath two Leases expired lying in the East Division of the said Island one for four & the other for two Acres, but as that for four Acres is almost an entire Warren desires to throw up three Acres of the said Land, and	Orlando Bagley senior and Simon Whaley then presented petitions. Orlando Bagley, executor of the late Thomas Harper, petitioned the Governor and Council on 14 December 1767. About half an acre of the Company's waste land lay in Powell's Valley next to the land of Thomas Harper's estate. Bagley wished to rent it for the sake of the water there, and asked the Governor and Council to grant the executors a lease of it. Simon Whaley also petitioned the Governor and Council. He held two expired leases in the eastern division of the island, one for 4 acres and the other for 2 acres. The land in the 4-acre lease was almost entirely barren, and he wished to give up 3 acres of it [...] **Interpretations** Water was the reason for Bagley's request, and it explains why so small a plot mattered. St Helena had springs and streams in its valleys, but much of the island, especially the east, was dry, and a holding without water could not keep cattle or grow crops. Half an acre containing a spring or watercourse could make the whole of the Harper estate workable. Bagley acted as executor, so the estate's land was being kept in use for Thomas Harper's heirs while it was settled. Simon Whaley's petition worked the other way. His 4 acres in the east were almost barren, and paying rent on them cost him more than they yielded. Surrendering most of the poor ground let him reduce his rent while keeping the land he could use. The eastern division, around Longwood and the windward coast, held the island's driest and most exposed land, much of it bare where goats and erosion had stripped the soil, and a tenant there gained little from land he could not cultivate.
306	297	1767 and requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a new Lease for both pieces containing three Acres	Simon Whaley asked the Governor and Council to grant him a new lease covering both pieces, 3 acres in all. He signed the petition on 14 December 1767.

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		And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed 14th December 1767 Simon Whaley Ordered Bagley's Land to be Viewed and the other Petition Granted. The Fortification at Sandy Bay being intirely Compleated we Viewed it on Tuesday last and shall give our opinions thereon to the Honorable Company, at the same time we send home the Plan which will be by the first opportunity - We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Mitchell viz. To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In consequence of your Resolution, Communicated to me last Monday, of having the new Battery at Munden's Point constructed on the same part of the Rock on which the Old one now stands, I herewith inclose a Plan of it, with its proposed dimensions, which I flatter myself you will approve of. - As in discussing the Comparative advantage of this Situation with that last proposed, you seemed to agree with me in thinking, that the front necessary to be given to the former, in Order to join its two Flanks, was by Reason of	The Council ordered Bagley's land to be inspected and granted Whaley's petition. The Sandy Bay fortification was now entirely complete, and the Council had inspected it the previous Sunday. It would give its opinion of the work to the Company when it sent home the plan, which it would do by the first opportunity. That day the Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell. Following its resolution of the previous Monday that the new battery at Munden's Point should be built on the same part of the rock where the old one stood, he enclosed a plan of it with its proposed dimensions, which he hoped the Council would approve. When discussing the relative advantages of this site and the one he had last proposed, the Council had seemed to agree with him that the front which had to be given to the former battery, in order to join its two flanks, was, by reason of [...] **Interpretations** Whaley's request was granted at once because it reduced his holding instead of adding to it. He kept 1 acre of the barren lease and his other 2 acres, giving back 3 acres of poor ground to the Company. The Council had no reason to inspect land being surrendered, while Bagley's request for new land, with its water, was sent for viewing first as usual. The completion of Sandy Bay ended the island's largest work of the year, begun under the directors' orders to put the fortifications first. The Council's own inspection on a Sunday, the one day the workmen were absent, let the members examine the finished defences undisturbed. Mitchell accepted the Council's decision promptly and drew a new plan for the battery on the old site within a week. His letter suggests he meant to carry some of his arguments into the approved design, starting from points the Council had seemed to accept in discussion.
307	298	14th December of the Figure of the Rock in that Part) much longer than could be wished, as the Guns mounted there could only serve to annoy Ships for a few minutes whilst they were passing under the Battery in their way to the Road; I have therefore in the Plan herewith enclosed, endeavoured to take advantage of this Circumstance by finding Room in this part for the three Thirteen Inch Mortars, by which means the Expence and Labour of making a separate Platform for these (which, considering the Ruggedness as well as Steepness of the Rock would have been a very expensive Work) will be avoided, and by uniting them they will be capable of a more easy and better defence. Some of the Guns which were intended to be placed in this Front Face added to the Flank which serve for the defence of the Road. - I have the Honour to be Gentlemen St. Helena 14th December 1767 Your most Obedient and most humble Servant Signed R. Mitchell In consequence of our Repeated Consultations with the Engineer on his proposed Alteration of the Situation of Mundens Battery as well as viewing the Ground with him Several times On which in a former Consultation we determined that our Powers could not extend	Mitchell's letter continued. Because of the shape of the rock at that point, the front of the old site would be much longer than was desirable. Guns mounted there could only fire on ships for a few minutes as they passed beneath the battery on their way to the road. In the enclosed plan he had therefore tried to turn this drawback to advantage by finding room in the front for the three 13-inch mortars. This would avoid the cost and labour of making a separate platform for them, which, given how rough and steep the rock was, would have been very expensive. United with the guns, the mortars would also be easier and better to defend. Some of the guns first intended for the front would be added to the flank that defended the road. Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 14 December 1767. The Council recorded its decision. It had consulted the engineer repeatedly on his proposed change of site for Munden's battery and had viewed the ground with him several times. At an earlier consultation it had decided that its powers did not extend to so great a change without the Company's approval, and its members had differed in their opinions of the advantages claimed. It was nevertheless fully convinced that the front of the battery, as it was now to be built, was longer than needed to fire on the ships that had to pass in front of it. It therefore entirely approved the engineer's proposal to place the three mortars in that front together with two guns. It was well satisfied that this would be useful and would also save a great deal of the expense that the building of a separate mortar battery would certainly have involved. **Interpretations** Mitchell found a way to keep one advantage of his rejected plan within the approved one. His

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		to so Capital an Alteration without approbation from the Honorable Company, as well as our opinions in Council differing with Respect to the Advantages thereby proposed. Yet being thoroughly Convinced that the Front Flank of said Battery as now to be Constructed, is of greater extent than what will be necessary for firing upon those Ships that are obliged to pass opposite that front, we intirely approve of the Engineers Proposal of placing the three Mortars in that front together with the two Guns, as we are well convinced of its Utility as well as the great saving it will be in point of expence, unavoidably attending the Constructing	original proposal had united the guns and mortars in a single battery, and the directors' approved design had them separate. By placing the mortars in the long front of the old site, which suited guns poorly because ships passed it so quickly, he achieved the union he wanted without changing the site. Mortars fired high-angled shells at targets anywhere within range, so a short exposure of passing ships mattered less to them than to guns firing directly. The Council accepted this change readily where it had refused the larger one. Placing the mortars within the approved battery did not move the battery or alter its basic form, so the Council judged it within its powers, as it had judged the semicircular battery at Banks's. The saving in cost settled the matter. A separate mortar platform cut into steep, broken rock would have demanded months of quarrying and blasting, and the Council could tell the directors it had followed their plan while spending less.
308	299	1767 Constructing of a Platform on the Summit of said Rock for that purpose. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 day of December 1767 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 14th December 1767 - Wednesday the 16th died Elizabeth Wife of Roderick Merchant Publican Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of November last which is as follows viz. -	The saving the Council expected came from avoiding a separate platform for the mortars on the summit of the rock. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 21 December 1767. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 14 December 1767. Elizabeth, wife of Roderick Merchant, a publican, had died on Wednesday 16 December. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for November 1767. **Interpretations** Roderick Merchant appeared in July as one of the three master tailors licensed by the Council to make clothes at fixed prices, and on the rent roll paying ground rent for a house plot. He was now also described as a publican, keeping one of the island's licensed taverns, whose fees appeared in the treasury's receipts each quarter. Islanders commonly combined trades, and a tailor's shop and a public house could run side by side in the same premises. The record of his wife's death, entered among the Council's business, followed the practice of noting the deaths of inhabitants as well as soldiers, so that the consultations served in part as the island's register.
309	300	21st December Cash Dr. 1767 Novr. 1 To Balance remaining £ 11625 2 6 Per Contra Cr. 1767 Novr. 31 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 11085 7 6 In Cash notes 539 15 £ 11625 2 6 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Company's cash account for November 1767 recorded the balance held at the start and end of the month. 1 November, balance remaining, £11,625 2s 6d 30 November, balance remaining in coin, £11,085 7s 6d 30 November, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £11,625 2s 6d The account was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** For a second month in succession nothing entered or left the treasury. No ships called in October or November, so the island sold nothing to

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			visiting vessels and drew no bills of exchange, while the paymaster's next advance would not fall due until the end of December. The treasury's balance of £11,625 2s 6d had stood unchanged since the close of September. The island's finances moved with the shipping season, active from December to August while the homeward fleets passed, and at a standstill through the southern spring, when the gunner's account likewise recorded no salutes at all.
310	301	4th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th day of January 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 21 Decemr. 1767 Friday the 1 died James Bottomly Matross - We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell viz. To the Worshipful the Governor & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In my last Quarterly Letter I had the Honor to acquaint you that the Employment of the Workmen during the then ensuing Quarter would principally consist in compleating what remained to be done to the new defences of Sandy Bay, and in transporting from the Quarry a Quantity of Cut Stone prepared for the intended Batteries at Mundens Point and Banks's after which I should be ready to receive your Orders relative to the next work to be undertaken. - I have now the pleasure to inform you that both these objects are finally accomplished, and am at present preparing a Plan of these defences, which I shall give in in a few Weeks, in Order to be transmitted to my Honble Masters by the Earliest opportunity. - I have only further to take Notice that agreeably to your Orders the Workmen are now Employed in preparing Foundations and Collecting materials for the two new Batteries abovementioned, in the Prosecution of which their Employment	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 4 January 1768. The following were present. Governor John Skottowe Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous consultation, dated 21 December 1767. James Bottomly, a matross, had died on Friday 1 January. The Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell. In his last quarterly letter he had told the Governor and Council that during the coming quarter the workmen would chiefly finish what remained of the new defences at Sandy Bay and carry from the quarry a quantity of cut stone prepared for the intended batteries at Munden's Point and Banks's. After that he would be ready to receive their orders on the next work. He was now pleased to report that both tasks were finally complete. He was preparing a plan of the Sandy Bay defences, which he would hand in within a few weeks so that it could be sent to the directors by the earliest opportunity. He added that, following the Council's orders, the workmen were now preparing foundations and gathering materials for the two new batteries, in carrying out which their employment [...] **Interpretations** Mitchell's quarterly letter closed the year's work exactly as he had forecast in October. Sandy Bay was finished and the stone for the next batteries was cut and moved, so the workmen passed straight from one great work to the next without standing idle. The Council's decision of 7 December to build Munden's Point on the approved site had cleared the way, and foundations were already being laid within a month. The plan of the finished defences at Sandy Bay was the document the Council had promised to send home with its own opinion of the work. The directors had ordered the fortifications to take priority and had questioned other spending on the island, so a complete plan of the costliest work of the year was the proof they expected that their money had been well spent. James Bottomly appeared on the artillery pay list as a matross through 1767. He became the first death of the new year in the island's records.
311	302	4th January Employment will consist during the Ensuing Quarter. - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servants St. Helena Signed 4th January 1768 R. Mitchell We have no observations to make upon Capt. Mitchells Letter as we have fully given our opinions in Consultation of the 23d & 30th November & 7th December last, upon the new Batteries to be Erected at Mundens Point & Banks's, as well as our intentions with respect to	Mitchell concluded that preparing foundations and materials for the two new batteries would occupy the workmen through the coming quarter. He signed the letter at St Helena on 4 January 1768. The Council made no observations on Captain Mitchell's letter. It had already given its views fully at the consultations of 23 and 30 November and 7 December 1767 on the new batteries to be built at Munden's Point and Banks's, and on its intentions for Sandy Bay. One of the Company's yawls had been staved in while carrying lime to Banks's. The Company badly needed another boat, so the Council bought one from Captain Bazett and paid him £3 13s 0d. That day the Council also enlisted George Seale, a native of the island, to serve the Company as a

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		Sandy Bay - One of the Honorable Company's Yawls having been Stove carrying Lime to Banks's & being much in want of another Boat we purchased one of Captain Bazett for which we paid him £ 3 . 15 - We this day Enlisted George Seale a Native to serve the Honorable Company for five Years as a Soldier & gave him £ 5 Bounty Money to buy him Cloaths &ca. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	soldier for five years, and gave him £5 0s 0d bounty money to buy clothes and other necessities. The consultation was signed as follows. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The yawl was wrecked carrying lime round the coast to Banks's, where the new battery was being built. Banks's lay on the cliffs north of Jamestown, and bulky materials such as lime and stone were far easier to move by sea than over the steep paths, but landing them at the foot of the cliffs in the swell was dangerous. A small boat stove in against the rocks was a common loss. The Council replaced it from Captain Henry Bazett, whose family held land and boats on the island, at a fraction of the £35 0s 0d paid for a full longboat. George Seale was the second member of the Seale family to enlist that winter, after Francis Seale in November, both at the same bounty of £5 0s 0d. Young men of the island's landholding families were joining the garrison in growing numbers, perhaps because land on the island was limited and a soldier's pay offered a steady living to younger sons.
312	303	11th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th day of January 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 4 Jany. 1768 The Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of December last and the Plantation Account for the Quarter were this day brought in which were examined, and approved and are as follow viz. Artillery Stores Expended in December 1767 viz. Guns fired, Shot fired, 9 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz Guns fired at Mundens Point: Guns fired 3, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 3, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 12 Shot fired at Do.: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 3, 9 Pr 3, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder Expended at Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 113, Powder Expended oz 8 Total: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 150, Powder Expended oz 4 Handspikes Expended at Sundry Services 6 Tallow Do. 6 lb Rammer Heads 1 Cartridge Paper 22 Qrs. Quoins 3 Signed R. Mitchell Sundries Expended at the Honorable Compy's Table in Decemr. 1767 - 3 Bottles Port Wine £ 4 6 19 Do. Lisbon 1 8 6 7 Do. Mountain 10 6 14 Do. Beer 3 6	The gunner's and steward's accounts for December 1767 and the plantation account for the quarter were presented, examined and approved at the consultation of Monday 11 January 1768, held at the Castle with Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, William Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The Council first read, approved and signed the minutes of 4 January 1768. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in December 1767 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 24-pounder guns used and the powder used in pounds and ounces. Guns fired at Munden's Point, 3 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 twenty-four-pounders, powder used 36 lb 12 oz Shot fired at Munden's Point, 0 guns fired, 3 shot, 3 twenty-four-pounders, powder used 0 lb 0 oz Powder used on other services, 113 lb 8 oz Total, 3 guns fired, 3 shot, powder used 150 lb 4 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Handspikes used on other services, 6 Tallow used on other services, 6 lb Rammer heads, 1 Cartridge paper, 2 quires Quoins, 3 The account was signed by Mitchell. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in December 1767. 3 bottles of port wine, £0 4s 6d 19 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 8s 6d 7 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 10s 6d 14 bottles of beer, £0 3s 6d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d 175 lb of beef, £3 3s 9d 227 lb of mutton, £4 13s 7d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 18s 0d 12 fowls, £[...] 38 lb of butter, £[...] 120 lb of candles, £[...] [...] of flour, £[...] **Interpretations** The three 24-pounder shots fired at Munden's Point were the trial the Council had made in early December, when it watched guns fired at the downward angle Mitchell's higher site would have

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		30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 173 Beef 3 3 9 227 Mutton 4 13 7 1 Lamb 10 3 Kids 15 3 Turkeys 15 12 Fowls 18 35 Butter 1 11 170 Candy 2 14 3	required. Each shot of a 24-pounder used over 12 lb of powder, far more than the light guns used for salutes. These were the heavy coastal guns meant to strike a ship at long range, and their fire settled the question the Council had argued over for weeks. Quoins were wooden wedges placed under the breech of a gun to raise or lower its aim. Several were used up in the trial, where the gunners had to depress the barrels steeply. The steward's account showed arrack rising to 30 gallons for the month, valued at £7 10s 0d, more than in any month of the year, as the Christmas season brought guests to the Governor's table.
313	304	11th January Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses J. Asses, Asses S. Asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining 1 October: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 95, Neat Cattle Calves 63, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 13, Neat Cattle Steers 64, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 293, Sheep Ewes 379, Sheep Wethers 150, Sheep Lambs 150, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 693, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Wethers 64, Goats Kids 79, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 293, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 9, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 23, Poultry Ducks 11, Poultry Turkeys 18, Poultry Geese 7 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 16, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 16, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 52, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 52, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 49, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 49, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 1, Horses Total 1, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 117, Poultry Ducks 29, Poultry Turkeys 30, Poultry Geese 4 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 95, Neat Cattle Calves 84, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 13, Neat Cattle Steers 64, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 309, Sheep Ewes 379, Sheep Wethers 150, Sheep Lambs 202, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 745, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Wethers 64, Goats Kids 128, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 342, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 8, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 140, Poultry Ducks 40, Poultry Turkeys 48, Poultry Geese 11 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 1, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 8, Sheep Wethers 25, Sheep Lambs 8, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 41, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 40, Goats Kids 5, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 45, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs	The Company's livestock account for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1767 was laid before the Council at the consultation of 11 January 1768. Daniel Corneille signed it as the officer in charge of the stock. The account then carried the signatures of Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick. Cattle Remaining 1 October: bulls 5, cows 95, calves 68, yearlings 24, heifers 13, steers 64, oxen 19, total 293 Increase: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 16, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 0, oxen 0, total 16 Total: bulls 5, cows 95, calves 84, yearlings 24, heifers 13, steers 64, oxen 19, total 309 Killed: bulls 1, cows 0, calves 1, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 1, oxen 0, total 3 Died: bulls 0, cows 1, calves 2, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 2, oxen 0, total 5 Remaining 31 December: bulls 4, cows 94, calves 81, yearlings 24, heifers 13, steers 61, oxen 19, total 301 Sheep Remaining 1 October: ewes 379, wethers 150, lambs 150, rams 14, total 693 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, lambs 52, rams 0, total 52 Total: ewes 379, wethers 150, lambs 202, rams 14, total 745 Killed: ewes 8, wethers 25, lambs 8, rams 0, total 41 Died: ewes 1, wethers 4, lambs 14, rams 0, total 19 Remaining 31 December: ewes 370, wethers 121, lambs 180, rams 14, total 685 Goats Remaining 1 October: ewes 142, wethers 64, kids 79, rams 8, total 293 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, kids 49, rams 0, total 49 Total: ewes 142, wethers 64, kids 128, rams 8, total 342 Killed: ewes 0, wethers 40, kids 5, rams 0, total 45 Died: ewes 0, wethers 0, kids 0, rams 0, total 0 Remaining 31 December: ewes 142, wethers 24, kids 123, rams 8, total 297 Hogs Remaining 1 October: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 0, boars 1, total 3 Increase: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 0, total 5 Total: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 1, total 8 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Remaining 31 December: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 1, total 8 Horses

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		Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 6, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 2, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 5, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Wethers 4, Sheep Lambs 14, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 19, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 24, Poultry Ducks 2, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 4 Remaining 31 Decr.: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 94, Neat Cattle Calves 81, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 13, Neat Cattle Steers 61, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 301, Sheep Ewes 370, Sheep Wethers 121, Sheep Lambs 180, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 685, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Wethers 24, Goats Kids 123, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 297, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 8, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 86, Poultry Ducks 38, Poultry Turkeys 28, Poultry Geese 7 Deceased Slaves 1 Man Named Preston 1 Man Do. Charles 1 Do. Do. Barnett 1 Man named Benjar 1 Do. Do. Cato 1 Boy Born named Robert Rich Exchanged an Old Sorrel Horse for a Breeding Mare Yams Expended for the Stock lb 10 . 920 E. Excepted Signed Dan Corneille John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Remaining 1 October: horses 3, mares 6, total 9 Increase: horses 0, mares 1, total 1 Total: horses 3, mares 7, total 10 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Remaining 31 December: horses 3, mares 7, total 10 Asses Remaining 1 October: male asses 1, female asses 0, total 1 Increase: 0 Remaining 31 December: male asses 1, female asses 0, total 1 Poultry Remaining 1 October: turkeys 33, ducks 11, fowls 18, geese 7 Increase: turkeys 57, ducks 29, fowls 30, geese 4 Total: turkeys 90, ducks 40, fowls 48, geese 11 Killed: turkeys 30, ducks 0, fowls 6, geese 0 Died: turkeys 24, ducks 2, fowls 14, geese 4 Remaining 31 December: turkeys 36, ducks 38, fowls 28, geese 7 Five of the Company's slaves died during the quarter. 1 man named Preston 1 man named Charles 1 man named Barnett 1 man named Benjar 1 man named Cato A boy born to the Company's slaves was given the name Robert Rich. An old sorrel horse was traded for a breeding mare, which accounts for the extra mare in the horse column. The stock was fed 10,920 lb of yams during the quarter. The account was submitted with the usual reservation for errors. **Interpretations** The account shows that the Company's herds served mainly as a breeding reserve rather than a meat supply. Only three cattle were slaughtered in three months from a herd of more than 300. The meat for the Governor's table and the garrison came instead from sheep and goats, and especially from the wethers. These castrated males fattened well and were not needed for breeding. Forty goat wethers were killed, cutting that group from 64 to 24, and 25 sheep wethers were killed. Breeding ewes, cows and rams were almost untouched. Spring lambing and kidding brought in more than 100 young animals. The southern-hemisphere spring therefore replaced most of what the table had eaten. The horse trade was a small but deliberate choice. Selling or slaughtering a worn-out horse would have been the obvious course. Corneille instead used it to buy a breeding mare, so the Company's few horses could breed on an island where shipping in new ones was costly and uncertain. The same thinking explains why the single ass was kept and why so few cattle were killed. The listing of dead slaves alongside dead livestock shows that the Company counted its slaves as plantation property. Their deaths and births were reported in the same quarterly return as its cattle and sheep. Five deaths in one quarter, against one birth, was a heavy loss for a small workforce. The Company could only make it good by buying more slaves from passing ships. Naming the child Robert Rich, with an English surname, followed a common practice of the island. Slave children often received names chosen by the Company's officers rather than by their parents. The 10,920 lb of yams fed to the stock shows how far the Company's animals depended on crops grown by slave labour on the plantation. Yams were the island's staple root crop and also fed the slaves and the poorer settlers. Feeding nearly five tons of them to livestock in one quarter put the herds in

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			direct competition with people for the island's limited arable land. The poultry figures show heavy losses. Twenty-four turkeys and 14 fowls died during the quarter, nearly as many as were killed for the table. Disease, rats and the island's wild cats commonly carried off young birds raised in the open.
314	305	16th January At a Consultation held on Saturday the 16th day of January 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 11 Janry. 1768 Tuesday the 12th Arrived the Lord Hollands Boat at Banks's at six o'Clock in the morning Do. Do. Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Lord Holland from Bengal, last from the Cape, and brought Us the following Supplies viz. - Invoice of Ship Lord Holland Rice fine No. 1 to 60 60 Bags weighing 120 B. Mds. at 1 . 14 Pr. Maund 243 Sugar fine No. 1 to 10 10 Bags weighing 20 F. Mds. 9 180 Paddy No. 1 to 15 15 Bags weighing 22 . 20 1 . 15 Pr. C. 16 5 9 Wax Candles No. 1 to 4 4 Chests weighing 8 Mds. 70 Pr. Md. 560 Batavia Arrack 1 to 2 2 Leaguers 93 . 7 @ 186 14 6 1186 4 3 Charges Merchandize 4 Chests with Package 16 . 3 Dut 3 [...] Twine 9 145 Gunny Bags 19 9 3 40 Reed Matts 3 3 9 Weighmen 9 3 Packers 1 Cooley hire 12 7 6 Do. 32 6 6 1 Boat 2 5 3 Boat hire 10 12 9 Signed Richd. Wills Sub Acct. Current Rupees 1295 11 9	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Saturday 16 January 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 11 January 1768. At six in the morning on Tuesday 12 January, a boat from the *Lord Holland* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Lord Holland* reached the anchorage the same day. She had sailed from Bengal and called last at the Cape. She brought the following supplies for the island, listed in her invoice. Fine rice, bags numbered 1 to 60, 60 bags weighing [...] maunds 35 seers, at 1 rupee 14 annas per maund, 243 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Fine sugar, bags numbered 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 20 maunds, at 9 rupees per maund, 180 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, bags numbered 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers, at 1 rupee 15 annas per [...], 16 rupees 5 annas 9 pies Wax candles, chests numbered 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds, at 70 rupees per maund, 560 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, casks numbered 1 to 2, 2 leaguers at 93 rupees 7 annas each, 186 rupees 14 annas 0 pies Total cost of goods, 1,126 rupees 4 annas 3 pies Charges on the goods 4 chests with packing, 16 rupees 3 annas 0 pies [...], 0 rupees 3 annas 0 pies [...], 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Twine, 19 rupees 9 annas 3 pies 145 gunny bags, 3 rupees 3 annas 9 pies 40 reed mats, 0 rupees 9 annas 3 pies Weighmen, 1 rupee 0 annas 0 pies Porters, 12 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Coolie hire, 32 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Further coolie hire, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies 1 peon, 10 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Boat hire, [...] Total in current rupees, 1,245 rupees 11 annas 9 pies Richard Wells signed the invoice as sub-accountant at Bengal. **Interpretations** Every figure in the invoice was in Bengal money. Current rupees were the money of account used in the Company's Calcutta books, divided into 16 annas of 12 pies each. They were not a coin in circulation. Weights were in maunds and seers, the Bengal measures. A maund was about 80 lb and was divided into 40 seers. The St Helena Council would have converted the total into sterling before entering the goods in the island's stores account. The invoice showed how the Company supplied the island from its eastern settlements. Bengal sent the cheap grain and sugar that St Helena could not grow in quantity. Paddy was rice still in its husk. It kept better than cleaned rice on a long voyage, and it could be fed to poultry or pounded on the island. Wax candles from Bengal cost 70 rupees a maund and were a luxury, kept for the Castle and the Governor's table. Batavia arrack was a spirit distilled in Java from rice and palm sugar. It came in leaguers, large casks of about 150 gallons each. It supplied the

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			steward's arrack, which had risen to 30 gallons in December 1767. The charges added almost a tenth to the cost of the goods. The Company paid Bengal labour at every stage: weighmen to certify the weights, porters and coolies to carry the bags to the waterside, a peon to guard or escort them, and boats to take them out to the ship. Gunny bags were coarse sacks of jute, made in Bengal and used across the eastern trade. Reed mats were packed around the cargo to keep it dry in the hold. The *Lord Holland* sent her boat ahead to land at Banks's before dawn. Banks's lay to windward of James Bay, and ships approaching from the Cape passed it first. Its guard could signal the Castle and confirm the ship as friendly before she came under the guns of the main batteries.
315	306	16th January Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Lord Holland to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Lord Holland Ischarr Nairn Comdr. Robert Carr Chief Mate John Biddulcome 2d Mate Richd. Carruthers 3d Do. Charles Wetherhead 4th Do. James Waddie 5th Do. Saml. Pengough Surgeon Martin Rodhop Purser Thos. Younger Carpenter Jeremiah Hobson Midshipman John Hugo Midshipman Samuel Burdie Midshipman Horatio Hamond Do. Andw. Sagmissary Purser Thos. Scott Do. Richard Dawson Do. Patrick Netterville Do. Wm. Burfoot Cooper Joseph Veale Armourer John Smith Surg. Mate William Kelly Carpenters Mate Danl. Cooper Gunners Do. John Boulton Butcher John Bullet Coopers Do. John Hovin Sailmaker Henry White Boatsws. Servant Charles Lane William Norris Seaman John Lance James Scott David Fairbairn Isaac Spencer John Hanker Willm. Bruce John Rolf John Shea David Brennan Joseph Wood Samuel Willson Malcolm McGregor Thos. Maddocks Andrew Green George Williams John Robinson Thomas Ponnis John Bridges John McKenzie Henry Brown Allen Hamilton George Hogg Mark Harriman	Purling reported to the Council that he had boarded the *Lord Holland* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found no deserters on board. The ship's muster roll read as follows. Graham Nairn, Commander Robert Carr, Chief Mate John Biddlecombe, Second Mate Richard Carruthers, Third Mate Charles Wethered, Fourth Mate James Waldie, Fifth Mate Edmund Pengough, Surgeon Martin Sedthop, Purser Thomas Younger, Carpenter Jeremiah Hobson, Midshipman John Hugo, Midshipman Samuel Burdie, Midshipman Horatio Hamond, Midshipman Andrew [...], Quartermaster Thomas Scott, Quartermaster Richard Dawson, Quartermaster Patrick Netterville, Quartermaster William Barford, Cooper Joseph Veale, Armourer John Smith, Surgeon's Mate William Kelly, Carpenter's Mate Daniel Cooper, Gunner's Mate John Boulton, Butcher John Bullet, Cooper's Mate John Steven, Sailmaker Henry White, [...] Charles Lane William Norris, Seaman John Lance, Seaman James Scott, Seaman David Fairbairn, Seaman Isaac Spencer, Seaman John Hunter, Seaman William Bruce, Seaman John Rolf, Seaman John Stee, Seaman David Breman, Seaman Joseph Wood, Seaman Samuel Willson, Seaman Malcolm McGregor, Seaman Thomas Maddocks, Seaman Andrew Green, Seaman George Williams, Seaman John Robinson, Seaman Thomas [...], Seaman John Bridge, Seaman John McKenzie, Seaman Henry Brown, Seaman Allen Hamilton, Seaman George Hogg, Seaman Mark Harriman, Seaman Tobias Cartman, Seaman William Dring, Seaman John Cleghorn, Seaman

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		Tobias Cadman Wm. Dring John Cleghorn John Thulder Seaman Roydon Cartwright Benjamin Parsons Abraham Horson Alexr. Smith James Hammilton Wm. Gipsey Thomas Williams John Lewis Abraham Cribble John Plummer Henry Cripps Hendrick Hendrickson John Sims Frederick Foist William Trees Pedro D Costa Malas James Atkinson Salvador L Cruz Francis D Veal Joseph Soyer Domingo D Quin Juan D Costo Jose D Silvia Thomas Anthony Antony Rosaro	John Fielder, Seaman Boydon Cartwright, Seaman Benjamin Parsons, Seaman Abraham Howson, Seaman Alexander Smith, Seaman James Hamilton, Seaman William Cozey, Seaman Thomas Williams, Seaman John Lewis, Seaman Abraham Cribb, Seaman John Plummer, Seaman Henry Cripps, Seaman Hendrick Hendrickson, Seaman John Sims, Seaman Frederick Joist, Seaman William Treas, Seaman Pedro da Costa, Seaman [...] James Atkinson Salvador de Rose Francis de Veil Joseph Soyer Domingo de Quin Jozy da Costa Jozy da Silva Thomas Anthony Antony Rosario Domingo **Interpretations** Purling's muster was a routine check against desertion. It worked in both directions. Soldiers of the St Helena garrison and runaway slaves sometimes hid aboard homeward ships to escape the island. A councillor therefore counted every man aboard against the ship's own roll, so that a stranger could be found before she sailed. The search also guarded the ship's crew, since men leaving a long eastern voyage might slip ashore and hide in the island's valleys. Purling found nobody, so the *Lord Holland* was cleared to take on water and provisions. The roll showed the full company of an East Indiaman of the period. It listed the commander and five mates, a surgeon and purser, and the warrant officers and tradesmen a ship needed for a voyage of 18 months: carpenter, cooper, armourer, sailmaker and butcher. Four midshipmen were young men learning to be officers, often sons of Company servants or of the captain's friends. A post on such a ship gave its officers the right to carry private trade goods, which was the main source of their profit. The final group of names at the foot of the third column was largely Portuguese. Ships coming home from India often lost English seamen to disease, death and desertion in Bengal. Commanders filled the gaps with Indo-Portuguese sailors hired at Calcutta or Madras, many of them Christians of mixed descent from the old Portuguese settlements. These men were paid less than English sailors and were usually entered separately at the foot of the roll, as here.
316	307	1768 Domingo Carvally Seaman John Rosario Francisco D Silva Thomas Brownrick Anthony Rosario Seaman Augustine D Conception Stephen D Vent John Ridding Seaman Saml. Holland Thomas Jones James Riddell Passengers Mrs. Martin Mrs. Higgins Misses Page	The *Lord Holland*'s muster roll ended with the remaining members of her crew. Domingo Cardelly, Seaman John Rosario, Seaman Francisco de Oliveira, Seaman Thomas Cromwell, Seaman Anthony Rosario, Seaman Augustine de Conceição, Seaman [...] de Vint, Seaman John Ridding, Seaman Joseph Holland, Seaman Thomas Jones, Seaman James Riddle, Seaman The ship also carried private passengers. Mr Martin Mr Higgins

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		Astley Shrimpton Two Black Servants Charter Party Passengers Obadia Kettle William Sexton Thomas Pinhard Peter Gordon Thos. Vishard William Cripps Andrew Van Dandrick John Baptiste D Chaufor Samuel Dawson Danl. Sebourn Signed Ischarr Nairn The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Lord Holland viz. Account of Stores short received from Ship Lord Holland viz. 1 . 1 . 7 Paddy cwt. qrs. lb - . 3 . 13 Sugar - . - . 2 Candles Short weight No. 1 . 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 142½ Galls. wants fill 8½ Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. Do. 140 Do. 54 Do. 282½ 62½ 62½ Gallons 220 Received St. Helena 16th January 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	Mrs Page Aubrey Shrimpton 2 black servants A further group travelled under the terms of the ship's charter party. Obadiah Hills William Turton Thomas Burchett Peter Gordon Thomas Wishart William Cripps Andrew Van Dandrick John Baptiste de Chausor Samuel Dawson Daniel Gibbons Captain Graham Nairn signed the roll. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Lord Holland* that came ashore short of the invoice. Captain Nairn countersigned it at St Helena on 16 January 1768. Paddy, short in weight by 1 maund 7 seers Sugar, short in weight by 3 maunds 13 seers Wax candles, short in weight by 2 seers Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 142½ gallons, lacking 8½ gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 140 gallons, lacking 54 gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 282½ gallons, total lacking 62½ gallons Arrack received, 220 gallons **Interpretations** The arrack account showed a serious loss. Cask number one was short by 8½ gallons, which was within the normal range for leakage and evaporation on a long voyage. Cask number two was short by 54 gallons, well over a third of its contents. A loss on that scale was hardly ever caused by leakage alone, and ships' crews were well known for tapping spirit casks in the hold. Powell had Nairn countersign the account so that the commander accepted the shortage in writing. That gave the Company grounds to charge the loss against the ship's owners when she reached England rather than writing it off at St Helena. The shortfalls in paddy, sugar and candles were smaller. Grain and sugar commonly lost weight on a voyage as they dried out or were damaged by damp and vermin. Recording them in maunds and seers, the Bengal weights used on the invoice, let the Company compare the loss directly with the quantities Wells had certified at Calcutta. Charter party passengers were people the Company had a right to send aboard under its hiring contract with the ship's owners. They were usually soldiers, invalids or men in the Company's service returning home, and the owners carried them at agreed rates. Private passengers such as Mr Martin, Mr Higgins and Mrs Page paid the commander directly for their passage, which was one of his chief sources of income. The two black servants travelled as the attendants of private passengers, and the roll did not name them.
317	308	16th January Captain Nairn brought Us twenty one Bullocks and fifty four Sheep from the Cape, his Bill amounts to 354 . 2 Rix Dollars for which he paid two Rupees at 2/3 each for the Rix Dollar makes 708 Rupees amounting to £ 79 . 13 - which Sum we have paid him as pr. Bill The Honble East India Company Dr. To Capt. Ischarr Nairn 1767	Captain Graham Nairn bought 21 young bullocks and 54 sheep for the island at the Cape. His bill came to 354 rix dollars 2 schellings. He reckoned each rix dollar at two rupees and each rupee at 2s 3d, giving 708 rupees 8 annas, or £79 13s 0d. The Council paid him this sum by bill. Nairn's account was dated 23 December 1767 and was written in Cape rix dollars and schellings. 21 young bullocks at 7½ rix dollars each, 157 rix dollars 4 schellings 54 sheep at 2 rix dollars each, 108 rix dollars 0 schellings

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		Decr. 23 To 21 Young Bullocks @ R. Dollr. 7 . 1 Pr. R. Dollar R. D. S. 151 . 4 To 54 Sheep @ R. Dollr. 2 108 To Straw for the Sheep and Bullocks 27 To 20 Sacks of Barley 35 To Cooly hire and Rope 6 . 6 To Boat hire for the Bullocks & Sheep 20 R. Dollars 354 . 2 at 2 Rupees Pr. R. Doll. is Rupees 708 @ 2/3 Excepted Signed Ischarr Nairn Captain Ischarr Nairn applying to Us to pay one hundred pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash, as the major Part of that Money was laid out on the Company's Account for Cattle and Sheep we Granted him Bills for that Sum payable to himself or Order drawn at ninety days sight dated this day. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Straw for the sheep and bullocks, 27 rix dollars 0 schellings 25 sacks of barley, 35 rix dollars 0 schellings Coolie hire and rope, 6 rix dollars 6 schellings Boat hire for the bullocks and sheep, 20 rix dollars 0 schellings Total, 354 rix dollars 2 schellings At 2 rupees per rix dollar, 708 rupees 8 annas at 2s 3d per rupee Nairn signed the account and reserved the right to correct any errors. Nairn then asked to pay £100 into the Company's treasury on the island. He pointed out that most of this money had gone on cattle and sheep he had bought for the Company. The Council gave him bills on the Company for £100, payable to him or his nominee 90 days after they were presented. The bills carried that day's date. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council could simply have paid Nairn £79 13s 0d in cash from the island treasury. Instead it gave him a bill on London, and then took £100 in coin from him in exchange for a further bill. Both arrangements met a need on each side. St Helena was always short of coin, and every pound a captain paid in could be used to pay the garrison and the Company's workmen. A captain, for his part, wanted to send home the profits of his voyage without the risk of carrying cash. A bill drawn by the Council on the Company in London was as good as money in England. The 90-day term gave the Company time to receive the ship's papers and check the account before paying. The account also shows the chain of exchange behind the island's supply. Nairn paid for the animals in rix dollars, the currency of the Dutch Cape. He converted them into rupees, the money of his ship's Bengal accounts, and then into sterling at 2s 3d a rupee. Each step gave room for a margin, and the Council accepted his rates without question. Live animals from the Cape were the island's main means of improving its own herds. The 21 young bullocks were meant to add to the Company's cattle, whose numbers stood at 301 on 31 December 1767. The straw, barley and boat hire show the real cost of carrying stock by sea. Feed and landing charges came to 82 rix dollars, almost a quarter of the whole bill. Many animals died on such voyages, and Nairn charged nothing for losses, so the Company paid only for what was landed.
318	309	18th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th day of January 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 16th Jany. 1768 The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 day of October & ending the 31 day of December 1767 which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Ware Houses from the 1 day of October to the 31 day of December 1767 viz. Sold to the Honorable Company's Servants at 10 Pr. Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 5715 lb Sugar	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 18 January 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 16 January 1768. James Powell, the storekeeper, brought in his record of sales for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1767. The paymaster presented his accounts for the same quarter. The Council examined and approved both. The storekeeper's record listed the goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses during the quarter. It began with goods sold to the Company's own employees at 10 per cent above cost. Sugar and sugar candy 5,715 lb of sugar, £23 6s 10d 643 lb of sugar candy, £14 14s 8d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £38 1s 6d Carried forward, £38 1s 6d **Interpretations**

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		83 6 10 643 Candy 14 14 8 98 1 6 Carried Over£ 98 1 6	Selling to the Company's employees at only 10 per cent above cost was a benefit of office. Goods from the eastern ships were scarce and expensive on the island, and private traders charged what the market would bear. The Company's warehouse let its officers, soldiers and workmen buy staples at a fixed small mark-up. This eased the cost of living for men on modest salaries. It also gave the Company a hold over its employees, who depended on the warehouse for goods they could not easily buy elsewhere. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly from a strong syrup into large hard lumps. It came from Bengal and China and kept far better than loose sugar in a damp ship's hold. It was used for sweetening, in cooking and as a remedy for coughs. The large quantities sold in the quarter probably came from the eastern ships that called in the southern spring.
319	310	18th January Brought over£ 98 1 6 Flour viz. 2034 lb Flour 19 1 4 399 . - . 13 cwt. qrs. lb Do. Baked 372 11 391 12 4 Tea viz. 219½ Bohea 10 19 6 11 Singlo 15 1 36 Congo 5 13 3 17 12 10 Rice and Paddy viz. 507 Rice 2 2 2 1627 Paddy 4 18 3 7 - 5 Candles 211 lb 25 5 6 Salt 15⅝ Bushells 3 4 2 Pepper 33½ lb 1 Challoes 32 Pieces 14 15 4 Sope 215½ 8 10 7 Cordage 222 4 3 4 Arrack 29¼ Galls. 7 3 9 Twine viz. 42 Sks. Twine 1 6 6 1¼ Cotton Wick 5 10 1 12 4 Oil viz. 4⅛ Galls. Linseed 1 1 7½ Train 17 6 2 3 6 Carried Over£ 532 13 7	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost continued from a total of £38 1s 6d. Brought forward, £38 1s 6d Flour 26 cwt 3 qr 4 lb of flour, £19 1s 4d 399 cwt 1 qr 13 lb of flour baked into bread, £372 11s 0d Total for flour, £391 12s 4d Tea 219½ lb of Bohea tea, £10 19s 6d 11 lb of Singlo tea, £0 15s 1d 36 lb of Congou tea, £5 18s 3d Total for tea, £17 12s 10d Rice and paddy 5 cwt 1 qr 7 lb of rice, £2 2s 2d 16 cwt 2 qr 7 lb of paddy, £4 18s 3d Total for rice and paddy, £7 0s 5d 211 lb of candles, £25 5s 6d 15⅛ bushels of salt, £3 4s 2d 35 lb of pepper, £1 0s 0d 32 pieces of chelloes, £14 15s 4d 215 lb of soap, £8 10s 7d 222 lb of cordage, £4 3s 4d 29¼ gallons of arrack, £7 3s 9d Twine 4 lb of twine, £1 6s 6d 1¼ lb of cotton wick, £0 5s 10d Total for twine, £1 12s 4d Oil 4½ gallons of linseed oil, £1 1s 0d 7½ gallons of train oil, £0 17s 6d Total for oil, £2 3s 6d Carried forward, £532 13s 7d **Interpretations** Bread was by far the largest item, at £372 11s 0d, almost three-quarters of the page. The Company did more than sell its imported flour. It baked it into bread in its own bakehouse and sold the bread to the garrison and its other employees. The soldiers' bread was stopped from their pay, so the warehouse sales were largely a means of feeding the garrison and recovering the cost. The island grew little wheat, and the soldiers' daily bread depended on flour shipped from England or the Cape. The three teas were the grades of black tea the Company brought from China. Bohea was the cheapest and most common, the tea of ordinary households. Congou was a better-quality black tea, more carefully picked and rolled. Singlo was a green tea, valued more highly. Most of the tea sold was Bohea, which shows that tea drinking had spread well beyond the officers on the island. Chelloes were cotton cloths woven in India, usually checked or striped in blue and white. They came in pieces of a fixed length and were made into shirts, aprons and clothing for slaves. Train oil was oil boiled from the blubber of whales or seals and

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			burned in lamps. Linseed oil was pressed from flax seed and mixed with pigment to make paint, and the Company's buildings and gun carriages used it constantly in the salt air.
320	311	1768 Brought over£ 532 13 7 Pease 3¼ Bushels 1 13 9 Blankets 8 2 10 Coffee 16 lb 14 8 Lead 30 lb Sheet 5 7 Buckram 6 Yards 6 9 Canvas viz. 10 Yds. English 12 11 9½ Do. Osenbrigs 7 4 1 . 3 Earthen Ware 4 Milk Pans 4 2 Ticking 17 Yards 2 18 1 Leather 62 lb Sole 2 16 10 Deals 3 double 11 3 Beef and Pork viz. 3352 lb Pork 335 4 1230 lb Beef 123 5 12 4 Starch 7½ lb Oars 2 Paint viz. 4 Ston. Red dry 1 2 6 Do. mixed 3 3 ½ Copperas 6½ 236 Whiting 15 4½ 2 lb Stone Oaker mixed 4 2 7 Blue Smalts 13 6½ Paint Carried Over£ 1 13 1½ Carried Over£ 1103 11 1	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £532 13s 7d. Brought forward, £532 13s 7d 3¼ bushels of pease, £1 13s 9d 3 blankets, £2 10s 0d 16 lb of coffee, £0 14s 8d 30 lb of sheet lead, £0 5s 7d 6 yards of buckram, £0 6s 9d Canvas 10 yards of English canvas, £0 12s 11d 7½ yards of osnaburg, £0 7s 4d Total for canvas, £1 0s 3d Earthenware, 4 milk pans, £0 4s 2d 17 yards of ticking, £2 13s 1d 62 lb of sole leather, £2 16s 10d 3 double deals, £0 11s 3d Beef and pork 3,382 pieces of pork, £325 4s 0d 1,230 pieces of beef, £128 0s 0d Total for beef and pork, £453 12s 4d 7 lb of starch, £0 0s 0d 2 oars, £0 0s 0d Paint 4 lb of dry red paint, £0 1s 2d 6 lb of mixed red paint, £0 3s 3d ½ lb of copperas, £0 0s 6¾d 236 lb of whiting, £0 15s 4¾d 2 stone of mixed stone ochre, £0 4s 2d 7 lb of blue smalt, £0 13s 6½d Total for paint, £1 18s 1¼d Carried forward, £1,103 11s 1d **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork were the second great staple of the garrison after bread, at more than £450 for the quarter. The meat was counted in pieces rather than by weight. Salt provisions were cut into pieces of a standard size before packing, usually 4 lb for pork and 8 lb for beef, so a cask could be issued as a set number of rations. Most of this meat came out in casks from Ireland and England. The Company's own herds were too small to feed the garrison and were kept chiefly for breeding, as the livestock account of 31 December 1767 showed. Several of the textiles had specific uses. Buckram was a coarse cloth stiffened with glue or size, used to line and shape coats and hats. Osnaburg was a rough unbleached linen, first made at Osnabrück in Germany, and widely used for sacks and for the clothing of soldiers and slaves. Ticking was a tightly woven striped linen used to cover mattresses and pillows. Deals were sawn planks of pine or fir from the Baltic, and a double deal was one of twice the usual thickness. The paint list shows how colours were made up on the island from raw materials. Whiting was finely ground chalk, the base of most white and pale paints and of whitewash. Red ochre and stone ochre were natural earth colours. Smalt was a blue pigment made by grinding glass coloured with cobalt. Copperas was iron sulphate, used to darken paint and to fix colours. The quantity of whiting points to the whitewashing of the Company's buildings. Starch and oars were listed without any charge. They were probably issued from the stores for the Company's own use rather than sold.
321	312	18th January Brought over£ 1103 11 1 Paint brought over£ 1 13 1½ 22 White Lead dry	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £903 11s 1d. Brought forward, £903 11s 1d

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		7 9½ 5 Barrels Blacking 2 11 ½ Verdigrease 2 2 2 Yell. Oaker dry 7 2 Indico 3 11 2 Red Lead 5 2 15 10 Long Cloth viz. 9½ Ps. K 14 13 11 6 Do. Y 6 7 1 2 Do. W 5 1 4 3 Do. C 10 16 6 37 3 10 Lines viz. 153 No. 2 15 Do. 3 4 Hambro 3 1 5 Hooks viz. 100 No. 1 25 Do. 12 50 Do. 9 375 Do. 16 2 Large 9 9 3 11 2 Nails viz. 4 . 2 2 . 3 5 5 Nails Carried Over£ 5 5 Carried Over£ 1152 1 11	Paint Paint brought forward, £1 13s 1¼d 22 lb of dry white lead, £0 7s 9½d 5 barrels of blacking, £0 2s 11d ½ lb of verdigris, £0 2s 2d 2 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 0s 7d 2 lb of indigo, £0 3s 11d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 5d Total for paint, £2 15s 10d Longcloth 9½ pieces of longcloth marked X, £14 13s 11d 6 pieces of longcloth marked Y, £6 7s 1d 2 pieces of longcloth marked &, £5 1s 4d 3 pieces of longcloth marked C, £10 16s 6d Total for longcloth, £37 3s 10d Fishing lines 133 lines of size 2, 13 lines of size 3 and 4 Hamburg lines, £3 1s 5d Fish hooks 100 hooks of size 1, 25 of size 12, 50 of size 9, 375 of size 16 and 2 large hooks, £0 9s 9d Total for lines and hooks, £3 11s 2d Nails 4 [...] of size 2 nails and 2 [...] of size 3 nails, £0 5s 5d Nails carried forward, £0 5s 5d Carried forward, £1,152 1s 11d **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain white cotton woven on the Coromandel coast of India. It came in long pieces, usually about 36 to 40 yards, which gave it its name. Merchants graded each piece by quality and stamped it with a letter. The four marks here carried different prices: three pieces marked C cost more than three times as much each as the six marked Y. Longcloth was made into shirts, sheets and lighter clothing for the island's warmer months. The large number of fishing lines and hooks shows how much the island relied on the sea for food. Fish was the cheapest fresh food on St Helena. Soldiers, slaves and settlers all fished from the rocks and from boats, and the Company sold tackle to its own men to stretch the salt rations. Hooks came in numbered sizes, the 375 small hooks of size 16 being for the many small fish caught close inshore. Hamburg line was a strong hemp cord, originally made at Hamburg and used for deep-water fishing. The paint list added further pigments to those on the previous page. White lead was the main white pigment of the period, made by corroding sheets of lead with vinegar. Red lead was an orange-red lead oxide brushed onto iron to protect it from rust, and it served the island's cannon and iron fittings in the salt air. Verdigris was a green pigment made by treating copper with vinegar. Indigo was a blue dye from an Indian plant, used to tint paint and to blue linen in the wash. Blacking was a mixture of lampblack and oil or wax, used to blacken leather and iron.
322	313	1767 Brought over£ 1152 1 11 Nails brought over£ 5 5 19 . 4 33½ . 6 12 . 20 20 . 10 9 . 40 2 17 4 ¾ Glazg. Brads 3 2 7 Cuttlery ware viz. 2 Shoe Knives 9 8 Horn Combs 1 6 7 Buckling Do.	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £1,152 1s 11d. Brought forward, £1,152 1s 11d Nails Nails brought forward, £0 5s 5d 19 [...] of fourpenny nails, 33½ [...] of sixpenny nails, 12 [...] of twentypenny nails, 20 [...] of tenpenny nails and 9 [...] of fortypenny nails, £2 17s 4d ¾ [...] of glaziers' brads, £0 0s 0d Total for nails, £3 2s 7d Cutlery 2 shoe knives, £0 0s 9d 8 horn combs, £0 1s 6d 7 tucking combs, £0 2s 2d 2 fine ivory combs, £0 5s 2d 1 carving knife, £0 2s 6½d

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		2 2 2 fine Ivory Do. 5 2 1 Carving Knife 2 6½ 19 Pr. Leather Garters 11 10½ 1 4 Shirts viz. 9½ Yds. Brown Holland 13 3½ 34½ Do. Irish Linen 6 4 6½ 54 Centinels Shirts 13 5 6 20 3 9 Hatts viz. 1 Mans 19 8 4 Boys 1 1 1 2 . 9 Iron Ware viz. 7 Iron rimed Locks 1 9 9 Blank Keys 6 4 4 Gimblets 1 1 4 Shod Shovels 7 11 1 Iron Do. 5 Iron Ware Carried Over£ 1 2 1 Carried Over£ 1178 18 2	19 pairs of leather garters, £0 11s 10½d Total for cutlery, £1 4s 0d Shirting 9½ yards of brown holland, £0 13s 3½d 3½ pieces of Irish linen, £6 4s 6½d 54 check shirts, £13 5s 6d Total for shirting, £20 3s 9d Hats 1 man's hat, £0 19s 8d 4 boys' hats, £1 1s 1d Total for hats, £2 0s 9d Ironware 7 round [...] locks, £0 1s 9d 9 blank keys, £0 6s 4d 4 gimlets, £0 1s 1d 4 bed screws, £0 7s 11d 1 iron bed screw, £0 0s 5d Ironware carried forward, £1 2s 4d Carried forward, £1,178 13s 2d **Interpretations** The nails were sold by their penny size, the standard English way of grading nails. The term first meant the price per hundred and later came to mean length alone. A fourpenny nail was about 1½ inches long and a fortypenny nail about 5 inches, for heavy framing and gates. The spread of sizes shows the range of building and repair work carried out by the Company's employees on their own houses. Glaziers' brads were small headless nails used to hold panes of glass in window frames. The 54 check shirts were ready-made garments in checked cotton or linen. They were the standard working shirt of sailors, soldiers off duty and labourers. Brown holland was an unbleached linen first made in the Netherlands, used for linings, aprons and blinds. Irish linen was a finer white cloth sold by the piece and made up into better shirts and sheets. Shoe knives were the curved blades used by shoemakers to cut leather, and their sale points to men mending their own shoes on an island with few trained craftsmen. Bed screws were long iron bolts that held the frame of a wooden bedstead together, so a bed could be taken apart and moved. Blank keys were uncut keys that a smith could file to fit a lock.
323	314	18th January Bt. Over£ 1178 18 2 Iron Ware brought Over£ 1 2 1 1 Spade 4 1½ 1 Pr. Cross Garnet Hinges 7 2 1 Brick Layers Trowell 1 1¼ 1 two foot Rule 1 1 2 Splinter Locks 1 1 4 Stock Do. 11 10 1 Iron Rimed Do. wt. Brass Knobs 8 3 5 Small frying Pans 11 - ½ 1 Pick Ax 3 7½ 1 Ash Helve 8 1 Rag Stone 2½ 2 Pr. Dovetail Hinges 9 1 Pr. Sheep Shears 1 6 3 Broad Hoes 7 3	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £1,178 18s 2d. Brought forward, £1,178 18s 2d Ironware Ironware brought forward, £1 2s 1d 1 spade, £0 4s 1½d 1 pair of cross-garnet hinges, £0 1s 9d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 3d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 1¼d 2 [...] locks, £0 1s 1d 4 stock locks, £0 11s 10d 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs, £0 8s 3d 3 small frying pans, £0 11s 2d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 7½d 1 axe handle, £0 0s 8d 1 rub stone, £0 0s 2¾d 2 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 0s 9d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 1s 0d 3 broad hoes, £0 7s 3d 1 padlock, £0 1s 3d 1 chest lock, £0 3s 2½d 1 garden hoe, £0 1s 1½d 2 sail needles, £0 0s 2d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 11½d Total for ironware, £4 10s 8d China 1 milk jug, £0 1s 1d 1 sauce boat, £0 0s 3½d 19 bowls, £1 11s 3d 46 stoneware saucers, £0 17s 1d

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		1 Pad Lock 1 3 1 Chest Do. 3 2½ 1 Garden Hoe 1 1½ 2 Sail Needles 2 1 Hand Hatchet 1 11½ 4 10 8 China Ware viz. 1 Milk Ewer 1 1 1 Sauce Boat 5½ 19 Bowls 1 11 3 46 Stone Saucers 17 1 19 Round Meat Dishes 70 Do. Do. Plates 3 13 3 4 Octagon Do. Dishes 44 Do. Do. Plates 1 15 3 2 Tureens & Dishes 17 8 2 Salled Do. 1 8 6 Soop Plates 3 11½ 4 Ordinary Saucers 11 3 Chamber Pots 6 9 3 Tea Do. 2 9 1 Ordinary Guglet & Bason 2 1 9 15 1 Haberdashery viz. 14 Sks. Silk 3 2 17 Do. Mohair 3 6 4 Gro. Horn Moulds 9 10 1¼ Do. Shirt Buttons 4 4½ 1 Do. White Waistcoat Do. 2 6 Haberdashery Carried Over£ 1 13 4½ Carried Over£ 1193 3 11	19 round meat dishes and 70 round plates, £3 13s 3d 4 octagonal dishes and 44 octagonal plates, £1 15s 3d 2 tureens with dishes, £0 17s 3d 2 salad dishes, £0 1s 3d 6 soup plates, £0 3s 11½d 4 ordinary saucers, £0 0s 11d 3 chamber pots, £0 6s 9d 3 teapots, £0 2s 9d 1 ordinary jug and basin, £0 2s 1d Total for china, £9 15s 1d Haberdashery 14 skeins of silk, £0 3s 2d 17 skeins of mohair, £0 3s 6d 4 gross of plain button moulds, £0 9s 10d 1¼ gross of shirt buttons, £0 4s 4½d 1 gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 2s 6d Haberdashery carried forward, £1 13s 4½d Carried forward, £1,193 3s 11d **Interpretations** The china list shows that ordinary households on the island ate from proper tableware. Much of it probably came home in the Company's China ships. Porcelain was packed at the bottom of the hold, where it served as ballast and kept the tea above it clear of damp. It therefore arrived in large quantities and sold cheaply, so that 90 plates and dishes cost under £6. Octagonal plates were a popular Chinese export shape, made to European order. The ironware covered the range of tools a settler or soldier needed to keep a house and a plot of ground. Broad hoes and garden hoes were the main tools for working the island's steep gardens, where a plough was seldom of use. Cross-garnet hinges were T-shaped strap hinges for doors and gates. Stock locks were large locks set in a wooden case and fixed to outside doors. A rub stone was a coarse whetstone for sharpening hoes, axes and other edged tools. Haberdashery was the general name for the small items of the sewing trade. Button moulds were plain discs of wood or bone that were covered with cloth or worked over with silk or mohair thread to make buttons matching a garment. The sale of moulds alongside silk and mohair shows that clothes were made and finished at home on the island rather than bought ready-made. Mohair was yarn spun from the hair of the Angora goat. Buttons and moulds were sold by the gross of 144.
324	315	1768 Brought over£ 1193 3 11 Haberdashery brought over£ 1 13 4½ 3 doz. Silver Wire Bt. Buttons 13 1½ 1 Yard White Buckram 1 2½ 1 Cockade 4½ 2 8 1 Tin Ware viz. 1 Dripping Pan 2 - ½ 3 Kettles wt. Covers 11 7 Half Gall. Sauce Pans 5 4½ 10 Lamps 3 1½ 1 Watering Pot 3 4	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £1,193 3s 11d. Brought forward, £1,193 3s 11d Haberdashery Haberdashery brought forward, £1 13s 4½d 3 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 13s 1½d 1 yard of white buckram, £0 1s 2½d 1 cockade, £0 0s 4½d Total for haberdashery, £2 8s 1d Tinware 1 dripping pan, £0 2s 0½d 3 kettles with lids, £0 11s 0d 7 half-gallon saucepans, £0 5s 4½d 10 lamps, £0 3s 1½d 1 watering can, £0 3s 4d 1 quart funnel, £0 0s 5½d Total for tinware, £1 5s 4d Glassware 5 funnels, £0 6s 3d 2 beer glasses, £0 2s 0½d

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		1 Quart Funnel 5½ 1 10 4 Glass ware viz. 5 Tumbls. 6 3 2 Beer Glasses 2 - ½ 1 Pr. Glass Salts 3 3½ 1 Sqr. Glass 10 by 16 1 4½ 1 Sqr. Do. 10 by 12 1 2½ 10 Sqrs. Do. 8 by 10 6 3 1 2 6 Turners ware viz. 6 Plaisterers Brushes 6 3 3 Paint Do. 1 3½ 2 Punch Ladles 1 4½ 4 Labourers Baskets 5 1 3 Shoe Brushes 2 8½ 17 1 Pewter viz. 2 Quart Funnels 5 2 1 Do. Pot 3 4 1 Ewer 13 7 1 7 1	1 pair of glass salt cellars, £0 3s 3½d 1 pane of glass 10 by 16 inches, £0 1s 4½d 1 pane of glass 10 by 12 inches, £0 1s 2½d 10 panes of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 6s 3d Total for glassware, £1 0s 6d Wooden ware 6 plasterers' brushes, £0 6s 3d 3 paint brushes, £0 1s 3½d 2 punch ladles, £0 1s 4½d 4 labourers' baskets, £0 5s 1d 3 shoe brushes, £0 2s 3½d Total for wooden ware, £0 9s 1d Pewter 2 quart funnels, £0 3s 2d 1 quart pot, £0 3s 4d 1 [...], £0 13s 1d Total for pewter, [...] **Interpretations** The cockade and the silver wire breast buttons were items of military and official dress. A cockade was a rosette of ribbon worn on the hat, and the black cockade marked a man in the service of the Crown or the Company. Silver wire buttons were worked from fine silver thread and were worn on officers' coats. Their sale through the warehouse shows that the garrison's officers bought the finer parts of their uniform from the Company's stores rather than from England. Window glass was sold by the pane, cut to standard sizes measured in inches. Small panes were the norm, since larger sheets of crown glass were costly and broke easily at sea. The sale of single panes points to running repairs of houses in Jamestown and the country, where the island's strong trade winds and frequent rain made a broken window a pressing matter. Wooden ware was the trade of the turner, who shaped bowls, handles and ladles on a lathe. The heading also covered brushes and baskets, which were sold by the same dealers in England. Plasterers' brushes were broad brushes for laying on whitewash and limewash, and they match the large quantity of whiting sold earlier in the same account. Punch ladles served the punch bowl, which was mixed from arrack, sugar, lemon and water and was the island's usual drink at social gatherings.
325	316	18th January Brought Over£ 1200 9 Thread viz. 4½ Whd. Brown 1 14 10 6 lb Coloured 1 1 3 oz. Nuns No. 26 3 8 2 19 6 Shoes viz. 2 Pr. Mens fine Pumps 11 4 Pr. Do. Do. Shoes 1 4 6 56 Pr. Midling Do. 13 17 8 1 Pr. Womens Calimanco 5 10½ 1 Pr. Channel Pumps 6 7½ 17 5 8 Hosiers Ware viz. 60 Pr. Ordinary Thread Stockgs. 9 12 6 2 Pr. Scarlet Breeches 1 10 11 2 6 Kersey 2 Yards	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £1,200 9s 0d. Brought forward, £1,200 9s 0d Thread 4½ lb of whited-brown thread, £1 14s 10d 6 lb of coloured thread, £1 1s 0d 3 [...] of nuns' thread number 26, £0 3s 8d Total for thread, £2 19s 6d Shoes 2 pairs of men's fine pumps, £0 11s 0d 4 pairs of men's fine shoes, £1 4s 6d 56 pairs of middling shoes, £13 17s 3d 1 pair of women's calimanco shoes, £0 5s 10½d 1 pair of channel pumps, £0 6s 7½d Total for shoes, £17 5s 8d Hosiery 60 pairs of ordinary thread stockings, £9 12s 6d 2 pairs of scarlet breeches, £1 10s 0d Total for hosiery, £11 2s 6d 2 yards of kersey, £0 3s 1d 1 spelling book, £0 1s 6d Broadcloth 2⅛ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £2 11s 0d 4⅞ yards of blue broadcloth, £4 13s 4d 2⅛ yards of light brown broadcloth, £2 15s 4d ⅝ yard of green broadcloth, £0 9s 11d Total for broadcloth, £10 14s 7d

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		3 1 Books 1 Spelling 1 6 Broad Cloth viz. 2½ Yds. Scarlet 2 11 4⅞ Do. Blue 4 13 4 2⅝ Do. Light Brown 2 13 4 ⅝ Do. Green 9 11 10 14 7 Sailors Cloaths 1 Boys Jacket & Breeches 6 9 Pitch and Tar viz. ¼ Tar 3 3 lb Pitch 1 9 lb Rozin 1 6 2 9 Camblet viz. 6 Yards Brown 1 . 3 7½ Do. Green 1 4 - ¾ 1½ Do. Scarlet 6 1½ 2 10 5 Shalloon viz. 3½ Yards Coloured 6 6 10 Do. Scarlet 1 8 4 1 14 10 Long Ells viz. 4 Yds. Blue 7 2 4¾ Do. Scarlet 12 10 1 £ 1248 10 7	Sailors' clothing, 1 boy's jacket and breeches, £0 6s 9d Pitch and tar ¼ [...] of tar, £0 0s 3d 3 [...] of pitch, £0 1s 0d 9 [...] of rosin, £0 1s 6d Total for pitch and tar, £0 2s 9d Camlet 6 yards of brown camlet, £1 0s 3d 1⅞ yards of green camlet, £1 4s 0¾d 1½ yards of scarlet camlet, £0 6s 1½d Total for camlet, £2 10s 5d Shalloon 3 yards of coloured shalloon, £0 6s 6d 4 yards of scarlet shalloon, £1 8s 4d Total for shalloon, £1 14s 10d Long ells 4 yards of blue long ells, £0 7s 2d 4¾ yards of scarlet long ells, £0 12s 10d Total for long ells, £1 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,248 10s 1d **Interpretations** The cloths on this page were almost all English woollens, sold in short lengths for making up clothes on the island. Broadcloth was a fine, dense woollen cloth, heavily fulled so that it did not fray. Scarlet and blue broadcloth were the colours of military coats, and the small lengths sold suggest officers having uniforms made or repaired by island tailors. Kersey was a coarser, cheaper woollen used for soldiers' and labourers' clothing. Camlet was a light cloth woven from wool mixed with goat's hair or silk. Shalloon was a thin twilled worsted, first made at Châlons in France, used to line coats. Long ells were a cheap worsted serge, named for the long measure of the piece, and the Company sent large quantities of them to Asia as well as to its outposts. The shoes show a clear social range. Fifty-six pairs of middling shoes were the plain footwear of soldiers and working men, and they made up most of the spending. Pumps were light shoes with thin soles, worn indoors or for dancing. Channel pumps had soles stitched in a groove cut in the leather, so that the thread was protected from wear. Calimanco was a glossy woollen cloth with a satin finish, often checked or striped, and it was a common upper for women's shoes. Whited-brown thread was linen thread that had been part-bleached to a pale fawn colour. Nuns' thread was a fine white linen thread, first made in convents in Flanders and Italy, and it was numbered by fineness. The single spelling book points to the education of the island's children, whose schooling the Company supported for its employees' families.
326	317	1768 Sold to the Planters at 25 Pr. Cent Challows 14 Ps. 7 5 10 Shalloon 3 Yds. Coloured 6 9 Long Cloth 2 Ps. Y 2 3 2 Hosiers ware viz. 1 Pr. Boys Stockings 2 5 1 Pr. Ordinary Thread Do. 3 7 6 Camblet 6 Yds. Green 12 10 Sold at 40 Pr. Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 937 Sugar 20 11 3 208 Candy	The storekeeper's record then turned to goods sold to the island's planters at 25 per cent above cost. 14 pieces of chelloes, £7 5s 10d 3 yards of coloured shalloon, £0 6s 9d 2 pieces of longcloth marked Y, £2 3s 2d Hosiery 1 pair of boys' stockings, £0 2s 5d 1 pair of ordinary thread stockings, £0 3s 7d Total for hosiery, £0 6s 0d 6 yards of green camlet, £0 12s 10d A further group of goods was sold at 40 per cent above cost. Sugar and sugar candy 9 cwt 3 qr 7 lb of sugar, £20 11s 3d 2 cwt 0 qr 8 lb of sugar candy, £6 1s 4d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £26 12s 7d 3 cwt 0 qr 3 lb of flour, £4 1s 6d Tea 5 lb of Bohea tea, £0 6s 3d 13 lb of Congou tea, £2 14s 3d Total for tea, £3 0s 6d

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		6 1 4 26 12 7 Flour 303 4 1 6 Tea viz. 5 lb Bohea 6 3 37 lb Congo 2 14 3 3 . 11 Rice 193 1 . 3 Candles 5 lb 9 3 Salt 3 Bushels 15 3 Twine 7 Sks. 5 3 Pepper 5 lb 3 9 Cordage 106 lb 2 13 Oil viz. 2 Galls. Linseed 11 4 ¼ Do. Train 1 2 12 6 Pitch & Tar viz. 1 lb Rozin 3 ⅛ Gall. Tar 9 1 Carried Over£ 51 5 3	1 cwt 9 lb of rice, £1 0s 8d 5 lb of candles, £0 9s 3d 3 bushels of salt, £0 15s 3d 7 lb of twine, £0 5s 3d 5 lb of pepper, £0 3s 9d 106 lb of cordage, £2 13s 0d Oil 2 gallons of linseed oil, £0 11s 4d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 1s 2d Total for oil, £0 12s 6d Pitch and tar 1 lb of rosin, £0 0s 3d ½ gallon of tar, £0 0s 9d Total for pitch and tar, £0 1s 0d Carried forward, £31 5s 5d **Interpretations** The account shows that the Company priced its stores on three tiers according to who was buying. Its own employees paid 10 per cent above cost. The planters, who held land from the Company but were not on its payroll, paid 25 per cent. The highest rate of 40 per cent applied to all other buyers, probably the passengers and crews of visiting ships and islanders with no claim on the Company. The difference shows clearly in the price of tea. Bohea sold to employees at about 1s 0d a pound, and at 40 per cent it cost about 1s 3d. The tiers served the Company's purposes. The low rate to employees eased the cost of living for soldiers and officials on fixed pay and helped keep a garrison at a remote post. The middle rate to planters kept them supplied while giving the Company a margin. The top rate took a profit from outsiders who had no part in keeping the island running. The warehouse was therefore both a means of support for the Company's own people and a modest source of income. The planters bought mostly cloth: chelloes, longcloth, shalloon and camlet. They needed it to clothe their households and their slaves, and the island had no weavers of its own. Their purchases of food were few. Planters grew their own yams and vegetables and raised their own stock, unlike the soldiers who depended on the warehouse for bread and salt meat.
327	318	18th January Brought over£ 31 5 3 Deals 4 double 19 4 Starch 1 lb 7 Coffee 2 lb 2 4 Earthen Ware viz. 4 Milk Pans 5 5 Sope 28 lb 1 10 2 Kersey 6 Yards 10 8 Braziers Ware 1 Flat Bottom Candle Stick 4 10 Paint viz. 33 lb Whiting 3 2 2 B. Blacking 1 6 1 B. Smalts 2 6 1 Indico 2 6 26 lb White Lead dry 9 7 19 3 Nails viz.	The record of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from a total of £31 5s 5d. Brought forward, £31 5s 5d 4 double deals, £0 19s 4d 1 lb of starch, £0 0s 7d 2 lb of coffee, £0 2s 4d Earthenware, 4 milk pans, £0 5s 3d 28 lb of soap, £1 10s 2d 6 yards of kersey, £0 10s 6d Brassware, 1 flat-bottomed candlestick, £0 4s 10d Paint 3 [...] of whiting, £0 3s 2d 2 lb of blacking, £0 1s 6d 1 lb of smalt, £0 2s 6d 1 lb of indigo, £0 2s 6d 26 lb of dry white lead, £0 9s 7d Total for paint, £0 19s 3d Nails 8 [...] of fourpenny nails, 16 [...] of sixpenny nails, 12 [...] of tenpenny nails, 13 [...] of twentypenny nails and ½ [...] of scupper nails, £2 0s 0d Wooden ware, 1 paint brush, £0 0s 9d Cutlery 4 shoe knives, £0 2s 0d 1 fine ivory comb, £0 3s 4d Total for cutlery, £0 5s 4d Books, 1 Bible, £0 5s 2d Hooks and lines

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		8 . 4 16 . 6 12 . 10 13 . 20 ½ Scupper 2 Turners ware 1 Paint Brush 9 Cuttlery ware viz. 4 Shoe Knives 2 1 fine Ivory Comb 3 4 5 4 Books 1 Bible 5 2 Hooks & Lines viz. 200 No. 1 75 . 6 75 . 9 Hooks 1 5 11¾ Hooks and Lines Carrd. Over£ 1 5 11¾ Carried Over£ 33 8 11	200 hooks of size 1, 75 of size 6 and 75 of size 9, £1 5s 11¾d Hooks and lines carried forward, £1 5s 11¾d Carried forward, £39 14s 11d **Interpretations** The 40 per cent tier included the same goods sold to employees at 10 per cent, so the effect of the mark-up can be read directly. Four milk pans cost the outside buyer 5s 3d, against 4s 2d for the same number sold to employees on the first page of the account. Four double deals cost 19s 4d, about 4s 10d each, while three sold to employees came to 11s 3d, or 3s 9d each. Coffee rose in the same way, from under 1s a pound to 1s 2d. The Company was charging an outsider over a quarter more for the same plank, pan or pound of coffee. Brassware was the stock of the brazier, who worked in brass and copper. A flat-bottomed candlestick stood steady on a table or a ship's shelf, and its sale here suggests a buyer from a visiting vessel. Scupper nails were short nails with broad flat heads. They were made to fix leather or lead linings around the scupper holes that drained water from a ship's deck, and they were also used to fasten canvas and leather on shore. They too point to sea-going buyers paying the highest rate. The Bible at 5s 2d was one of only two books sold in the quarter, the other being the spelling book bought by an employee. Together they suggest a small market for books on the island, which depended on the Company's chaplain and school rather than on any trade in printed matter.
328	319	1768 Brought over£ 58 8 11 Hooks and Lines brought over£ 1 5 11½ 25 No. 12 725 . 16 Hooks 5 7½ 42 . 2 30 . 3 Lines 11 4½ 3 3 Glass Ware viz. 12 Sqr. 6 by 8 6 8 Sqr. 8 by 10 6 6 2 Sqr. 10 by 16 3 5 15 11 China Ware viz. 1 Tea Pot 1 2 Iron Ware viz. 1 Shod Shovel 2 6½ 1 Splinter Lock 3½ 1 Cupboard Do. 4 1 Curry Comb & Brush 2 7 4 Scythe Stones 1 1 Pr. Sheep Shears 2 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 10 15 8 £ 63 4 8	The record of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from a total of £58 8s 11d. Brought forward, £58 8s 11d Hooks and lines Hooks and lines brought forward, £1 5s 11¾d 25 hooks of size 12 and 725 hooks of size 16, £0 5s 7½d 42 lines of size 2 and 30 lines of size 3, £1 11s 4½d Total for hooks and lines, £3 3s 0d Glassware 12 panes of glass 6 by 8 inches, £0 6s 0d 3 panes of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 6s 6d 2 panes of glass 10 by 16 inches, £0 3s 5d Total for glassware, £0 15s 11d China, 1 teapot, £0 1s 2d Ironware 1 shod shovel, £0 2s 6½d 1 splinter lock, £0 0s 3½d 1 cupboard lock, £0 4s 0d 1 curry comb and brush, £0 2s 7d 4 scythe stones, £0 1s 0d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 2s 0d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 10d Total for ironware, £0 15s 3d Total of goods sold at 40 per cent, £63 4s 3d **Interpretations** The sales at 40 per cent came to £63 4s 3d for the quarter. The figure was small beside the £1,250 sold to employees at 10 per cent, but it was earned at four times the margin. Outside buyers paid the Company's full price for small household goods, and their purchases were scattered across dozens of minor items rather than the bulk staples bought by the garrison. The price of sheep shears shows the mark-up plainly. A pair sold to an employee earlier in the account for 1s 0d, while the outside buyer paid 2s 0d. The glass shows the same pattern: two panes 10 by 16 inches cost 3s 5d, against 1s 4½d for a single pane of that size sold to an employee. The ironware points to small farming households. A shod shovel was a wooden shovel with

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			an iron edge fixed to the blade, cheaper than one made wholly of iron. Scythe stones were whetstones carried in the field to keep a scythe sharp while cutting grass or grain. A curry comb was a metal comb with rows of short teeth, used with a brush to groom a horse. Together with the sheep shears, these were the tools of a planter keeping a few animals and cutting fodder on the island's upland pastures.
329	320	18th January Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Arrack 152⅞ Galls. Sundrys & D. Shop &ca 16 4 2 Nails viz. 1 . 2 2 . 3 7 . 6 1 . 10 for mending Boxes in the Stores and repairing Cots 6 10 Canvas viz. 4½ Yds. Osenbrigs 4 9⅝ Do. English Canvas 11 1 for Pockets &ca 15 1 Iron Ware viz. 2 Scythe Stones Gardener 4 4 Smiths Rubbers 17 3 2 Files 3 9 for the use of the Armourers Shop 2 Chaff'g Dishes Castle 12 2 Small Fry'g Pans Dr. & Gardr's Shop 4 4 Farriers Rasps Do. 3 8 3 Coopers Drivers 5 1 Do. Adze 3 2 Do. Vices 1 2 2 Do. Spoke Shaves 4 2 Do. Punches 2 2 Do. Cold Chizels 2 1 Doweling Stock 3 2 Bits for Do. 7½ for the Coopers use 1 Pad Lock for the Sea Gate 1 6 1 Pr. Shutter Hinges Lt. Govrs. House 2 1½ 1 Pr. Iron Clasps for the Castle 15 8 1000 Brass Nails Do. 8 Iron Ware Carrd. Over£ 4 14 6 Carried Over£ 17 6 1	The storekeeper's account then listed the stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1767 and charged to the Company's general expenses. 152⅞ gallons of arrack, issued for sundry uses, £16 4s 2d Nails 1 [...] of ninepenny nails, 2 [...] of threepenny nails, 7 [...] of sixpenny nails and 1 [...] of tenpenny nails, used to mend boxes in the stores and [...], £0 6s 10d Canvas 4½ yards of osnaburg, £0 4s 0d 9⅛ yards of English linen, £0 11s 1d Total for canvas, used for [...], £0 15s 1d Ironware 2 scythe stones for the gardener, £0 0s 4d 4 smith's rubbers for the armourer's shop, £0 17s 3d 2 files for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 9d 2 chafing dishes, £0 12s 0d 2 small frying pans for the Lieutenant Governor's household, £0 4s 0d 4 farrier's rasps for the Lieutenant Governor's household, £0 3s 3d 3 coopers' drivers, £0 5s 0d 1 cooper's adze, £0 3s 0d 2 coopers' vices, £0 1s 2d 2 spokeshaves, £0 4s 0d 2 punches, £0 2s 0d 2 cold chisels, £0 2s 0d 1 boring stock, £0 3s 0d 2 bits for the boring stock, £0 0s 7½d 1 padlock for the Sea Gate, £0 1s 6d 1 pair of shutter hinges for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 2s 1½d 1 pair of iron clasps for the Castle, £0 15s 3d 1,000 brass nails for the Castle, £0 5s 0d Ironware carried forward, £4 14s 6d Carried forward, £17 6s 1d **Interpretations** This section moved from sales to the Company's own consumption. Charges General was the account that carried the running costs of the settlement: upkeep of buildings, tools for its workshops and supplies for its officers. The goods were issued without charge to any person, and the cost fell on the Company. By keeping them separate from the sales, the storekeeper could show the Council exactly how much of the stock had been sold for cash and how much had been used up in running the island. The arrack was the largest item, at £16 4s 2d for nearly 153 gallons. It covered the spirit given out as an allowance to the Company's workmen and slaves, served at the Governor's table and used to entertain the officers of visiting ships. Spirits formed part of the pay of labourers in most colonial settlements of the period, and the island followed the same practice. The tools show which of the Company's workshops were busy during the quarter. Coopers' drivers were iron tools struck with a hammer to drive hoops down onto a cask. The adze shaped the staves, and the spokeshave smoothed their curved surfaces. The cooper's shop made and repaired the casks that held the island's water, salt meat and spirits, and the casks sold to visiting ships. A boring stock was a hand brace that turned interchangeable bits. Smith's

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			rubbers were coarse heavy files used by the armourer to shape and finish iron. Several items were charged to the Lieutenant Governor's household, including frying pans, shutter hinges and farrier's rasps for shoeing his horses. The Company furnished its senior officers' houses at its own expense as part of their allowances. A chafing dish was a small metal pan with a charcoal burner beneath, used to keep food hot at table.
330	321	1768 Brought over£ 17 6 1 Iron Ware brought over£ 4 14 6 6 File Hafts Armourers use 4½ 3 Black Lead Pencils Store use 9 2 Helves Castle 1 1½ ½ Round Headed Tacks Do. 9½ ½ lb Borax Armourer 3 3 1 two foot Rule Garden use 1 1 Sickle for Cutting Grass out of Lemon Valley Trench 11½ 5 3 2 Twine viz. 8 Sks. Mending Bags in the Castle 4 2½ Cotton Wicks Do. 6 5 10 5 Thread ½ lb Whited Brown Do. 1 8 Paint viz. 8 oz. Indico 14 5 lb Blue Smalts 15 9 for Linen 15½ Chalk Coopers use 4 1 10 1 Cordage 10½ for the Artillery Company 3 6 Deals viz. 1 Single 2 2½ 1 Double 3 5½ for making Cots for the Castle 5 8 Candy 80 lb for the Groom, Gardener and Doctors Shop 1 13 4 Flour 6 lb for the Artillery 1 1 Candles viz. 100 lb Castle 50 Lt. Governor 50 Capt. Kirkpatrick 50 Mr. Purling 5 Secretarys Office 27 13 4 Carried Over£ 54 3 4	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £17 6s 1d. Brought forward, £17 6s 1d Ironware Ironware brought forward, £4 14s 6d 6 file handles for the armourer's use, £0 0s 4½d 3 black lead pencils for use in the stores, £0 0s 9d 2 axe handles for the Castle, £0 1s 1½d ½ [...] of round-headed tacks for the Castle, £0 0s 9½d ½ [...] of borax for the armourer, £0 3s 8d 1 two-foot rule for use in the garden, £0 1s 0d 1 sickle for cutting grass out of the trench in Lemon Valley, £0 0s 11½d Total for ironware, £5 3s 2d Twine 3 [...] of twine for mending bags in the Castle, £0 4s 0d 2½ [...] of cotton wick for the Castle, £0 6s 5d Total for twine, £0 10s 5d ¼ lb of whited-brown thread for the Castle, £0 1s 8d Paint 8 lb of indigo, £0 14s 0d 5 lb of blue smalt for linen, £0 15s 9d 15½ lb of chalk for the coopers' use, £0 0s 4d Total for paint, £1 10s 1d 10½ lb of cordage for the Artillery Company, £0 3s 6d Deals 1 single deal, £0 2s 2½d 1 double deal, £0 3s 5½d Total for deals, used to make [...] for the Castle, £0 5s 8d 20 lb of sugar candy for the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop, £1 13s 4d 6 lb of flour for the artillery, £0 1s 1d Candles 100 lb for the Castle 50 lb for the Lieutenant Governor 50 lb for Captain Kirkpatrick 50 lb for Mr Purling 5 lb for the Secretary's office Total for candles, £27 13s 4d Carried forward, £54 3s 4d **Interpretations** Candles were the largest charge on the page, at £27 13s 4d. The Castle took 100 lb, and each of the three senior councillors received 50 lb. This was not a supply for Company offices. It was a standing allowance of lighting given to the Lieutenant Governor and the councillors as part of their pay, alongside their salaries and table allowances. Candles were costly on the island, and a quarterly issue of 50 lb was a valuable perquisite of office. The sickle charged for cutting grass out of the Lemon Valley trench shows the routine upkeep of the island's defences. Lemon Valley was one of the few landing places on the leeward coast, and a ditch and line guarded it. Grass and brush growing in a defensive trench gave cover to an attacker and choked the drainage, so it had to be cut back regularly. Several issues show the working life of the settlement. Borax was used by the armourer as a flux

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			when brazing and soldering metal, since it cleaned the surfaces and helped the joint take. Smalt for linen was used in laundering: a little blue in the rinse water made white cloth look whiter by masking the yellow tinge. Chalk was used by the coopers to mark out staves and casks. Sugar candy for the doctor's shop served in medicines and cough remedies, and the groom and gardener probably received it as part of their rations.
331	322	18th January Brought over£ 54 3 4 Oil 14½ Galls. Train Castle Lt. Govr. House and Armourers Shop 2 3 4 Tea 8 lb Bohea for the Groom & Gardener 7 4 Turners ware viz. 21 Mops 2 7½ 1 Labourers Basket 1 1½ for the Lt. Govr. House 1 Butchers Tray Castle 3 3 1 Hair Sieve Artillery Company 1 Large Do. Do. Do. 1 5 3 1 12 8 Tin Ware 2 Tin Funnels Store use &ca 10 Hooks and Lines viz. 100 No. 1 Hooks 25 . 8 75 . 12 50 . 14 75 . 16 for the Lt. Govr. Fishm. 9 6 12 . 2 Lines 24 . 3 12 . 4 for Do. 16 1 5 6 Lead viz. 26½ Sheet Lead for Do. 5 19 lb Shot Castle 3 2 8 2 Iron Ware 38 lb Armourers Shop 7 11 Long Cloth viz. 6 Yards Y Artillery use 3 10 4 Ps. K for Rubbers in the Castle &ca 5 10 4 5 14 2 Carried over£ 66 13 3	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £54 8s 4d. Brought forward, £54 8s 4d 14½ gallons of train oil for the Castle, the Lieutenant Governor's house and the armourer's shop, £2 8s 4d 8 lb of Bohea tea for the groom and the gardener, £0 7s 4d Wooden ware 21 mops for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 2s 7½d 1 labourer's basket for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 1s 1½d 1 butcher's tray for the Castle, £0 3s 8d 1 hair sieve and 1 large hair sieve for the Artillery Company, £1 5s 3d Total for wooden ware, £1 12s 8d Tinware, 2 tin funnels for use in the stores, £0 0s 10d Hooks and lines 100 hooks of size 1, 25 of size 3, 75 of size 12, 50 of size 14 and 75 of size 16 for the Lieutenant Governor's use, £0 9s 6d 12 lines of size 2, 24 of size 3 and 12 of size 4 for the Lieutenant Governor's use, £0 16s 0d Total for hooks and lines, £1 5s 6d Lead 26½ lb of sheet lead for the Lieutenant Governor's use, £0 5s 0d 19 lb of shot for the Castle, £0 3s 2d Total for lead, £0 8s 2d Ironware, 3 [...] for the armourer's shop, £0 7s 11d Longcloth 6 yards of longcloth marked Y for the use of the artillery, £0 3s 10d 4 pieces of longcloth marked Y for cleaning cloths in the Castle and [...], £5 10s 4d Total for longcloth, £5 14s 2d Carried forward, £66 13s 3d **Interpretations** The Lieutenant Governor's household drew heavily on the Company's stores. In this quarter alone it received mops, a basket, frying pans, shutter hinges, farrier's rasps, train oil, sheet lead, 50 lb of candles and 375 fish hooks with 48 lines. The fishing tackle was probably for his slaves or servants to catch fish for his table. These issues show that a senior officer's house at St Helena was run largely at the Company's cost. His allowances in kind supplemented his salary, as the candle issues to the councillors did. The hair sieves for the Artillery Company were used to sift gunpowder. Powder that had caked in damp storage was broken up and passed through a fine hair sieve to separate the dust and the lumps from usable grains. Powder kept on a damp island in the salt air needed regular attention, and the large sieve cost far more than the other wooden goods. The four pieces of longcloth issued for cleaning cloths at the Castle were a costly use of good Indian cotton, at £5 10s 4d. The choice suggests that longcloth was the cheapest suitable cloth in the stores at the time. The island had no supply of rag, and the Company's warehouse held little coarse English cloth.

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332	323	1768 Brought over£ 66 3 3 Starch 9¼ for Linen 3 8 Corks viz. 5 Gro. Corks 12 1 Sheet Do. 8 Castle 12 8 Cuttlery Ware viz. 2 Buckling Combs 6½ 2 fine Ivory Do. 4 8 2 Horse Do. 6½ Castle 5 9 Kersey 3 Yds. Doctor Shop 4 2 Blankets 4 Castle 1 2 8 China Ware 2 China Chamber Pots Do. 4 Sope 50 lb for Linen 1 15 5 Glass ware 1 Quart Decanter Castle 2 4 Challow 1 Ps. for Rubbers Do. 8 4 Haberdashery ¼ Whale Bone Doctrs. Shop 1 6 Braziers Ware ¼ lb Brass Wire Armourers Shop 9 £ 71 14 6	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £66 13s 3d. Brought forward, £66 13s 3d 9 lb of starch for linen, £0 3s 8d Corks 5 gross of corks for the Castle, £0 12s 0d [...] ship corks for the Castle, £0 0s 8d Total for corks, £0 12s 8d Cutlery 2 tucking combs for the Castle, £0 0s 6½d 2 fine ivory combs for the Castle, £0 4s 8d 2 horse combs for the Castle, £0 0s 6½d Total for cutlery, £0 5s 9d 3 yards of kersey for the doctor's shop, £0 4s 2d 4 blankets for the Castle, £1 2s 8d China, 2 china chamber pots for the Castle, £0 4s 0d 50 lb of soap for linen, £1 15s 5d Glassware, 1 quart decanter for the Castle, £0 2s 4d 1 piece of chelloes for cleaning cloths in the Castle, £0 8s 4d Haberdashery, ¼ lb of whalebone for the doctor's shop, £0 1s 6d Brassware, ¼ lb of brass wire for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 9d Total charged to general expenses, £71 14s 6d **Interpretations** The stores charged to general expenses came to £71 14s 6d for the quarter. Candles, arrack and cloth made up well over half of it. The sum was small beside the £1,300 or more recovered from sales in the same period, which shows that the warehouse largely paid for itself. Most of what the Company issued free went to the Castle and to its senior officers, while its workshops consumed only small amounts of tools and materials. The starch and 50 lb of soap for linen point to a laundry kept at the Company's expense for the Castle. Its table linen, bedding and the Governor's household washing were done by slaves or hired women, using Company soap, starch and the blue smalt issued earlier. The four blankets, the chamber pots, the combs and the decanter likewise furnished the Castle's living quarters as well as its offices. Whalebone was the springy horn-like plates from the mouth of the baleen whale, not true bone. The doctor's shop used it to make splints, trusses and probes, since it could be cut into thin strips that bent without breaking. The kersey issued to the doctor's shop probably served as bandaging or as warm wrapping for the sick. Together they show the Company's surgeon making up his own supplies from general stores rather than drawing on a separate medical store.
333	324	18th January Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Flour 8 . - . 4 cwt. qrs. lb 8 6 11 Arrack 90 Galls. 9 11 3 Salt 1½ Bushel 5 6 Beef and Pork viz. 6 Ps. Beef 1 - 11 53 Ps. Pork 7 6 8 6 11 Coffee 20 lb 16 8 Rice 252 lb	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1767 and charged to the cost of the Company's table. 8 cwt [...] 4 lb of flour, £8 6s 11d 90 gallons of arrack, £9 11s 3d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 5s 6d Beef and pork 6 pieces of beef, £1 0s 11d 55 pieces of pork, £7 6s 0d Total for beef and pork, £8 6s 11d 20 lb of coffee, £0 16s 8d 2 cwt 2 qr of rice, £1 1s 10d 10 lb of pepper, £0 5s 0d 4 bottles of Florence oil, £0 10s 8d 8 lb of Singlo tea, £0 10s 0d Sugar and sugar candy 450 lb of sugar candy, £9 7s 6d 20 lb of sugar, £0 5s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £9 12s 6d

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		1 1 10 Pepper 10 lb 5 Oil 4 Bottles Florence 10 8 Tea 8 lb Singlo 10 Sugar and Candy viz. 450 lb Candy 9 7 6 20 lb Sugar 5 9 12 6 £ 39 7 3 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Canvas 4 Yds. English Artillery Company 4 8 Candles 38 lb for Officers on duty 4 2 4 Tea 58 lb Bohea for the Several Guards 2 13 2 Arrack 26½ Galls. for Muster Drams 2 16 4 Oil viz. 102½ Galls. Train for the several Guards 17 1 8 ¼ Do. Linseed Artillery Company 1 17 2 8 Deals viz. 4 Single 8 10 7 Double 1 3 11 for Coffins 1 12 9 Carried Over£ 28 11 11	Total charged to the table, £39 7s 3d A further account listed the stores issued to the garrison over the same period. 4 yards of English canvas for the Artillery Company, £0 4s 8d 38 lb of candles for officers on duty, £4 2s 4d 58 lb of Bohea tea for the guards, £2 13s 2d 26½ gallons of arrack for drams at muster, £2 16s 4d Oil 102½ gallons of train oil for the guards, £17 1s 8d ¼ gallon of linseed oil for the Artillery Company, £0 1s 0d Total for oil, £17 2s 8d Deals 4 single deals for coffins, £0 8s 10d 7 double deals for coffins, £1 3s 11d Total for deals, £1 12s 9d Carried forward, £28 11s 11d **Interpretations** Diet expenses were the cost of the Company's table at the Castle. The Governor kept a common table where the councillors and senior officers dined, and where the captains and passengers of visiting ships were entertained. The Company paid for it as part of the cost of governing the island. The steward's monthly accounts covered fresh meat, wine and poultry, while this account covered the dry stores drawn from the warehouse. The 450 lb of sugar candy, costing more than the arrack, shows how much of the table's spending went on sweetening punch, tea and puddings. Florence oil was olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in thin glass flasks wrapped in straw and sealed with a layer of oil on top instead of a cork. It was the best salad and cooking oil available in England and was a luxury on the island. The garrison account shows how the Company supported its soldiers on duty beyond their pay. Train oil was by far the largest item, at more than £17. It burned in the lamps of the guardhouses and batteries through the night, and over 100 gallons in a quarter shows how many posts were kept lit around the island. Tea for the guards and candles for the officers on duty were further comforts given to men standing watch. Drams at muster were measures of arrack given to soldiers when the companies were paraded and counted. The issue rewarded attendance and helped make the muster a welcome occasion rather than a burden. The deals charged for coffins show that the Company met the cost of burying soldiers who died in its service. Eleven planks in a quarter suggests several such burials.
334	325	1768 Brought over£ 28 11 11 Nails viz. 2 . 3 8 . 6 for Coffins 6 Lines 1 Whip Cord for Whips 3 5 Twine 2 Sks. Artillery Company 1 Sugar 6 lb Do. 1 6 Iron Ware viz. 12 Stock Locks 3 4½ 2 Pr. H. L. Hinges 3 10 for the Barracks	The account of stores issued to the garrison continued from a total of £28 11s 11d. Brought forward, £28 11s 11d Nails 2 [...] of threepenny nails and 8 [...] of sixpenny nails for coffins, £0 6s 0d Lines, 1 [...] of whipcord for whips, £0 3s 5d 2 [...] of twine for the Artillery Company, £0 1s 0d 6 lb of sugar for the Artillery Company, £0 1s 6d Ironware 12 stock locks for the barracks, £0 5s 4½d 2 pairs of [...] hinges for the barracks, £0 3s 10d 6 sheets of emery paper for cleaning arms, £0 0s 3d 2 sheets of sandpaper for cleaning arms, £0 0s 2d 1 rasp for cleaning arms, £0 0s 11d ½ [...] of borax for cleaning arms, £0 7s 4d 6 files for cleaning arms, £0 2s 4½d

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		6 Sheets Emery Paper 3 2 Sand Do. Do. 2 for Cleaning Arms 1 Rasp 11 ½ Borax 7 4 6 Files 2 4½ Do. 1 Spade 3 9 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 1 Pick Axe 3 3½ 1 Helve 7½ for the Several Guards 1 10 4 Soldiers Cloaths viz. 4 Centinels Coats and Breeches for Recruits 5 17 2 Watch Coats 1 13 7 10 Hats 4 Centinels 11 4 Shoes 4 Pr. Mens Ordinary 13 Hosiers 4 Pr. Mens Ordinary thread Stockings 11 8 Blankets 8 for the Several Guards 2 5 4 Tin ware 2 Lamps 1 6 Iron Pots 1 weight 88 lb 16 6 Paint viz. 5 lb Whiting 4 14 Yell. Oaker dry 3 2½ for Cleaning Accoutrements 3 7 Carried Over£ 43 12 1	1 spade for the guards, £0 3s 9d 1 small frying pan for the guards, £0 2s 0d 1 pickaxe for the guards, £0 3s 8½d 1 axe handle for the guards, £0 0s 7½d Total for ironware, £1 10s 4d Soldiers' clothing 4 privates' coats and breeches for recruits, £5 17s 0d 2 watch coats, £1 13s 0d Total for soldiers' clothing, £7 10s 0d 4 privates' hats, £0 11s 4d 4 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £0 18s 0d 4 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £0 11s 8d 8 blankets for the guards, £2 5s 4d Tinware, 2 lamps, £0 1s 6d 1 iron pot weighing 38 lb, £0 16s 6d Paint [...] of whiting for cleaning accoutrements, £0 0s 4½d 14 [...] of dry yellow ochre for cleaning accoutrements, £0 3s 2½d Total for paint, £0 3s 7d Carried forward, £43 12s 1d **Interpretations** The four suits of coats, breeches, hats, shoes and stockings were the first issue of clothing to new recruits. The Company clothed its soldiers when they enlisted and charged the cost to the garrison account. A sentinel was a private soldier, and the clothing was the plain uniform of the ranks. The four recruits were probably the island-born men enlisted earlier in the season, such as Francis Seale, Joseph Whaley and George Seale, whose bounties the Council paid in the autumn of 1767. Watch coats were long heavy greatcoats kept at the guardhouses and worn by whichever sentry was on duty at night. They belonged to the post rather than to the man. The blankets, the iron pot, the frying pan and the lamps likewise equipped the guardhouses, where soldiers spent whole nights on watch and cooked their own food. The materials for cleaning arms and accoutrements show the daily labour of keeping weapons fit in the salt air. Emery paper and sandpaper scoured rust from musket barrels and bayonets, and files and rasps dressed the metal. Borax may have been used to braze small repairs to the locks of the muskets. Whiting and yellow ochre were rubbed into the soldiers' leather belts and pouches to colour and clean them, a forerunner of the pipeclay later used throughout the British army.
335	326	18th January Brought over£ 43 12 1 Shirts viz. 4 Mens Shirts 17 10 4 Robes 2 8 1 . 6 £ 44 12 7 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 day of October 1767 to the 31 Decr. 1767 viz. Oil 3⅛ Galls. Train 12 11 Rice 334 . - . 14 cwt. qrs. lb 139 4 5 Sugar 292 3 13 Shoes 57 Pr. Mens Ordinary 11 14 Arrack 104½ Galls. Fortificn. Plantn. and Arg. Blks. 11 9 7 Salt ½ Bushel Arg. Blacks 1 10	The account of stores issued to the garrison ended with the following items. Brought forward, £43 12s 1d Shirts 4 men's shirts, £0 17s 10d 4 rollers, £0 2s 8d Total for shirts, £1 0s 6d Total charged to the garrison, £44 12s 7d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's slaves from 1 October to 31 December 1767. ⅜ gallons of train oil, £0 12s 11d 334 cwt [...] 14 lb of rice, £139 4s 5d 292 lb of sugar, £3 13s 0d 52 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £11 14s 0d 164½ gallons of arrack for the Christmas feast and other occasions, £17 9s 7d ½ bushel of salt for the slaves, £0 1s 10d 20 lb of flour for the sick, £0 3s 9d 8 lb of soap for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 5s 8d 1 lb of candles for examining the slaves, £0 2s 2d 1 blanket, £0 5s 8d

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		Flour 20 lb for the Sick 3 9 Sope 8 lb Lieut. Governors House 5 8 Candles 1 lb to Examine the Blacks Ho. 2 2 Blankets 1 5 8 Hosiers ware 4 Pr. Womens Worsted Stockings 11 Lines 6 No. 3 for the Fishermen 2 Iron Ware 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 Tea 111½ Bohea 5 2 3 Beef and Pork viz. 274 Ps. Europe Beef 47 13 3 217 Do. Do. Pork 32 6 5 216 lb Bengall Beef 40 450 lb Do. Pork 83 3 3 203 2 11 Long Cloth viz. 6 Yds. K 5 9 6 Do. Y 3 10 for Lying in Women 9 7 Carried Over£ 393 2 9	Hosiery, 4 pairs of women's worsted stockings, £0 11s 0d Lines, 6 of size 3 for the fishermen, £0 2s 0d Ironware, 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 0d 111½ lb of Bohea tea, £5 2s 3d Beef and pork 274 pieces of European beef, £47 13s 3d 217 pieces of European pork, £32 6s 5d 216 [...] of Bengal beef, £45 0s 0d 450 [...] of Bengal pork, £33 3s 3d Total for beef and pork, £213 2s 11d Longcloth 6 yards marked X for women in childbirth, £0 5s 9d 6 yards marked Y for women in childbirth, £0 3s 10d Total for longcloth, £0 9s 7d Carried forward, £393 2s 9d **Interpretations** This was the account of what the Company spent on feeding and keeping its own slaves, and it was by far the largest of the quarter's charges. Rice was the staple of their ration. More than 330 cwt was issued in three months, about 17 tons, at a cost of £139 4s 5d. The rice came mostly from Bengal in the Company's ships, such as the 60 bags landed from the *Lord Holland* on 12 January 1768. Salt beef and pork from Europe and Bengal added a further £213, so meat and grain together made up nearly nine-tenths of the account. The Company did not leave its slaves to grow their own food, as many planters in the Atlantic colonies did. It fed them from its stores at heavy cost, chiefly with imported provisions. The likely reason was that the Company's slaves worked full-time on its plantations, fortifications and public works and had little time or land to raise their own crops. Feeding them from the warehouse also kept them dependent on the Company and under its control. The 164½ gallons of arrack were issued for the Christmas feast, the main holiday in the slaves' year. A feast with drink at Christmas was a common custom across the colonial world, and it served to reward labour and to keep order. The tea issue of more than 100 lb shows that tea had become part of the slaves' regular ration on St Helena by this date. Several smaller items reveal the care given to particular groups. Flour went to the sick, and longcloth was issued to women in childbirth for bedding and for the newborn. A natural increase in the number of slaves was valuable to the Company, which otherwise had to buy replacements from passing ships. The livestock account of 31 December 1767 recorded five slave deaths in the quarter against one birth. The candle issued for examining the slaves probably lit a night inspection or muster, when each slave had to be accounted for. The six fishing lines were for the slaves who worked as the Company's fishermen, supplying fish to the Castle and the garrison.
336	327	1768 Brought Over£ 393 2 9 Deals viz. 1 Single 2 2½ 1 Double 3 5½ for Coffins 5 8 Nails viz. 1 . 4 1½ 1 . 6 6½ for Do.	The account of stores issued to the Company's slaves continued from a total of £393 2s 9d. Brought forward, £393 2s 9d Deals 1 single deal for coffins, £0 2s 2½d 1 double deal for coffins, £0 3s 5½d Total for deals, £0 5s 8d Nails 1 [...] of fourpenny nails for coffins, £0 0s 7½d 1 [...] of sixpenny nails for coffins, £0 0s 6½d Total for nails, £0 1s 2d 1 iron pot weighing 75 lb for the slaves at the fortifications, £0 13s 10d 7 lb of pepper, £0 3s 6d Total charged to the slaves, £394 0s 11d

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		1 2 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 75 Blacks at the Fortifications 13 10 Pepper 7 3 6 £ 394 0 11 Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1 October to the 31 Decr. 1767 Nails viz. 19 . 6 8 . 10 7 . 20 20 . 40 1 Glaz. Brads for Plantation House and Mr. Bearcroft 1 6 3 Deals viz. ½ Wainscoat Board 3 2½ 3 Double Deals 1 7 4 1 Single Do. 2 2½ 1 Cuffer 3 1½ for making a Stable for Mr. Bearcroft, for Plantation House, Castle & Lime House 1 15 10 Paint viz. 50 Whiting 2 1 1 B. Blacking 1 Castle & Plantation House 2 8 Carried Over£ 3 4 9	The storekeeper next listed the stores issued for repairs from 1 October to 31 December 1767. Nails 19 [...] of sixpenny nails, 8 [...] of tenpenny nails, 7 [...] of twentypenny nails, 20 [...] of fortypenny nails and 1 [...] of glaziers' brads for Plantation House and Mr Bancroft, £1 6s 3d Deals ½ wainscot board, £0 3s 2½d 3 double deals, £1 7s 4d 1 single deal, £0 2s 2½d 1 rafter, £0 3s 1¼d Total for deals, used to make a stable for Mr Bancroft and for work at Plantation House, the Castle and the lime house, £1 15s 10d Paint 50 lb of whiting for the Castle and Plantation House, £0 2s 1d 1 [...] of blacking for the Castle and Plantation House, £0 0s 7d Total for paint, £0 2s 8d Carried forward, £3 4s 9d **Interpretations** The account for the slaves closed at £394 0s 11d for the quarter, more than five times the cost of the Company's general expenses and nearly nine times that of the garrison stores. The coffins listed at the end show that the Company also bore the cost of burying its slaves. They match the five slave deaths recorded in the livestock account of 31 December 1767: Preston, Charles, Barnett, Benjar and Cato. The iron pot of 75 lb was sent to the slaves working on the fortifications. Gangs building the new batteries were housed near the works rather than returning each night to the Company's plantation. A large pot let their food be cooked in bulk on site. The Council had completed the Sandy Bay works in December 1767 and was then building at Munden's Point, so the pot probably served one of those camps. Plantation House was the Governor's country residence, in the cooler, wetter uplands of the interior. It needed constant repair, and its upkeep fell on the Company's repairs account. Wainscot was imported oak board, cut to show the figure of the grain and used for panelling and fine joinery. The lime house stored the lime burned on the island for mortar and whitewash, which was used heavily in building the fortifications.
337	328	18th January Brought over£ 3 4 9 Iron Ware viz. 2 Pr. H. L. hinges Plantation House 3 8 9 Blank Keys Do. & Castle 5 7½ 5 Stock Locks 13 5 1 Brick Layers Trowels 1 11½ 2 Pad Locks Castle 3 1 7 8 Oil 2⅜ Galls. for Plantation House 9 6 Glass Ware viz. 13 Sqr. Glass 6 by 8 12 Sqr. 8 by 10 Do. 12 9 Masts ½ Boom for Mr. Bearcrofts Horse Stable 2 15 Cordage 22 lb for thatching Plantation House 7 4	The account of stores issued for repairs continued from a total of £3 4s 9d. Brought forward, £3 4s 9d Ironware 2 pairs of H hinges for Plantation House, £0 3s 8d 9 blank keys for Plantation House and the Castle, £0 5s 7½d 5 stock locks, £0 13s 5d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 11½d 2 padlocks for the Castle, £0 3s 0d Total for ironware, £1 7s 8d 2⅜ gallons of oil for Plantation House, £0 9s 6d Glassware 13 panes of glass 6 by 8 inches and 12 panes of glass 8 by 10 inches for Plantation House, £0 12s 9d Masts, ½ boom for Mr Bancroft's horse stable, £2 15s 0d 22 lb of cordage for thatching Plantation House, £0 7s 4d 1 lb of candles for Plantation House, £0 2s 1d Wooden ware, 2 paint brushes for Plantation House, £0 1s 0d 2 gallons of tar, £0 1s 6d 40 lb of iron, £0 3s 4d Total charged to repairs, £9 9s 11d

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		Candles 1 lb for Plantation 2 1 Turners Ware 2 Paint Brushes Do. 1 Tar 2 Gallons 1 6 Iron 40 lb 8 4 £ 9 9 11	**Interpretations** Plantation House drew most of the repair stores in the quarter. It received hinges, keys, oil, 25 panes of glass, paint, nails and cordage for thatching. Parts of the house and its outbuildings were still roofed with thatch, and the cordage was used to bind the bundles of straw or grass to the rafters. Thatch was cheap and could be cut on the island, but the frequent rain and strong winds of the uplands made constant repair necessary. A boom was a long spar from a ship's rigging, used to extend the foot of a sail. Half a boom was a costly length of seasoned timber, at £2 15s 0d. It served as a main beam for Mr Bancroft's stable. The island had few trees large enough to yield heavy timber, so spars salvaged from ships or bought from passing vessels were a valuable building resource. The Company drew on its marine stores for this purpose rather than importing timber specially. The whole repairs account came to under £10 for the quarter. The low figure shows that the Company spent little on maintaining its civil buildings while its main effort went into the new fortifications, where the slaves' labour was charged elsewhere.
338	329	1768 Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Arrack 7⅛ Gallons 16 6 Sugar 60 lb 15 Rice 174 14 6 Tea 4 lb Bohea 3 8 Oil 1 Gallon Train 3 4 Sope 6 lb 4 3 Salt ¼ Bushel 11 Pepper 2 lb 1 Flour 24 lb 4 6 Beef 2 Pieces 5 11 Broad Cloth 4½ Yards 4 12 8 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr. Mens fine thread Stockings 13 6 Long Cloth viz. ½ Ps. I 2 8 4 ½ Ps. K 13 10 3 2 2 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens fine 5 7 Blankets 1 5 8 Thread viz. ½ Whited Brown 3 4 1 lb Coloured 3 2 6 6 Haberdashery viz. 4 Sks. Silk 2 4 Do. Mohair 1 8 3 8 Canvas 3 Yards English	The storekeeper next listed the stores issued to the Malays from 1 October to 31 December 1767. 7¾ gallons of arrack, £0 16s 6d 60 lb of sugar, £0 15s 0d 1 cwt [...] of rice, £0 14s 6d 4 lb of Bohea tea, £0 3s 8d 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 4d 6 lb of soap, £0 4s 3d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 11d 2 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 24 lb of flour, £0 4s 6d 2 pieces of beef, £0 5s 11d 4½ yards of broadcloth, £4 12s 8d Hosiery, 3 pairs of men's fine thread stockings, £0 13s 6d Longcloth ½ piece marked S, £2 8s 4d ½ piece marked X, £0 13s 10d Total for longcloth, £3 2s 2d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 5s 7d 1 blanket, £0 5s 8d Thread ½ lb of whited-brown thread, £0 3s 4d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 2d Total for thread, £0 6s 6d Haberdashery 4 skeins of silk, £0 2s 0d 4 skeins of mohair, £0 1s 8d Total for haberdashery, £0 3s 8d 3 yards of English canvas, £0 3s 6d Shirts, 6 yards of brown holland, £0 11s 0d Carried forward, £13 13s 10d **Interpretations** The Malays formed a separate group in the Company's accounts, distinct from the slaves listed under their own heading. They came from the Malay archipelago, brought to St Helena in the Company's ships from Bencoolen or Batavia. The goods issued to them show a different standing from that of the other slaves. They received fine broadcloth, fine thread stockings, a pair of fine shoes, silk and mohair, none of which appeared in the slaves' account. The broadcloth alone cost more than £4 10s 0d, at over £1 a yard. The pattern suggests that the Malays were skilled men, probably craftsmen or overseers, whom the Company valued more highly and clothed accordingly. The silk, mohair and thread point to tailoring work, since they were the materials for making and finishing good clothes. The Malays may

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		3 6 Shirts 6 Yds. Brown Holland 11 Carried Over£ 13 13 10	have made up garments for the Castle and the Company's officers from the cloth issued to them. Their food issue was small beside that of the slaves. It included the same staples of rice, salt meat, arrack, tea and sugar, but in quantities suited to a handful of people. The Malays were therefore few in number.
339	330	18th January Brought over£ 13 13 10 Buckram 1 Yard 1 China Ware viz. 6 Old meat Plates 5 10 6 Stone Saucers 2 2 China Bowls 3 2 Old meat Dishes 4 14 10 £ 14 9 8 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Rice and Paddy viz. 668 Rice for Poultry & Overseers 2 15 8 7408 Paddy Do. & Horses 20 2 4 22 18 Iron 77 lb for the Wood Carts 16 1 Iron ware viz. 6 Pick Axes for Long Wood 19 9 2 Scythe Stones for the Mowers 6 4 Pr. Sheep Shears to Shear Sheep 5 4 1 Pad Lock for Horse Point 1 6 13 lb Rolled Iron Wood Carts 6 9 1 13 10 Pitch & Tar 4 Galls. Tar for the Wood Carts 3 Carried Over£ 25 10 11	The account of stores issued to the Malays ended with the following items. Brought forward, £13 13s 10d 1 yard of buckram, £0 1s 0d China 6 old meat plates, £0 5s 10d 6 stoneware saucers, £0 2s 0d 2 china bowls, £0 3s 0d 2 old meat dishes, £0 4s 0d Total for china, £0 14s 10d Total charged to the Malays, £14 9s 8d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's plantation from 1 October to 31 December 1767. Rice and paddy 6 cwt [...] of rice for the poultry and the overseers, £2 15s 8d 74 cwt of paddy for the poultry and the horses, £20 2s 4d Total for rice and paddy, £22 18s 0d 77 lb of iron for the wood carts, £0 16s 1d Ironware 6 pickaxes for Longwood, £0 19s 9d 2 scythe stones for the mowers, £0 0s 6d 4 pairs of sheep shears for shearing the sheep, £0 5s 4d 1 padlock for the horse pound, £0 1s 6d 13 [...] of rolled iron for the wood carts, £0 6s 9d Total for ironware, £1 13s 10d 4 gallons of tar for the wood carts, £0 3s 0d Carried forward, £25 10s 11d **Interpretations** The china issued to the Malays was described as old, which marks it as cast-off ware from the Castle or the warehouse. The Malays received better clothing than the slaves, but their tableware was secondhand. The issue suggests they ate together as a household, perhaps under one roof, with their own plates and dishes. The plantation account covered the Company's farm, which raised the livestock and poultry recorded in the account of 31 December 1767. Paddy was the largest item by far, at over £20. It was cheaper than cleaned rice and served as feed, the husk doing no harm to birds or horses. The heavy use of imported grain as animal feed shows how little fodder grain the island itself produced. Even the turkeys and fowls kept for the Governor's table were fed largely on rice from Bengal. The wood carts carried firewood from Longwood and the Great Wood in the east of the island to the Company's kitchens, bakehouse and lime kilns. Fuel was a constant problem on St Helena, where goats and clearing had stripped much of the native woodland. The iron, rolled iron and tar went to repair the carts' wheels and axles, worn by the steep and rough roads. The pickaxes sent to Longwood were probably used to dig out stumps and roots for fuel as the standing timber ran short. The four pairs of sheep shears were for shearing the Company's flock, which stood at 685 sheep at the end of December. Shearing in the late spring of October to December matched the southern-hemisphere season.
340	331	1768 Brought over£ 25 10 11 Cordage 29¼ for the Maldavia Garden	The account of stores issued to the Company's plantation continued from a total of £25 10s 11d. Brought forward, £25 10s 11d

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		and thatching the Blacks Guard 9 9 Arrack 6 Galls. for the Mowers and Sheep Shearers 12 9 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 84 lb 15 9 Twine 2 Sks. 1 Nails viz. 2 . 6 1 1½ 5 . 10 2 3½ 3 . 20 1 2 for Long Wood and Pasture Gates 4 7 Deals 1 Single Long Wood 2 3 Pork 2 Pieces for the Mowers 5 11 Sugar 4 lb for Do. 1 Cart Wheels viz. 1 Pr. Cart Wheels for the Wood Cart 4 4 7 3 Wheel Barrows for Plantation House 15 6 5 . 1 Oil ¼ Linseed for Painting Gates 1 Cuttlery ware 8 Butchers Knives for Plantation House Garden 3 £ 33 13 -	29¼ lb of cordage for the Maldivia garden and for thatching the slaves' quarters, £0 9s 9d 6 gallons of arrack for the mowers and the sheep shearers, £0 12s 9d 1 iron pot weighing 84 lb, £0 15s 9d 2 lb of twine, £0 1s 0d Nails 2 [...] of sixpenny nails for the Longwood and pasture gates, £0 1s 1½d 5 [...] of tenpenny nails for the Longwood and pasture gates, £0 2s 3½d 3 [...] of twentypenny nails for the Longwood and pasture gates, £0 1s 2d Total for nails, £0 4s 7d 1 single deal for Longwood, £0 2s 3d 2 pieces of pork for the mowers, £0 5s 11d 4 lb of sugar for the mowers, £0 1s 0d Cart wheels 1 pair of cart wheels for the wood cart, £4 4s 7d 3 wheelbarrows for Plantation House, £0 15s 6d Total for cart wheels and wheelbarrows, £5 0s 1d ¼ gallon of linseed oil for painting gates, £0 1s 0d Cutlery, 8 butcher's knives for the Plantation House garden, £0 3s 0d Total charged to the plantation, £33 8s 0d **Interpretations** The arrack, pork and sugar for the mowers and sheep shearers were the customary rewards of harvest work. Mowing hay and shearing sheep were heavy seasonal tasks done in the late spring, and extra food and drink were given to the gangs who carried them out. The practice followed the English tradition of harvest allowances, and the Company applied it to its slave labourers on the plantation. The pair of cart wheels for the wood cart was the single costliest item, at £4 4s 7d. Heavy spoked wheels with iron tyres had to be imported, since the island had neither the timber nor the wheelwrights to make them. The heavy use of the wood carts, already seen in the iron, rolled iron and tar issued on the previous page, wore out their wheels on the island's steep roads. The Maldivia garden was one of the Company's gardens near Jamestown, which supplied vegetables for the Castle and the garrison. Cordage was issued both to bind its fences and frames and to thatch the slaves' quarters on the plantation. The slaves lived in thatched huts that needed constant repair in the damp uplands. The nails and paint for the Longwood and pasture gates show the work of keeping the Company's stock enclosed, since straying cattle and goats damaged crops and the remaining woodland.
341	332	18th January Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Sugar 371 4 12 9 Flour 371 3 9 7 Rice 371 1 10 11 Salt 2 Bushels 7 4 Tea 16 lb Bohea 14 8 Oil 16 Galls. 2 13 4 Candles 4 lb 8 8 Turners ware 1 Birch Broom 5 Cordage 7 lb for thatching the Hospital 2 4	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the hospital from 1 October to 31 December 1767. 371 lb of sugar, £4 12s 9d 371 lb of flour, £3 9s 7d 371 lb of rice, £1 10s 11d 2 bushels of salt, £0 7s 4d 16 lb of Bohea tea, £0 14s 8d 16 gallons of oil, £2 13s 4d 4 lb of candles, £0 8s 8d Wooden ware, 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5d 7 lb of cordage for thatching the hospital, £0 2s 4d 1 gallon of arrack for the men working at the hospital, £0 2s 2d Glass, 2 panes 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 2d Ironware, 2 axe handles, £0 1s 3d Twine, ¼ lb of cotton wick, £0 0s 9d Total charged to the hospital, £14 5s 4d A further account listed the stores issued to the Company's boats over the same period. 2,710 lb of cordage for the boats in general, £45 3s 4d

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		Arrack 1 Gall. for Men Employed at the Hospital 2 2 Glass 2 Sqr. 8 by 10 1 2 Iron ware 2 Helves 1 3 Twine ½ Cotton Wick 9 £ 14 5 4 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Cordage 2710 for the Boats in General 45 3 4 Oil viz. 8⅜ Galls. Train 1 7 9 3⅛ Do. Linseed 14 6 ½ Do. Turpentine 2 7 Do. 2 5 10 Carried Over£ 47 9 2	Oil 8⅝ gallons of train oil, £1 8s 9d 3⅝ gallons of linseed oil, £0 14s 6d ½ gallon of turpentine, £0 2s 7d Total for oil, £2 5s 10d Carried forward, £47 9s 2d **Interpretations** The hospital's stores show the diet given to the sick. Sugar, flour and rice were issued in equal weights of 371 lb each, which points to a fixed ration per patient rather than separate purchases. Sugar, flour and rice made soft foods such as puddings, gruel and rice boiled in milk, which were thought proper for invalids. Tea was likewise given to the sick as a comfort. The flour issued separately to the sick slaves shows that the hospital mainly served the garrison and the Company's other employees. The hospital itself was a thatched building, like many of the Company's lesser buildings. The gallon of arrack for the men working there was a reward to the orderlies or labourers who nursed the sick, an unpleasant and dangerous task in an age of fevers and dysentery. The 2,710 lb of cordage issued to the boats was the largest single charge of the quarter after the slaves' rice and meat. The Company kept a fleet of boats in James Bay to land goods and passengers from ships at anchor and to carry out water and provisions. Rope wore out quickly in the surf and salt water. Cables, moorings and running rigging all needed regular replacement, and the island's open roadstead gave the boats hard use. Linseed oil and turpentine were mixed to make paint for the boats' hulls, which needed frequent coating against rot and worm.
342	333	1768 Brought over£ 47 9 2 Paint viz. 7 lb Stone Oaker mixed 4 1½ 4 lb Verdigrease 15 8 4 lb Yell. Oaker mixed 1 6 B. Blacking 3 1½ 13 Ston. Red mixed 8 7½ 2 lb Red Lead 5½ 1 lb Copperas 1½ 2 lb Whiting 1 16 Ston. Red dry 4 - ½ for the Boats in General 1 18 - Arrack ¼ for Mixing Colours 6 Nails viz. 7 . 2 5 11½ 5 . 4 3 - ½ 6 . 3 4 6 34 . 6 19 2 38 . 10 17 5½ 10 . 40 3 9 8 lb Spikes 2 6	The account of stores issued to the Company's boats continued from a total of £47 9s 2d. Brought forward, £47 9s 2d Paint for the boats in general 7 [...] of mixed stone ochre, £0 4s 1½d 4 lb of verdigris, £0 15s 8d 4 lb of mixed yellow ochre, £0 1s 0d 6 lb of blacking, £0 3s 1½d 13 lb of mixed red paint, £0 8s 7½d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 5½d 1 lb of copperas, £0 0s 11½d 2 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1d 16 lb of dry red paint, £0 4s 0½d Total for paint, £1 18s 0d ¼ gallon of arrack for mixing colours, £0 0s 6d Nails for the boats in general 7 [...] of twopenny nails, £0 5s 11½d 5 [...] of fourpenny nails, £0 3s 0½d 6 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 4s 6d 34 [...] of sixpenny nails, £0 19s 3d 38 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 17s 5½d 10 [...] of fortypenny nails, £0 3s 9d 8 [...] of spikes, £0 2s 6d Total for nails, £2 16s 5d 26 lb of sheet lead, £0 4s 11d Deals 2 elm boards, £0 11s 2d 1 wainscot board, £0 6s 4½d 7 double deals, £1 3s 11½d Total for deals, £2 1s 6d Carried forward, £54 10s 6d **Interpretations** The paint, nails, lead and timber show that the Company's boats were built and refitted on the island rather than imported ready-made. The quantities point to a major overhaul during the quarter, perhaps of several boats at once after the heavy shipping season. More than 100 lots of nails of seven sizes and seven double deals were used, together with spikes for the heavier frames.

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		for the Boats in General 2 16 5 Lead 26 lb Shot 4 11 Deals viz. 2 Elm Boards 11 2 1 Wainscoat Do. 6 4½ 7 Double Deals 1 3 11½ 2 1 6 Carried Over£ 54 10 6	Elm boards were chosen for a particular reason. Elm rots slowly when kept constantly wet, so it was the usual timber for the bottoms and keels of boats and for any wood below the waterline. Sheet lead was nailed over seams and joints to keep water out, and over parts of the hull that took heavy wear. The large amount of verdigris, 4 lb at 15s 8d, was the most costly paint on the page. Verdigris was poisonous, and mixed into paint it helped keep weed, barnacles and shipworm off a boat's bottom. The other colours were for the topsides, where red, yellow and black were the usual finishes of the period. The arrack issued for mixing colours was probably used as a spirit to thin and dissolve the pigments.
343	334	18th Jany. Brot. Over£ 54 10 6 Pitch and Tar viz. 37 lb Rozin 12 7 25 Turpentine 5 9 2 Barrls. Tar 13 7 1 Do. Pitch 19 8 for the Boats in General 3 16 11 Arrack 7⅛ Galls. for Men Employ'd hauling up & launch'g the L. Boats &ca 15 8 Leather 18¾ lb Sole Fishing Boat 15 8 Oars viz. 14 Small Do. 2 16 7 6 Long L. Boats 1 13 4 9 7 Iron 84 lb Do. 15 9 Iron ware 13 lb Rolled Iron Do. 6 5 Turners Ware viz. 1 Scrubing Brush 2 2 Paint Do. 1 Do. 3 Blocks 2 Double of 8 Inches Do. 16 2 Twine 4 Sks. Do. 2 Iron Ware viz. 12 Sail Needles for mending Sloop Sails 9 1 Iron Chain 10 8 5 1 16 £ 77 12 4	The account of stores issued to the Company's boats continued from a total of £54 10s 6d. Brought forward, £54 10s 6d Pitch and tar for the boats in general 37 lb of rosin, £0 12s 4d 2½ gallons of turpentine, £0 5s 9d 2 barrels of tar, £0 13s 7d 1 barrel of pitch, £1 19s 3d Total for pitch and tar, £3 16s 11d 7⅜ gallons of arrack for the men employed in hauling up the launch and the longboats, £0 15s 8d 18¾ lb of sole leather for the fishing boat, £0 15s 8d Oars 14 small oars, £2 16s 7d 6 long oars for the longboats, £1 13s 0d Total for oars, £4 9s 7d 84 lb of iron for the boats, £0 15s 9d Ironware, 13 [...] of rolled iron for the boats, £0 6s 5d Wooden ware 1 scrubbing brush for the boats, £0 2s 0d 2 paint brushes for the boats, £0 1s 0d Total for wooden ware, £0 3s 0d 2 double blocks of 8 inches for the boats, £1 6s 2d 4 lb of twine for the boats, £0 2s 0d Ironware 12 sail needles for mending the store sails, £0 0s 9d 1 iron chain, £10 3s 5d Total for ironware, £10 4s 2d Total charged to the boats, £77 12s 4d The account was signed by Sandy. **Interpretations** The boats' account came to £77 12s 4d for the quarter, more than any other heading except the slaves. The single largest item was an iron chain at over £10. Its cost points to a heavy mooring chain for one of the Company's boats or for a buoy in James Bay. Chain was a newer and costlier alternative to rope cable for moorings, but it lasted far longer on the rocky bottom of the anchorage, where hemp was quickly chafed through. The Company's choice of chain, set beside the 2,710 lb of rope issued in the same quarter, suggests it had found rope moorings too costly to keep replacing. The launch and longboats were the largest of the Company's boats, used to carry heavy goods, casks and guns between the ships and the shore. They were hauled up the beach when not in use, to protect them from the swell that rolled into the bay. Hauling them up was hard labour, and the arrack issued to the men who did it was the usual reward for heavy work outside their normal duties. Blocks were wooden pulleys used in a ship's rigging and in lifting tackle. A double block held two sheaves side by side and multiplied the pulling force of a rope. Two large double blocks of 8 inches were probably rigged as tackle for hauling the boats or for landing heavy stores at the wharf. The sole leather

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			issued for the fishing boat lined the rowlocks and oars, where leather stopped the wood from wearing as the oars worked.
344	335	1768 Sandy Bay Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1 October to the 31 December 1767 &ca Iron Ware viz. 4 Stone Saws 1 . 7 56 lb Rod Iron 11 8 3 Files 1 3 1 Smiths Rubber 4 5 1 Bastard Do. File 4 5 4 Pr. Dovetail Hinges 1 3 2 S. Bolt Locks 10 8 3 Scriving Gouges 2 5 4 Brass Rings 10 3 7 6 Deals viz. 6 Single 13 3 12 double 3 1 6 3 14 9 Iron 381 lb 3 11 5 Tar 1 Barrl. 19 10 Paint viz. 4 Whiting 2 2 Red Lead 4½ 1 lb B. Black 3½ 6 lb Black Lead 7 20 lb Pearl Colour 8 4 2 lb W. Lead dry 7½ ¼ Yell. Oaker mixed 1 3 Barls. Blacking 1 6½ 1 2 5 Nails viz. 2 . 3 1 6 6 . 6 3 4½ 6 . 10 2 9½ Nails Carried Over£ 7 8 Carried Over£ 12 11 11	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for the Sandy Bay fortification from 1 October to 31 December 1767. Ironware 4 stone saws, £1 0s 7d 56 lb of rod iron, £0 11s 8d 3 files, £0 1s 3d 1 smith's rubber, £0 4s 5d 1 bastard file, £0 4s 5d 4 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 1s 3d 2 [...] bolt locks, £0 10s 8d 3 [...] gouges, £0 2s 5d 4 brass rings, £0 0s 10d Total for ironware, £3 7s 6d Deals 6 single deals, £0 13s 3d 12 double deals, £3 1s 6d Total for deals, £3 14s 9d 381 lb of iron, £3 11s 5d 1 barrel of tar, £0 19s 10d Paint 4 lb of whiting, £0 0s 2d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 4½d 6 lb of [...] black, £0 0s 3½d 6 lb of black lead, £0 7s 0d 20 lb of paint colours, £0 5s 4d 2 lb of dry white lead, £0 0s 7½d ¼ [...] of mixed yellow ochre, £0 1s 0d 3 [...] of blacking, £0 1s 6½d Total for paint, £0 12s 5d Nails 2 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 1s 6d 6 [...] of sixpenny nails, £0 3s 4½d 6 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 2s 9½d Nails carried forward, £0 7s 8d Carried forward, £12 11s 11d **Interpretations** The Sandy Bay works were the defences built during 1767 to close the landing place on the island's south coast. The Council recorded their completion in December 1767, and this account shows the final quarter's materials. Sandy Bay lay on the far side of the island from Jamestown, so every tool and plank had to be carried over the central ridge by slaves or on pack animals. Stone saws were long toothless blades used with sand and water to cut blocks of soft stone. Their purchase shows that the works used dressed stone for the parapets and embrasures rather than rough rubble alone. The 381 lb of iron and the rod iron were forged on site into cramps, bolts and fittings for the gun platforms and magazine doors. A bastard file was a file of medium coarseness, between the rough and the smooth grades. Black lead was graphite. Rubbed onto cast-iron guns and shot with a little oil, it gave a dark, polished finish that held back rust in the salt air of an exposed battery. Its presence among the paints shows that the guns at Sandy Bay were being mounted and finished during the quarter, ready for service.
345	336	18th January Brought over£ 12 11 11 Nails brought over£ 7 8 20 . 20 7 6 8 Spikes 2 6 4½ Barrk. Nails 1 11 19 7 Lines 24 No. 4	The account of stores issued for the Sandy Bay fortification continued from a total of £12 11s 11d. Brought forward, £12 11s 11d Nails Nails brought forward, £0 7s 8d 20 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 7s 6d 8 [...] of spikes, £0 2s 6d 4½ [...] of barrel nails, £0 1s 11d Total for nails, £0 19s 7d 24 lines of size 4, £0 9s 0d Wooden ware, 24 labourers' baskets, £1 7s 6d

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		9 Turners ware 24 Labourers Baskets 1 7 6 Cordage 556 lb 9 5 4 Lead 73 lb 14 8 Oil viz. 2¾ Galls. Train 9 2 4¼ Do. Linseed 17 ¼ Do. Oil of Turpentine 1 4 1 7 6 Glass Ware 10 Sqr. 6 by 8 3 4 Candles 16 lb 1 14 8 Thread 1 lb Coloured 3 2 £ 28 16 8 Bankes's Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to 31 December 1767 viz. Turners ware 12 Labourers Baskets 13 9 Iron 70 lb 13 2 Carried Over£ 1 6 11	556 lb of cordage, £9 5s 4d 73 lb of lead, £0 14s 8d Oil 2¾ gallons of train oil, £0 9s 2d 4¼ gallons of linseed oil, £0 17s 0d ¼ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 1s 4d Total for oil, £1 7s 6d Glassware, 10 panes 6 by 8 inches, £0 3s 4d 16 lb of candles, £1 14s 8d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 2d Total charged to the Sandy Bay fortification, £28 16s 8d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for the fortifications at Banks's from 1 October to 31 December 1767. Wooden ware, 12 labourers' baskets, £0 13s 9d 70 lb of iron, £0 13s 2d Carried forward, £1 6s 11d **Interpretations** The labourers' baskets show how the fortifications were built. Earth, rubble and lime were carried by hand in baskets, on the heads or backs of the Company's slaves, rather than in carts or wheelbarrows. The steep and broken ground at Sandy Bay and Banks's left little room for wheeled transport. Basket work was slow and exhausting, and the 36 baskets issued to the two works in a single quarter show how quickly they wore out under such use. The 556 lb of cordage at Sandy Bay was the largest single item in that account, at over £9. Ropes were needed to haul guns, timber and stone up and down the cliffs and to rig the tackle used to lift the guns onto their carriages and platforms. The lead was probably cast into flashing and gutters for the magazine and guardhouse roofs, to keep powder and men dry. The account for Banks's was a small beginning. On 14 December 1767 the Council accepted a semicircular battery for Banks's as part of its decision on the defences of the approach to James Bay. The baskets and iron issued before the end of the year mark the first preparations for that work.
346	337	1768 Brought over£ Iron Ware viz. 1 Splinter Lock 5½ 6 Iron Shovels 1 7 3 4 Helves 2 5 1 Small Frying Pan 2 20 Masons Tools 1 7 6½ 2 19 8 Thread 1 lb Coloured 3 2 £ 4 9 9 Munden's Point Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 December 1767 viz. Iron Ware viz. 2 Iron Binding Wire 1 9 2 Pad Locks 3 16 Helves 9 8 6 Iron Shovels 1 7 3 4 Pole Picks 1 2 6 2 Ivory Bitts	The account of stores issued for the fortifications at Banks's continued from a total of £1 6s 11d. Brought forward, £1 6s 11d Ironware 1 splinter lock, £0 0s 5½d 6 iron shovels, £1 7s 3d 4 axe handles, £0 2s 5d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 0d 20 masons' tools, £1 7s 6½d Total for ironware, £2 19s 8d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 2d Total charged to the fortifications at Banks's, £4 9s 9d The storekeeper next listed the stores issued for the fortifications at Munden's Point from 1 October to 31 December 1767. Ironware 2 [...] of iron binding wire, £0 1s 9d 2 padlocks, £0 3s 0d 16 axe handles, £0 9s 8d 6 iron shovels, £1 7s 3d 4 pole picks, £1 12s 6d 2 [...] bills, £0 17s 0d 2 hammers, £0 5s 8d 2 sledgehammers, £0 19s 0d 40 gads, £1 12s 0d 8 borers, £1 3s 0d 2 pickaxes, £0 6s 7d 1 maul, £0 3s 10½d 2 hammer handles, £0 0s 5½d Ironware carried forward, £9 1s 9d

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		17 2 Hammers 5 8 2 Sledge Do. 19 40 Gads 1 12 8 Borers 1 3 2 Pick Axes 6 7 1 Maul 3 10½ 2 Hammers Helves 5½ Iron Ware Carried Over£ 9 1 9	**Interpretations** The tools issued for Munden's Point were those of rock-cutting rather than ordinary building. Gads were short pointed iron wedges driven into cracks in the rock with sledgehammers to split it apart. Borers were long iron drills, turned and struck by hand to cut holes in solid rock, either for wedges or for charges of gunpowder to blast it. Pole picks were heavy picks for breaking stone, and the maul was a large wooden-headed hammer for driving wedges. Forty gads and eight borers in a single quarter show that the gangs were cutting deep into the headland. Munden's Point stood on hard volcanic rock at the eastern side of James Bay. The new battery had to be cut into the cliff to form level platforms for the guns. The work followed the Council's decision of 7 December 1767 to keep to the approved plan, after the trial firing showed the guns could command the anchorage from the lower site. On 14 December the Council also agreed to place mortars in front of Munden's. The heavy issue of rock-cutting tools reflects that decision being put into effect. The masons' tools at Banks's show the other side of the same programme. There the work was laying stone for the new semicircular battery rather than cutting into rock. The two works together drew more than £13 of tools in a quarter, a sign of how far the Council was pressing its building programme on the approaches to Jamestown.
347	338	18th January Iron Ware brought Over£ 9 1 9 1 Drag 1 Ladle 1 Scoop 1 Priming Iron 1 Large Rammer 1 Candle Stick 2 Pick Axes 13 9 14 9 Iron 102 lb 19 2 Cart Wheels 5 Wheel Barrows 3 17 6 Deals 20 Double 3 8 4 Nails viz. 6 . 6 12 . 10 12 . 20 10 . 40 12 Spikes 1 . 11 Turners ware 12 Labourers Baskets 13 9 Lead 123 lb Shot 1 13 1 Cordage 629 lb 10 9 8 £ 31 17 2 St. Helena 31 December 1767 Errors Excepted Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	The account of stores issued for the fortifications at Munden's Point continued from a total of £9 1s 9d for ironware. Ironware brought forward, £9 1s 9d 1 drag, 1 ladle, 1 scoop, 1 priming iron, 1 large rammer, 1 candlestick and 2 pickaxes, £0 13s 0d Total for ironware, £9 14s 9d 102 lb of iron, £0 19s 2d Cart wheels and 5 wheelbarrows, £3 17s 6d 20 double deals, £3 8s 4d Nails 6 [...] of sixpenny nails, 12 [...] of tenpenny nails, 12 [...] of twentypenny nails, 10 [...] of fortypenny nails and 12 [...] of spikes, £1 0s 11d Wooden ware, 12 labourers' baskets, £0 13s 9d 123 lb of sheet lead, £1 3s 1d 629 lb of cordage, £10 9s 8d Total charged to the fortifications at Munden's Point, £31 7s 2d James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1767, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The last group of ironware at Munden's Point was a set of gunners' tools rather than builders' tools. The ladle was a long-handled copper scoop used to load loose powder into a gun. The priming iron was a sharp spike pushed down the vent to pierce the cartridge before firing. The rammer drove the charge and shot home. The scoop and drag probably served to clear the bore and to haul the gun on its platform. Their issue shows that guns were already being mounted and worked at Munden's Point by the end of December 1767, before the battery was finished. The trial firing recorded in the gunner's account for that month, when three 24-pounders were fired at Munden's, would have needed exactly these tools. Munden's Point drew £31 7s 2d in stores for the quarter, more than Sandy Bay's £28 16s 8d. Cordage again made up a third of the cost, at 629 lb. The heavy guns had to be hauled up the cliff and lifted into place by rope tackle, and rope wore out fast against the rock. Powell's signature closed the whole quarterly account of the warehouse. It covered goods sold to employees, planters and outsiders, and stores issued

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			free to the Company's general expenses, its table, the garrison, the slaves, the Malays, the plantation, the hospital, the boats, repairs and the three fortifications. The Council examined and approved it on 18 January 1768. The account gave the Company a complete record of where every item from its warehouse had gone in the quarter, and the means to check its storekeeper's honesty.
348	339	1768 List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salary's Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing the 1 day of October and ending the 31 day of December 1767 viz. John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Saly. 125 Do. Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Saly. 62 10 Do. Diet Money 25 87 10 Mr. Purling of Council Saly. 15 Do. Accomptant 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. Gratuity 15 62 10 Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council Saly. 7 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 10 Archibald Mitchell Engineer Saly. 50 Do. Diet Money 25 Do. House Rent 2 10 77 10 William Bearcroft Chaplain Saly. 40 Do. Diet Money 15 55 Mattw. Bazett Secy. Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 2 10 35 James Bowel Storekeeper Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 2 10 35 William Wrangham Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 Do. Assistant to the Governor 10 30	The Company's list of its officers and employees on St Helena gave their salaries, table allowances and other payments for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1767. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Total for John Skottowe, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, table allowance, £25 0s 0d Total for Daniel Corneille, £87 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, of the Council, salary, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, table allowance, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Total for William Matthew Purling, £62 10s 0d Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, table allowance, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Archibald Mitchell, £77 10s 0d William Bearcroft, chaplain, salary, £40 0s 0d William Bearcroft, table allowance, £15 0s 0d Total for William Bearcroft, £55 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, table allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Matthew Bazett, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, table allowance, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Powell, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, table allowance, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Total for William Wrangham, £30 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total for Jonathan Doveton, £22 10s 0d Carried forward, £571 14s 9d **Interpretations** The list shows that an officer's pay was built up from several parts rather than a single salary. Each man received a basic salary for his rank, a table allowance in place of meals at the Company's table, and often house rent. Extra sums were paid for additional duties. Purling's basic salary as a councillor was only £15 a quarter, but his work as accountant and a gratuity raised his total to £62 10s 0d. Wrangham and Doveton, both junior factors, doubled their pay by acting as assistant to the Governor and assistant storekeeper. The system let the Company reward work done without raising the formal scale of salaries set in London.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Jonathan Doveton Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 22 10 Carried Over£ 571 14 9	Kirkpatrick received only £10 as a councillor because his main pay came as captain of one of the garrison companies, recorded in the military pay lists. Mitchell, by contrast, drew £77 10s 0d as engineer, almost as much as the Lieutenant Governor. His pay reflected the weight the Company placed on the fortification programme he was directing at Sandy Bay, Banks's and Munden's Point. The chaplain, William Bearcroft, was the Mr Bancroft named in the repairs account, whose horse stable was built with Company deals, nails and half a ship's boom during the same quarter. Housing for the chaplain and his horse formed part of the support the Company gave him alongside his salary of £40 and table allowance of £15.
349	340	18th January Brought Over£ 571 14 9 Brit. Wright Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 20 John Goodwin Writer Saly. 5 Do. Diet Money 10 15 Robert Barclay Surgeon Saly. 9 15 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 22 5 John Pritchard Surgeon Mate Saly. 6 5 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 18 15 Thomas Bazett Saly. 13 13 Samuel Alexander 7 10 John Worral 15 Overseers William Holbrooke Master Mason 30 John Robinson Carpenter 25 Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 10 Thos. Yates Clerk of the Church 5 John Bazett Superintt. over the Compy's Bls. 10 James Black Gardener 10 George Bazett Steward 7 10 Samuel Perry Clock & Instrumt. Clean. 1 5 Thos. Payne Overseer of Compy's Workmen 6 16 10½ Robert Allum Groom 2 John Robins Armourer 15 Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 John Criswell Patron of the L. Boat	The list of the Company's officers and employees continued from a total of £571 14s 9d. Brought forward, £571 14s 9d Richard Wright, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Richard Wright, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Richard Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Richard Wright, £20 0s 0d John Goodwin, weigher, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Total for John Goodwin, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Barclay, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, table allowance, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Pritchard, £18 15s 0d Thomas Bazett, salary, £13 13s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Worral, overseer, £15 0s 0d William Holbrooke, master mason, £30 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Thomas Yates, parish clerk, £5 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d James Black, gardener, £10 0s 0d George Bazett, steward, £7 10s 0d Samuel Bovey, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Byne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Robert Allom, groom, £2 0s 0d John Robins, armourer, £15 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Caswell, coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d John Drawwater, cooper, £8 15s 0d Drum major, for teaching the young drummers, £1 0s 0d [...] Lemmon, for 92 days' [...], £3 14s 10d Total from Thomas Bazett to [...] Lemmon, £193 9s 8½d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Total for Richard Beale, £20 0s 0d Carried forward, £861 4s 5½d **Interpretations** The Bazett family held four separate posts on the list. Matthew Bazett was secretary to the Council, Thomas Bazett drew a salary, John Bazett superintended the Company's slaves and George Bazett served as steward of the Castle table. Small Company outposts often came to be run by a few established island families, whose members filled the minor offices one after another. Such families gave the Company local knowledge and continuity, and in

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 10 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7 10 John Drawwater Cooper 8 15 To the Drum Major for Instruct'g Young Drumrs. 1 To J. Lemmon an Invalid 92 days at 9d. 3 14 10 193 9 8½ Richard Beale Judge Advocate 12 10 Do. Schoolmaster 7 10 20 Carried Over£ 861 4 5½	return gained a steady income and influence over island affairs. The pay of the tradesmen shows where the Company's needs lay. William Holbrooke, the master mason, earned £30 for the quarter, more than the Lieutenant Governor's table allowance and second only to the engineer among the non-councillors. Masons were essential to the fortification works and hard to find on the island. The carpenter, John Robinson, earned £25 and the armourer £15. John Drawwater, the cooper, received £8 15s 0d. His petition for a higher salary had been sent home to the Court with the Council's recommendation earlier in the season, and the figure here shows the pay he was then seeking to raise. Several officers combined unrelated duties. Richard Beale was both judge advocate, who conducted courts martial for the garrison, and schoolmaster for the island's children. John Price served as both marshal, who carried out the orders of the court, and gaoler. Doubling up posts in this way let the Company fill necessary offices in a small community without paying a full salary for each.
350	341	1768 Brought Over£ 861 4 5½ First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captn. Saly. 45 12 6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Samuel Duffountain Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Barnard Millard as Adjutant 29 13 1½ Serjeants Phillip Mahoney 7 12 1 Thomas Payne 7 12 1 William Bannister 7 12 1 Henry Howell 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals Joseph Tracy 5 6 5½ William Bunn 5 6 5½ William Rowlands 5 6 5½ Thomas Bennett reduced 9th November 2 6 8 Do. Centinel 52 days 2 3 4 20 9 4½ Drummers Richard Platfoot 5 6 5½ John Martin 5 6 5½ Joseph Beecham 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Centinels	The list continued with the officers and men of the First Company of the garrison, from a total of £861 4s 5½d. Brought forward, £861 4s 5½d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Solomon St Maurice, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Desfountain, £27 11s 10½d Bernard Millard, as adjutant, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Thomas Byne, £7 12s 1d William Bannister, £7 12s 1d Henry Howell, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals Joseph Stacey, £5 6s 5½d William Burn, £5 6s 5½d William Rowlands, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Renwick, reduced in rank on 9 November, £2 6s 8d Thomas Renwick, as private for 52 days, £2 3s 4d Total for corporals, £20 9s 4½d Drummers Richard Halfoot, £5 6s 5½d John Morton, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Bucham, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £15 19s 4½d Privates James Greentree, cadet, £7 12s 1d John Allum, appointed corporal on 16 November, £3 0s 3d John Allum, as private for 40 days, £1 13s 4d Privates carried forward, £4 13s 7d Carried forward, £1,066 3s 0d **Interpretations** Thomas Kirkpatrick's pay as captain of the First Company, at £45 12s 6d, explains why he received only £10 as a member of the Council. His military rank was his main employment, and his seat on the Council added a small extra salary. The changes in rank were settled to the day. Thomas Renwick was reduced from corporal to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Greentree Cadet 7 12 1 John Allum Appd. Corpl. the 10th November 3 3 Do. as Centinel 40 days 1 13 4 Centinels Carried Over£ 4 16 4 Carried Over£ 1066 3	private on 9 November 1767 and paid at the lower rate for the remaining 52 days of the quarter. John Allum filled the vacancy on 16 November, after 40 days as a private, and drew corporal's pay from that date. A private earned 10d a day, so a corporal's stripes were worth about a third more. Reduction in rank was the usual punishment for a non-commissioned officer's misconduct, and it cost Renwick money as well as standing. The record shows the Company keeping its garrison's pay strictly tied to rank and service. Several men held military and civil posts together. Phillip Mahoney and Thomas Byne were sergeants in the First Company and also appeared on the civil list as clerk of the peace and overseer of the Company's workmen. Solomon St Maurice was both lieutenant and master at arms. Bernard Millard drew pay as adjutant, the post he had held on an acting basis since John Jacobs was suspended on 18 September 1767. On a small island with a limited pool of literate and reliable men, the same individuals served the Company in several capacities at once. James Greentree was listed as a cadet among the privates. A cadet was a young man of good family who served in the ranks while waiting for a commission as an officer.
351	342	18th January Brought over£ 1066 3 Centinels brought over£ 4 14 James Avery 3 16 - ½ James Armstrong 3 16 - ½ John Buckmans 3 16 - ½ Thomas Blake 3 16 - ½ Moses Biffin 3 16 - ½ John Bull 3 16 - ½ John Barnes 3 16 - ½ Timothy Bryan 3 16 - ½ Emanuel Brunner 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Barclay 3 16 - ½ Samuel Bingrove 3 16 - ½ Richard Broom 3 16 - ½ Edmund Corker 3 16 - ½ William Clissold 3 16 - ½ Patrick Conner 3 16 - ½ Andrew Conner 3 16 - ½ John Charlton 3 16 - ½ John Davis 3 16 - ½ John Dove 3 16 - ½ David Davis 3 16 - ½ James Drake 3 16 - ½ Thomas Durham 3 16 - ½ James Dunn 3 16 - ½	The list of privates in the First Company continued from a total of £4 14s 0d. Privates brought forward, £4 14s 0d James Avery, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, £3 16s 0½d John Buchmans, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, £3 16s 0½d Moses Biffin, £3 16s 0½d John Bull, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Bryan, £3 16s 0½d Emanuel Bunner, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Barclay, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Brogan, £3 16s 0½d Richard Broom, £3 16s 0½d Edmund Crocker, £3 16s 0½d William Clissold, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Connor, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Connor, £3 16s 0½d John Charlton, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dare, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d Henry [...], £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Finn, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d William Greenwood, £3 16s 0½d John Granger, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £122 11s 3½d Carried forward, £1,066 3s 0d **Interpretations** Every private drew the same £3 16s 0½d for the quarter, about 10d a day. The rate was below the wage of a common labourer in England at the time, who might earn 1s a day or more. The Company made up the difference in kind. Its soldiers bought bread, salt meat, cloth and tools from the warehouse at only 10 per cent above cost, and their bread was stopped from their pay at that low rate. Guards received tea, lamp oil and blankets free, and arrack was issued at musters. Taken together, these benefits made garrison service on St Helena more attractive

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Dobson 3 16 - ½ Adam Evans 3 16 - ½ Henry Evenstearn 3 16 - ½ Cornelius Fish 3 16 - ½ William French 3 16 - ½ William Greenwood 3 16 - ½ John Grainger 3 16 - ½ William Henderson 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 122 11 3½ Carried Over£ 1066 3	than the cash figure alone suggests, and helped the Company recruit island-born men into the ranks. The surnames show a garrison drawn largely from England, Ireland and Scotland. Irish names such as Connor, Bryan, Dunn and Finn sat beside English ones, which matches the Company's practice of recruiting in the ports and market towns of the British Isles and shipping the men out in its East Indiamen.
352	343	1768 Brought over£ 1066 3 Centinels brought over£ 122 11 3½ James Hedge 3 16 - ½ John Hewston 3 16 - ½ Edward Haddock 3 16 - ½ William Holmes 3 16 - ½ William Hallsall 3 16 - ½ Duncan McClaren 3 16 - ½ William Mumford 3 16 - ½ Thomas Means 3 16 - ½ John McAllister 3 16 - ½ James Miller 3 16 - ½ John Pickering 3 16 - ½ Matthew Palmer 3 16 - ½ Thomas Roberts 3 16 - ½ William Robinson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Ransom 3 16 - ½ Silvanus Rolf 3 16 - ½ George Rowe 3 16 - ½ Thomas Rogers 3 16 - ½ Anthony Reynolds 3 16 - ½ William Swaby 3 16 - ½ John Springthorpe 3 16 - ½ John Stairs 3 16 - ½ John Steward 3 16 - ½ Edward Stevenson 3 16 - ½ William Smell 3 16 - ½ Robert Saunders 3 16 - ½ Richard Tollington 3 16 - ½	The list of privates in the First Company continued from a total of £122 11s 3½d. Privates brought forward, £122 11s 3½d James Hodge, £3 16s 0½d John Hourston, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, £3 16s 0½d William Halsall, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McLaren, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Meares, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d James Miller, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Palmer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d Erasmus Relf, £3 16s 0½d George Reed, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorpe, £3 16s 0½d John Shinn, £3 16s 0½d John Steward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Stevenson, £3 16s 0½d William Snell, £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tillington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Townsend, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £244 4s 7½d Carried forward, £1,066 3s 0d **Interpretations** The privates were listed in alphabetical order by surname rather than by length of service or by post. The arrangement made the roll easy to check against the muster, when each man answered to his name and his presence was confirmed before his pay was entered. A man absent without leave, sick or dead would be struck out or paid only for the days he served, as with Renwick and Allum on the previous page. With 63 full-time privates on these two pages alone, besides the cadet and the men who changed rank during the quarter, the First Company was a substantial body for a small island. Its privates' pay for three months came to well over £240. The cost of the garrison was the largest single charge in the Company's island accounts, and it explains why the Council watched promotions, reductions and enlistment bounties so closely.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Tipper 3 16 - ½ Thomas Townsend 3 16 - ½ Luke Vernon 3 16 - ½ John Whittingdale 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Wise Centinels Carried Over£ 244 4 7½ Carried Over£ 1066 3	
353	344	18th January Brought over£ 1066 3 Centinels brought over£ 244 4 7½ Thomas Windall 3 16 - ½ John Weston 3 16 - ½ George Wall 3 16 - ½ Richard Toucas 3 16 - ½ William Benson 3 16 - ½ 263 4 10 Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Salary 45 12 6 Michael Frost Lt. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7 12 1 George Freeman 7 12 1 Edmund Leech 7 12 1 Stephen Prior 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals William Fullwood 5 6 5½ William Hunt 5 6 5½ John Fish 5 6 5½ John Sabourin 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers Francis Scoane 5 6 5½ John Brown 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried Over£ 1492 11 2	The list of privates in the First Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,066 3s 0d Privates brought forward, £244 4s 7½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d John Wiston, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youncas, £3 16s 0½d William Pinson, £3 16s 0½d Total for privates, £263 4s 10d The list continued with the officers and men of the Second Company. Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Trost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Trost, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Michael Trost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Michael Trost, £27 11s 10½d John [...] Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John [...] Welch, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d John [...] Welch, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John [...] Welch, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Bazett, £7 12s 1d Gerard Freeman, £7 12s 1d Edward Lock, £7 12s 1d Stephen Prior, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals William Fullwood, £5 6s 5½d William Shant, £5 6s 5½d John Fish, £5 6s 5½d John Sabourin, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers Francis Swane, £5 6s 5½d John Brown, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £1,492 11s 2d **Interpretations** The First Company's privates cost £263 4s 10d for the quarter, by far the largest part of the company's pay. Officers, sergeants, corporals and drummers together added about £180, so the whole company cost the Company over £440 in three months. Henry Bazett, captain of the Second Company, was a fifth member of the Bazett family on the pay list, alongside Matthew the secretary, Thomas, George the steward and John. John Bazett served as a sergeant in Henry's company while also drawing pay as superintendent of the Company's slaves. The family thus held posts in the civil government, the Castle household and the garrison at once. Its hold on so many offices gave it a reach into almost every part of island life, from the Council's papers to the slave gangs and the guard posts. The two companies were organised on the same pattern. Each had a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, a set of corporals and drummers and its body of privates. The lieutenants received the same table allowance and house rent as the civil officers, which placed them on a social footing with the factors and the secretary.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
354	345	1768 Brought over£ 1492 11 2 Centinels Thomas Adams 3 16 - ½ Robert Allum 3 16 - ½ Joseph Banks 3 16 - ½ William Birch 3 16 - ½ William Brookes 3 16 - ½ Jacob Brown 3 16 - ½ Nicholas Bushell 3 16 - ½ Daniel Bye 3 16 - ½ James Byrne 3 16 - ½ Jonathan Burden 3 16 - ½ Thomas Cheverly 3 16 - ½ William Conquest 3 16 - ½ William Carfree 3 16 - ½ John Crawley 3 16 - ½ Robert Brown 3 16 - ½ Samuel Curd 3 16 - ½ William Carter 3 16 - ½ John Cunningham 3 16 - ½ Robert Dickens 3 16 - ½ William Drennan 3 16 - ½ John Daily 3 16 - ½ John Forbes 3 16 - ½ John Goldsole 3 16 - ½ John Gray 3 16 - ½ Robert Green 3 16 - ½ James Gates 3 16 - ½ Charles Goulding 3 16 - ½ William Greenough 3 16 - ½ James Goudy 3 16 - ½ William Harris 3 16 - ½ William Harris 3 16 - ½ Abraham Harding Centinels Carried Over£ 121 13 4 Carried Over£ 1492 11 2 **Margin Notes:** 14	The list continued with the privates of the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,492 11s 2d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d Robert Allum, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brookes, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Burden, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Caverly, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d William Carfree, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Card, £3 16s 0½d William Carter, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d William Dunnan, £3 16s 0½d John Daily, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, £3 16s 0½d John Goosole, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, £3 16s 0½d James Gates, £3 16s 0½d Charles Golding, £3 16s 0½d William Greenough, £3 16s 0½d James Gouty, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £121 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,492 11s 2d **Interpretations** Robert Allum, a private in the Second Company, was probably the Robert Allom who drew £2 a quarter on the civil list as the Company's groom. The small sum points to a soldier who looked after the Castle horses in addition to his military duties, rather than a full-time servant. The same pattern of doubling appeared among the sergeants of the First Company, who served as clerk of the peace and overseer of the Company's workmen. Two privates named William Harris appeared one after the other. The clerk entered each separately with his own pay, so they were two distinct men and not a slip of the pen. Common names were frequent in the ranks, and the Company relied on the muster, where each man was seen in person, to keep such cases apart.
355	346	18th January Brought Over£ 1492 11 2 Centinels brought Over£ 121 13 4 Samuel Hiles	The list of privates in the Second Company continued from a total of £121 13s 4d. Brought forward, £1,492 11s 2d Privates brought forward, £121 13s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John Hellbrooke 3 16 - ½ James Hudson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hayles 3 16 - ½ William Hayes 3 16 - ½ Robert Hoppkinson 3 16 - ½ James Hogg 3 16 - ½ John Ham 3 16 - ½ William Harper 3 16 - ½ Samuel Instone 3 16 - ½ William Johnson 3 16 - ½ Jeremiah Gordon 3 16 - ½ John Jacks 3 16 - ½ Thomas James 3 16 - ½ John James 3 16 - ½ Samuel Kitson 3 16 - ½ Henry Kirkham 3 16 - ½ Henry Miller 3 16 - ½ James Mannington 3 16 - ½ John Morris 3 16 - ½ John McCullen 3 16 - ½ William Merrick 3 16 - ½ Thomas Newton 3 16 - ½ Pierce Osborne 3 16 - ½ Samuel Perry 3 16 - ½ John Povey 3 16 - ½ Thomas Richards 3 16 - ½ John Christian Strife 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Stringer 3 16 - ½ Thomas Stowers 3 16 - ½ Gregory Sabourin 3 16 - ½ John Salisbury 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 243 6 8 Carried Over£ 1492 11 2	Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrooke, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hayles, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hopkinson, £3 16s 0½d James Hogg, £3 16s 0½d John Ham, £3 16s 0½d William Harper, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Gordon, £3 16s 0½d John Jacks, £3 16s 0½d Thomas James, £3 16s 0½d John James, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Ibson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Lockham, £3 16s 0½d Henry Mills, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, £3 16s 0½d John Morris, £3 16s 0½d John McCullen, £3 16s 0½d William Merrick, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton, £3 16s 0½d Reeves Osborne, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Povey, £3 16s 0½d John Povey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pritchard, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Shiff, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Spencer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bowers, £3 16s 0½d Gregory Sabourin, £3 16s 0½d John Salisbury, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £243 6s 8d Carried forward, £1,492 11s 2d **Interpretations** Several privates shared surnames with men holding other posts on the same lists. Gregory Sabourin served in the same company as the corporal John Sabourin. John Holbrooke shared his name with William Holbrooke, the master mason, and Samuel and John Povey may have been related to Samuel Bovey, the clock and instrument cleaner on the civil list. These links point to island families placing several of their sons in the garrison. Enlistment gave young island men a steady wage and a ration in a place with few other paid occupations, and the Company gained recruits already used to the climate and the terrain. John Christian Shiff was one of the few names of German or Scandinavian form in the garrison. The Company recruited foreign Protestants as well as British subjects, particularly Germans and Swiss, when men from home were scarce.
356	347	1768 Brought Over£ 1492 11 2 Centinels brought Over£ 243 6 8 Francis Seale Entd. the 9th November 1767 2 4 2 John Tucker 3 16 - ½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 - ½ Thomas Woffington	The list of privates in the Second Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,492 11s 2d Privates brought forward, £243 6s 8d Francis Seale, enlisted 9 November 1767, £2 4s 2d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 0½d John Wyrill, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John Wyrill 3 16 - ½ Joseph Whaley Entd. the 30th November 1 6 8 262 1 8 Third Company Richard Beale Captn. Saly. 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Salary 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants Roger Witman 7 12 1 William Roberts 7 12 1 William Clifton 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Fisher Gamble 5 6 5½ Samuel Johnson 5 6 5½ Thomas Pearce 5 6 5½ John Hilliard 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers John Swaits 5 6 5½ George Carney 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried Over£ 1910 4 1	Joseph Whaley, enlisted 30 November 1767, £1 6s 8d Total for privates, £262 1s 8d The list continued with the officers and men of the Third Company. Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Lambert, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants Roger Watson, £7 12s 1d William Roberts, £7 12s 1d William Clifton, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals Fisher Gamble, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Johnson, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Pearce, £5 6s 5½d John Hilliard, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers John Swift, £5 6s 5½d George Varney, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £1,910 4s 1d **Interpretations** Francis Seale and Joseph Whaley were island-born men whose enlistment the Council had recorded in the autumn of 1767, with bounties of £5 and £10. Their pay ran only from the day each joined: 53 days for Seale from 9 November and 32 days for Whaley from 30 November, both at the standard 10d a day. John Wyrill, another island native taken into the garrison earlier, drew a full quarter's pay. The bounties were paid separately from the Company's cash and did not appear in this list. Together they show the Council's effort to fill the ranks from the island's own young men rather than wait for recruits from England. Richard Beale held three posts at once. He was captain of the Third Company at £45 12s 6d, judge advocate at £12 10s 0d and schoolmaster at £7 10s 0d, giving him £65 12s 6d for the quarter. That income placed him among the best-paid men on the island, above the engineer. The combination suggests that Beale was one of the few officers with enough learning to conduct courts martial and teach. Thomas Bazett, lieutenant in the Third Company, was probably the Thomas Bazett who drew a separate salary on the civil list. With Henry as captain of the Second Company and John as a sergeant, the family held three commissions or ranks across the garrison.
357	348	18th January Brought Over£ 1910 4 1 Centinels Richd. Ashford 3 16 - ½ James Anderson 3 16 - ½ Henry Brown 3 16 - ½ Jacob Brill 3 16 - ½ Mark Balls 3 16 - ½ John Blinkhorn 3 16 - ½ Fredk. Willm. Beard 3 16 - ½	The list continued with the privates of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,910 4s 1d Richard Arford, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bull, £3 16s 0½d Mark Bell, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dudley, £3 16s 0½d James Dunnavan, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d John Foxen, £3 16s 0½d

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		William Caleb Baldwin 3 16 - ½ John Cork 3 16 - ½ Robert Davis 3 16 - ½ Edward Dudley 3 16 - ½ James Donnavan 3 16 - ½ William Foster 3 16 - ½ John Foxon 3 16 - ½ Archibald Grayham 3 16 - ½ Richard Gregory 3 16 - ½ William Greenup 3 16 - ½ Felix Hyder 3 16 - ½ William Hill 3 16 - ½ William Hopkins 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hillock 3 16 - ½ Mannard Hayes 3 16 - ½ Joseph Holloway 3 16 - ½ Robert Hardy 3 16 - ½ Peter Higgins 3 16 - ½ Josiah Johnson 3 16 - ½ Robert Johnson 3 16 - ½ Richard Johnson 3 16 - ½ James Kemp 3 16 - ½ Richard Linney 3 16 - ½ John Long 3 16 - ½ Edward Lamborn 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 121 13 4 Carried Over£ 1910 4 1 **Margin Notes:** 14	Archibald Grayham, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gregory, £3 16s 0½d William Greenup, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d William Hopkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Killock, £3 16s 0½d Mannard Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Holloway, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hinkey, £3 16s 0½d Peter Higgins, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £121 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,910 4s 1d **Interpretations** Two privates carried double forenames, Frederick William Beard and William Caleb Baldwin. Double forenames were still unusual among working men in England in the 1760s. They were far more common among German families, and Frederick William was a typical German combination. Both men were probably among the foreign Protestants the Company recruited when British volunteers fell short, like John Christian Shiff in the Second Company. The three companies were kept close to the same strength. Each had its captain, two lieutenants, three or four sergeants, four corporals, two or three drummers and a body of privates paid at the same daily rate. A balanced establishment let the Governor rotate the companies through the island's guard posts on an equal footing, so that no single company bore the burden of the remote batteries for long.
358	349	1768 Brought over£ 1910 4 1 Centinels brought over£ 121 13 4 Bryan Lynch 3 16 - ½ James Long 3 16 - ½ Thomas Little 3 16 - ½ Charles Mountague 3 16 - ½ Richard Moyce 3 16 - ½ Thomas Morris 3 16 - ½ John Miller 3 16 - ½ Abraham Major 3 16 - ½ James Moyce	The list of privates in the Third Company continued from a total of £121 13s 4d. Brought forward, £1,910 4s 1d Privates brought forward, £121 13s 4d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d James Long, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Little, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Martin, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Masterson, £3 16s 0½d William Medcalf, £3 16s 0½d Charles Norris, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povey, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ Thomas Matthews 3 16 - ½ Joseph Martin 3 16 - ½ Daniel Masterson 3 16 - ½ William Medcalf 3 16 - ½ Charles Morris 3 16 - ½ Thomas Perry 3 16 - ½ Henry Pinckson 3 16 - ½ William Parkes 3 16 - ½ David Patton 3 16 - ½ James Proctor 3 16 - ½ Samuel Packer 3 16 - ½ William Robinson 3 16 - ½ Robert Stack 3 16 - ½ Adam Scott 3 16 - ½ David Scott 3 16 - ½ John Shorland 3 16 - ½ Arthur Shell 3 16 - ½ William Smith 3 16 - ½ John Simpson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 - ½ Richard Vincent 3 16 - ½ John Vaughan 3 16 - ½ Thos. Ward 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carrd. Over£ 243 6 8 Carried Over£ 1910 4 1	William Perkis, £3 16s 0½d David Patton, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Packer, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Sherlock, £3 16s 0½d Arthur Still, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d John Simpson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ware, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £243 6s 8d Carried forward, £1,910 4s 1d **Interpretations** Several surnames recurred within the Third Company and across the garrison. Richard and James Moyce, Adam and David Scott, and John and James Long served side by side, and Thomas Povey shared a surname with Samuel and John Povey of the Second Company. Brothers and cousins often enlisted together, whether recruited from the same English parish or raised on the island itself. Serving in the same company kept family ties intact on a remote posting, and it gave the officers men who would vouch for one another. The Third Company's privates on these two pages came to 64 men, matching the strength of the other two companies. The garrison's three companies of foot therefore numbered close to 200 privates, besides their officers, sergeants, corporals and drummers, in addition to the artillery.
359	350	18th January Brought Over£ 1910 4 1 Centinels brought over£ 243 6 8 Edward Welsh 3 16 - ½ Hatton Walker 3 16 - ½ George Washington 3 16 - ½ James York 3 16 - ½ 258 10 10 Fourth Company John Howard Captain Salary 45 12 6 Henry De Laune Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Flemming 7 12 1 Thomas Bailey	The list of privates in the Third Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,910 4s 1d Privates brought forward, £243 6s 8d Edward Welsh, £3 16s 0½d Hatton Walther, £3 16s 0½d George Washington, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d Total for privates, £258 10s 10d The list continued with the officers and men of the Fourth Company. John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Henry De Laune, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bailey, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, reduced in rank on 7 October, £0 11s 8d John Simcox, as private for 84 days, £3 10s 2½d Thomas Ferris, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £26 18s 1½d Corporals

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		7 12 1 John Simcox Red. the 7th Octor. 11 8 Do. Centinel 84 days 3 10 2½ Thomas Ferris 7 12 1 26 18 1½ Corporals Richard Moreton Appointed Serjt. 8 Octr. 7 . 5 Do. as Corporal 7 days 8 2 John Moore 5 6 5½ James Brilliott 5 6 5½ William Blackman reduced the 7 Octr. 8 2 Do. Centinel 84 days 3 10 2½ 21 19 10½ Drummers George Wills 5 6 5½ John Campin 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels John Allen 3 16 - ½ William Allen 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 7 12 1 Carrd. Over£ 2301 10 2½	Richard Moreton, appointed sergeant on 8 October, £7 0s 5d Richard Moreton, as corporal for 7 days, £0 8s 2d John Moore, £5 6s 5½d James Brilliott, £5 6s 5½d William Blackman, reduced in rank on 7 October, £0 8s 2d William Blackman, as private for 84 days, £3 10s 2½d Total for corporals, £21 19s 10½d Drummers George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Crispin, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Privates John Allen, £3 16s 0½d William Allen, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £7 12s 1d Carried forward, £2,301 10s 2½d **Interpretations** Sergeant John Simcox and Corporal William Blackman were both reduced to private on the same day, 7 October 1767. Richard Moreton was raised from corporal to sergeant the next day to fill Simcox's place. Two reductions on one day in the same company point to a single incident, probably a breach of discipline in which both men were involved. Their loss of rank cost each of them about a third of his pay for the rest of the quarter. The prompt promotion of Moreton kept the company's establishment of sergeants full. The Fourth Company had only one lieutenant on the list, Henry De Laune, while the other three companies each had two. A vacant lieutenancy saved the Company a full officer's pay and allowances. It may have arisen from a death, a resignation or a promotion not yet filled from England, since commissions in the garrison were granted by the Court in London.
360	351	1768 Brought Over£ 2301 10 2½ Centinels brought over£ 7 12 1 Daniel Armin 3 16 - ½ George Bennett 3 16 - ½ Joseph Blackwell 3 16 - ½ John Brooke 3 16 - ½ Richard Bickerstaff 3 16 - ½ John Beauchamp 3 16 - ½ Andrew Barton died the 19th Novr. 2 1 3 John Bowler 3 16 - ½ George Capling 3 16 - ½ William Cooksey 3 16 - ½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 - ½ James Culsher 3 16 - ½ Richard Clin 3 16 - ½ Josiah Cummings 3 16 - ½ John Deale 3 16 - ½ John Eustone 3 16 - ½	The list of privates in the Fourth Company continued from a total of £7 12s 1d. Brought forward, £2,301 10s 2½d Privates brought forward, £7 12s 1d Daniel Aaron, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d John Brooke, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 16s 0½d John Beauchamp, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Barton, died 17 November, £2 1s 3d John Bowler, £3 16s 0½d George Copling, £3 16s 0½d William Cobury, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, £3 16s 0½d Richard Cox, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummings, £3 16s 0½d John Deale, £3 16s 0½d John Eastone, £3 16s 0½d Charles Field, £3 16s 0½d Francis Glynn, £3 16s 0½d George Greer, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, £3 16s 0½d Henry Verringbury, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Roger Haydon, £3 16s 0½d John Harper, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Kempster, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Haylock, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d

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		Charles Field 3 16 - ½ Francis Flynn 3 16 - ½ George Green 3 16 - ½ John Gilmore 3 16 - ½ Edward Germain 3 16 - ½ Henry Hermingburg 3 16 - ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 16 - ½ Roger Haydon 3 16 - ½ John Harper 3 16 - ½ Stephen John 3 16 - ½ Christian Johnson 3 16 - ½ Richard Kempton 3 16 - ½ Thomas Shylock 3 16 - ½ Thomas Lee 3 16 - ½ Thomas Lyne 3 16 - ½ Charles Lewellin Centinels Carried Over£ 127 11 - ½ Carrd. Over£ 2301 10 2½	Charles Llewellin, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £127 10s 7½d Carried forward, £2,301 10s 2½d **Interpretations** Andrew Barton died on 17 November 1767, and his pay ran only to that day. The sum due to him for the weeks he served was not lost. It passed to his estate, to be paid to his widow or next of kin if he had any on the island, or held against his debts to the Company's warehouse. A soldier's death was thus closed in the accounts as carefully as a promotion or a reduction in rank. His death came in the same weeks as the five slave deaths recorded in the livestock account and the coffins charged to the garrison and the slaves. The late spring of 1767 appears to have been a sickly season on the island, with losses among soldiers and slaves alike.
361	352	18th January Bro. Over£ 2301 10 2½ Centinels brought Over£ 127 11 - ½ John Joyce 3 16 - ½ Thomas Johnson 3 16 - ½ Murdoch McCloed 3 16 - ½ Thomas Marshall 3 16 - ½ John Mayor 3 16 - ½ Thomas McDearmon 3 16 - ½ Patrick Mahoney 3 16 - ½ Robert May 3 16 - ½ John Newton 3 16 - ½ James Newport 3 16 - ½ John Oswald 3 16 - ½ John Pluck 3 16 - ½ Daniel Patrick 3 16 - ½ Stephen Papps 3 16 - ½ William Parker 3 16 - ½ Thos. Pritchard 3 16 - ½ John Pink 3 16 - ½ Benjamin Poole 3 16 - ½ James Richardson 3 16 - ½ Thomas Rutherford	The list of privates in the Fourth Company continued from a total of £127 11s 0½d. Brought forward, £2,301 10s 2½d Privates brought forward, £127 11s 0½d John Joyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McLeod, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Major, £3 16s 0½d Thomas McNamara, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Mahoney, £3 16s 0½d Robert May, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d James Newport, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Papps, £3 16s 0½d William Parker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pritchard, £3 16s 0½d John Pink, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Poole, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rotherford, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, £3 16s 0½d William Stedman, £3 16s 0½d James Ive, appointed corporal on 8 October, £4 18s 3½d James Ive, as private for 7 days, £0 5s 10d John Terry, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d John Wood, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £246 16s 5d Carried forward, £2,301 10s 2½d **Interpretations** James Ive's promotion completed a chain of changes in the Fourth Company. On 7 October 1767

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 - ½ John Shaw 3 16 - ½ William Seedman 3 16 - ½ John Slade 3 16 - ½ William Stedman 3 16 - ½ James Toe appointed Corpl. the 8th Octr. 4 13 3½ Do. Centinel 7 Days 5 10 John Terry 3 16 - ½ Jeremiah Worrell 3 16 - ½ William Waite 3 16 - ½ John Woods 3 16 - ½ Thomas Williams 3 16 - ½ Thos. Watts 3 16 - ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 246 16 5 Carried Over£ 2301 10 2½ **Margin Notes:** 14	Sergeant John Simcox and Corporal William Blackman were both reduced to private. The next day Corporal Richard Moreton was raised to sergeant in Simcox's place, and Ive was raised from private to corporal. One corporal's place was therefore filled from the ranks, while the second vacancy left by Blackman was not filled during the quarter. The officers met the loss of two non-commissioned officers by promoting from within the company the very next day, keeping its command structure intact without waiting for the Council or the Court. Ive's pay was split at the day of his promotion: 7 days as a private at 10d and 85 days at a corporal's rate. The company's paymaster tracked every change to the exact day, so each man's pay reflected precisely the rank he held.
362	353	1768 Brought over£ 2301 10 2½ Centinels brought Over£ 246 16 5 James Willson 3 16 - ½ George West Appd. Corpl. 8th Octobr. 4 13 3½ Do. Centinel 7 days 5 10 James Walter 3 16 - ½ 259 12 7½ Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Captain Saly. 45 12 6 Nathan Sample Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Leech Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Adam Watson 9 2 6 John Shirtley 9 2 6 John Cox 9 2 6 36 10 Corporals Thomas Collier 6 16 10½ Nicholas Houghton 6 16 10½ Robert Gillson	The list of privates in the Fourth Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £2,301 10s 2½d Privates brought forward, £246 16s 5d James Wilson, £3 16s 0½d George West, appointed corporal on 8 October, £4 18s 3½d George West, as private for 7 days, £0 5s 10d James Waller, £3 16s 0½d Total for privates, £259 12s 7½d The list continued with the officers and men of the Artillery Company. Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Semple, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Semple, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Semple, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Nathan Semple, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Leech, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, £9 2s 6d John Cox, £9 2s 6d Total for sergeants, £36 10s 0d Corporals Thomas Collier, £6 16s 10½d Nicholas Houghton, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gibson, £6 16s 10½d John Peck, £6 16s 10½d Total for corporals, £27 7s 6d Bombardiers John Turner, £6 16s 10½d James Bayfell, £6 16s 10½d John Martin, £6 16s 10½d David Dennis, £6 16s 10½d Total for bombardiers, £27 7s 6d Carried forward, £2,753 4s 1d **Interpretations** George West was raised to corporal on 8 October 1767, the same day as James Ive. Both corporals' places left vacant by the events of 7 October were therefore filled at once: Ive took the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 16 10½ John Jacks 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Bombardiers John Turner 6 16 10½ James Parfett 6 16 10½ John Martin 6 16 10½ David Dennis 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Carried Over£ 2753 4 1	place of Richard Moreton, who had moved up to sergeant, and West took the place of William Blackman, who had been reduced to private. The Fourth Company lost a sergeant and a corporal and replaced them within a day by three promotions. The Artillery Company was paid on a higher scale than the companies of foot. Its sergeants drew £9 2s 6d a quarter against £7 12s 1d in the infantry, and its corporals £6 16s 10½d against £5 6s 5½d. Gunnery required training in loading, aiming and handling powder safely, and the Company paid more to keep skilled men. Bombardiers were a rank peculiar to the artillery, ranking with corporals and responsible for the mortars and the preparation of shells and fuses. Archibald Mitchell drew £45 12s 6d as captain of the artillery on top of his £77 10s 0d as engineer, a total of £123 2s 6d for the quarter. Only the Governor received more. His double post placed both the design of the new fortifications and the training of the men who would fire their guns under one officer, at a time when the Council was spending heavily on the batteries at Sandy Bay, Banks's and Munden's Point.
363	354	18th January Brought over£ 2753 4 1 Gunners John Smith 6 1 8 Thomas Tyler 6 1 8 Samuel Smith 6 1 8 Thomas McFarling 6 1 8 Adam Creighton 6 1 8 William Hodges Reducd. 5 8 Do. Matross 10 days 10 3 Thomas Jones 6 1 8 William Stapleford 6 1 8 43 9 11 Drummers George Garrard 5 6 5½ Joseph Purdey 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Matrosses Charles Abraham 4 11 3 Benjamin Burton 4 11 3 James Bottomly 4 11 3 William Brown 4 11 3 John Cope 4 11 3 John Criswell 4 11 3 Thomas Clark 4 11 3 Robert Cunningham 4 11 3 John Carforth 4 11 3 William Durham 4 11 3 Daniel Finn 4 11 3	The list of the Artillery Company continued from a total of £2,753 4s 1d. Brought forward, £2,753 4s 1d Gunners John Smith, £6 1s 8d Thomas Tyler, £6 1s 8d Samuel Smith, £6 1s 8d Thomas McFarling, £6 1s 8d Adam Creighton, £6 1s 8d William Hodges, reduced in rank, £5 8s 0d William Hodges, as matross for 10 days, £0 10s 3d Thomas Innes, £6 1s 8d William Stapleford, £6 1s 8d Total for gunners, £48 9s 11d Drummers George Barwood, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Purdey, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Matrosses Charles Abraham, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d James Bottomly, £4 11s 3d William Brown, £4 11s 3d John Cope, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d John Canfort, £4 11s 3d William Durham, £4 11s 3d David Finn, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d Robert Frankish, £4 11s 3d John Fox, £4 11s 3d Christian Grunewald, £4 11s 3d Thomas Gerrall, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £73 0s 0d Carried forward, £2,812 6s 11d **Interpretations** The artillery had its own ladder of ranks. Gunners were trained men who laid and fired the guns, and each drew £6 1s 8d for the quarter. Matrosses were the lowest rank of the artillery, the assistants who hauled the guns, handled the rammers and sponges and carried powder and shot. Even a matross earned £4 11s 3d, nearly a fifth more than a private of foot. The higher rate reflected the heavier and more dangerous labour of serving the guns, and it gave the infantry an incentive to transfer to the artillery.

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		Joseph Fellows 4 11 3 Robert Frankish 4 11 3 John Fox 4 11 3 Christian Greenawald 4 11 3 Thos. Gorrall 4 11 3 Matrosses Carried Over£ 73 Carrd. Over£ 2807 6 11	William Hodges was reduced from gunner to matross for the last 10 days of the quarter. The reduction lowered his daily pay from about 1s 4d to under 1s. As with the reductions in the Fourth Company, the Company's accounts tracked his change in rank to the day. Christian Grunewald was another of the German recruits in the garrison, like Frederick William Beard and John Christian Shiff in the companies of foot.
364	355	1768 Brought Over£ 2812 6 11 Matrosses brought over£ 73 Thomas Green 4 11 3 Lawrence Hall 4 11 3 William Jenkins 4 11 3 John Lewis 4 11 3 William Luke 4 11 3 Daniel Maloney 4 11 3 George Marshall 4 11 3 Jonathan Mallett 4 11 3 John Moore 4 11 3 Thomas Nimble 4 11 3 Evan Newland 4 11 3 Martin Newman 4 11 3 John Osborne 4 11 3 William Poulton 4 11 3 William Phillips 4 11 3 Godfrey Smith 4 11 3 William Stone 4 11 3 Daniel Song 4 11 3 Thomas Walls 4 11 3 John Webbly 4 11 3 Richard Wellman 4 11 3 Thomas Wyatt 4 11 3 Richard Waterhouse 4 11 3 John Willson 4 11 3 Sedgwick Witherall Appd. Gunr. 31 Decemr. 4 1 Do. as Gunr. 10 Days 13 8 James Gates 4 11 3 191 15 11 £ 3004 2 10 **Margin Notes:** 93	The list of matrosses in the Artillery Company continued from a total of £73 0s 0d. Brought forward, £2,812 6s 11d Matrosses brought forward, £73 0s 0d Thomas Green, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Holt, £4 11s 3d William Jenkins, £4 11s 3d John Lewis, £4 11s 3d William Luke, £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, £4 11s 3d Jonathan Mallett, £4 11s 3d John Moore, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d Ezra Nowland, £4 11s 3d Martin Newman, £4 11s 3d John Osborne, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d William Stone, £4 11s 3d Daniel Long, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, £4 11s 3d Richard Waterhouse, £4 11s 3d John Wilson, £4 11s 3d Sedgwick Wetherall, appointed gunner on [...] December, £4 1s 0d Sedgwick Wetherall, as gunner for 10 days, £0 13s 8d James Gates, £4 11s 3d Total for matrosses, £191 15s 11d Total for the quarter, £3,004 2s 10d The list was signed by D Thomas. **Interpretations** Sedgwick Wetherall was promoted from matross to gunner for the last 10 days of the quarter, the same 10 days for which William Hodges was reduced from gunner to matross. The two changes were one transaction. Hodges lost his place, and Wetherall was raised into it at once, so the artillery kept its full number of trained gunners. As in the Fourth Company in October, the officers filled a vacancy from the ranks the moment it opened. The whole pay list of civil officers and garrison came to £3,004 2s 10d for the quarter, or about £12,000 a year. The garrison accounted for well over three-quarters of it, with four companies of foot and the artillery numbering together close to 350 men. The figure dwarfed every other charge on the island. It was roughly equal to the entire cash balance the Council had reported in its treasury in the autumn of 1767, about £11,625. The Company's sales from the warehouse recovered only a small part of the cost. The list therefore shows plainly what St Helena was to the Company: a fortified station maintained at heavy expense for the safety of its homeward ships, not a source of profit.

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365	356	18th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1767 To Cash received £ 3554 - 7½ Carried Over£ 3554 - 7½	The paymaster's account for the quarter opened on the debit side. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit 1767, cash received, £3,554 0s 7½d Carried forward, £3,554 0s 7½d **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick drew £3,554 0s 7½d from the Company's treasury to meet the quarter's payments. The pay list of officers and garrison accounted for £3,004 2s 10d of it. The remaining £550 covered payments not on that list, probably the wages of artificers and labourers, enlistment bounties and other charges that the credit side of his account would set out. The sum was well below the £4,152 19s 7d recorded against Kirkpatrick as paymaster on 20 July 1767. The difference suggests that the previous quarter carried heavier one-off charges, perhaps arrears or payments for the fortification works, which did not recur at the year's end. Kirkpatrick held three posts at once. He was a member of the Council, captain of the First Company and paymaster of the island. As paymaster he handled the largest flow of cash on St Helena, and the Council examined his account each quarter alongside the storekeeper's. Placing that duty with a councillor and senior officer gave the Company a man of standing to answer for the money, under the eye of his fellow councillors.
366	357	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1767 Novemr. 2 By Cash paid John Vaughan for relisting to serve the Honble Company five Years longer as a Soldier 10 9 By Cash pd. Francis Seale for Enlist'g to serve as above 5 By Cash pd. for an Exchange of an Old Horse for a breeding Mare 6 30 By Cash pd. Joseph Whaley for Enlisting to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier for five Years 10 Decr. 5 By Cash paid John Hewston for making a Flag for Sandy Bay Fort 15 By Cash paid Felix Fabiano for 7 days Work at Mundens Point 1 15 By Cash paid Sundry Planters for 123 [...] days Masons Work at Sandy Bay this Quarter 23 . 1½ By Cash pd. Do. for 56 days Labourers Work at Do. 2 16 By Cash pd. Mr. Mason for 60 Girths of Rushes for the Companys use 1 10 By Cash pd. the Subsistence of Mr. Farson left Sick of the Ship Devonshire 36 days at 6 Pr. day 18 By Cash pd. Wm. Jenkins for Baking 117 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter at 20 Pr. Bh. 9 15 By Cash pd. Robert Barclay Surgeon for supply'g necessarys for the Sick in the Hospital from the 7 May this Year 15 11 By Cash pd. Do. for his trouble in supply'g the Hospital with fresh Provisions	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account listed the payments he made during the quarter. 2 November 1767, John Vaughan, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years, £10 0s 0d 9 November 1767, Francis Seale, bounty for enlisting on the same terms, £5 0s 0d 9 November 1767, exchange of an old horse for a breeding mare, £6 0s 0d 30 November 1767, Joseph Whaley, bounty for enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five years, £10 0s 0d 5 December 1767, John Hourston, for making a flag for the Sandy Bay fort, £0 15s 0d Pedro Fabiano, for 7 days' work at Munden's Point, £1 15s 0d Sundry planters, for 125½ days' masons' work at Sandy Bay during the quarter, £22 0s 1½d Sundry planters, for 56 days' labourers' work at Sandy Bay, £2 16s 0d Mr Mason, for 60 [...] of rushes for the Company's use, £1 10s 0d Subsistence of Mr Turson, left behind by the ship Devonshire, for 36 days at 6d a day, £0 18s 0d William Jenkins, for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison during the quarter at 20d a batch, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, for supplying necessaries to the sick in the hospital to 7 [...] this year, £15 11s 0d Robert Barclay, for his trouble in supplying the hospital with fresh provisions, £8 0s 0d Nequedah Pocholam, for 13 pieces of salt meat left in the stores, the money being allowed him to buy fresh meat, £1 6s 0d Nequedah Pocholam, his allowance from the Company, £1 12s 6d Nequedah Pocholam, house rent for the quarter, £1 0s 0d The gaoler, for committals and punishments, as shown in his account to the Governor and Council, £1 7s 6d The sexton, for burying sundry men of the garrison, as shown in his account to the Governor and Council, £2 7s 6d

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		8 By Cash pd. Nocquedah Cockullem for 13 Pieces of Salt Meat left in the Stores he being indulged with the Money to buy fresh 1 6 By Cash paid Do. his Allowance from the Honble Company 1 12 6 By Cash paid the Clerk of the Arraigns and Parador of the Court 12 6 By Cash paid Do. for House Rent this Quarter 1 By Cash paid the Goaler for Committments and punishments as pr. Account delivered to the Governor & Council 1 7 6 By Cash pd. the Sexton for Burials of Sundry Garrison Men as pr. Account delivered to the Governor and Council 2 7 6 By Cash pd. for 472 lb of Beef bought for the use of the Company's Table 9 19 5½ By Cash pd. for one doz. Fowles Do. for Do. 18 By Cash pd. for 2 Geese for Do. 10 By Cash pd. for 2 Pigs Do. for Do. 7 6 By Cash pd. for 300 of Lemons Do. for Do. 17 6 By Cash pd. for 7 Bottles of Florence Oil Do. for Do. Carried Over£ 122 9 1	478 lb of beef bought for the Company's table, £9 19s 5½d 1 dozen fowls for the Company's table, £0 18s 0d 2 geese for the Company's table, £0 10s 0d 2 pigs for the Company's table, £0 10s 0d 300 lemons for the Company's table, £0 7s 6d 7 bottles of Florence oil for the Company's table, £0 17s 6d Carried forward, £122 9s 1d The ship named in the subsistence entry was the *Devonshire*. **Interpretations** The bounties explain the dates of enlistment in the pay list. Francis Seale joined on 9 November 1767 for £5 and Joseph Whaley on 30 November for £10, and both drew pay from those days. John Vaughan, already a private in the First Company, received £10 for signing on for five more years. The Company preferred to pay a bounty to keep a trained and acclimatised man rather than lose him and wait for a raw recruit from England. Re-enlistment bounties were the cheapest way to hold the garrison's strength. The masons' and labourers' work at Sandy Bay was paid to the island's planters, not to the workmen themselves. The planters hired out their own slaves, some of them skilled masons, to the Company by the day. The arrangement let the Company add skilled hands to its fortification works without buying more slaves, and it gave planters a cash income from their labour force. The horse exchange recorded here was the trade of an old sorrel horse for a breeding mare noted in the livestock account of 31 December 1767. Nequedah Pocholam, from his name a Malay, received an allowance, house rent and cash in place of salt meat. He was probably the head of the Malays whose stores appeared in the warehouse account. Paying him money to buy fresh meat, rather than issuing salt pork, may have reflected Muslim dietary rules, which forbade pork. The Company accommodated that need while keeping the cost within the ration's value. The baker, William Jenkins, was paid by the batch, at 20d for each of 117 batches in the quarter. Piece rates gave the Company control over the cost of the garrison's bread, which it then sold back to the soldiers through the warehouse. The sexton's bill for burying soldiers, alongside the death of Andrew Barton on 17 November, confirms the losses in the garrison that season.
367	358	18th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. To Cash brought Over £ 3554 - 7½ £ 3554 - 7½	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account closed with the cash he had received from the treasury. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit Cash brought forward, £3,554 0s 7½d Total, £3,554 0s 7½d **Interpretations** The debit side held a single entry, the cash Kirkpatrick drew from the Company's treasury for the quarter. The paymaster did not collect income of his own. All his money came from the Council's treasury, and his account showed only how he spent it. Closing the debit side at £3,554 0s 7½d meant that the credit side had to account for exactly the same sum. Every payment had to be shown in the pay list or the sundry payments, and any shortfall would fall on Kirkpatrick personally. The diagonal line ruled through the empty part of the page was a standard bookkeeping safeguard. It stopped anyone from adding an entry after the account was closed and approved.
368	359	1768 Per Contra Cr. Brought over£ 122 9 1	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account continued from a total of £122 9s 1d. Brought forward, £122 9s 1d

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		By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men for 93½ days Work at S. Bay Fortif. at 1/6 Pr. day 7 3 3 By Cash pd. Do. for 180⅓ days Stone Blowers Work at Do. at 1/6 Pr. day 13 10 4½ By Cash pd. Do. for 100⅓ days Smiths Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 7 10 4½ By Cash pd. Do. for 91 Do. Lime Burn'g Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 6 16 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 4935 Do. Labourers Do. @ Do. @ 1/ 239 5 By Cash pd. Do. for 87 Do. Carpenters Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 6 10 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 54½ Do. Stone Blowing @ Mundens Point @ 1/6 4 1 9 By Cash pd. Do. for 189 Do. Masons Work at Do. @ 1/6 14 3 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 4 Do. Carpenters Do. at Do. @ 1/6 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 1000 Do. Labourers Do. at Do. @ 1/ 55 By Cash pd. Do. for 95 Do. Masons Do. at Banks's @ 1/6 7 2 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 549 Do. Labourers Do. at Do. @ 1/ 27 9 By Cash pd. Do. for 40½ Do. Painting Gun Carriages @ 1/6 3 - 4½ By Cash pd. Do. for 100 Do. Armourers Work in Shop @ 1/6 7 10 By Cash pd. Do. for 23 Do. Carpenters Do. repair'g the L. Boats @ 1/6 1 14 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 28 Do. Getting Rushes for Hospital 1 8 By Cash pd. Do. for 51½ Do. Carpenters Work & Painters for Sundry Repairs Do. 3 16 10½ By Cash pd. Do. for 10 days Labourers Do. for Do. 10 By Cash pd. an Assistant Surgeon at S. Bay from the 1 January to 31 Decemr. 1767 inclusive at the Allowance of £ 12 - Pr. Annm. 11 5 4 By Cash paid for 3¼ days Carpenters Work at Banks's at 1/6 4 10½ 549 17 9½ By the Amount of the Pay List 3004 2 10 £ 3554 - 7½ St. Helena 31 Decr. 1767 Excepted Signed Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Counted and Examined the Honble Company's Cash for the Month of December last which is as follows viz.	Sundry men of the garrison, for 95½ days' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £7 3s 3d 180¼ days' stone blowers' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £13 10s 4½d 100¼ days' smiths' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £7 10s 4½d 91 days' lime burners' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £6 16s 6d 4,985 days' labourers' work at Sandy Bay at 1s a day, £249 5s 0d 87 days' carpenters' work at Sandy Bay at 1s 6d a day, £6 10s 6d 54½ days' stone blowing at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £4 1s 9d 189 days' masons' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £14 3s 6d 4 days' carpenters' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £0 6s 0d 1,100 days' labourers' work at Munden's Point at 1s a day, £55 0s 0d 95 days' masons' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £7 2s 6d 549 days' labourers' work at Banks's at 1s a day, £27 9s 0d 40¼ days' painting gun carriages at 1s 6d a day, £3 0s 4½d 100 days' armourers' work in the shop at 1s 6d a day, £7 10s 0d 23 days' carpenters' work repairing the [...] at 1s 6d a day, £1 14s 6d 23 days cutting rushes for the hospital, £1 3s 0d 51¼ days' carpenters' and painters' work on sundry repairs, £3 16s 10½d 10 days' labourers' work on the same repairs, £0 10s 0d An assistant surgeon at Sandy Bay from 1 January to 31 December 1767 inclusive at £12 a year, £11 5s 4d 3¼ days' carpenters' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £0 4s 10½d Total of sundry payments, £549 17s 9½d Amount of the pay list, £3,004 2s 10d Total, £3,554 0s 7½d Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster at St Helena on 31 December 1767, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for December 1767. **Interpretations** Most of the fortification work was done by soldiers of the garrison on extra pay. Labourers received 1s a day and skilled men such as masons, smiths, carpenters, lime burners and stone blowers 1s 6d. A private's ordinary pay was 10d a day, so a day's labour on the works more than doubled his income. The arrangement gave the Company a ready workforce already on the island and under military discipline. It also gave the soldiers a strong reason to volunteer. The scale of the work at Sandy Bay was very large. Almost 5,000 days of labouring were paid there in a single quarter, together with skilled work by masons, smiths and stone blowers. Stone blowers were men who blasted rock with gunpowder, drilling holes with the borers issued from the stores and packing them with charges. Lime burners fired the kilns that turned the island's limestone or shell into lime for mortar. In all, Sandy Bay absorbed about £290 of the paymaster's sundry payments in the quarter, against about £73 for Munden's Point and £35 for Banks's. The weight of spending matches the Council's report that the Sandy Bay works were completed in December 1767. The sundry payments of £549 17s 9½d, added to the pay list of £3,004 2s 10d, balanced exactly the £3,554 0s 7½d Kirkpatrick had drawn. The

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			paymaster's account was thus closed without surplus or deficit, ready for the Council's approval.
369	360	18th January Cash Dr. 1767 Decemr. 1 To Balance remaining £ 11625 2 6 To James Bowell received of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 1311 15 3 To Licences for Publick Houses 18 10 To Plantation for Provision Sold 32 10 8½ To Sandy Bay Fortification received for Lime Sold 2 1 3 £ 12989 19 8½ Per Contra Cr. 1767 Decr. 31 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salary's &ca in the Quarter ending this day 3554 - 7½ By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 8896 4 1 In Cash Notes 539 15 9435 19 1 £ 12989 19 8½ John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council's cash account for December 1767 was set out as follows. Cash, debit 1 December 1767, balance remaining, £11,625 2s 6d Received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending 31 December, £1,311 15s 3d Licences for public houses, £18 10s 0d Received from the plantation for provisions sold, £32 10s 3½d Received from the Sandy Bay fortification for lime sold, £2 1s 3d Total, £12,989 19s 3½d Cash, credit 31 December 1767, sums advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges for the quarter ending that day, £3,554 0s 7½d Balance remaining in coin, £8,896 4s 1d Balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance remaining, £9,435 19s 1d Total, £12,989 19s 3½d Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The treasury had held £11,625 2s 6d unchanged through October and November 1767, because the Company paid its garrison and officers quarterly rather than monthly. The whole quarter's pay therefore fell due at once at the end of December. Kirkpatrick's advance of £3,554 0s 7½d was the single great outflow of the quarter. The balance fell by about £2,190 once the island's own income had been set against it. The warehouse was by far the largest source of that income. Powell paid in £1,311 15s 3d from the quarter's sales, which recovered more than a third of the paymaster's outlay. Much of that came straight back from the soldiers themselves, who bought their bread, salt meat and clothing at the warehouse at 10 per cent above cost. The Company in effect paid its garrison in cash and then took a large part of the money back through the sale of provisions. The system kept coin circulating on an island where it was always scarce. The licences for public houses brought in £18 10s 0d. Licensing gave the Council control over who sold drink and where, in a garrison town where drunkenness among the soldiers was a constant concern. The fees were a small revenue, but the power to grant or refuse a licence was a useful instrument of order. Part of the balance was held in cash notes rather than coin. These were the Company's own paper notes, issued on the island to make up for the shortage of specie. Holding most of the balance in coin, £8,896 against £539 in notes, shows that the treasury kept its reserve chiefly in hard money, which was needed to pay ships' captains and settle bills in currencies other than sterling.
370	361	25th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of January 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 18th Jany. 1768 Tuesday the 19th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Lord Holland for England We this day Enlisted Sutton Leache a Native to serve the Honble	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 25 January 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 18 January 1768. The Company's ship *Lord Holland* sailed for England on Tuesday 19 January. The Council enlisted Sutton Isaacke, a native of the island, to serve the Company as a soldier for five

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		Company as a Soldier for five Years and gave him £ 5 - Bounty Money to buy him Cloaths &ca. - We likewise this day Enlisted Samuel Willson a Dane who Staid behind from the Ship Lord Holland, to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years and gave him £ 3 - Bounty money to buy him Cloaths &ca The Lieutenant Governor this day applied to pay £ 200 - into the Honorable Company's Cash, which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Christopher Baron Esqr. (or Order) at ninety days Sight John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	years. It paid him a bounty of £5 0s 0d to buy clothes and other necessaries. The Council also enlisted Samuel Willson, a Dane who had stayed behind when the *Lord Holland* sailed. He signed on to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £3 0s 0d for clothes and necessaries. Corneille asked to pay £200 into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors for that sum, payable to Christopher Baron or his nominee 90 days after presentation. **Interpretations** Samuel Willson appeared on the *Lord Holland*'s muster roll as a seaman when Purling inspected her on 16 January 1768 and found no deserters. Willson left the ship after that muster and remained ashore when she sailed. The Council could have treated him as a deserter and held him for the next ship. Instead it enlisted him in the garrison within a week. A seaman already on the island cost nothing to bring out from England, and the Council chose to gain a soldier rather than return a sailor to a ship that had gone. His bounty of £3 was lower than the £5 paid to Isaacke, the island-born recruit. The difference reflected the Council's preference for natives of the island, who were used to its climate and had family ties there. Corneille's £200 followed the same pattern as Captain Nairn's £100 on 16 January. Officers on the island used the Company's treasury to send their savings home. They paid in coin, which the island always needed, and received bills on the Court in London payable to an agent. Christopher Baron was probably Corneille's agent or banker in England. The 90-day term let the Company receive the Council's advice of the bill before it had to pay.
371	362	1 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 1 day of February 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 25th January 1768. - Wednesday the 27th Passed by a Ship to Leeward under Dutch Colours We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to Mr. Simon Whaley Planter for two parcels of Land containing in both three Acres, situated in the East Division of this Island at 5/ Pr. Acre John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 1 February 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 25 January 1768. On Wednesday 27 January a ship flying Dutch colours passed the island to leeward without stopping. The Council renewed the lease of Simon Whaley, a planter, for two plots of land in the East Division of the island. The two plots together came to three acres, at a rent of 5s an acre. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Dutch East India Company ships had their own refreshment station at the Cape and seldom needed to call at St Helena. Passing to leeward meant the ship kept to the north-western side of the island, downwind, on the usual track for vessels running north with the south-east trade wind. The garrison recorded every sail it sighted, friendly or not. Each sighting tested the signal posts and told the Council which nations' ships were using the route. Simon Whaley was probably a kinsman of Joseph Whaley, the island native who enlisted in the garrison on 30 November 1767 for a bounty of £10. The Whaleys were a planter family holding Company land in the East Division, and a younger member taking service as a soldier was typical of island families with small holdings. The rent of 5s an acre gave the Company only 15s a year from Whaley's three acres. The Company leased land at low rents because its aim was to keep settlers on the island growing food and raising stock, not to profit from the land itself. The renewal was the

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			routine kind of entry found throughout the island's lease registers, where each holding passed from one term to the next by the Council's grant.
372	363	8th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of February 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 1 February 1768 The Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of January last were this day brought in, which were examined, and approved and are as follow viz. - Return of Artillery Stores expended in January 1768 Guns fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 12th An Alarm at Prosperous Bay: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Do. at Turks Cap for the same Ship: Guns fired 2, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Lord Holland: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 19th Departed the Lord Holland: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Powder for Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 199, Powder Expended oz 0 Total: Guns fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 222, Powder Expended oz 8 Tallow 35 lb Handspikes 6 Worms for 3 Pr. 2 Kitt for the L. Boats Sails 2 lb Spunge Staves 2 Rammer Heads 3 Tompions 2 Wormes 1 Trunk Nails 30 Sheep Skins 1 Iron Shod Trucks 2 Signed R. Mitchell	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 8 February 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 1 February 1768. The gunner's and steward's accounts for January were presented, examined and approved. The gunner's return of artillery stores used in January 1768 recorded the guns fired, the guns of each calibre from 4 down to 1 that were used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 12 January, alarm at Prosperous Bay, 6 guns fired: calibre 4, 2 guns; calibre 3, 2 guns; calibre 2, 0 guns; calibre 1, 2 guns; powder 12 lb 0 oz 12 January, alarm at Turk's Cap for the same ship, 2 guns fired: calibre 4, 2 guns; calibre 3, 0 guns; calibre 2, 0 guns; calibre 1, 0 guns; powder 4 lb 0 oz 12 January, arrival of the *Lord Holland*, 9 guns fired: calibre 4, 0 guns; calibre 3, 0 guns; calibre 2, 9 guns; calibre 1, 0 guns; powder 6 lb 12 oz 19 January, departure of the *Lord Holland*, 9 guns fired: calibre 4, 0 guns; calibre 3, 0 guns; calibre 2, 9 guns; calibre 1, 0 guns; powder 6 lb 12 oz Powder used on sundry services, 199 lb 0 oz Total powder used, 228 lb 8 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Tallow, 35 lb Handspikes, 6 Worms for 3-pounders, 2 [...] for the longboats' sails, 2 Sponge staves, 2 Rammer heads, 3 Tompions, 2 Worms, 1 Trunk nails, 30 Sheepskins, 1 Iron-shod trucks, 2 The return was signed by Archibald Mitchell. **Interpretations** The two alarms on 12 January show the island's warning system at work. Prosperous Bay and Turk's Cap were lookout posts on the windward, eastern side of St Helena, the first places to sight a ship approaching from the Cape. When a sail appeared, their guns fired an alarm that was relayed across the island to the Castle, so the garrison could stand to arms before the ship's identity was known. The ship in this case was the *Lord Holland*, which then received the usual nine-gun salute on her arrival in James Bay and again on her departure on 19 January. Her boat had landed at Banks's at six in the morning, as the minutes of 16 January recorded, after the alarm guns had already announced her. Several of the stores were the working parts of the guns. A worm was a corkscrew-shaped iron on a long staff, used to draw out a charge or clear burning fragments from the bore. Tompions were wooden plugs fitted into the muzzle to keep out rain and salt spray when the gun was not in use. Sheepskin was nailed over the sponge heads with trunk nails, and the sponge, dipped in water, was pushed down the barrel after each shot to put out any sparks before the next charge went in. Trucks were the small solid wheels of a gun carriage, here shod with iron to withstand wear on stone platforms. The 199 lb of powder used on sundry services was far greater than that fired in alarms and salutes.

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			Much of it probably went on blasting rock at Munden's Point, where stone blowers were at work, and on exercising the gun crews at the new batteries.
373	364	8th February Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in Jany. 1768 To 2 Bottles Port Wine £ 3 13 Do. Lisbone 1 7 8 Do. Mountain 12 10 Do. Beer 2 1 30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 160 lb Beef 3 3 3 200 lb Mutton 4 3 4 1 Kid 5 6 Fowls 9 2 Turkeys 10 30 lb Butter 1 10 120 lb Candy 2 10 300 Flour 2 10 £ 25 . 1 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in January 1768. 2 bottles of port wine, £0 3s 0d 18 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 7s 0d 8 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 12s 0d 10 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d 160 lb of beef, £3 8s 3d 200 lb of mutton, £4 3s 4d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 6 fowls, £0 9s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 120 lb of sugar candy, £2 10s 0d 300 lb of flour, £2 10s 0d Total, £25 0s 1d Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The Company's table cost £25 0s 1d in January, close to the December level. Arrack again took 30 gallons at £7 10s 0d, nearly a third of the month's spending. The figure did not fall after the Christmas season, so the large December issue was not a holiday excess but the normal monthly use of the Governor's table. Arrack went into punch, the staple drink of the Castle's entertaining, and the *Lord Holland*'s officers and passengers were guests during her week in the road from 12 to 19 January. Meat was the next largest cost. Mutton at 5d a pound and beef at about the same price were bought fresh from the island's own flocks and herds, while poultry and kid came in small numbers. The prices show fresh meat on St Helena costing much the same as salt beef imported from Europe, and well above the price of meat in an English market town. The island's limited grazing kept fresh meat dear even for the Company's own table. The sugar candy and flour were drawn from the warehouse and charged to the table at their stores value. The 120 lb of sugar candy matched the heavy use of candy recorded in the diet expenses for the previous quarter, which reached 450 lb.
374	365	15th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of February 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was, read, approved, and signed, dated the 8th February 1768 - Thursday the 11th Arrived the Hectors Boat at Banks's at eight o'Clock in the morning - Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Hector from Madrass, last from the Cape, and brought Us the following Supplies - Invoice of Ship Hector 1 Bales 1 containing Table Cloths 4 Yds. long & 3 broad 8 @ 8 Pr. Ps. 64 Do. 5 Yds. Square 8 @ 4 . 13 . 40 35 Do. 4 Do. 8 @ 2 . 27 22 Napkins 1½ Yds. long & 1 broad 12 @ 7 . 18 90 Stockings 2 . 10 @ 22 Pr. Cor.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 15 February 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 8 February 1768. At eight in the morning on Thursday 11 February, a boat from the *Hector* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Hector* reached the anchorage the same day. She had sailed from Madras and called last at the Cape. She brought the following supplies, listed in her invoice in Madras money. 1 bale containing 8 tablecloths 4 yards long by 3 yards wide at 8 pagodas each, 64 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 8 tablecloths 5 [...] square at 4 pagodas 13 fanams 40 cash each, 35 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 8 tablecloths 4 [...] square at 2 pagodas 27 fanams each, 22 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 12 [...] napkins 1½ yards long by 1 yard wide at 7 pagodas 18 fanams, 90 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 2½ corge of stockings at 22 pagodas per corge, 55 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for the bale, 266 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Packing, 1 pagoda 0 fanams 0 cash

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		55 266 Packing 1 267 Arrack 2 Leaguers 2 Leaguers of 300 Galls. @ 42 Pr. Leaguer 84 Rice 25 Bags 25 Bags Gr. Wt. 32 . 12 Mds. Ps. Tare @ 2 lb for a Single Bag 2 . 16 Mds. 31 . 2 . 6 or 152 Ms. @ 33 . 5 . 45 Pr. G. 32 5 20 Carried Over Pagodas 383 5 20	Total with packing, 267 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Arrack, 2 leaguers of 300 gallons at 42 pagodas per leaguer, 84 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Rice, 25 bags weighing [...], 32 pagodas 5 fanams 20 cash Carried forward, 383 pagodas 5 fanams 20 cash **Interpretations** The invoice was kept in the money of the Madras settlement. The pagoda was a gold coin of southern India, divided into 36 fanams, each of 80 cash. The Council would have converted the total into sterling before entering the goods in the island's stores. The *Hector*'s cargo for St Helena differed from the Bengal ship's. Where the *Lord Holland* brought grain, sugar and candles, Madras sent cloth and linen, the chief manufacture of the Coromandel coast. The tablecloths and napkins were fine cotton or linen damask woven in the Madras weaving villages. They were probably meant for the Castle and the Company's table, where the steward's accounts show regular entertaining of ships' officers. The stockings were counted by the corge, a score of 20 pieces, the usual unit for bulk cloth goods in the Indian trade. Two and a half corge gave 50 pairs for sale in the warehouse. The *Hector*'s boat landed at Banks's at eight in the morning, as the *Lord Holland*'s had done on 12 January. Ships approaching from the Cape sent a boat in to Banks's ahead of them to report, so that the signal guns and the battery there could confirm the ship as a friend before she came under the guns of James Bay.
375	366	15th February Brought over Pagodas 383 5 20 Paddy 25 Bags 25 Bags Gr. Wt. 37 . 22 Ms. Pr. Tare @ 2 lb Pr. Bag 2 . 24 Mds. 36 . 22 or 250 @ 14 Pr. Pag. 17 23 30 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags for Rice and Paddy 50 @ 3 Pr. % 2 19 64 Tin Plates and Nails 6 Twine 4 lb 4 Weighing Cooly 2 Cooly hire for Paddy @ 40 Pr. B. 17 40 Do. for Arrack 6 Do. for Rice 1 Boat 1 20 Tarpawline hire 3 Tops @ 4 Pr. Ps. 12 Boat Hire 4 Boats @ 9 Fs. 1 4 32 44 Pagodas 405 25 14 Excepted Pr. John Call Acct. Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of January last, which is as follows viz.	The *Hector*'s invoice continued from a total of 383 pagodas 5 fanams 20 cash. Brought forward, 383 pagodas 5 fanams 20 cash Paddy, 25 bags weighing [...] gross, less tare of [...], net [...] at 14½ [...], 17 pagodas 23 fanams 30 cash Charges on the goods 50 gunny bags for the rice and paddy, 2 pagodas 19 fanams 64 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash 4 lb of twine, 0 pagodas 4 fanams 0 cash Coolies for weighing, 0 pagodas 2 fanams 0 cash Coolie hire for the paddy, 0 pagodas 17 fanams 40 cash Coolie hire for the arrack, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Coolie hire for the rice, 1 boatload, 0 pagodas 1 fanam 20 cash Hire of tarpaulins for 3 trips at 4 fanams each, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 0 cash Hire of 4 boats at 9 fanams each, 1 pagoda 0 fanams 0 cash Total for charges, 4 pagodas 32 fanams 44 cash Total, 405 pagodas 25 fanams 14 cash John Call signed the invoice at Madras, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for January 1768. **Interpretations** The charges show how goods were shipped from Madras, which had no harbour. Ships anchored in the open roads off the beach, and every bale, bag and cask had to be carried through the heavy surf in boats. The Madras surf boats were built of planks sewn together with coir rope, so that they flexed with the waves instead of breaking. Hiring four boats and tarpaulins to cover the cargo on three trips protected the rice, paddy and cloth from the spray. Coolies carried the goods to the beach and weighed them before loading. All these costs were added to the invoice, so the island bore the full expense of landing its supplies in the ship.

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			The paddy was again bought for feed rather than for people, as with the *Lord Holland*'s cargo in January. The Company's plantation account had used 74 cwt of paddy in the last quarter of 1767 for its poultry and horses. Shipments from both Bengal and Madras kept the island's animals fed on Indian grain. The *Hector*'s cargo was modest, at just over 405 pagodas, about £160 at the usual rate. The Company sent St Helena small consignments from each of its Indian settlements in the ships that called on their way home, so that the island received a steady flow of eastern goods without needing a ship of its own.
376	367	1768 Cash Dr. Janry. 1 To Balance remaining £ 9435 19 1 16th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Captain Ischarr Nairn 100 To Ship Lord Holland 11 1 9 25th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Christr. Baron Esqr. 200 £ 9747 - 10 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Janry. 31 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie 9207 5 10 In Cash Notes 539 15 £ 9747 - 10	The Council's cash account for January 1768 was set out as follows. Cash, debit 1 January 1768, balance remaining, £9,435 19s 1d 16 January 1768, received in exchange for a set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Captain Graham Nairn, £100 0s 0d Received from the ship *Lord Holland*, £11 1s 9d 25 January 1768, received in exchange for a set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Christopher Baron, £200 0s 0d Total, £9,747 0s 10d Cash, credit 31 January 1768, balance remaining in coin, £9,207 5s 10d 31 January 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £9,747 0s 10d **Interpretations** The treasury paid out nothing in January. All the pay for the quarter had been settled at the end of December, and the next round of salaries would not fall due until the end of March. The month's only movements were money coming in. The two bills sold to Nairn and to Corneille's agent, Christopher Baron, brought £300 in coin into the treasury. The Council gave nothing from its own reserves in return, only paper drawn on the Court in London. Selling bills in this way was the chief means by which the island replenished its coin between shipments of specie from England. The reserve held in coin rose by more than £300 in the month, while the cash notes in circulation stayed at £539 15s 0d. The *Lord Holland* paid £11 1s 9d into the treasury before she sailed on 19 January. The sum was probably the ship's payment for water, fresh provisions or stores supplied to her during her week in the road. Every visiting ship settled such an account with the Council before departure.
377	368	15th February Captain Williams brought Us eight Bullocks from the Cape on the Honorable Company's Account for which we paid him £ 30 . 8 - as pr. his Bill viz. The Honble Compy. Dr. To the Owners of the Ship Hector To 8 Bullocks brought from the Cape at Rix Dollars 19 @ £ 30 . 8 St. Helena 20th Febry. 1768 E. E. Signed Jno. Williams John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Captain John Williams of the *Hector* brought eight bullocks from the Cape for the Company. The Council paid him £30 8s 0d, according to his bill. The Company, debit, to the owners of the ship Hector 8 bullocks brought from the Cape at 19 rix dollars each, £30 8s 0d Williams signed the bill at St Helena on 20 February 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Williams charged 19 rix dollars a head, more than twice the 7½ rix dollars Captain Nairn had charged for each of 21 young bullocks on 23 December 1767. Nairn's bill, however, listed the straw, barley, coolie hire and boat hire separately, which added almost a quarter to his total. Williams gave a single price that probably covered the animal, its feed on the voyage and its landing. His bullocks may also have been grown animals rather than young stock. Even so, the Council paid nearly £3 16s 0d

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			each against Nairn's £3 15s 10d for each animal, feed and landing included, so the two bargains came out close. The bill was made out to the owners of the *Hector*, not to Williams himself. Nairn had bought his cattle as a private venture and was paid by a bill on the Court in his own name. Williams's animals travelled as freight on the ship's account, and the money belonged to the syndicate that owned the vessel and hired it to the Company. The difference shows the two ways the island obtained Cape livestock: through a captain's private trade, or as cargo carried for the ship's owners. The rix dollar was reckoned here at 4s, below the 4s 6d implied by Nairn's conversion through rupees. Each captain set his own rate, and the Council accepted the figure on the bill.
378	369	22d February At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d day of February 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 15th February 1768 Thursday the 18th passed by six Dutch Ships It being proved before Us this day that William Jenkins and Francis Soane two Soldiers, had bought Cabbages and Milk of a Black the property of his Master, The penalty for buying of a Black by a standing Order is £ 5 - for every Offence but as this is the first we only levied the Sum of £ 5 in the whole £ 3 . 10 - to be paid by Jenkins as most Culpable and £ 1 . 10 - by Soane, which Sum of £ 5 - we have received into the Honorable Compy's Cash - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Hector to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Hector John Williams Capt. Joseph Smith Chief Mate John Sharpe 2d Do. George Williams 3d Do. William Irving 4th Do. Jacob Nicholson 5th Do. John Morgan Purser James Shaw Surgeon Walter Webb Boatswain Gabl. Cochran Gunner Mattw. Ditton Carpenter Henry Cooper Ships Steward John Small Capt. Do. John Moncrief Cooper Thomas Loveday Caulker John Robinson Caulkers Mate James Ashman Sailmaker Malabar Capt. Cook Thos. Martin Ships Do. James Days Butcher Joseph Shaw Poulterer George Shaw Midshipman Wm. Johnson Humfry Do. Richd. Powell Do.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 22 February 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 15 February 1768. Six Dutch ships passed the island on Thursday 18 February. The Council found it proved that two soldiers, William Jenkins and Francis Soane, had bought cabbages and milk from a slave who belonged to a planter. A standing order fixed the penalty for buying from a slave at £5 for each offence. Since this was their first offence, the Council fined the two men £5 in all. Jenkins, as the more guilty, paid £3 10s 0d and Soane paid £1 10s 0d. The money went into the Company's treasury. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Hector* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none. Her muster roll read as follows. John Williams, Captain Joseph Smith, Chief Mate John Sharpe, Second Mate George Williams, Third Mate William Irving, Fourth Mate Jacob Nicholson, Fifth Mate John Morgan, Purser James Shaw, Surgeon Walter Webb, Boatswain Gabriel Cochrane, Gunner Matthew Dillon, Carpenter Henry Cooper, Ship's Steward John Small, Captain's Steward John Moncrief, Cooper Thomas Loveday, Caulker John Robinson, Caulker's Mate James Ackman, Sailmaker Malabar, Captain's Cook Thomas Martin, Ship's Cook James Days, Butcher Joseph Shaw, Poulterer George Shaw, Midshipman William Johnson, Midshipman Richard Cowell, Midshipman James [...] **Interpretations** The standing order against buying from slaves protected the planters' property. A slave who sold cabbages and milk was almost always selling his master's produce without leave, so a buyer was in effect receiving stolen goods. The trade also gave slaves money and contacts outside their master's control, which planters feared. Soldiers on 10d a day were ready customers for cheap fresh food. The Council could have fined each man the full £5, giving £10 in all. It chose to treat the two together as a

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			single first offence and to divide £5 between them by degree of guilt. The lighter penalty kept the rule in force while avoiding a fine that would have taken a private more than a month's pay. William Jenkins was probably the matross of that name in the Artillery Company. The cook entered simply as Malabar was an Indian from the Malabar coast of south-western India, named by his place of origin rather than his own name. Indian cooks and servants commonly served in East Indiamen, particularly in the captain's household, and the clerk recorded them as the captain listed them. The *Hector* carried a poulterer, whose task was to tend the live hens, ducks and geese kept on deck to supply fresh eggs and meat for the captain's table on a long voyage.
379	370	22d February James Mackey Qr. Master William Creighton Do. James McIntosh Do. Alexr. Drage Do. Henry Parsons Boatsw. Mate John Bathgate Do. Wm. Walton Carpr. Mate David Southerhampton David Templer Richard Jeffries Wm. Devereux George Augustine Morgan Harvey Robert Armstrong Lawrence Bloom Wm. McEvoy Jno. Grigg Richard Matthews Robert Porter Thomas Langford Thos. Tate Robert Smith Samuel Hart Wm. Wrens Chas. Belly Seaman John Johnson Wm. Bruce Robert Shorty Geo. Davison Wm. Waddily Danl. Calvert John Todd Thomas Nicholson Edward Cook John Tate Andrew Hardy John Gibson John Reynolds John Renwick Thos. Dean Edwd. Huggen Thos. Hill James King Samuel Haire William Cartwright Thos. Hendrick Thos. Tubbly Daniel Simpson Corns. Johnson Patrick English George Trotter Peter Morley Emanl. Deval John Fry Wm. Johnson Joseph Lazarus Malabar	The *Hector*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew. James Mackey, Quartermaster William Creighton, Quartermaster James McIntosh, Quartermaster Alexander Drage, Quartermaster Henry Parsons, Boatswain's Mate John Bathgate, Boatswain's Mate William Walton, [...] Mate David Southernham, Seaman David Temple, Seaman Richard Jeffries, Seaman William Devereux, Seaman George Augustine, Seaman Michael Harvey, Seaman Robert Armstrong, Seaman Laurence Bloom, Seaman William McEvoy, Seaman John Grigg, Seaman Richard Matthews, Seaman Robert Porter, Seaman Thomas Langford, Seaman Thomas Tate, Seaman Robert Smith, Seaman Samuel Hart, Seaman William Unwin, Seaman Charles Betty, Seaman John Johnson, Seaman William Bruce, Seaman Robert Shortly, Seaman George Davison, Seaman William Waddley, Seaman Daniel Calvert, Seaman John Todd, Seaman Thomas Nicholson, Seaman Edward Cook, Seaman John Tate, Seaman Andrew Hardy, Seaman John Gibson, Seaman John Reynolds, Seaman John Renwick, Seaman Thomas Dean, Seaman Edward Suggen, Seaman Thomas Hill, Seaman James King, Seaman Samuel Haire, Seaman William Cartwright, Seaman Thomas Kendrick, Seaman Thomas Tubbly, Seaman Daniel Simpson, Seaman Cornelius Johnson, Seaman Lodwick English, Seaman George Trotter, Seaman Peter Morley, Seaman Emanuel Deval, Seaman John Fry, Seaman William Johnson, Seaman Joseph Leaguer, Seaman

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		Willm. Parker Peter Alexander George Bailey William Turnel James Stewart Benj. Buckley Humphry Holbrooke James Dawson George Maw Bunda John Brown Jean Baptist Ireland Robert Baxter Charles De Murane Passengers Mr. Monsell Devin Invalid Dr. Grey Geo. Pomeroy Manuel his Servant John Bythes Esqr. Mrs. Bythes Mr. Charles Young Chas. Bythes Geo. Dawson Chas. Smith Fanny Black Woman Thos. Conrad 8 Black Boys Signed John Williams	Malabar, Seaman William Parker, Seaman Peter Alexander, Seaman George Bailey, Seaman William Furnel, Seaman James Stewart, Seaman Benjamin Buckley, Seaman Humphrey Holbrooke, Seaman James Dawson, Seaman George Maw, Seaman Bomba, Seaman John Brown, Seaman Jean Baptiste Ireland, Seaman Robert Baxter, Seaman Charles de Murand, Seaman The ship also carried passengers. Mr Monsell Devin, invalid Dr Grey George Pomeroy Manuel, his servant John Sykes Mrs Sykes Mr Chudleigh Young Charles Sykes George Dawson Charles Smith Fanny, a black woman Thomas Conrad 3 black boys Captain John Williams signed the roll. **Interpretations** The Sykes household travelled home with servants who were not named, apart from Fanny. Fanny and the three black boys were probably slaves or bonded servants taken from India by a returning Company official and his family. Such servants were commonly brought to England as attendants, and their status there was uncertain until the courts addressed it in the following years. Entering them by colour rather than name, beside Manuel, who was named as a servant, shows how the clerk recorded them as part of their masters' baggage of people rather than as passengers in their own right. Two of the seamen, Malabar and Bomba, were named after places on India's western coast. Like the captain's cook, also called Malabar, they were Indian sailors hired to replace men lost on the voyage out, and the purser entered them by the name their shipmates used. Jean Baptiste Ireland, Charles de Murand and Emanuel Deval point to French or Portuguese sailors picked up in the same way. A homeward East Indiaman routinely mixed British, European and Asian crew by the time she reached St Helena. An invalid passenger was a soldier discharged from the Company's army in India as unfit for further service and sent home at the Company's expense.
380	371	1768 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores, short received from the Ship Hector viz. Acct. of Stores short received from Ship Hector viz. 5 . 3 . 17 Rice qrs. lb 3 . 3 . 6 Paddy Short Weight No. 1 . 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 145½ Galls. Wants to fill 8 Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. Do. 153½ Do. to Do. 9 298 17 17 Gallons 281 received St. Helena 22d Febry. 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Hector* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it at St Helena on 22 February 1768. Rice, short in weight by 5 [...] 3 [...] 17 [...] Paddy, short in weight by 3 [...] 3 [...] 6 [...] Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 139½ gallons, lacking 8 gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 153½ gallons, lacking 9 gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 293 gallons, total lacking 17 gallons Arrack received, 276 gallons The engineer reported that one of the Company's longboats had been so badly damaged by the *Hector* that she could not be repaired. The Council ordered the carpenter to examine the boat and

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		The Engineer having this day reported to Us that one of the Long Boats is so much Damaged in the Ship Hectors use that she is Irreparable upon which we gave Orders to the Carpenter to examine her and make an Estimate of her value he reports to Us that he judges her to be worth about £ 10. - We this day granted the following sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors viz. - One Set to the Reverend Mr. William Bearcroft for £ 100 payable to Messrs. Thomas and William Chesson (Or Order) -	estimate her value. He reported that she was worth about £10. The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors. 1 set to the Reverend William Bearcroft for £100, payable to Thomas and William Chesson or their nominee **Interpretations** The *Hector*'s arrack arrived in far better condition than the *Lord Holland*'s. Her two casks lacked 17 gallons between them, a normal loss from leakage and evaporation on the voyage from Madras. The *Lord Holland*'s second cask had been short by 54 gallons in January, a loss that pointed to the crew tapping it. Powell recorded both shortfalls in the same way, so the Company could compare ships and charge excessive losses to their owners. The longboat damaged by the *Hector* had probably been crushed against the ship's side while landing or loading cargo in the swell of James Bay. The Council's order to value the boat was the first step towards a claim. A valuation by the Company's own carpenter, entered in the minutes, gave it grounds to charge £10 to the ship's owners rather than bear the loss itself. William Bearcroft, the chaplain, sent £100 home through the Company's bills, as Corneille and Captain Nairn had done in January. His salary and table allowance came to £55 a quarter, so the sum represented almost half a year's income. Living at the Company's expense in many respects, as the stable built for him from Company timber showed, an officer on St Helena could save much of his pay and remit it to England.
381	372	22nd February One Set to Captn. John Williams for £ 100 - payable to himself (or Order) - And One Set to Mr. James Bowell for £ 200 - payable to Captn. John Williams (Or Order,) all drawn at ninety days after sight. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Council's list of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, granted on 22 February 1768, continued with two further sets. 1 set to Captain John Williams for £100, payable to himself or his nominee 1 set to James Powell for £200, payable to Captain John Williams or his nominee All the bills were drawn payable 90 days after presentation. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Powell's bill for £200 was made payable not to his own agent but to Captain Williams of the *Hector*. Officers usually named a London banker or relative, as Corneille had named Christopher Baron in January. Powell instead paid his coin into the treasury and had the bill drawn in favour of the captain. The arrangement suggests a private bargain between the two men, perhaps a purchase of goods from Williams's private trade, a debt settled, or money entrusted to Williams to invest or deliver on Powell's behalf in England. Using a Company bill let Powell pay the captain without handing over coin at St Helena, and let Williams carry the value home safely on paper. Williams's own £100 bill followed the pattern of Captain Nairn's in January. Commanders of East Indiamen converted part of the cash earned from their private trade into Company bills at St Helena, the last port before England. The three sets drawn that day came to £400, all paid into the treasury in coin. The bills of January and February together brought the island £700 in specie within six weeks. The trade in bills had become a steady source of coin for the treasury, which needed it to pay the garrison at the end of each quarter.
382	373	29th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of February 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 29 February 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor

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		Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 22d Febry. 1768 Wednesday the 24th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Hector for England The Lieut. Governor presented the following Minute to the Board viz. - The Lieutenant Governor in consequence of a report made some time ago to the Council, of the necessity of repairing the Honorable Company's Black House in the Country fallen almost to ruin; Has now the satisfaction of Informing them That during the Recess of the Stone Layers from the Fortifications, I have employ'd them in that Work; which I have now compleated in such a manner as I flatter myself will be lasting for many Years. That I have also begun a Gate way, and Fence at the entrance of the pastures, to prevent the Incroachments of Sheep and Goats from the Common the Old Fence not answering that purpose: That I should have been able also to have Compleated that, had not the rain prevented me. And as the Engineer informed me that he was ready for the Stone Layers last Monday, has not had time to finish that necessary Work, therefore thinks it will be requisite to hire two of the Planters Stone Layers to finish the same, particularly as as Captn. Mitchell will not have done with the Honble Company's for three or four Months, and a fortnight he thinks may compleat the Work he is upon. - Upon which we agreed to hire two Stonelayers from the Planters to finish the abovementioned Work. -	Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 22 February 1768. The Company's ship *Hector* sailed for England on Wednesday 24 February. Corneille laid a minute before the Board. Some time earlier he had reported to the Council that the houses of the Company's slaves in the country had fallen almost to ruin and needed repair. He now told the Council that he had used the stone layers on that work while they were free from the fortifications. The repairs were finished, and he expected them to last many years. He had also begun a gateway and fence at the entrance to the pastures, since the old fence no longer kept out the sheep and goats from the common land. Rain had prevented him from completing it. The engineer had then told him the previous Monday that he was ready for the stone layers to return to the fortifications, so the fence remained unfinished. Captain Mitchell would need the Company's stone layers for another three or four months. Corneille therefore proposed hiring two of the planters' stone layers to finish the fence, which he thought would take about a fortnight. The Council agreed to hire two stone layers from the planters to complete the work. **Interpretations** The Council had two obvious courses for the unfinished fence. It could leave the work until Mitchell released the Company's stone layers in three or four months, or take men back from the fortifications to finish it. It chose neither. The fortifications came first, and the Council would not delay them for a fence. Yet a gap at the pasture gate for three or four months would let the sheep and goats from the commons strip the Company's grazing. Hiring two planters' stone layers for a fortnight cost little and kept both pieces of work moving. The paymaster's account for the previous quarter showed the same practice at Sandy Bay, where the Company paid planters for more than 125 days of their masons' work. The common land was open grazing used by the island's settlers, and their flocks of sheep and goats roamed freely across it. Goats in particular had already destroyed much of St Helena's native woodland by stripping bark and seedlings. A strong gate and fence at the pasture entrance kept the commons' animals off the Company's own grass, which it needed for its herds of cattle and its 685 sheep. The slaves' houses Corneille repaired were rebuilt with stone, in place of the thatched huts that had needed constant mending. Stone walls were more durable in the island's damp uplands, and the work suggests the Company was investing in longer-lasting quarters for its labour force. The rain that halted the fence came in February, the height of the southern summer, when heavy showers often swept the island's interior.
383	374	29th February Mrs. Margaret Alcock this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Margaret Alcock Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of hiring a piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Land adjoining to her own enclosed Land in Sandy Bay. Your Petitioner therefore humbly	Margaret Alcock presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated at St Helena on 29 February 1768. She asked for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste land next to her own enclosed land at Sandy Bay. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. John Scott also presented a petition to the Governor and Council. He wished to farm about 30 acres of the Company's waste land known as Green Saddle, lying between the land of the widow Harper and that of Captain Bazett. **Interpretations** The Council did not grant Margaret Alcock's lease at once. It ordered the land viewed first, the

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		Prays that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant her a Lease for the same & your Petitioner will ever pray Signed St. Helena 29th February 1768 Marg. Alcock Ordered the said Land to be viewed - Mr. John Scott this day presented the following Petition viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Scott Sheweth That your Petitioner, being desirous to farm a piece of ground consisting of about thirty Acres of the Honorable Company's waste Land commonly called Green saddle, situate between the Widow Harper's Land and that of Capt. Bazett	usual step before any new grant. Inspectors checked the boundaries, the quality of the ground and whether the plot encroached on roads, water or another settler's holding. Only after their report did the Council fix the acreage and the rent. The procedure protected the Company's waste land from being granted carelessly, and it gave neighbours a chance to object before a lease was sealed. Waste land was ground the Company owned but had never let or cultivated. Much of it was steep, barren or overrun by goats. Both petitioners sought to bring such land into use next to holdings already settled, which suited the Company's aim of keeping settlers on the island and growing food. Margaret Alcock's request came just as the new fortifications at Sandy Bay were completed, when the remote south coast was becoming safer and better guarded. Margaret Alcock held enclosed land in her own name, and the widow Harper was named as a landholder beside Scott's plot. Widows and single women held Company leases on St Helena in their own right, and could petition for more land like any other planter.
384	375	1768 Bazett, takes the Liberty of applying to your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council for a Lease or Grant of the same, that as your Petitioner intends, under your benevolence to make a little establishment for himself, having hitherto lived dependantly of his Relations, he flatters himself with the hopes of your kind approbation. - May it therefore please your Worship to consider his case, and he will as in duty bound ever pray &ca Upon which Scott was told that the said Land had already been Petitioned for by Mrs. Alcock and as it joins to her Lands, and consequently will be prejudicial to her, we for these reasons rejected the said Scotts Petition Ordered the following Proclamation to be made Island St. Helena 29th February 1768 This is to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island that hereafter to prevent the fraudulent practice of Blacks bringing down particularly of a Saturday Evening and on a Sunday to this Valley the property of their Masters as well as Stolen Goods and selling the same, Orders are given to the Constable of the Parish and Marshall to Stop all such Blacks and search their Loads, and if they bring down any thing of a Saturday Evening for Sale it is required of their Masters or Owners to give their Slaves a Note specifying the same otherwise such things will be forfeited, not only so but that on a Sunday, even such a Pass will not be valid as it is Contrary to Law for any thing to be exposed to Sale on that day Nevertheless be it understood that the above Order does not prevent the Housekeepers in the Valley being supplyed from their own Plantations with all necessarys for their use being brought to them out of the Country but to secure their own property from the repeated Abuses that have been committed by their Slaves and others - Per Order of Council Signed M. Bazett Secy.	John Scott told the Council that he planned to set up a small household of his own, having so far lived dependent on his relations. He asked for a lease or grant of the land and hoped for the Council's approval. The Council told Scott that Margaret Alcock had already petitioned for the same land. Since it adjoined her holding, a grant to him would harm her interests. For these reasons the Council rejected his petition. The Council ordered the following proclamation to be published, dated 28 February 1768. Slaves had been bringing their masters' property and stolen goods down to Jamestown valley and selling them, especially on Saturday evenings and Sundays. To stop this, the constable of the parish and the marshal were ordered to stop all such slaves and search their loads. Any slave carrying goods for sale on a Saturday evening had to carry a note from his master or owner listing them, or the goods would be forfeited. On Sundays even a note would not be accepted, since the law forbade selling anything on that day. The order did not prevent householders in the valley from bringing necessaries for their own use from their own plantations in the country. Its purpose was to protect owners' property from the repeated thefts committed by their slaves and others. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the proclamation by order of the Council. **Interpretations** The Council could have divided the Green Saddle land between the two petitioners, or granted it to Scott as a new settler who wanted to establish himself. Scott's case had real force: the Company wished to keep young island men on the land, and he was seeking independence from his family. The Council instead gave priority to Margaret Alcock on two grounds visible in the record. She had petitioned first, and the land adjoined her own enclosed holding. A grant to Scott would have hemmed in her farm and cut her off from its natural extension. The decision favoured an established landholder and a compact holding over the claims of a newcomer. The proclamation followed directly from the case of the soldiers William Jenkins and Francis Soane, fined on 22 February 1768 for buying cabbages and milk from a slave. Saturday evening and Sunday were the slaves' only free time, and many used it to carry produce down to Jamestown to sell to soldiers and townspeople. Some of this was their own garden produce, but much was taken from their masters. The pass system required every load to be covered by the owner's written permission, so the

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			marshal could tell legitimate sales from theft at a glance. The ban on all Sunday selling, even with a pass, followed the English law against Sunday trading. It also closed the slaves' busiest market day completely. The order thus cut off most of the independent trade by which slaves on St Helena earned small sums of their own, in the name of protecting their owners' property.
385	376	29th February On Thursday last a Fishing Boat belonging to William Hayes being Staved by Accident in which were Hannibal & Jerry two of the Honble Company's Slaves who were drown'd as likewise two other Blacks belonging to the Inhabitants John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day of March 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 29th February 1768. - Friday the 4th Arrived the Northumberland Boat at Banks's at half an Hour past nine o'Clock at night Saturday 5th Do. the Honble Company's Ship Northumberland from China & brought Us the following supplies viz. -	On Thursday 25 February 1768 a fishing boat belonging to William Hayes was wrecked by accident. Hannibal and Jerry, two of the Company's slaves who were aboard, were drowned. Two other slaves belonging to island settlers were drowned with them. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 7 March 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 29 February 1768. At half past nine on the night of Friday 4 March, a boat from the *Northumberland* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Northumberland* reached the anchorage the next day, Saturday 5 March. She had sailed from China and brought the following supplies. **Interpretations** Hannibal and Jerry were probably among the Company's slave fishermen, for whom fishing lines had been issued from the stores in the last quarter of 1767. The boat belonged to William Hayes, perhaps the private of that name in the Second Company, so Company slaves and slaves of private owners were fishing together in a privately owned boat. Fishing from small open boats along St Helena's coast was dangerous work. The island had few sheltered landing places, and the swell breaking against the cliffs could stave a boat in moments. The loss of four men in one accident was heavy for so small a population. The Council recorded the deaths of its two slaves because they were Company property, and the record served to strike them from its rolls. The *Northumberland*'s boat landed at Banks's after dark, which was unusual. Ships approaching at night normally lay off until morning. A boat sent in at night shows the ship's commander anxious to report and make himself known before the batteries could mistake his ship for an enemy at first light.
386	377	7th March Invoice of Ship Northumberland China Ware No. 6 Dishes 1 Size Blue & White 10 Do. 2 Do. Do. 10 Do. 3 Do. Do. 10 Do. 4 Do. Do. 10 Do. 5 Do. Do. 10 Tureen Dishes Do. 6 Plates Do. 9 Pint Sneakers Do. 4 7 Plates Do. 110 Soop Plates Do.	The *Northumberland*'s invoice listed the goods she brought from China. China Box number 6 Dishes, size 1, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 2, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 3, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 4, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 5, blue and white, 10 Tureen dishes, blue and white, 6 Plates, blue and white, 9 Pint sneakers, blue and white, 4 Box number 7 Plates, blue and white, 110 Soup plates, blue and white, 120 Chamber pots, blue and white, 2 Tureens, blue and white, 2 Tureen covers, blue and white, 2 Box number 8 Guglets and basins, blue and white, 15 Chamber pots, blue and white, 2 Tureens, blue and white, 4

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		120 Chamber Pots Do. 2 Tureens Do. 2 Covers Do. 2 8 Guglets & Basons Do. 15 Chamber Pots Do. 2 Tureens Do. 4 Covers Do. 4 Pint Sneakers Do. 7 9 Bowls 2 Qt. Do. 17 Do. 1 Do. Do. 16 Do. 3 Pints Do. 7 Chamber Pots Do. 11 Pint Sneakers Do. 7 No. 6 to 9 4 Boxes of China Ware Table Setts viz. S. B. 51 5 . 20 . R. 10 Setts Blue & White @ Ta. 3 . 9 Ta. 39 Tureens 6 Do. @ . 8 4 . 8 Chamber Pots 15 Do. @ . 26 3 . 9 Guglets & Basons 15 Do. . 45 6 7 5 Bowls 2 Quart 17 Do. . 1 . 5 2 . 5 . 5 Do. 1 Do. 16 Do. . 1 . 2 1 . 9 2 Do. 3 Pints 17 Do. . 9 1 . 5 . 3 Pint Sneakers 18 Do. . 4 7 . 2 . 0 67 1 1 0 Disct. for breakage 8 Pr. Ct. 1 8 2 3 Carrd. Over Ta. 59 9 4 7	Tureen covers, blue and white, 4 Pint sneakers, blue and white, 7 Box number 9 2-quart bowls, blue and white, 17 1-quart bowls, blue and white, 16 3-pint bowls, blue and white, 17 Chamber pots, blue and white, 11 Pint sneakers, blue and white, 7 Boxes numbered 6 to 9, 4 boxes of china 10 blue and white table sets at 3 taels 9 mace each, 39 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 6 tureens at 8 mace each, 4 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 15 chamber pots at 2 mace 6 candareens each, 3 taels 9 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 15 guglets and basins at 4 mace 5 candareens each, 6 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash 17 2-quart bowls at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 2 taels 5 mace 5 candareens 0 cash 16 1-quart bowls at 1 mace 2 candareens each, 1 tael 9 mace 2 candareens 0 cash 17 3-pint bowls at 9 candareens each, 1 tael 5 mace 3 candareens 0 cash 18 pint sneakers at 4 candareens each, 0 taels 7 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Total, 61 taels 1 mace 7 candareens 0 cash Discount for breakage at 2 per cent, 1 tael 2 mace 2 candareens 3 cash Carried forward, 59 taels 9 mace 4 candareens 7 cash **Interpretations** The invoice was kept in the money of the Canton trade. The tael was a weight of silver, divided into 10 mace, each of 10 candareens, each of 10 cash. Prices were tiny by English standards. A whole blue and white table set of dishes, plates and soup plates cost 3 taels 9 mace, roughly £1 6s 0d, and a pint bowl only 4 candareens, about 3d. The low cost explains why the warehouse could sell ninety plates and dishes to its employees for under £6, as recorded in the account for the last quarter of 1767. A sneaker was a small drinking bowl holding about a pint, used for punch or tea. A guglet was a long-necked water bottle of porous earthenware or porcelain, set in a matching basin, which kept drinking water cool in hot climates. The term came from the Portuguese and was used throughout the eastern trade. Chamber pots, tureens and covers show that the island's households bought Chinese porcelain for everyday use as well as for the table. The 2 per cent discount for breakage was a standard allowance in the China trade. Porcelain was packed in tea chests or with sago and straw at the bottom of the hold. Some pieces were always cracked on the voyage, and the seller allowed for that loss in advance instead of settling claims piece by piece at the end of the journey.
387	378	7th March Brought Over Ta. 59 9 4 7 Sugar No. 21 to 40 20 Chests Tare, Nett No. 21: Tare 25, Nett 292 2: Tare 22, Nett 292 3: Tare 25, Nett 292 4: Tare 22, Nett 292 5: Tare 24, Nett 292 6: Tare 24, Nett 292 7: Tare 26, Nett 292 8: Tare 22, Nett 292 9: Tare 24, Nett 292 30: Tare 23, Nett 292 Total: Tare 237, Nett 2920 No. 31: Tare 24, Nett 292 2: Tare 24, Nett 292	The *Northumberland*'s invoice continued from a total of 59 taels 9 mace 4 candareens 7 cash. Brought forward, 59 taels 9 mace 4 candareens 7 cash Sugar, chests numbered 21 to 40, 20 chests Chest 21, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 22, tare 22 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 23, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 24, tare 22 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 25, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 26, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 27, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 28, tare 22 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 29, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 30, tare 23 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 21 to 30, tare 237 lb, gross 2,920 lb Chest 31, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 32, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb

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		3: Tare 24, Nett 292 4: Tare 26, Nett 292 5: Tare 27, Nett 292 6: Tare 24, Nett 292 7: Tare 24, Nett 292 8: Tare 24, Nett 292 9: Tare 26, Nett 292 40: Tare 25, Nett 292 Total: Tare 248, Nett 2920 Gross Wt. 5340 lb Tare 485 5355 Nt. is Pecul 40 . 16 @ Ta. 180 . 7 . 2 Ta. 240 . 6 . 0 . 7 Canton Decr. 21 1767 E. Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Stepn. De Visme Benj. Torin Mann Horner Thos. Smith Wm. Rous Thos. Bevan Willm. Harrison Mattw. Raper junr. John Bradley Blake	Chest 33, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 34, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 35, tare 27 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 36, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 37, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 38, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 39, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 40, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 31 to 40, tare 248 lb, gross 2,920 lb Gross weight, 5,840 lb Tare, 485 lb Net weight, 5,355 lb, or 40 piculs 16 catties, 180 taels 7 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Total, 240 taels 6 mace 6 candareens 7 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 21 December 1767 and reserved the right to correct any errors. It was signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Henry Revell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Torin, Mann Horne, Thomas Smith, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake. **Interpretations** The eleven signatories were the Company's supercargoes at Canton, the merchants who managed its trade in China. Unlike Madras or Bengal, Canton had no Company settlement or governor. The supercargoes lived there only for the trading season and acted together as a council, so every invoice carried all their signatures. Their names appear across the Company's China records of the period, and several of them made fortunes in the trade. Every chest was packed to the same gross weight of 292 lb, while the weight of the empty chest varied from 22 lb to 27 lb. Chinese packers filled each chest to a standard gross weight, so the amount of sugar inside depended on how heavy the wood was. Recording the tare of each chest separately let the Company pay only for the sugar itself, 5,355 lb net. The picul was the standard Chinese weight of about 133⅓ lb, divided into 100 catties. The sugar cost about 4½ taels a picul, roughly 1½d a pound. Chinese sugar at that price undercut the Bengal sugar the island had received from the *Lord Holland* in January, which explains why the warehouse could sell sugar to the Company's employees so cheaply.
388	379	1768 Mr. Samuel Alexander this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful Jn. Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Samuel Alexander Sheweth That your Petitioner, on hearing that Mrs. Alcock had addressed your Worship in Council for a piece of the Honble Company's Waste Land in Sandy Bay cant avoid representing the Prejudice which must result to him and some others whose Lands adjoin it from a Cession of that kind - That your Petitioner begs leave to inform your Worship that the said Waste Land was planted and brought to yield Grass by the Inhabitants of Sandy Bay and that Mrs. Alcock never contributed in the least to its amendment, and that from its Situation a Lease thereof granted to Mrs. Alcock or to any other person would not only prejudice your Petitioner and the Orphans of the late Thomas Harper by depriving them of the Benefit they enjoy by its contiguity, but would, by hemming them up, and rendering Access to their own Possessions uneasy become highly detrimental That your Petitioner could enumerate other inconveniences	Samuel Alexander presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He had heard that Margaret Alcock had applied for a piece of the Company's waste land at Sandy Bay. He felt bound to point out the harm such a grant would do to him and to the other settlers whose land adjoined it. Alexander stated that the inhabitants of Sandy Bay had planted the waste land and brought it into grass themselves. Margaret Alcock had contributed nothing to its improvement. Because of where the land lay, a lease to her or to anyone else would harm Alexander and the orphans of the late Thomas Harper. They would lose the benefit they drew from the land lying next to their own. A grant would also hem them in and make it difficult to reach their own holdings, which would do them serious damage. Alexander added that he could name other drawbacks of Margaret Alcock holding the land, but did not wish to trouble the Council further. He asked it to consider his case. Captain Kirkpatrick had inspected the land Margaret Alcock had petitioned for at the previous consultation. He reported that a grant would do great harm to the neighbourhood, since it would deprive the settlers of the use of that common. The Council then considered Kirkpatrick's report on the land sought by Margaret Alcock, together with Alexander's petition against her request. **Interpretations**

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		attendant on Mrs. Alcock's being in the Possession of the said Land but to avoid troubling your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council, he confines himself most humbly to Supplicate you that you'll please to Consider his case, and he will as in Duty bound, ever pray &ca. - Captn. Kirkpatrick having viewed the piece of Land Petitioned for last Consultation thinks it would be very detrimental to the neighbourhood as it will deprive them of the Benefit of that Common Having considered Captn. Kirkpatrick's Report of the Land Petitioned for by Mrs. Alcock, as well as Mr. Alexanders Petition against her or	The order of 29 February 1768 to view the land before granting it now proved its worth. On paper the plot was Company waste, unlet and apparently unused. Kirkpatrick's inspection showed that it was in fact a working common. The Sandy Bay settlers had sown it with grass at their own cost and grazed their stock on it together. It also carried the paths by which they reached their own holdings. A lease to Margaret Alcock would have turned shared ground into private land and closed off her neighbours' access. The case turned the Council's earlier reasoning around. A week before, it had rejected John Scott's petition for the same land because a grant to him would harm Margaret Alcock, whose holding adjoined it. Alexander now made the same argument against her: the land adjoined his holding and the Harper family's, and their interests were harmed too. The Council had to weigh one adjoining owner's claim against the collective use of several. Samuel Alexander was the overseer on the Company's civil list at £7 10s 0d a quarter. The orphans of Thomas Harper were the children of the widow Harper named in Scott's petition. By speaking for them as well as himself, Alexander presented the objection as a matter for the whole neighbourhood, including a family without a man to defend its interests before the Council.
389	380	7th March or any one else having that piece of ground, and as we are Sensible of the little advantage that the South Division have with respect to common to the other parts of the Island for the above reasons we have not given a Grant of the said Land referring the decision of it to the Honble Company to know whether it should be let to the neighbours adjoining to the said Common or kept for the Benefit of that Division John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of March 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 7 March 1768 Tuesday the 8th Died Thomas Adams Centinel Do. Do. Arrived the Earl of Lincoln's Boat at Banks's at half an Hour past twelve o'Clock at noon Do. Do. Do. The Honble Company's Ship Earl of Lincoln from China Thursday the 10th Arrived the Norfolk's Boat at Banks's half an Hour past five o'Clock in the morning - Do. Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Norfolk from Bengal (last from the Cape) - The Earl of Lincoln and Norfolk brought Us the following Supply viz. -	The Council weighed the objections to Margaret Alcock or any other person taking that piece of ground. It also recognised that the South Division had little common land compared with other parts of the island. For these reasons it made no grant of the land. It referred the question to the Court of Directors, to decide whether the land should be let to the neighbours whose holdings adjoined the common or kept as common for the benefit of that division. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 14 March 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 7 March 1768. Thomas Adams, a private, died on Tuesday 8 March. At half past twelve that day a boat from the *Earl of Lincoln* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Earl of Lincoln* arrived from China on the same day. At half past five on the morning of Thursday 10 March, a boat from the *Norfolk* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Norfolk* arrived the same day from Bengal, having called last at the Cape. The *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Norfolk* brought the following supplies. **Interpretations** The Council had full power to grant or refuse leases of the Company's waste land, and it did so routinely, as with Simon Whaley's renewal on 1 February 1768. Here it chose to do neither. The obvious course was simply to refuse Margaret Alcock and leave the land as it was. The Council instead sent the matter to London. Its reason was a wider question that went beyond one petition: the South Division had less common grazing than other parts of the island, and the Council was unwilling to decide on its own whether the Company's policy should favour private leases or common use there. Referring the question to the Court kept the land open as common in the meantime, which gave the Sandy Bay settlers what they wanted without the Council having to rule against a petitioner outright.

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			Thomas Adams was the first private named on the Second Company's list in the pay roll for the last quarter of 1767. His death was the second in the garrison in four months, after Andrew Barton on 17 November. The arrival of two Company ships in three days, one from China and one from Bengal, marked the start of the main homeward season. The ships that had left the East in the northern winter reached St Helena in the southern autumn, and the Council would now be busy supplying, mustering and dispatching them in quick succession.
390	381	14th March Invoice of Ship Norfolk Rice fine No. 1 @ 60 60 Bags wt. 120 B. Mds. @ 25 S. Pr. Ar. 207 5 9 Sugar fine 1 @ 10 10 Bags wt. 20 F. Mds. 3 . 10 Pr. Md. 172 8 Paddy No. 1 @ 15 15 Bags wt. 22 . 10 F. Mds. Srs. 1 . 15 Pr. Md. 16 5 9 Wax Candles 1 @ 4 4 Chests wt. 8 F. Mds. 70 Pr. Md. 560 Batavia Arrack 1 @ 2 2 Leaguers 200 Ar. @ 432 1388 3 6 Charges Merchandize 145 Gunny Bags @ 13 . 8 Pr. % 21 2 3 12 . 3 Jute Rope 4 Pr. Md. 1 4 4 . 3 Jute Twine 4 . 3 Pr. Md. 8 3 4 Chests with Package 13 7 90 Reed Matts 7 4 9 Masters 11 7 6 Packers 1 10 Weighmen 9 Sloop hire 36 6 Boat hire 4 5 3 Diet 12 9 98 12 9 Current Rupees 1487 - 3 Signed Richd. Wills S. Accompt.	The *Norfolk*'s invoice listed the supplies she brought from Bengal, in Bengal money. Fine rice, bags numbered 1 to 60, 60 bags weighing 120 maunds at 25 seers per Arcot rupee, 207 rupees 5 annas 9 pies Fine sugar, bags numbered 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 20 maunds at 8 rupees 10 annas per maund, 172 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Paddy, bags numbered 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 10 seers at 1 rupee 15 annas per [...], 16 rupees 5 annas 9 pies Wax candles, chests numbered 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds at 70 rupees per maund, 560 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, casks numbered 1 to 2, 2 leaguers at 200 Arcot rupees each, 432 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Total cost of goods, 1,388 rupees 3 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods 145 gunny bags at [...] per hundred, 21 rupees 2 annas 3 pies 12 [...] 3 [...] of jute rope at 4 rupees per maund, 1 rupee 4 annas 0 pies 4 [...] 3 [...] of jute twine at 4 rupees 3 annas per maund, 0 rupees 8 annas 3 pies 4 chests with packing, 13 rupees 7 annas 0 pies 90 reed mats, 7 rupees 4 annas 9 pies Foremen, 11 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Packers, 1 rupee 10 annas 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Coolies, 36 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Sloop hire, 4 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Boat hire and food, 0 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Total for charges, 98 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Total in current rupees, 1,487 rupees 0 annas 3 pies Richard Wells signed the invoice as sub-accountant. **Interpretations** The *Norfolk* brought exactly the same assortment as the *Lord Holland* in January: 60 bags of rice, 10 of sugar, 15 of paddy, four chests of wax candles and two leaguers of arrack. Wells signed both invoices. The Bengal Council evidently sent St Helena a fixed annual consignment by each of its homeward ships. The island could count on a steady supply of staples whatever the season. The prices, however, differed. Sugar was a little cheaper, at 8 rupees 10 annas a maund against 9 rupees in January. The arrack cost more than twice as much, 432 rupees for two leaguers against 186 rupees 14 annas. The *Norfolk*'s leaguers were probably larger casks, or Batavia arrack had risen sharply at Calcutta in the months between the two sailings. Some prices were quoted in Arcot rupees, the coin minted in the Carnatic and widely used in Bengal trade, and then converted into current rupees, the Calcutta money of account. Rice was priced as so many seers for one Arcot rupee, the way grain was sold in Bengal markets. The charges show the cost of moving goods down the Hooghly river from Calcutta to the ships, which anchored far downstream: sloop hire carried them down the river, foremen supervised

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			the gangs of coolies and packers, and the whole added about 7 per cent to the cost.
391	382	14th March Invoice of Ship Earl of Lincoln No. 61 to 84 Sugar 24 Chests Tare, Nett No. 61: Tare 25, Nett 292 2: Tare 25, Nett 292 3: Tare 25, Nett 292 4: Tare 26, Nett 292 5: Tare 25, Nett 292 6: Tare 26, Nett 292 7: Tare 25, Nett 292 8: Tare 25, Nett 292 9: Tare 24, Nett 292 70: Tare 22, Nett 292 Total: Tare 248, Nett 2920 No. 71: Tare 25, Nett 292 2: Tare 24, Nett 292 3: Tare 26, Nett 292 4: Tare 26, Nett 292 5: Tare 25, Nett 292 6: Tare 26, Nett 292 7: Tare 24, Nett 292 8: Tare 25, Nett 292 9: Tare 24, Nett 292 80: Tare 26, Nett 292 Total: Tare 251, Nett 2920 No. 81: Tare 26, Nett 292 2: Tare 24, Nett 292 3: Tare 24, Nett 292 84: Tare 25, Nett 292 Total: Tare 99, Nett 1168 Gross Wt. 7008 Tare 598 6410 Nt. Pecul 48 . 07 @ Ta. 5 Ta. 216 . 3 . 1 . 5 E. Excepted Signed Wm. Rous Thos. Bevan Wm. Harrison Mattw. Raper junr. John Bradley Blake Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Stepn. De Visme Benj. Torin Mann Horner Thos. Smith	The *Earl of Lincoln*'s invoice listed the sugar she brought from China. Sugar, chests numbered 61 to 84, 24 chests Chest 61, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 62, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 63, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 64, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 65, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 66, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 67, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 68, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 69, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 70, tare 22 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 61 to 70, tare 248 lb, gross 2,920 lb Chest 71, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 72, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 73, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 74, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 75, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 76, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 77, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 78, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 79, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 80, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 71 to 80, tare 251 lb, gross 2,920 lb Chest 81, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 82, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 83, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 84, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 81 to 84, tare 99 lb, gross 1,168 lb Gross weight, 7,008 lb Tare, 598 lb Net weight, 6,410 lb, or 48 piculs 7 catties, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 216 taels 3 mace 1 candareen 5 cash The invoice reserved the right to correct any errors. It was signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Henry Revell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Torin, Mann Horne, Thomas Smith, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake. **Interpretations** The *Earl of Lincoln*'s sugar came from the same supercargoes at Canton as the *Northumberland*'s and was bought at the same price of 4 taels 5 mace a picul. The chests were numbered 61 to 84, continuing the series that ran to 40 in the *Northumberland*. The Canton council had divided a single purchase of sugar for St Helena among several ships, so that the loss of one vessel would not deprive the island of its whole supply. The missing numbers between 41 and 60 were probably carried in a third ship. The two China ships together landed almost 11,800 lb of sugar net within ten days in March 1768. With the Bengal sugar from the *Lord Holland* and the *Norfolk*, the warehouse was well stocked for the year. The quantities match the large sales of sugar and sugar candy to the garrison and the planters recorded in the storekeeper's account for the last quarter of 1767, and the heavy issues to the Company's table and slaves.
392	383	1768 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Northumberland, Earl of Lincoln, and Norfolk to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Northumberland John Nesfort Commander John Cook Chief Mate John Bradley 2d Mate	Purling reported that he had boarded the *Northumberland*, the *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Norfolk* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. The muster rolls read as follows, beginning with the *Northumberland*. John Milford, Commander John Cook, Chief Mate John Bradley, Second Mate William Green, Third Mate Robert Alexander, Fourth Mate George Mevenier, Fifth Mate

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		Wm. Green 3d Mate	Andrew Cranstone, Surgeon
		Robt. Alexander 4th Mate	Joseph Welch, Purser
		Geo. Merriman 5th Mate	William Smith, Boatswain
		Andw. Cranstone Surgeon	Thomas Woollaston, Gunner
		Jas. Welch Purser	Henry Read, Carpenter
		Wm. Smith Boatswn.	William Dick Garnaugh, Midshipman
		Thomas Woollaston Gunner	Benjamin Whitehead, Midshipman
		Henry Read Carpenter	Charles Thornton, Midshipman
		Wm. Dick Garnage Midshipman	Stephen Cross, Midshipman
		Benj. Whitehead Midshipman	Richard Huet, Midshipman
		Chas. Thornlee Midshipman	George Nelson, Ship's Steward
		Stepn. Croft Do.	John Barnett, Captain's Steward
		Richd. Hull Do.	John Dent, Caulker
		Geo. Nelson Ships Steward	Ole Simonsen, Sailmaker
		Jno. Bennett Capt. Steward	Frederick Franks, Cooper
		Jno. Dust Caulker	William Green, Ship's Cook
		Olis Simonsen Sailmaker	Thomas Ashton, Butcher
		Fredk. Franks Cooper	Robert Williams, Armourer
		Wm. Green Ships Cook	Thomas Bolton, Carpenter's First Mate
		Thos. Ashlone Butcher	Joseph Lyal, Carpenter's Second Mate
		Peter Williams Armourer	William Ward, Boatswain's First Mate
		Thos. Bolton Carpr. 1 Mate	Richard Fletcher, Boatswain's Second Mate
		Jno. Lyal Carpr. 2 Do.	John Eddington, Gunner's Mate
		Wm. Ward Boatsw. 1 Mate	John Wilton, Caulker's Mate
		Richd. Fletcher Boatsw. Mate	John Talbott, Cooper's Mate
		John Eddington Gunner Mate	William Burnett, Surgeon's Mate
		John Wilton Caulkers Mate	John Simons, Quartermaster
		John Talbott Coopers Mate	John Bellwinkle, Quartermaster
		William Burnett Surgns. Mate	William Robinson, Quartermaster
		John Simons Quartermaster	Abraham Martin, Quartermaster
		John Bellwinkle Do.	Thomas Boddle, Seaman
		Wm. Robinson Do.	James Duffus, Seaman
		Abraham Martin Do.	James Harrison, Seaman
		Thomas Boodle Seaman	Robert Barrett, Seaman
		James Dawes	John Lyd, Seaman
		James Harrison	John Telford, Seaman
		Robt. Barrett	William Brown, Seaman
		John Lyd	James Cook, Seaman
		John Jefford	Thomas Price, Seaman
		Wm. Brown	William Lowe, Seaman
		James Cook	James Lucy, Seaman
		Thomas Rice	William Yard, Seaman
		Wm. Lowe	Joseph Orion, Seaman
		James Lowry	John Luck, Seaman
		Wm. Yard	Jeffery Richardson, Seaman
		Jos. Onion	Alexander Magnus, Seaman
		John Lucks	Collin Steward, Seaman
		Jeffory Richardson	Robert Crawford, Seaman
		Alexr. Magness	John Brown, Seaman
		Collin Steward	John Philps, Seaman
		Robert Crawford	John Moore, Seaman
		John Brown	John Bevan, Seaman
		John Philp	Daniel McNeal, Seaman
		John Moore Seaman	Joseph Calrage, Seaman
		John Bevan	James Patterson, Seaman
		Danl. McNeal	John Henderson, Seaman
		Jas. Calvage	Dennis Daily, Seaman
		James Patterson	Andrew Ritchie, Seaman
		John Henderson	William Cambridge, Seaman
		Dennis Daily	Nicholas Laurence, Seaman
		Andw. Ritchie	John Gillespie, Seaman
		Wm. Cambridge	Robert Bridgewater, Seaman
		Nichs. Lawrence	Joseph Lacy, Seaman
		John Gillispie	Matthew Linster, Seaman
		Robt. Bridgewater	Thomas Hunter, Seaman
		Jos. Lacy	John Winter, Seaman
		Matt Linster	Alexander Peterson, Seaman
		Thos. Hunter	John Whiteman, Seaman
		John Winter	William Bergold, Seaman
		Alexr. Peterson	Claus Johnson, Seaman
		John Whiteman	Joseph Blackburn, Seaman
		Wm. Morgold	John Ellis, Seaman
		Claus Johnson	William Stevens, Seaman
		Geo. Blackburn	Thomas Boring, Seaman
		John Ellis	John Morton, Seaman
		Wm. Stevens	Thomas Lucas, Seaman

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		Thos. Boring John Merton Thos. Lucas Adrian Corpian Robt. Rogers	Adrian Cooperman, Seaman Nicholas Rogers, Seaman **Interpretations** Purling mustered three ships in a single round, as the homeward season brought ships into the road in quick succession. With two or three Indiamen at anchor together, the risk of desertion rose, since a soldier could slip aboard one ship while attention was on another. Checking all three crews against their rolls at the same time closed that gap. The *Northumberland* had come from China, a longer and harder voyage than the run from Bengal. Her roll shows a full warrant establishment of first and second mates for the carpenter and boatswain, needed to keep a large ship in repair over 18 months at sea. Ole Simonsen, Claus Johnson and Alexander Magnus were Scandinavian names, probably Danish or Swedish seamen. Sailors from the Baltic often found berths in English ships at Canton, where the Danish and Swedish companies also traded, and replaced men lost from the crew on the outward voyage.
393	384	14th March Andw. Mathieson Seaman Wm. Mitford Jno. Baxter Wm. Bond Wm. Davenport Duncan Gillespie Wm. Caxon Seaman John Hallingbury Ralph Sandom Jos. Rame Sabastinie Rabelo Richd. Rowel Geo. Baxter Seaman Chs. Laird Gilbert Eliot Isaac Cozvine Jos. Smith John Brisault Signed Jno. Mitford Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Lincoln Peter Hardwick Commr. Jos. Swinton 1 Mate Jas. Jones 2d Do. Jno. Lust 3d Do. Edwd. Cagell 4th Do. Geo. Geffreys 5th Do. Robt. Weste 6th Do. Jas. Henderson Purser Cornl. Taylor Surgeon Thos. Bridgeman Carpr. Jno. Farmer Gunner Jno. Campell Boatsw. Jno. Duff Ships Stewd. Wm. Haly Midshipman Jno. Wist Do. Robt. Hutton Do. Wm. Sharpless Do. Thos. Labonche Gunrs. Mate Jno. Lowther Quartermr. Wm. Lewis Do. Jas. Holt Do. Lochlen Kenny Do. Andw. Pilling Do. Wm. Kenny Do. Wm. Elgride Carpers. 1 Mate Wm. Sindman Do. 2 Do. Wm. Jepson Capt. Cook Jno. Olliver Ships Do. Thos. Crispin Caulker Chas. Dancey Butcher Wm. Gord Joiner	The *Northumberland*'s roll ended with the following seamen. Andrew Matheson, Seaman William Mitford, Seaman John Baxter, Seaman William Bond, Seaman William Davenport, Seaman Duncan Gillespie, Seaman William Coxon, Seaman John Hallingbury, Seaman Ralph Sandom, Seaman Joseph Rame, Seaman Sebastian Rabelo, Seaman Richard Rowel, Seaman George Baxter, Seaman Charles Laird, Seaman Gilbert Elliot, Seaman Isaac Lyrsine, Seaman Joseph Smith, Seaman John Brisault, Seaman Captain John Mitford signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Earl of Lincoln* followed. Peter Hardwick, Commander Joseph Swinton, First Mate James Jones, Second Mate John Teat, Third Mate Edward Cassell, Fourth Mate George Jeffreys, Fifth Mate Robert Wyld, Sixth Mate Joseph Henderson, Purser Cornelius Taylor, Surgeon Thomas Bridgeman, Carpenter John Farmer, Gunner John Campbell, Boatswain John Duff, Ship's Steward William Haley, Midshipman John Wort, Midshipman Adolphus Hutton, Midshipman William Sharpless, Midshipman Thomas Libbs, Gunner's Mate John Lawther, Quartermaster William Lewis, Quartermaster John Hill, Quartermaster Lockler Henry, Quartermaster Andrew Philling, Quartermaster William Penny, Quartermaster William Elgide, Carpenter's First Mate William Lindman, Carpenter's Second Mate William Jepson, Captain's Cook John Clibes, Ship's Cook Thomas Crispin, Caulker Charles Pancey, Butcher William Gold, Joiner

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		Mattw. Bryce Carpr. Mate Isaac Cook Caulkers Do. Jno. McCormack Sailmaker Henry Remmy Capt. Stewd. Robt. Steel Seaman John Brown John Tagg David Farmer Thos. Mackey Danl. Bennett Andw. Low Jno. Moody Wm. Davison Wm. Simpson Patk. Bennett Geo. Crawford Jacob Cozuin Nick Kirley Seaman Peter Collins Saml. Smith Jas. Steel John Irwin Jno. Wells Jno. Bowers Jno. Tavell Denns. Darlenson Danl. Cambell Thos. Leakey Thos. Redpit Jno. Berry Danl. Gay Jo. Fielding James Taswell Edwd. Brown Jos. Latimore Nichl. Lawless David Sheppard Joseph Rans John Corner Richd. Giles Jno. Crosby	Matthew Bryce, Cooper's Mate Isaac Cock, Caulker's Mate John McCormack, Sailmaker Henry Penny, Captain's Steward John Steed, Seaman John Lorrimer, Seaman John Tagg, Seaman David Turner, Seaman Thomas Mackey, Seaman Daniel Bennett, Seaman Andrew Low, Seaman John Moody, Seaman William Davison, Seaman William Simpson, Seaman Patrick Bennett, Seaman George Crawford, Seaman Jacob Seymour, Seaman Nicholas Kinley, Seaman Peter Collins, Seaman Samuel Smith, Seaman James Steel, Seaman John Erwin, Seaman John Wells, Seaman John Bowers, Seaman John Travell, Seaman Dennis Darlington, Seaman David Campbell, Seaman Thomas Leckey, Seaman Thomas Redpit, Seaman John Berry, Seaman Daniel Gay, Seaman Edward Gilding, Seaman James Tarwell, Seaman Edward Brown, Seaman Joseph Latimore, Seaman Michael Lawless, Seaman David Sheppard, Seaman Joseph Rans, Seaman John Conner, Seaman Richard Giles, Seaman John Crosby, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Earl of Lincoln* carried six mates, one more than the *Northumberland* and the *Hector*. The extra officer shows a larger ship, probably one of the Company's biggest Indiamen. Large China ships needed more officers to manage the heavy cargo of tea and the long watches of the voyage. Junior mates were often young men of good family serving their apprenticeship towards a command, and the post carried the right to private trade. The *Earl of Lincoln* also carried a joiner as well as a carpenter. The carpenter handled the ship's structure, masts and pumps, while the joiner made and repaired the finer woodwork of the cabins and the fittings of the passengers' quarters. A joiner on board points to a ship fitted out for paying passengers on the homeward run. William Mitford, a seaman in the *Northumberland*, shared his surname with his captain. He was probably a relative taken on in the ranks, a common way for a commander to give a young kinsman his start at sea.
394	385	1768 Davd. Twaddle Seaman Robt. Smith Arthur Dancey Alexr. Allardice John Lumpton Thomas Dawson William Watson Jno. Garrett Jno. Thompson George Bilker Seaman Michl. Dragee Peter Howson	The *Earl of Lincoln*'s roll ended with the following seamen. David Twaddle, Seaman Robert Smith, Seaman Arthur Dancey, Seaman Alexander Allardice, Seaman John Lumpton, Seaman Thomas Dawson, Seaman William Watson, Seaman John Garrett, Seaman John Thompson, Seaman George Baker, Seaman Michael Dragee, Seaman

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		Jos. Morriss	Peter Hansen, Seaman
		Peter Rose	Joseph Morris, Seaman
		John Gunar	Peter Rose, Seaman
		Michl. Austen	John Ganar, Seaman
		Jos. Emanuel	Michael Austin, Seaman
		Peter Dugard	Joseph Emanuel, Seaman
		Peter Lackey Seaman	Peter Dugard, Seaman
		Elijs. Rusport	Peter Lackey, Seaman
		Jno. Miller	Elis Phelps, Seaman
		Jno. Antonio	John Miller, Seaman
		Nich. Morrong	John Antonio, Seaman
		Augustine	Nicholas Morong, Seaman
		Thos. Newton	Augustine, Seaman
		Michl. Lynch	Thomas Newton, Seaman
		Jno. Ancoay	Michael Lynch, Seaman
		Signed	John Ancey, Seaman
		Peter Hardwicke	Captain Peter Hardwicke signed the roll.
		Muster Roll of Ship Norfolk	The muster roll of the *Norfolk* followed.
		John Sandys Commander	John Lorley, Commander
		David Welch 1 Mate	David Welch, First Mate
		William Tomlinson 2d Do.	William Tomlinson, Second Mate
		Thoms. Sushman 3d Do.	Thomas Soutman, Third Mate
		Robt. Simon 4th Do.	Robert Simon, Fourth Mate
		Henry Alderton 5th Do.	Henry Alderton, Fifth Mate
		James Haddock Purser	James Haddock, Purser
		Daniel Grant Surgeon	Daniel Grant, Surgeon
		John Dunman Midshipman	John Dunman, Midshipman
		Henry Cromfield Do.	Henry Crowfield, Midshipman
		Isaac Hellbroyd Do.	Isaac Hellroyd, Midshipman
		Jno. Grayham Do.	John Grayham, Midshipman
		Hugh Douglas Gunner	Hugh Douglas, Gunner
		Chas. Romsey Boatswain	Charles Romney, Boatswain
		Geo. Smith Ships Steward	George Smith, Ship's Steward
		Giles Minifie Capt. Do.	Giles Minifie, Captain's Steward
		Henry Cobb Carpenter	Henry Cobb, Carpenter
		Benjamin Murphy Surg. Mate	Benjamin Willoughby, Surgeon's Mate
		Richd. Cooke Carpenters Mate	Richard Cooke, Carpenter's Mate
		Wm. Betty Do.	William Petty, Carpenter's Mate
		John Little Sailmaker	John Little, Sailmaker
		Wm. Scot Cooper	William Foat, Cooper
		John Rice Capt. Cook	John Hill, Captain's Cook
		Lawrence Anderson Ships Do.	Lawrence Anderson, Ship's Cook
		Robert Walker Butcher	Robert Walker, Butcher
		Thomas Manning Armourer	Thomas Manning, Armourer
		David Groundwater Gunrs. Mate	David Groundwater, Gunner's Mate
		James Calloway Poulterer	James Calloway, Poulterer
		Jno. Bowman Qr. Master	John Bowman, Quartermaster
		Nichl. Wing Do.	Nicholas Wing, Quartermaster
		Willm. Rees Do.	William Rees, Quartermaster
		Jno. Jenkins Do.	John Jenkins, Quartermaster
		Elisha Lewis Caulker	Elisha Lewis, Caulker
		John Cope Boatsw. 1 Mate	John Cope, Boatswain's First Mate
		Isaac Dykes Do. 2 Do.	Isaac Dykes, Boatswain's Second Mate
		John Jones Capt. Servt.	John Jones, Captain's Servant
		Peter Ott Do. Do.	Peter Ole, Captain's Servant
		Andrew Welch Chief Mates Do.	Andrew Welch, Chief Mate's Servant
		Jno. Steward 2 Do. Do.	John Steward, Second Mate's Servant
		Robt. Miller Gunners Do.	Robert Miller, Gunner's Servant
		Lewis Humphreys Boatsws. Do.	Evan Humphreys, Boatswain's Servant
		Jno. Parker Carpenters Do.	John Parker, Carpenter's Servant
		John Murray Seaman	John Murray, Seaman
		Wm. Segrove	William Seymour, Seaman
		James Parker	James Parker, Seaman
		Chas. Welch	Charles Welch, Seaman
		John Taylor	John Taylor, Seaman
		Robert Phillips	Robert Phillips, Seaman
		John Rice	John Pine, Seaman
		John Clarke	John Clarke, Seaman
		Jno. Wright	John Wright, Seaman
		John Lomby	John Lumley, Seaman
		Robt. Simpson	Robert Simpson, Seaman
		Thos. Betty	Thomas Betty, Seaman
		John Gillmore	John Gilmore, Seaman
		Jno. Reny	John Reiny, Seaman
		Geo. Nashar	George Mather, Seaman
		Geo. Freard	George Tweed, Seaman

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Geo. Rogers Robt. Black	George Rogers, Seaman Robert Black, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Norfolk*'s roll listed servants attached to the captain, the chief and second mates, the gunner, the boatswain and the carpenter. These were boys or young men, usually apprentices bound to an officer, who learned the trade at sea while waiting on him. Each officer drew wages for his servant, which formed part of his own income. Andrew Welch, servant to the chief mate David Welch, was probably his son or kinsman. Placing a relative as one's servant was the usual way for a ship's officer to bring a boy into the sea service. The *Earl of Lincoln*'s final seamen included Joseph Emanuel, John Antonio and a man entered only as Augustine. Like Malabar and Bomba in the *Hector*, they were probably Indo-Portuguese or Asian sailors hired in the East to fill places left by deaths and desertions. David Groundwater, the *Norfolk*'s gunner's mate, bore a surname peculiar to Orkney. The Northern Isles supplied many seamen to the East India Company's ships and to the Hudson's Bay Company in this period.
395	386	14th March Peter Collins Seaman Robt. Gilmore Nathl. Luck Adam Mitchel James Whitefield John Berry Andrew Luck Ald. Warren Wm. Campbell Wm. Whittindall Godfrey Winkey John Mills Isaac Ruglass Seaman Isaac Farcey Jno. Robinson Robt. Key Geo. Bell Jos. Granger Richd. Mansfield Wm. Wilkey Wm. Burns Geo. Pierson James Williams Thos. Jones Seaman Edward Sparkey Jno. Weller Anty. Ferdinand John Gray John Clary Wm. Baxley Archibald Clark Geo. Right Fras. Farnell Charles Jennings John Coats Signed John Sandys The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ships Northumberland Earl of Lincoln and Norfolk viz. - Account of Short received from the following Ships viz. Northumberland - . 1 . 4 Sugar Short weight qrs. lb 2 Meat Dishes 1 Tureen Do. 29 Meat Plates 1 Soop Plate	The *Norfolk*'s roll ended with the following seamen. Peter Collins, Seaman Robert Gilmore, Seaman Nathaniel Luck, Seaman Adam Mitchell, Seaman James Whitefield, Seaman John Berry, Seaman Andrew Leech, Seaman Alexander Warren, Seaman William Campbell, Seaman William Whittindall, Seaman Godfrey Winkey, Seaman John Mills, Seaman Isaac Peaglass, Seaman Isaac Farcey, Seaman John Robinson, Seaman Robert Key, Seaman George Bell, Seaman Joseph Granger, Seaman Richard Marshfield, Seaman William Wilkey, Seaman William Bibus, Seaman George Ponson, Seaman James Williams, Seaman Thomas Jones, Seaman Edward Sparkey, Seaman John Weller, Seaman Anthony Ferdinand, Seaman John Gray, Seaman John Clary, Seaman William Bailey, Seaman Archibald Clark, Seaman George Right, Seaman Francis Jarnell, Seaman Charles Jennings, Seaman John Coats, Seaman Captain John Sandys signed the roll. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Northumberland*, the *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Norfolk* that came ashore short of their invoices. For the *Northumberland*, the sugar was short in weight and several pieces of china were found broken when the packages were opened. Sugar, short in weight by 1 [...] 4 [...] Meat dishes broken, 2 Tureens broken, 1 Meat plates broken, 29 Soup plates broken, 1 Pint sneakers broken, 7

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		7 Pint Sneakers 3 Basons found broke upon open'g the Packages Earl of Lincoln - . 2 . 23 Sugar Short weight qrs. lb	Basins broken, 3 For the *Earl of Lincoln*, the sugar was short in weight. Sugar, short in weight by 2 [...] 13 [...] **Interpretations** The Canton supercargoes had allowed a discount of 2 per cent on the *Northumberland*'s china to cover breakage on the voyage. The actual loss was far greater. Forty-three pieces arrived broken out of about 400, more than one in ten, and almost all were flat meat plates. Plates packed in tall stacks bore the weight of the whole pile and cracked when the ship rolled. Powell's account gave the Council the figures to claim the excess against the ship, since the 2 per cent allowance had been agreed on the assumption of ordinary losses. The sugar shortages were small. Chests of Chinese sugar commonly lost weight on the voyage as the sugar dried out and settled. Each chest had been filled to the same gross weight at Canton, so any loss of the contents showed up directly when Powell reweighed them at St Helena.
396	387	1768 Norfolk 3 . 1 . 24 Rice cwt. qrs. lb - . - . 20 Paddy 1 . 3 . 2 Sugar - . - . 3 Candles Short weight No. 1 . 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 146 Galls. wants to fill 8 Galls. 2 . 2 Do. Do. Do. 133 Do. Do. 5 Do. Recd. 279 Galls. 13 St. Helena 14th March 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper The Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of Febry. last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows viz. - Artillery Stores Expended in February 1768 Guns fired, Shot fired, 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 10th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 11th Do. supposed for the Long Boat: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Hector: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Fired at the Hector from Banks's: Guns fired 2, Shot fired 2, 9 Pr 2, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 2 17th A double Alarm for the Dutch Fleet: Guns fired 15, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 5, 3 Pr 5, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 5, Powder Expended lb 33, Powder Expended oz 0 18th Guns fired to Salute Do.: Guns fired 11, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 11, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 8, Powder Expended oz 4 24th Departed the Hector: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Powder Expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 380, Powder Expended oz 14 Total: Guns fired 58, Shot fired 2, 9 Pr 2, 4 Pr 9, 3 Pr 9, 2 Pr 29, 1 Pr 9, Powder Expended lb 485, Powder Expended oz 12	James Powell's account of stores short continued with the *Norfolk*. Rice, short in weight by 3 cwt 1 qr 24 lb Paddy, short in weight by 0 cwt 0 qr 20 lb Sugar, short in weight by 1 cwt 3 qr 2 lb Wax candles, short in weight by 0 cwt 0 qr 3 lb Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 146 gallons, lacking 8 gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 133 gallons, lacking 5 gallons to fill it Arrack received, 279 gallons, total lacking 13 gallons Powell signed the account at St Helena on 14 March 1768. The gunner's and steward's accounts for February were presented, examined and approved. The gunner's return of artillery stores used in February 1768 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 10 February, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 shot fired, powder 12 lb 0 oz 11 February, an alarm thought to be for a longboat, 6 guns fired, 0 shot fired, powder 12 lb 0 oz 11 February, arrival of the *Hector*, 9 guns fired, 0 shot fired, powder 6 lb 12 oz 11 February, guns fired at the *Hector* from Banks's, 2 guns fired, 2 shot fired, powder 6 lb 2 oz 17 February, a double alarm for the Dutch fleet, 15 guns fired, 0 shot fired, powder [...] 18 February, salute to the Dutch fleet, 11 guns fired, 0 shot fired, powder 8 lb 4 oz 24 February, departure of the *Hector*, 9 guns fired, 0 shot fired, powder 6 lb 12 oz Powder used on sundry services, 350 lb 14 oz Total, 58 guns fired, 2 shot fired, powder [...] **Interpretations** Banks's battery fired two shot at the *Hector* on the day she arrived. The guns were loaded with ball, not blank, and the shots were meant to bring her to. The island's standing rule required every approaching ship to heave to and send a boat ashore to identify herself before entering James Bay. Ships that kept on course were fired upon across the bows. The *Hector*'s boat landed at Banks's at eight in the morning, but the ship herself evidently came on without waiting for leave, and the battery enforced the rule. The alarm on 11 February was recorded as thought to be for a longboat. The lookouts had sighted something small at sea and raised the alarm in case it was an enemy's boat sent to land men or take soundings. A false alarm cost powder, but the garrison treated every unexplained sighting as a possible threat.

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			The double alarm on 17 February marked the sighting of the six Dutch ships that passed the island the following day. A double alarm signalled several ships at once, which might be an enemy squadron. When the Dutch colours were confirmed, the island saluted the fleet with 11 guns. The courtesy reflected the friendly relations between the two companies in peacetime.
397	388	14th March Spunge Staves 2 Fuzes for 8 In. Howitzer split in Driving 3 Trunk Nails 100 Tallow for the Boats &ca 14 lb Lead Balls to Shoot Goats 5 . 8 lb oz Sheep Skins 2 Handspikes 1 Paper for the Works 1 Qr. Budge Barrels 2 Tompions for 2 Prs. 1 Signed R. Mitchell Sundries Expended at the Honble Company's Table in Febry. 1768 6 Bottles Port Wine £ 9 24 Do. Lisbone 1 16 18 Do. Mountain 1 7 24 Do. Beer 5 30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 150 lb Beef 3 2 6 250 lb Mutton 5 4 4 1 Lamb 10 1 Kid 5 8 Ducks 12 12 Fowles 13 4 Turkeys 1 30 lb Butter 1 10 100 lb Candy 2 1 8 320 Flour 2 11 £ 30 7 6	The gunner also accounted for other stores used during February. Sponge staves, 2 Fuses for the 3-inch howitzer, split in driving, 3 Trunk nails, 100 Tallow for the boats and other uses, 14 lb Lead balls for shooting goats, 5 lb 3 oz Sheepskins, 2 Handspikes, 1 Paper for the works, 13 quires Budge barrels, 2 Tompions for 2-pounders, 1 Archibald Mitchell signed the return. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in February 1768. 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 24 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 0d 18 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 7s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d 150 lb of beef, £3 2s 6d 250 lb of mutton, £5 4s 2d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 100 lb of sugar candy, £2 1s 8d 320 lb of flour, £2 11s 0d Total, £30 7s 6d **Interpretations** The lead balls issued for shooting goats show the Company using its soldiers to cull the wild goats that roamed the island. Goats had run wild on St Helena since the 16th century and done great damage to its native woodland and to settlers' crops. Shooting them reduced the damage and supplied meat. Issuing lead from the artillery stores for this purpose made goat-hunting part of the garrison's duties. A budge barrel was a small powder barrel closed at the top with a leather cover drawn tight by a string. It let gunners carry loose powder or cartridges to the guns without spilling it or exposing it to sparks. The three howitzer fuses had split while being driven into their shells. Fuses were wooden tubes packed with slow-burning composition, hammered into the fuse hole of a shell, and a split fuse could make the shell burst too early or not at all, so it had to be discarded. The Company's table cost £30 7s 6d in February, about £5 more than in January. Wine consumption nearly doubled and more fowls, ducks and turkeys were bought. The *Hector* lay in the road from 11 to 24 February, and her officers and passengers were entertained at the Castle during her stay. The passing Dutch fleet on 18 February may also have brought visitors ashore.
398	389	1768 We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Mitford viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Worshipful Sir & Sirs St. Helena March 14th 1768 Having the Sum of twelve Hundred pounds unemployed	The Council received a letter from Captain John Mitford of the *Northumberland*, dated at St Helena on 14 March 1768. Mitford wrote that he had £1,200 lying unused. He offered it to the Company in case it needed the money, and asked that, if the Council accepted, it would give him bills for the sum. The Council considered the letter. It expected no cash from England that season and feared it would not have enough to meet the island's running costs.

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		I beg leave to offer it you on Account of the Honble Compy. in case they have Occasion for it, & if accepted that you will grant me Bills for the same I am Gentlemen Your most humble Servant Signed Jno. Mitford Having taken the above Letter into Consideration and as we do not expect any Cash this Season from England, and apprehending we shall not have sufficient for the Current expence of the Island, and this being the first Money tendered to Us, we agreed to take it into the Honble Company's Cash, & have granted him Bills accordingly. - We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Sandys viz. To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &ca Council Worshipful Sir and Sirs St. Helena As I have had so short a Passage from Bengall	Since this was the first money offered to it, the Council agreed to take the sum into the Company's treasury and granted Mitford bills accordingly. The Council also received a letter from Captain John Sandys of the *Norfolk*, addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena. Sandys wrote that he had made an unusually short passage from Bengal. **Interpretations** Mitford's offer was far larger than the sums the Council had taken from officers and captains earlier in the year, which ranged from £100 to £200. The Council did not accept it automatically. It recorded its reasons: no coin was expected from England that season, and the island's expenses would soon outrun its reserve. The garrison's pay for the quarter ending 31 March would require another advance to the paymaster of about £3,500, and the treasury held only some £9,200 at the end of January. Taking £1,200 in coin now secured the next pay day. The phrase that this was the first money offered points to a principle of selection. Each bill drawn on the Court was a debt the Company had to pay in London 90 days after presentation. The Council could not accept every captain's surplus cash without burdening the Court with bills it had not planned for. Taking the first offer, and only because the island needed it, showed the Council using bills as a means of supplying the treasury rather than as a service to captains wishing to send money home. Captains of homeward Indiamen carried large sums in silver and gold from their private trade in the East. China ships in particular returned with surplus Spanish dollars left over from buying tea and porcelain. A bill at St Helena turned that coin into a safe claim on London.
399	390	14th March to this Place which has good deal reduced the expence of my Provisions I take the liberty to inform you (for the benefit of my Owners) that I can supply you with twenty Casks of Beef & Pork if you please to take it on the Honble Company's Account, Your answer will much oblige Worshipfull Sir & Sirs St. Helena 14th March 1768 Your most Obedt. humble Servt. Signed Jno. Sandys Upon we directed the Secretary to return him the following Answer viz. To Capt. John Sandys Commander of Ship Norfolk Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that as there is a large quantity of salt Provisions remaining in the Honorable Company's Stores, and daily expect, a supply from England for these reasons they cannot possibly comply with your request, but are much oblige to you for making them the offer I am Sir St. Helena 14th March 1768 Your most Obedt. Servt. Signed Mattw. Bazett Secy. We this day granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors viz.	Captain John Sandys explained that his short passage from Bengal to St Helena had greatly reduced the use of his ship's provisions. On behalf of the ship's owners, he offered to supply the Company with 20 casks of beef and pork if the Council wished to take them on the Company's account. He asked for an early answer. His letter was dated at St Helena on 14 March 1768. The Council directed the secretary to send Sandys a reply. Matthew Bazett wrote to him on 14 March 1768 on the Governor and Council's behalf. The Company's stores already held a large quantity of salt provisions, and a further supply from England was expected any day. For these reasons the Council could not accept his offer, though it thanked him for making it. The Council then granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors. **Interpretations** The Council accepted Mitford's cash and refused Sandys's salt meat on the same day, and the contrast shows its priorities. Coin was scarce and essential for paying the garrison, so it took Mitford's £1,200 at once. Salt beef and pork were plentiful in the stores and more was coming from England, so buying Sandys's casks would only have tied up money in surplus meat that might spoil. The warehouse account for the last quarter of 1767 had shown more than 3,000 pieces of pork and over 1,200 of beef sold to employees, besides large issues to the slaves, so the Company's stock was evidently well supplied. Sandys's offer arose from a common situation. A ship victualled for a long passage that made unusually good time arrived with provisions to spare. The surplus belonged to the owners, who had paid for it, and selling it at St Helena turned it into money instead of letting it decay on the remaining voyage home. Sandys wrote for the benefit of his owners, which shows that commanders were expected to look

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			after the owners' interests as well as their own private trade.
400	391	One Set to Capt. John Mitford for £ 1200 - payable to Mr. Robert Mitford (or Order) - One Set to Mr. Robert Barclay for £ 371 . 5 - payable to Mr. Geo. Martin (Or Order) - And one Set to Capt. John Sandys for £ 100 - payable to himself (or Order) all drawn at ninety day's after sight. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The Council's list of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, granted on 14 March 1768, read as follows. 1 set to Captain John Mitford for £1,200 0s 0d, payable to Robert Mitford or his nominee 1 set to Robert Barclay for £371 5s 0d, payable to George Martin or his nominee 1 set to Captain John Sandys for £100 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee All the bills were drawn payable 90 days after presentation. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Robert Barclay, the Company's surgeon, paid £371 5s 0d into the treasury for his bill. His pay as surgeon came to £22 5s 0d a quarter, so the sum equalled more than four years of his salary. Barclay had other sources of income. He was paid separately for supplying the hospital with necessaries and fresh provisions, receiving £23 11s 0d for those services in the last quarter of 1767 alone. A surgeon on St Helena also treated settlers and the passengers and crews of visiting ships for fees. The bill shows how a Company officer on the island could build up a substantial sum in coin over a few years and send it home in a single remittance. Mitford named Robert Mitford, probably a kinsman or his agent in London, to receive his £1,200. The bills granted that day came to £1,671 5s 0d, the largest single day's issue so far in 1768. Together with the earlier bills of January and February, the Council had now taken in more than £2,300 in coin since the start of the year by drawing on the Court. The treasury was securing the money it would need for the garrison's pay at the end of March without waiting for specie from England.
401	392	21 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st Day of March 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 14th March 1768 Monday the 15th Sailed the Honble Company's Ships Earl of Lincoln and Norfolk for England - Thursday the 17th Arrived His Majesty's Ship Dolphin from the Cape Friday the 18th Sailed His Majesty's Ship Dolphin for England Do. Do. Arrived the Osterley's Boat at Banks's at three Quarters of an Hour past eight o'Clock in the morning Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Osterly from China (last from the Cape) - Last Night passed by four Ships supposed to be Dutch The Osterly brought Us the following supply viz. Invoice of Ship Osterly China Ware No. 1 Dishes 1 Size Blue & White 10 Do. 2 Do. Do. 10 Do. 3 Do. Do. 10 Do. 4 Do. Do. 10 Tureen Dishes Do. 6 Plates Do.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 21 March 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 14 March 1768. The Company's ships *Earl of Lincoln* and *Norfolk* sailed for England on Monday 14 March. His Majesty's ship *Dolphin* arrived from the Cape on Thursday 17 March and sailed for England the next day, Friday 18 March. At a quarter to nine on the morning of 18 March, a boat from the *Osterley* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Osterley* arrived the same day from China, having called last at the Cape. Four ships, thought to be Dutch, passed the island during the night before the consultation. The *Osterley* brought the following supplies, listed in her invoice. China Box number 1 Dishes, size 1, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 2, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 3, blue and white, 10 Dishes, size 5, blue and white, 10 Tureen dishes, blue and white, 6 Plates, blue and white, 9 **Interpretations** His Majesty's ship *Dolphin* stayed only a single day before sailing on for England. A naval vessel was not under the Company's authority and did not need the Council's leave to water or depart. The *Dolphin* was probably the ship commanded by Captain Samuel Wallis, returning from a voyage round the world in which she had reached Tahiti in 1767.

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		9	Wallis's ship called at the Cape early in 1768 and reached England in May. Her brief stop at St Helena would fit that homeward passage, when she needed only fresh water and a little food before the last leg of the voyage. The *Osterley*'s china followed the same assortment as the *Northumberland*'s, beginning with blue and white dishes in numbered sizes, tureen dishes and plates. The Canton supercargoes had packed a standard consignment of tableware for St Helena and divided it among the China ships of the season. The four ships passing by night, thought to be Dutch, were part of the steady flow of the Dutch East India Company's homeward fleet. They kept clear of St Helena, which belonged to a rival company, and sailed past without signalling.
402	393	1768 No. 2 Plates Blue & White 110 Soop Plates Do. 120 Tureens Do. 2 Covers Do. 2 Chamberpots Do. 1 3 Guglets & Basons Do. 15 Tureens Do. 4 Covers Do. 4 4 Bowls 2 Quart Do. 17 Do. 1 Do. Do. 17 Do. 3 Pint Do. 16 Chamber Pots Do. 9 5 Chamber Pots Do. 5 Pint Sneakers Do. 232 No. 1 to 5 5 Boxes China Ware Table Setts Blue & White S. B. S. B. 5 . 20 . 12 10 Setts Do. @ Ta. 3 . 9 Ta. 39 Tureens 6 Do. . 12 4 . 8 Chamberpots 15 Do. . 26 3 . 9 Guglets & Basons 15 Do. 4 . 5 6 7 5 Bowls 2 Quarts 17 Do. 1 . 5 2 . 5 . 5 Do. 1 Do. 17 Do. 1 . 2 2 . 4 Do. 3 Pint 16 Do. . 9 1 . 4 . 4 Pint Sneakers 232 Do. . 4 9 . 2 . 8 Ta. 71 7 6 Disct. for breakage 2 Pr. Ct. 1 . 4 . 3 . 5 70 . 3 . 2 . 5 Sugar No. 1 to 20 20 Chests Tare, Nett No. 1: Tare 22, Nett 292 2: Tare 25, Nett 292 3: Tare 25, Nett 292 4: Tare 26, Nett 292	The *Osterley*'s china continued in four further boxes. Box number 2 Plates, blue and white, 110 Soup plates, blue and white, 120 Tureens, blue and white, 2 Tureen covers, blue and white, 2 Chamber pots, blue and white, 1 Box number 3 Guglets and basins, blue and white, 15 Tureens, blue and white, 4 Tureen covers, blue and white, 4 Box number 4 2-quart bowls, blue and white, 17 1-quart bowls, blue and white, 17 3-pint bowls, blue and white, 16 Chamber pots, blue and white, 9 Box number 5 Chamber pots, blue and white, 5 Pint sneakers, blue and white, 232 Boxes numbered 1 to 5, 5 boxes of china 10 blue and white table sets at 3 taels 9 mace each, 39 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 6 tureens at 8 mace each, 4 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 15 chamber pots at 2 mace 6 candareens each, 3 taels 9 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 15 guglets and basins at 4 mace 5 candareens each, 6 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash 17 2-quart bowls at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 2 taels 5 mace 5 candareens 0 cash 17 1-quart bowls at 1 mace 2 candareens each, 2 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash 16 3-pint bowls at 9 candareens each, 1 tael 4 mace 4 candareens 0 cash 232 pint sneakers at 4 candareens each, 9 taels 2 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Total, 71 taels 7 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Discount for breakage at 2 per cent, 1 tael 4 mace 3 candareens 5 cash Net total for china, 70 taels 3 mace 2 candareens 5 cash Sugar, chests numbered 1 to 20, 20 chests Chest 1, tare 22 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 2, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 3, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 4, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 5, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 6, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 7, tare 28 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 8, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 9, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 10, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 1 to 10, tare 250 lb, gross 2,920 lb Chest 11, tare 28 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 12, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 13, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 14, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb

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		5: Tare 25, Nett 292 6: Tare 25, Nett 292 7: Tare 28, Nett 292 8: Tare 25, Nett 292 9: Tare 24, Nett 292 10: Tare 25, Nett 292 Total: Tare 250, Nett 2920 No. 11: Tare 28, Nett 292 12: Tare 28, Nett 292 13: Tare 25, Nett 292 14: Tare 25, Nett 292 15: Tare 25, Nett 292 16: Tare 25, Nett 292 17: Tare 25, Nett 292 18: Tare 24, Nett 292 19: Tare 25, Nett 292 20: Tare 25, Nett 292 Total: Tare 255, Nett 2920	Chest 15, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 16, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 17, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 18, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 19, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 20, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 11 to 20, tare 253 lb, gross 2,920 lb **Interpretations** The *Osterley*'s china matched the *Northumberland*'s in its table sets, tureens, guglets and bowls, at identical prices. The one great difference was the 232 pint sneakers, against 18 in the earlier ship. Sneakers were the small bowls used for punch and tea, and they were cheap at 4 candareens each, about 3d. Such a quantity was meant for general sale in the warehouse, where soldiers, planters and passing seamen bought them as everyday drinking vessels. The sugar chests were numbered 1 to 20, the start of the series that ran to 40 in the *Northumberland* and from 61 to 84 in the *Earl of Lincoln*. Together the three ships carried most of a single consignment of sugar bought at Canton for St Helena and spread across the season's China ships, so that a loss at sea would not cost the island its whole supply.
403	394	21 March Bro. Over 70 . 3 . 2 . 5 Wt. Gross 5840 Tare 505 5335 Nt. is Pecl. 40 . 01 @ Ta. 4 . 5 180 . 0 . 4 . 5 Ta. 250 . 3 . 7 Canton Decr. 21 1767 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Stepn. De Visme Benj. Torin Mann Horner Thos. Smith Willm. Rous Thos. Bevan Wm. Harrison Mattw. Raper junr. John Bradley Blake Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Osterly to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follow viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Osterly Fredk. Vincent Commander Fras. Fortescue 1 Mate James Smallwood 2d Do. John Griffin 3d Do. John Summerville 4th Do. John Paul 5th Do. Richd. Lewcock Surgeon Swinney Jenkings Purser Saml. Draxton Midshipman Chas. Botham Do. John Townsend Midshipman James Luther Boatswain Richard Davy Gunner John Rogers Carpenter Thos. Johnson Ships Steward James Shackell Cooper Thomas Partenden Caulker Robert Churcher Sailmaker John Tugg Armourer John Pilgate Butcher Abrahm. Kemp Poulterer Robt. Hay Quartermaster Richard Brown Do. John Stol Do. Robt. Smith Do.	The *Osterley*'s invoice continued from 70 taels 3 mace 2 candareens 5 cash. Brought forward, 70 taels 3 mace 2 candareens 5 cash Gross weight of sugar, 5,840 lb Tare, 505 lb Net weight, 5,335 lb, or 40 piculs 1 catty, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 180 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 5 cash Total, 250 taels 3 mace 7 candareens 0 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 21 December 1767 and reserved the right to correct any errors. It was signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Henry Revell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Torin, Mann Horne, Thomas Smith, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Osterley* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none. Her muster roll read as follows. Frederick Vincent, Commander Francis Fortescue, First Mate James Southwood, Second Mate John Griffin, Third Mate John Summerville, Fourth Mate John Reid, Fifth Mate Richard Lawrence, Surgeon Swinney Jennings, Purser Edward Dowton, Midshipman Charles Botham, Midshipman John Townsend, Midshipman James Luther, Boatswain Richard Davy, Gunner John Rogers, Carpenter Thomas Johnson, Ship's Steward James Thistlethwaite, Cooper Thomas Pattenden, Caulker Robert Chinchen, Sailmaker John Tagg, Armourer John Pickett, Butcher Abraham Hersh, Poulterer Robert Hay, Quartermaster Richard Brown, Quartermaster John Steel, Quartermaster Robert Smith, Quartermaster James Carmichael, Surgeon's Mate John Hearn, Boatswain's Mate Thomas Brown, Gunner's Mate Charles Townsend, Carpenter's First Mate James Robinson, Carpenter's Second Mate **Interpretations**

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		James Carmichael Surg. Mate John Burns Boatsws. Do. Thomas Bevan Gunners Do. Chas. Townsend Carpr. 1 Do. James Robinson Do. 2 Do.	The *Osterley*'s invoice was dated at Canton on 21 December 1767, the same day as the *Northumberland*'s. The supercargoes prepared the island's consignment as a single order and split it between ships sailing in company from Canton at the end of the trading season. The *Northumberland* reached St Helena on 5 March and the *Osterley* on 18 March, so ships leaving China together could arrive two weeks apart after the long passage round the Cape. The *Osterley*'s whole consignment cost 250 taels 3 mace 7 candareens, roughly £83 at the usual rate. For that sum the island received over 600 pieces of porcelain and more than 5,300 lb of sugar. The low cost of Chinese goods made the China ships a cheap source of supply for the warehouse, whose sales to employees and planters recovered the cost with a margin.
404	395	1768 William Hark Caulkers Mate John Clark Capt. Steward William Spencer Do. Cook Evan Evans Do. Taylor Jonathan Diamond Barber Jacob Dawson Do. Servant Wm. Collingworth Do. Do. Hezekiah Hayes 1 Mates Do. Wm. Hazard 2 Do. Do. Peter Cruickshanks Surgn. Do. Peter Grigg Do. Joseph Bowles Carpenters Do. Robert Pickering Seaman Charles Ravenscroft William Hibbs William Martin Robert Richie Mattw. Creighton David Jones John Neale Thoms. Seaman Danl. Allen Patrick McGin William Hamilton John McDonald Seaman James Gordon Thos. Weatherley Robert Hutchins Alexander Young John Hitchins Thomas Pye Thomas Kitchen Andrew Campbell Edward Cape John Bryan Edward Kensley John Viney Thoms. Drury Peter McKenzie Richd. Nicholas Phillip Thomas John Stebbens William Murray James Stafford Samuel Williams Anthonio More Antonio Pinto John Bryan Seaman Henrick Scrouder Michl. Cook Vincent Rosario Theodosia Gracia Juan De Almeida Thomas Tucker Juome De Sylva Jonathan Burtonwood Richd. Holmes	The *Osterley*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew. William Hart, Caulker's Mate John Clark, Captain's Steward William Spencer, Captain's Cook Evan Evans, Captain's Tailor Jonathan Dixon, Captain's Barber Jacob Dawson, Captain's Servant William Ellingworth, Captain's Servant Hezekiah Hayes, First Mate's Servant William Hazard, Second Mate's Servant Peter Cruickshank, Surgeon's Servant Peter Grigg, [...] Servant Joseph Bowles, Carpenter's Servant Robert Pickering, Seaman Charles Ravenscroft, Seaman William Hibbs, Seaman William Martin, Seaman Robert Riches, Seaman Matthew Creighton, Seaman David Jones, Seaman John Neale, Seaman Thomas Freeman, Seaman Daniel Allen, Seaman Patrick McGinn, Seaman William Hamilton, Seaman John McDonald, Seaman James Gordon, Seaman Thomas Weatherley, Seaman Robert Hutchins, Seaman Alexander Young, Seaman John Hitchins, Seaman Thomas Dyce, Seaman Thomas Kitchen, Seaman Andrew Campbell, Seaman Edward Cope, Seaman John Bryan, Seaman Edward Hensley, Seaman John Viney, Seaman Thomas Drury, Seaman Peter McKenzie, Seaman Richard Nicholas, Seaman Phillip Thomas, Seaman John Stebbens, Seaman William Murray, Seaman James Stafford, Seaman Samuel Williams, Seaman Anthonio More, Seaman Antonio Pinto, Seaman John Bryan, Seaman Henrick Schroder, Seaman Michael Cork, Seaman Vincent Rosario, Seaman Theodosio Gracia, Seaman Juan de Almeida, Seaman Thomas Tucker, Seaman Jerome de Sylva, Seaman Jonathan Pinkerman, Seaman

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		Thos. Gunn William Creighton William Pearson Marcus Joseph James Walker John Hesdon John Frederick Christian Butors Henry Evans Peter Drey Charles Harrod John Nichols Antonio Mallabar Pedro Rodrigues Signed Fredk. Vincent The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Osterly viz. - Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Osterly viz. - . 2 . 24 Sugar Short Weight qrs. lb	Richard Holmes, Seaman Thomas Gunn, Seaman William Crichton, Seaman William Pearson, Seaman Marcus Joseph, Seaman James Walker, Seaman John Hesdon, Seaman John Frederick, Seaman Christian Peters, Seaman Henry Evans, Seaman Peter Davy, Seaman Charles Herrid, Seaman John Nichols, Seaman Antonio Mallabar, Seaman Pedro Rodrigues, Seaman Captain Frederick Vincent signed the roll. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Osterley* that came ashore short of the invoice. Sugar, short in weight by [...] 24 [...] **Interpretations** Captain Vincent kept a household of his own aboard the *Osterley*: a steward, a cook, a tailor, a barber and two servants. A commander of a China ship lived in some state. He entertained the passengers and officers at his table, received merchants and officials at Canton, and maintained the dignity of a man who might earn several thousand pounds from a single voyage through his private trade. His tailor and barber served him personally, and their wages were borne by the ship. The final group of seamen included Vincent Rosario, Theodosio Gracia, Juan de Almeida, Jerome de Sylva, Antonio Pinto, Pedro Rodrigues and Antonio Mallabar. They were probably Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese sailors hired at Canton, Macao or an Indian port to fill gaps in the crew. Macao, the Portuguese settlement at the mouth of the Pearl River, supplied many such seamen to European ships trading at Canton. Antonio Mallabar's surname marked his origin on the Malabar coast, like the cook and seaman of that name in the *Hector*.
405	396	21st March 1 Tureen Dish 12 Meat Plates 1 Soop Plate 4 Chamber Pots 1 Bowl 9 Pint Sneakers found broke upon opening the Packages St. Helena 21 March 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekr. Richard Moreton Serjeant this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time - Granted - Mr. Jacob's Suspension having expired on the 18th Instant, he was again restored to his Duty and pay as Adjutant at the same time, we cautioned him to be more careful of his future Behaviour Counted and Examined the Honble Company's Cash for the Month of February last, which is as follows viz.	The storekeeper's account of the *Osterley*'s stores continued with china found broken when the packages were opened. Tureen dishes broken, 1 Meat plates broken, 12 Soup plates broken, 1 Chamber pots broken, 4 Bowls broken, 1 Pint sneakers broken, 9 James Powell signed the account at St Helena on 21 March 1768. Sergeant Richard Moreton petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of his engagement. The Council granted his request. John Jacobs's suspension as adjutant had run out on 18 March. The Council restored him to his duties and pay as adjutant, and warned him to take more care over his conduct in future. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for February 1768. **Interpretations** Jacobs had been suspended on 18 September 1767, so his suspension lasted exactly six months. The Council had fixed a term at the outset rather than suspending him indefinitely, and it kept to that term. Restoring him with a warning instead of a fresh inquiry shows that the suspension was meant as a punishment, served and finished, not a step towards dismissal. Bernard Millard, who had drawn the adjutant's pay while acting in the post, returned to his former duties.

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			Richard Moreton had been raised from corporal to sergeant in the Fourth Company only on 8 October 1767, after Sergeant John Simcox was reduced. Six months later he left the service. The Council had paid bounties to keep trained soldiers, such as the £10 given to John Vaughan on 2 November 1767 to sign on for five more years, but no such offer was recorded for Moreton. A soldier whose term had expired was entitled to his discharge, and the Council could not hold him against his will. His departure left the Fourth Company once more short of a sergeant. The *Osterley*'s breakage was again concentrated in the flat meat plates, as in the *Northumberland*. Twenty-eight pieces were broken out of more than 600, within reasonable range of the 2 per cent allowance the supercargoes had made.
406	397	1768 Cash Dr. 1768 Febry. 1 To Balance remaining £ 9747 - 10 22d To Exchange for 3 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors Payable as follows viz. One Set to Messrs. Thomas & William Chesson £ 100 One Do. to Capt. John Williams 100 One Do. to Do. 200 400 To Ship Hector 15 5 11 £ 10162 6 9 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Febry. 29 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 9622 11 9 In Cash notes 539 15 £ 10162 6 9 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The Council's cash account for February 1768 was set out as follows. Cash, debit 1 February 1768, balance remaining, £9,747 0s 10d 22 February 1768, received in exchange for 3 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to Thomas and William Chesson, £100 0s 0d 1 set payable to Captain John Williams, £100 0s 0d 1 set payable to Captain John Williams, £200 0s 0d Total for the 3 sets of bills, £400 0s 0d Received from the ship *Hector*, £15 5s 11d Total, £10,162 6s 9d Cash, credit 29 February 1768, balance remaining in coin, £9,622 11s 9d 29 February 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £10,162 6s 9d Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the account. **Interpretations** The cash account entered the three bills of 22 February under the names of those to whom they were payable, not those who paid in the money. The bill bought by William Bearcroft, the chaplain, appeared as payable to Thomas and William Chesson, and the £200 paid in by James Powell, the storekeeper, appeared as a second bill to Captain John Williams. The Council's bookkeeping followed the bill itself, since the Court in London needed to know whom it must pay. The minutes of 22 February had recorded who provided the coin. As in January, the treasury paid out nothing in February. The balance in coin rose by more than £400 through the bills and the *Hector*'s payment for supplies. The reserve stood at £10,162 6s 9d at the end of the month, its highest point since the quarter's pay was advanced in December. With Mitford's £1,200 and the other bills of 14 March still to be added, the Council was well placed to meet the next quarter's pay at the end of March.
407	398	28th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day of March 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Purling Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 21 March 1768 Tuesday the 22d Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Osterly and Northumberland for England -	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 28 March 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 21 March 1768. The Company's ships *Osterley* and *Northumberland* sailed for England on Tuesday 22 March. At seven in the morning on Thursday 24 March, a boat from the *Triton* landed at

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		Thursday the 24th Arrived the Tritons Boat at Banks's at seven o'Clock in the morning - Do. Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Triton from China - Friday past by a Ship at a great Distance - The Triton brought Us the following supply viz. Invoice of Ship Triton Sugar No. 41 to 60 20 Chests Tare, Nett No. 41: Tare 21, Nett 292 2: Tare 26, Nett 292 3: Tare 25, Nett 292 4: Tare 25, Nett 292 5: Tare 26, Nett 292 6: Tare 26, Nett 292 7: Tare 25, Nett 292 8: Tare 24, Nett 292 9: Tare 25, Nett 292 50: Tare 24, Nett 292 Total: Tare 252, Nett 2920 No. 51: Tare 25, Nett 292 2: Tare 25, Nett 292 3: Tare 24, Nett 292 4: Tare 26, Nett 292 5: Tare 26, Nett 292 6: Tare 25, Nett 292 7: Tare 24, Nett 292 8: Tare 24, Nett 292 9: Tare 26, Nett 292 60: Tare 25, Nett 292 Total: Tare 250, Nett 2920	Banks's. The Company's ship *Triton* arrived from China the same day. On Friday 25 March a ship passed the island at a great distance. The *Triton* brought the following supplies, listed in her invoice. Sugar, chests numbered 41 to 60, 20 chests Chest 41, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 42, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 43, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 44, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 45, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 46, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 47, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 48, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 49, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 50, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 41 to 50, tare 252 lb, gross 2,920 lb Chest 51, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 52, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 53, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 54, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 55, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 56, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 57, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 58, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 59, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 60, tare 25 lb, gross 292 lb Chests 51 to 60, tare 250 lb, gross 2,920 lb **Interpretations** The *Triton*'s chests, numbered 41 to 60, filled the gap in the series of sugar sent from Canton. The *Osterley* had carried chests 1 to 20, the *Northumberland* 21 to 40, the *Triton* 41 to 60 and the *Earl of Lincoln* 61 to 84. The supercargoes had divided a single purchase of 84 chests, more than 24,000 lb gross, among four ships of the same season. Each ship carried a share small enough that its loss would not leave the island without sugar. The *Osterley* and the *Northumberland* sailed together on 22 March, two days before the *Triton* arrived. The China ships came in at intervals of a week or two through March, and the Council handled each in turn: receiving her boat at Banks's, landing her cargo, mustering her crew and granting bills before she sailed. The pace of the homeward season kept the Council's business heavy through the southern autumn.
408	399	1768 Gross Wt. 5840 Tare 502 5338 Nt. is Pecl. 40 . 03 @ Ta. 4 . 5 m. 180 . 1 . 3 . 5 Canton 21 December 1767 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Stepn. De Visme Benj. Torin Mann Horner Thos. Smith Wm. Rous Thoms. Bevan Wm. Harrison Mattw. Raper junr. John Bradley Blake The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Triton viz. Account of Stores Short received from Ship Triton viz. 18 lb Sugar Short weight St. Helena 28 March 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper - Thomas Wansell Centinel this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his	The *Triton*'s invoice continued with the weight and cost of her sugar. Gross weight, 5,840 lb Tare, 502 lb Net weight, 5,338 lb, or 40 piculs 3 catties, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 180 taels 1 mace 3 candareens 5 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 21 December 1767 and reserved the right to correct any errors. It was signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Henry Revell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Torin, Mann Horne, Thomas Smith, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Triton* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it at St Helena on 28 March 1768. Sugar, short in weight by 13 lb Thomas Wansell, a private, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of his engagement. The Council granted his request. **Interpretations** With the *Triton*'s arrival the whole of the Canton sugar for St Helena had reached the island. The four ships brought 84 chests holding about 22,400 lb of sugar net, at a total cost of some 757 taels, roughly

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		Contracted time. Granted -	£250. That supply, added to the 30 maunds of Bengal sugar from the *Lord Holland* and the *Norfolk*, gave the warehouse enough to meet the garrison's, the planters' and the Company's own needs for the coming year. The *Triton*'s sugar arrived almost intact, only 13 lb short across 20 chests. Thomas Wansell was the second soldier in a week to leave on completing his term, after Sergeant Richard Moreton on 21 March. Each discharge reduced the garrison by a trained man. The Council could not refuse a soldier whose engagement had expired, but it could replace him from the island's young men, as it had done with Sutton Isaacke on 25 January, or from seamen who stayed behind from the ships, as with the Dane Samuel Willson.
409	400	28th March Ordered the following Advertizement to be Published viz. Island St. Helena 28th March 1768 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island that they are hereby required to meet in Vestry at the Chappel in this Valley on Monday next to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year. They are likewise to return three of the Principal Inhabitants that one may be Elected to serve the Office of Sheriff and to Chuse a person for a Constable - Per Order of Council Signed Mattw. Bazett Secy. Captain Henry Bazett & Mr. Simon Whaley this day present the following Petitions viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath some Bills of Sale and other Papers which (for his greater Security) he requests your Worship & Council will give him Leave to have registered - And your Petitioner will ever pray - Signed 28th March 1768 Henry Bazett Granted	The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated 28 March 1768. All inhabitants of the island were required to meet in vestry at the chapel in Jamestown valley on the following Monday, 4 April 1768, to choose the parish officers for the coming year. They were also to put forward the names of three of the leading inhabitants, so that one of them might be chosen to serve as sheriff. They were further to choose a constable. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. Captain Henry Bazett and Simon Whaley each presented a petition. Henry Bazett's petition, dated 28 March 1768, stated that he held some bills of sale and other papers. For greater security he asked the Governor and Council for leave to have them registered. The Council granted his request. **Interpretations** The vestry meeting followed the pattern of an English parish. The meeting was fixed for Monday 4 April 1768, which was Easter Monday that year, the traditional day in England for parishioners to meet and elect their churchwardens and other parish officers. The island kept the same calendar and the same forms of local government, even though the Company held overall authority. The choice of sheriff combined election and appointment. The inhabitants did not elect the sheriff directly. They named three of their leading men, and the Governor and Council chose one. The arrangement gave the settlers a voice while keeping the final decision with the Company. The constable, by contrast, was chosen by the inhabitants themselves. He was the officer who, under the proclamation of 28 February 1768, stopped slaves carrying goods and searched their loads. Registering bills of sale with the Council gave them an official record that could be produced if the transaction were ever disputed. A bill of sale on St Helena often recorded the transfer of land, livestock or slaves. Henry Bazett, captain of the Second Company and a member of the island's leading family, had evidently made several such purchases and wished to secure his title against any later challenge.
410	401	1768 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Simon Whaley Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of disposing of his Right to a House and Eleven Acres & one Quarter of Land lying in the East Division of this Island at Publick Auction, your Petitioner therefore Requests that your Worship & Council	Simon Whaley presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 28 March 1768. He wished to sell at public auction his right to a house and 11¼ acres of land in the East Division of the island, and asked the Council's leave to do so. The Council granted his request. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Whaley needed the Council's leave because he did not own the land outright. He held it on lease from the Company, and a leaseholder could not transfer his interest without the Company's consent.

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		will be pleased to give him leave so to do. - And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed 28th March 1768 - Simon Whaley Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The rule let the Council control who came to hold land on the island, keeping out undesirable settlers and making sure the new holder would pay the rent. A sale by public auction gave the transfer an open and recorded price, which protected both buyer and seller and showed the Council that the land changed hands fairly. On 1 February 1768 the Council had renewed Whaley's lease of two small plots totalling three acres in the same division. The house and 11¼ acres he now sought to sell were a separate and larger holding. Whaley appears to have been consolidating his affairs, keeping his smaller plots while selling the larger farm. Joseph Whaley, probably of the same family, had enlisted as a soldier on 30 November 1767, which may have reduced the family's need for the land or its ability to work it.
411	402	31 March At a Consultation held on Thursday the 31 Day of March 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 28 March 1768. - Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Triton to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Triton Willm. Elphinstone Commr. John Pasloe 1 Mate Phillip Brownfield 2d Do. Jno. Hill 3d Do. Geo. Keith Elphinstone 4th Do. Robt. Eaton 5th Do. Archd. Walker Surgeon John James Purser James Simpson Carpenter Thos. Stephenson Gunner Jno. Herring Boatswain Francis Hall Midshipman Willm. Berry Do. Robt. Clossen Do. William Thompson David Nisbett Surgn. Mate Wm. Warden Gunners Do. Jno. Antony Carpr. Do. Thos. Shaw Do. Do. Jos. Cuff Caulkers Mate James Watson Boatsw. Do. David Oswald Quartermaster Saml. Seaman Do. Edwd. Bryan Cooper William Kennedy Do. Mate John Crisp Capt. Steward Alexander Keith Ships Do. Bendt. R. Nelly Capt. Cook Robt. Cattensby Ships Do. James Moulton Armourer James Young Sailmaker Thomas Lonsted Baker Henry Gosse Butcher Thos. Gurrnd Poulterer John Hither Seaman John Read Willm. Mason John Lewis Richd. Owen Seaman Thos. Walker Thos. Bucklass Robt. Porter Jno. Charlton	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Thursday 31 March 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 28 March 1768. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Triton* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none. Her muster roll read as follows. William Elphinstone, Commander John Paslow, First Mate Phillip Brownfield, Second Mate John Hill, Third Mate George Keith Elphinstone, Fourth Mate Robert Eaton, Fifth Mate Archibald Willis, Surgeon John James, Purser James Simpson, Carpenter Thomas Stephenson, Gunner John Herring, Boatswain Francis Hall, Midshipman William Bary, Midshipman Robert Cleghorn, Midshipman William Thompson, Midshipman David Nisbett, Surgeon's Mate William Warden, Gunner's Mate Joseph Antony, Carpenter's First Mate Thomas Shaw, Carpenter's Second Mate Joseph Cuff, Caulker's Mate James Watson, Boatswain's Mate David Oswald, Quartermaster Samuel Freeman, Quartermaster Peter Bryan, Cooper William Kennedy, Cooper's Mate John Crisp, Captain's Steward Alexander Keith, Ship's Steward Archibald McNelly, Captain's Cook Robert Cattersby, Ship's Cook James Moulton, Armourer James Young, Sailmaker Thomas Lomas, Baker Henry Gibbs, Butcher Thomas Garrard, Poulterer John Hathee, Seaman John Reed, Seaman William Mason, Seaman John Lewis, Seaman Richard Owen, Seaman Thomas Walker, Seaman Thomas Bickliss, Seaman Robert Barker, Seaman John Charlton, Seaman James Miller, Seaman John McLary, Seaman John Davison, Seaman

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		James Miller John McLary Jno. Davison John Carry Wm. Atkins Robt. Johnson Murph. McLean Jos. Harrison Robt. Thompson Thos. Cleveland Jno. Baptiste John Coffy Andrew Davis John Strahan	John Carey, Seaman William Atkins, Seaman Robert Johnson, Seaman Murdoch McLean, Seaman Joseph Harrison, Seaman Robert Thompson, Seaman Thomas Cleveland, Seaman John Baptiste, Seaman John Coffy, Seaman Andrew Davis, Seaman John Strahan, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Triton*'s fourth mate, George Keith Elphinstone, served under his elder brother William Elphinstone, the ship's commander. He was probably the George Keith Elphinstone who later left the Company's service for the Royal Navy and rose to become Admiral Lord Keith. As commander of the Channel Fleet in 1815, Keith oversaw the arrangements by which Napoleon was sent into exile on St Helena. In 1768 he passed through the island as a junior officer in a China ship, learning seamanship and private trade under his brother. A commander placing his younger brother among his officers was common practice in the Company's ships. Captains had the right to appoint their mates and midshipmen, and they used it to advance their families. A post as mate on a China ship brought a share of private trade worth far more than the wage, and it was the usual ladder to a command of one's own. The *Triton* carried a baker as well as a butcher and a poulterer. Fresh bread baked on board was a comfort for the captain's table and the passengers, and its presence marks a well-found ship equipped for a long voyage with people of standing aboard.
412	403	1768 John Willson Seaman Thomas Bond William Leech William Chester Henry Worsefelly James Gray William Rule Andrew Coolly John Bert Alexr. Mills Jno. McIntosh William Hicks Thomas Pearson Jno. Cuthell Danl. Fowles Seaman Stepn. Smith James Gray James Bennett Wm. Brewer Thoms. Keith Alexr. Dempster Jno. Evans David Jamison Robert Bruce Richd. North Wm. Naughton John Gowven Francis Ford Jno. Marlow Seaman Thos. Lowry Geo. Cracklow Stephen Hope Thos. Nixon Willm. Barber Henry Horrow Jos. King William Cogeche Lewis Rule	The *Triton*'s muster roll ended with the following seamen. John Willson, Seaman Thomas Bond, Seaman William Leech, Seaman William Chester, Seaman Henry Worsefilly, Seaman James Gray, Seaman William Rule, Seaman Andrew Coolly, Seaman John Burt, Seaman Alexander Mill, Seaman John McIntosh, Seaman William Hicks, Seaman Thomas Pearson, Seaman John Cuthell, Seaman Daniel Fowles, Seaman Stephen Smith, Seaman James Gray, Seaman James Burnett, Seaman William Brewer, Seaman Thomas Keith, Seaman Alexander Dempster, Seaman John Frame, Seaman David Jamieson, Seaman Robert Pearce, Seaman Richard North, Seaman William Naughter, Seaman John Gowen, Seaman Francis Ford, Seaman John Marlow, Seaman Thomas Lipsey, Seaman George Cracklow, Seaman Stephen Hope, Seaman Thomas Nixon, Seaman William Barber, Seaman Henry Florence, Seaman Joseph King, Seaman William Coyeche, Seaman

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		Fras. Marwain Geo. Vigorus Lewis Tulle Peter Barn Signed Wm. Elphinstone We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Elphinstone viz. To John Skottowe Esqr. &ca & Council at St. Helena Gentlemen The great want of wood we are in. Obliges me to request you will be so good as to allow me a small supply here, as I have not above six Weeks Stock on board, and believe me nothing but the greatest necessity would forced me to give you this trouble. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obt. Humble Servant Signed St. Helena 31 March 1768. Wm. Elphinstone	Lewis Rule, Seaman Israel Marwain, Seaman George Vigoree, Seaman Lewis Tulle, Seaman Peter Barn, Seaman Captain William Elphinstone signed the roll. The Council received a letter from Elphinstone, dated at St Helena on 31 March 1768. He wrote that his ship was badly short of firewood and asked the Council to let him have a small supply. He had no more than six weeks' stock on board, and only the greatest necessity had made him trouble the Council with the request. **Interpretations** Elphinstone's apologetic tone shows that firewood was not something a ship could expect to receive at St Helena as a matter of course. Water and fresh provisions were routine supplies for every calling ship. Wood was different. The island's native forest had been largely destroyed by goats and by cutting, and what remained at Longwood and the Great Wood was carefully guarded to fuel the Company's own kitchens, bakehouse and lime kilns. The plantation account for the last quarter of 1767 showed the Company repairing its wood carts and sending pickaxes to Longwood, where roots and stumps were being dug for fuel. A ship needed firewood for its galley fire, to cook the crew's food and boil water throughout the voyage. Six weeks' stock was barely enough for the passage to England, which might take two months or more against the north-east trade wind. Elphinstone stressed his need so that the Council would understand he was asking for an exception, not claiming a right.
413	404	31 March Having called for a return of the Coals in the Engineers Stores find twenty bushels remaining on which we agreed to supply the Ship Triton with ten bushels, as we daily expect a supply, and which Capt. Elphinstone thinks sufficient - Captain Elphinstone applied to pay £ 100 - into the Honorable Company's Cash, which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to himself (Or Order) ninety days after sight dated this day - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The Council called for a return of the coal held in the engineer's stores and found 20 bushels remaining. Since it expected a fresh supply any day, it agreed to give the *Triton* 10 bushels. Captain Elphinstone considered that quantity enough. Elphinstone also asked to pay £100 into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his nominee 90 days after presentation and dated that day. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Elphinstone had asked for firewood, but the Council gave him coal instead. The record shows the request and the answer side by side, and the substitution was deliberate. The island's wood was too scarce to spare, since it fuelled the Company's kitchens, bakehouse and lime kilns and came from woodland already stripped close to exhaustion. Coal had to be imported from England, but the engineer kept a small stock for the smiths' forges at the fortification works. The Council gave up half of it on the strength of a shipment it expected soon, so that a Company ship would not go short while the island's own timber was protected. Ten bushels of coal, burned in the ship's galley, would have stretched Elphinstone's remaining wood for the voyage home. A bushel of coal gave far more heat than the same bulk of wood, which is why a small quantity satisfied him. Elphinstone's £100 bill completed a busy month for the treasury. In March the Council had taken in at least £1,771 in coin against bills on the Court, including Mitford's £1,200, ready to pay the garrison and the civil officers for the quarter ending that day.
414	405	4th April At a Consultation held Monday the 4th day of April 1768 at the Castle	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 4 April 1768. Present

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		Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 31 March 1768 - Yesterday Sailed the Honble Company's Ship Triton for England - On the 2d instant John Brookes, Edward Welsh, and Thomas Marshall Centinels and this day Francis Scoane Drummer, Robert Sanders, Thomas Ransome, William Johnson, David Davis, Thomas Lee and Thomas Cheverly Centinels Petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times - Granted - We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell viz. To the Worshipful the Governor &ca Council of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen In obedience to the Orders received from you, towards the end of last Quarter, in consequence of the final completion of the new defences of Sandy Bay, to proceed upon the Construction of the two new Batterys to be built at Banks's and Mundens Point, agreeable to the Plans of these two Works then approved of by you, I have employed the Honorable Company's Workmen, during the last three Months, principally in preparing the foundation of these two Works and in transporting the Materials for their Construction -	John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 31 March 1768. The Company's ship *Triton* sailed for England the previous day, 3 April. Ten soldiers petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. Three privates applied on 2 April and seven men on 4 April. 2 April 1768, John Brookes, private 2 April 1768, Edward Welsh, private 2 April 1768, Thomas Marshall, private 4 April 1768, Francis Swane, drummer 4 April 1768, Robert Saunders, private 4 April 1768, Thomas Ransome, private 4 April 1768, William Johnson, private 4 April 1768, David Davis, private 4 April 1768, Thomas Lee, private 4 April 1768, Thomas Caverly, private The Council granted all their requests. The Council received a letter from Captain Archibald Mitchell, the engineer. Towards the end of the previous quarter, once the new defences at Sandy Bay were finished, the Council had ordered him to begin building the two new batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point to the plans it had approved. Mitchell reported that he had spent the last three months employing the Company's workmen mainly on preparing the foundations of the two works and carrying materials for building them. **Interpretations** Ten men claimed their discharge within three days, after Sergeant Richard Moreton on 21 March and Thomas Wansell on 28 March. Twelve soldiers left the garrison in a fortnight, drawn from every company. So many engagements ending together suggests that these men had enlisted as a group about five years earlier, when the Company was strengthening its garrisons at the end of the Seven Years War. The terms of a whole draft of recruits ran out at once, leaving the Council with a sudden gap in the ranks that bounties and island enlistments could not quickly fill. The discharged men lost their pay but gained their freedom to leave the island. Most would have sought a passage home in the ships of the season, or settled on St Helena as planters, labourers or tradesmen. A soldier with a trade, such as a mason or carpenter, could find work at better wages on the fortifications as a hired man. Mitchell's letter confirms the sequence of the works. The paymaster's account for the last quarter of 1767 showed most of the labour still at Sandy Bay, with smaller sums at Munden's Point and Banks's. Mitchell had since shifted the Company's workmen to the two new batteries, as Corneille had noted on 29 February when the stone layers were recalled from the slaves' houses.
415	406	4th April You are too well acquainted with the difficulties attending both the one and the other of these Works, arising from the extreme ruggedness & inaccessibility of their Situations, and the distance from which the greatest part of the Materials were to be conveyed, not to make the proper allowances for the less visible progress hitherto made in them, which I nevertheless flatter myself you will find adequate to what could have been expected: - These two Batteries are to be constructed upon Rocks extremely steep, rugged	Mitchell reminded the Council that it knew well the difficulties of both works. Their sites were extremely rugged and hard to reach, and most of the materials had to be carried a long way. He asked the Council to allow for this in judging the progress so far, which was less visible than it might have been. He was confident, however, that the Council would find it as much as could reasonably have been expected. Both batteries were to be built on very steep, rough and uneven rock. Preparing proper foundations was one of the hardest tasks of the whole undertaking, because the ground was so irregular and the profiles of the works had to be altered again and again to fit it. The foundations of

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		and uneven, which makes the preparing a proper foundation to be one of the most difficult pieces of Work to be met with, on Account of the great inequalities of the ground and the frequent Changes of their profile thereby Occasioned; however this has been compleated with regard to both, & a very considerable quantity of Materials have been transported to each of them. - As there was no place at Mundens Point, besides the Platforms of the Old Battery, whereon to deposit and prepare the Materials for the new Work to be constructed there, and as great a quantity of them as it could contain having been collected some time ago, I was therefore under a necessity of beginning the Masonry, in Order to make Room for a Second transportation, by which means I found employment for the Honorable Company's Stonelayers, have brought part of the Foundation to a Level, and have carried up one of the Flanks nearly to the Level of the Platform, in doing which the materials already amassed have been wrought up, and a larger space prepared whereon to deposit a second Collection of Materials, in which part of the Workmen will be employed during the ensuing Quarter - In the mean time the Stonelayers will be employed in laying the Foundation of the new Battery at Banks's, in the construction of which a very considerable progress may be expected to be made during this Quarter, as Materials of all kinds are already prepared, and fewer Obstructions to be met with in carrying up this Work than that at Mundens Point - I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedient & most humble Servt. 4th April 1768 Signed R. Mitchell	both were now finished, and a very large quantity of materials had been carried to each site. At Munden's Point there was no place to store and prepare materials for the new work except the platforms of the old battery. Those platforms were already filled with as much material as they could hold, which had been gathered some time before. Mitchell had therefore been obliged to begin the masonry so as to make room for a second delivery. In this way he had found work for the Company's stone layers. They had brought part of the foundation up to a level and raised one of the flanks nearly to the height of the gun platform. The materials already gathered had been used up in doing so, and a larger space had been cleared to store a second load. Part of the workforce would be employed on that during the coming quarter. In the meantime the stone layers would lay the foundation of the new battery at Banks's. Mitchell expected very good progress there during the quarter, since materials of every kind were already prepared and the work would meet fewer obstacles than at Munden's Point. Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 4 April 1768. **Interpretations** Mitchell began building the masonry at Munden's Point earlier than he had planned, and his letter shows why. The obvious course was to finish preparing the site and gather all the materials before laying any stone. The narrow headland left nowhere to store them except the platforms of the old battery, which were already full. With no room for a second load, the work would have stopped. Building the masonry used up the stockpile, freed space for more and kept the stone layers busy. The constraint of the ground, not choice, set the order of the work. The letter also served as a defence against criticism. Mitchell wrote at length about the steep and broken rock because the visible results of three months' labour were modest: a level foundation and one flank raised to platform height. Preparing foundations on uneven rock was slow and absorbed great effort without showing above ground. The rock-cutting tools issued to Munden's Point in the last quarter of 1767, including 40 gads and eight borers, reflect exactly the kind of labour Mitchell described. Shifting the stone layers to Banks's was a sensible use of a workforce that would otherwise have stood idle while Munden's Point waited for materials. At Banks's everything was ready, so Mitchell could keep his skilled men fully employed and push forward the work most likely to show quick results.
416	407	1768 Upon which we sent for Capt. Mitchell and acquainted him that were satisfied that he had done as much as before could be expected in the last Quarter Pursuant to the Order in Consultation of the 28 of last Month, the Inhabitants this day assembled at the Chappel in this Valley to Chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year, and likewise to return three of the Principal Inhabitants that one might be Elected to serve the Office of Sheriff, and to Chuse a proper person to serve in that of Constable, they accordingly returned the following Persons viz. Messrs. William Wrangham Jonathan Doveton Richd. Goodwin Sheriffs Joseph Chamberlain, Constable	The Council sent for Captain Mitchell and told him it was satisfied he had done as much as could be expected during the last quarter. In accordance with the order of 28 March 1768, the inhabitants met that day at the chapel in Jamestown valley. They chose parish officers for the coming year, named three leading inhabitants from whom the sheriff was to be chosen, and chose a suitable person to serve as constable. They returned the following names. William Wrangham, nominated for sheriff Jonathan Doveton, nominated for sheriff Richard Goodwin, nominated for sheriff Joseph Chamberlain, constable James Greentree, nominated for churchwarden Solomon St Maurice, nominated for churchwarden Matthew Bazett, nominated for churchwarden Samuel Alexander, nominated for churchwarden George Hayes, nominated for overseer of the East Division

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		James Greentree Solomon St. Maurice Matthew Bazett Samuel Alexander Church Wardens George Hayes Elisha Leach Overseers of the East Division John Alexander Simon Whaley Do. of the West Do. Benjamin Seale George Alexander Do. of the South Do. We appointed Mr. William Wrangham to serve the Office of Sheriff and Ordered Warrants to be drawn for Messrs. James Greentree and Samuel Alexander Church Wardens, and George Hayes, John Alexander and Benjamin Seale Overseers - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	Elisha Isaacke, nominated for overseer of the East Division John Alexander, nominated for overseer of the West Division Simon Whaley, nominated for overseer of the West Division Benjamin Seale, nominated for overseer of the South Division George Alexander, nominated for overseer of the South Division The Council appointed William Wrangham as sheriff. It ordered warrants to be drawn appointing James Greentree and Samuel Alexander as churchwardens, and George Hayes, John Alexander and Benjamin Seale as overseers. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The vestry nominated more candidates than there were places, and the Council made the final choice for every office except constable. The inhabitants proposed four men for two churchwardens' places and two for each division's single overseer. This extended the arrangement announced for the sheriff on 28 March to all the parish offices. The settlers named their candidates, but the Company decided who served. The Council passed over two of the most prominent nominees for churchwarden. Solomon St Maurice was a lieutenant in the First Company and master at arms, and Matthew Bazett was secretary to the Council. It chose instead James Greentree, a cadet in the First Company, and Samuel Alexander, the overseer on the civil list who had petitioned against Margaret Alcock's land claim on 7 March. St Maurice and Bazett already carried heavy duties in the Company's service, and the Council evidently preferred not to load parish office on top of them. William Wrangham, the new sheriff, was a factor on the Company's civil list who also served as assistant to the Governor. Placing the sheriff's office with a Company servant close to the Governor kept the island's chief law officer under the Council's direct influence. The overseers appointed for each division were responsible for the poor and for the upkeep of roads within their districts, the duties of overseers in an English parish. In each division the Council chose the first man named.
417	408	11th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th day of April 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 4th April 1768 Wednesday the 6th Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen Sophia Magdalena Captn. Dixon, burthen Eleven hundred Tons, carrys twenty six Guns, and one hund. and forty Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware, & Silk bound to Copenhagen - Saturday the 9th Passed by a Ship to Leeward Yesterday Do. a Ship at a great distance The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of March last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved, and are as follow viz. -	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 11 April 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 4 April 1768. A Danish ship from China, the *Queen Sophia Magdalena*, arrived on Wednesday 6 April under the command of Captain Dixon. She was of 1,100 tons burden, carried 26 guns and a crew of 140 men, and was laden with tea, china and silk bound for Copenhagen. A ship passed the island to leeward on Saturday 9 April, and another passed at a great distance on Sunday 10 April. The plantation account for the quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for March were presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The *Queen Sophia Magdalena* belonged to the Danish Asiatic Company, which traded at Canton alongside the English, Dutch, Swedish and French companies. She was named after the Danish queen of the day. At 1,100 tons she was larger than most English East Indiamen of the period, which

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			commonly measured about 500 to 800 tons. The Danish company built big ships for the China trade so that each voyage could carry a very large cargo of tea, much of which was later smuggled into Britain to evade the high English duties. Unlike the Dutch ships that passed without stopping, the Danish ship called at St Helena. Denmark had no refreshment station of its own on the route, so its ships depended on the goodwill of other nations' ports. The Council recorded her tonnage, guns and crew with care. A foreign ship of 26 guns and 140 men in James Bay was a considerable force, and the details let the Council and the Court judge both the competition in the China trade and any risk to the island in time of war. Her commander's English name, Dixon, was not unusual. Foreign East India companies often employed British officers and seamen, who brought experience of the eastern trade gained in the English Company's ships.
418	409	1768 Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Quarter commencing the 1 Janry. and ending the 31 March 1768 Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses J. Asses, Asses S. Asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining the 1 Janry.: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 94, Neat Cattle Calves 81, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 13, Neat Cattle Steers 61, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 301, Sheep Ewes 370, Sheep Wethers 121, Sheep Lambs 180, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 685, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Wethers 24, Goats Kids 123, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 297, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 8, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 86, Poultry Ducks 38, Poultry Turkeys 28, Poultry Geese 7 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 21, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 21, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 115, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 115, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 27, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 27, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 2, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 26, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Received 12th Janry.: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 11, Neat Cattle Steers 8, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 19, Sheep Ewes 47, Sheep Wethers 3, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 2, Sheep Total 52, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Do. 17th February: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 8, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 8, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total	The Company's livestock account for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1768 was presented with the plantation account. Daniel Corneille signed it, reserving the right to correct any errors. Cattle Remaining 1 January: bulls 4, cows 94, calves 81, yearlings 24, heifers 13, steers 61, oxen 19, total 301 Increase: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 21, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 0, oxen 0, total 21 Received 12 January: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 11, steers 8, oxen 0, total 19 Received 17 February: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 8, oxen 0, total 8 Bought: 0 Total: bulls 4, cows 94, calves 102, yearlings 24, heifers 29, steers 77, oxen 19, total 349 Killed: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 7, oxen 0, total 7 Died: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 2, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 4, oxen 0, total 6 Remaining 31 March: bulls 4, cows 94, calves 100, yearlings 24, heifers 29, steers 66, oxen 19, total 336 Regraded by age: bulls 5, cows 97, calves 66, yearlings 29, heifers 37, steers 83, oxen 19, total 336 Sheep Remaining 1 January: ewes 370, wethers 121, lambs 180, rams 14, total 685 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, lambs 115, rams 0, total 115 Received 12 January: ewes 47, wethers 3, lambs 0, rams 2, total 52 Total: ewes 417, wethers 124, lambs 295, rams 16, total 852 Killed: ewes 26, wethers 29, lambs 1, rams 0, total 56 Died: ewes 16, wethers 3, lambs 2, rams 0, total 21 Remaining 31 March: ewes 375, wethers 92, lambs 292, rams 16, total 775 Regraded by age: ewes 436, wethers 197, lambs 126, rams 16, total 775 Goats Remaining 1 January: ewes 142, wethers 24, kids 123, rams 8, total 297 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, kids 27, rams 0, total 27 Total: ewes 142, wethers 24, kids 150, rams 8, total 324 Killed: ewes 6, wethers 13, kids 5, rams 1, total 25 Died: ewes 2, wethers 0, kids 3, rams 0, total 5 Remaining 31 March: ewes 134, wethers 11, kids 142, rams 7, total 294

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		0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Bought: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 1, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 1, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 94, Neat Cattle Calves 102, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 29, Neat Cattle Steers 77, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 349, Sheep Ewes 417, Sheep Wethers 124, Sheep Lambs 295, Sheep Rams 16, Sheep Total 852, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Wethers 24, Goats Kids 150, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 324, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 7, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 10, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 11, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 112, Poultry Ducks 38, Poultry Turkeys 28, Poultry Geese 7 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 7, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 7, Sheep Ewes 26, Sheep Wethers 29, Sheep Lambs 1, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 56, Goats Ewes 6, Goats Wethers 13, Goats Kids 5, Goats Rams 1, Goats Total 25, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 42, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 10, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 2, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 4, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 6, Sheep Ewes 16, Sheep Wethers 3, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 21, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 3, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 5, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 2, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 1, Horses Total 1, Asses J. Asses 0, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 1, Poultry Turkeys 4, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining the 31 March: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 94, Neat Cattle Calves 100, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 29, Neat Cattle Steers 66, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 336, Sheep Ewes 375, Sheep Wethers 92, Sheep Lambs 292, Sheep Rams 16, Sheep Total 775, Goats Ewes 134, Goats Wethers 11, Goats Kids 142, Goats Rams 7, Goats Total 294, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 8, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S. Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 70, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 7 Changed the Species: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 97, Neat Cattle Calves 66, Neat Cattle Yearlings 29, Neat Cattle Heifers 37, Neat Cattle Steers 83, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 336, Sheep Ewes 436, Sheep Wethers 197, Sheep Lambs 126, Sheep Rams 16, Sheep Total 775, Goats Ewes 130, Goats Wethers 66, Goats Kids 89, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 294, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 8, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Asses 1, Asses S.	Regraded by age: ewes 180, wethers 66, kids 39, rams 9, total 294 Hogs Remaining 1 January: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 1, total 8 Increase: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 2, boars 0, total 2 Total: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 7, boars 1, total 10 Killed: 0 Died: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 2, boars 0, total 2 Remaining 31 March: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 1, total 8 Regraded by age: sows 2, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 1, total 8 Horses Remaining 1 January: horses 3, mares 7, total 10 Bought: horses 1, mares 0, total 1 Total: horses 4, mares 7, total 11 Died: horses 0, mares 1, total 1 Remaining 31 March: horses 4, mares 6, total 10 Asses Remaining 1 January: male asses 1, female asses 0, total 1 Remaining 31 March: male asses 1, female asses 0, total 1 Poultry Remaining 1 January: fowls 36, ducks 38, turkeys 28, geese 7 Increase: fowls 26, ducks 0, turkeys 0, geese 0 Total: fowls 62, ducks 38, turkeys 28, geese 7 Killed: fowls 42, ducks 12, turkeys 10, geese 0 Died: fowls 0, ducks 1, turkeys 4, geese 0 Remaining 31 March: fowls 20, ducks 25, turkeys 14, geese 7 Two boys were born to the Company's slaves during the quarter, and three slave men died. 1 boy born, named Richard Grower 1 boy born, named John Frank 1 man died, named Fortune 1 man died, named Hannibal 1 man died, named Jerry During the quarter 32,060 lb of yams were issued to the slaves and 4,400 lb to the stock. **Interpretations** The cattle and sheep received on 12 January were the animals Captain Graham Nairn had bought at the Cape. His bill of 23 December 1767 charged for 21 young bullocks and 54 sheep, but only 19 cattle and 52 sheep were entered as received. Two of each had evidently died on the voyage or soon after landing, though the Company paid for all of them. The eight steers received on 17 February were Captain Williams's bullocks from the *Hector*, all of which arrived alive. The last line of each group regraded the stock by age. Young animals grew during the quarter and were moved into their adult classes: calves became yearlings and heifers, lambs became ewes and wethers, and kids became grown goats. The totals stayed the same, but the regrading gave a true picture of the herd's breeding strength going into the next quarter. The sheep showed the effect most clearly, with 126 lambs left after 166 had been moved up into the adult classes. Hannibal and Jerry were the two Company slaves drowned when William Hayes's fishing boat was wrecked on 25 February 1768. Fortune was a third death in the quarter. With two births against three deaths, the Company's slave numbers again fell slightly, as they had in the previous quarter. The yam figures show the slaves' staple diet. Over 32,000 lb, about 14 tons, were issued in three months, alongside the rice and salt meat drawn from the warehouse. Yams were grown on the Company's

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		Asses 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 70, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 7 1 Boy Born named Richd. Greaves 1 Do. Do. Do. John Frank 1 Man Dead named Fortune 1 Do. Do. Do. Hannibal 1 Do. Do. Do. Jerry Yam Expended for the Slaves 32,060 Do. Do. for the Stock 4,400 E. Excepted Signed Dan Corneille	own plantation with slave labour, so the slaves largely fed themselves through their work, while imported rice and meat made up the rest of their ration.
419	410	11th April Artillery Stores Expended in March 1768 Guns fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 4th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 5th Arrived the Northumberland: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 8th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Earl of Lincoln: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 9 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 10th Arrived the Norfolk: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 15 Departed the Earl of Lincoln & Norfolk: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 4, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 8 17th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived his Majesty's Ship Dolphin: Guns fired 13, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 Fired for Capt. Wallis coming on Shore: Guns fired 13, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 10, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 0 18th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Osterly: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 Departed his Majesty's Ship Dolphin: Guns fired 13, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 Fired for Capt. Wallis going on board: Guns fired 13, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 8, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 15, Powder Expended oz 8 20 A Double Alarm for three Ships that passed by: Guns fired 12, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 4, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 4, Powder Expended lb 24, Powder Expended oz 0 22 Departed the Osterly & Northumberland: Guns fired 18, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 18, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 8 24 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Triton: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 25 An Alarm for a Ship that passed by: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder Expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 537, Powder Expended oz 7 Total: Guns fired 178, 4 Pr 28, 3 Pr 24, 2 Pr 111, 1 Pr 18, Powder Expended lb 803, Powder Expended oz 3 Tallow Expended in Sundry Services 44 lb Hand Spikes Do. Do.	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in March 1768 recorded the guns fired, the 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 4 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 5 March, arrival of the *Northumberland*, 9 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 8 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 8 March, arrival of the *Earl of Lincoln*, 9 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 9 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 10 March, arrival of the *Norfolk*, 9 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 14 March, departure of the *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Norfolk*, 9 guns fired: 4-pounders 4, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 4, 1-pounders 0; powder 12 lb 3 oz 17 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 17 March, arrival of His Majesty's ship *Dolphin*, 13 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 12 oz 17 March, salute for Captain Wallis coming ashore, 13 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 10, 1-pounders 0; powder 13 lb 0 oz 18 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 18 March, arrival of the *Osterley*, 9 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 18 March, departure of His Majesty's ship *Dolphin*, 13 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 12 oz 18 March, salute for Captain Wallis going aboard, 13 guns fired: 4-pounders 4, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 8, 1-pounders 0; powder 15 lb 8 oz 20 March, a double alarm for three ships that passed by, 12 guns fired: 4-pounders 4, 3-pounders 4, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 4; powder 24 lb 0 oz 22 March, departure of the *Osterley* and the *Northumberland*, 13 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 13 lb 8 oz 24 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 24 March, arrival of the *Triton*, 9 guns fired: 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 25 March, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 6 guns fired: 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz Powder used on sundry services, 537 lb 7 oz

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		8 Lead Balls to Shoot Goats 5 . 9 Paper 4½ Qr. Match 6 lb Spunge Staves 2 Trunk Nails 80 Sheep Skins 1 Lead Aprons 4 Tompions for 2 Prs. 1 Salt Petre 1 Cartridge Case for 9 Pr. 1 Signed R. Mitchell	Total: 173 guns fired; 4-pounders 28, 3-pounders 21, 2-pounders 111, 1-pounders 13; powder 803 lb 3 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during the month. Tallow used on sundry services, 44 lb Handspikes used on sundry services, 3 Lead balls for shooting goats, 5 lb 9 oz Paper, 4½ quires Match, 6 lb Sponge staves, 2 Trunk nails, 80 Sheepskins, 1 Lead aprons, 4 Tompions for 2-pounders, 1 Saltpetre, 1 lb Cartridge cases for 9-pounders, 1 Archibald Mitchell signed the return. **Interpretations** The return names the commander of His Majesty's ship *Dolphin* as Captain Wallis. This confirms that the ship which called on 17 and 18 March was Samuel Wallis's *Dolphin*, returning from the voyage on which her crew became the first Europeans to reach Tahiti in June 1767. The island honoured him well beyond a merchant captain. His ship received 13 guns on arrival and departure, against nine for a Company Indiaman, and he was saluted with 13 more each time he came ashore and returned aboard. The salutes recognised the rank of a naval captain on the King's service, and gave due honour to a royal ship that had just completed a voyage round the world. March was the busiest month of the season for the island's guns. Seven alarms marked the sighting of ships, each answered by the six-gun alarm from the outlying posts. Five Company ships arrived and four departed, besides the *Dolphin*. Salutes and alarms together used more than 250 lb of powder, but the great bulk of the month's powder, 537 lb, went on sundry services, which included blasting rock at Munden's Point. Lead aprons were small sheets of lead laid over the vent of a loaded gun to keep the priming dry and to stop sparks from setting it off. The cartridge case for a 9-pounder was a container for carrying made-up cartridges to the guns. Match was slow-burning cord used to light the priming, and the 6 lb consumed reflects the large number of guns fired during the month.
420	411	1768 Sundries Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in March 1768 viz. 24 Bottles Lisbon Wine £ 1 16 18 Do. Mountain 1 7 24 Do. Beer 5 30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 152 lb Beef 3 11 250 lb Mutton 5 4 2 2 Kids 10 4 Turkeys 1 6 Ducks 9 12 Fowles 13 28 lb Butter 1 8	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in March 1768. 24 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 0d 18 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 7s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d 1[...]2 lb of beef, £3 11s 0d 250 lb of mutton, £5 4s 2d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 28 lb of butter, £1 8s 0d 90 lb of sugar candy, £1 17s 6d 300 lb of flour, £2 9s 0d Total, £27 10s 3d Captain Henry Bazett, George Bryan Hayes and William Hayes each presented a petition. Henry Bazett's petition, dated 11 April 1768, stated that his lease of a small piece of ground in Jamestown valley had expired. He asked the Governor and Council to renew it. The Council granted his request. **Interpretations**

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		90 lb Candy 1 9 6 300 lb Flour 2 9 £ 27 10 8 Captain Henry Bazett & George Bryan Hayes & William Hayes, this day presented the following Petitions viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for a small piece of ground in this Valley, humbly requests, your Worship and Council will be pleased to Grant him a renewal of the same, - And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed 11th April 1768 Henry Bazett Granted	The table cost £27 10s 3d in March, less than in February despite the heavy traffic of ships. Five Company ships and a King's ship called during the month, yet the steward bought no port, and spending on wine and meat stayed close to the January level. The officers and passengers of the China ships were probably entertained more by their own captains aboard, or stayed only briefly in the road, so the Castle's hospitality did not rise with the number of arrivals. Arrack held steady at 30 gallons, its usual monthly allowance. Henry Bazett's lease was for ground in Jamestown valley, the island's only town. Plots there were small and valuable, since they lay close to the landing place, the Castle and the warehouse. The Company leased town plots on the same terms as country land, for fixed periods at a set rent, and renewal on expiry was routine for a holder in good standing. Bazett, captain of the Second Company and from a leading family, had already registered bills of sale on 28 March. He was steadily securing his property on the island. William Hayes was probably the owner of the fishing boat wrecked on 25 February 1768, in which the Company slaves Hannibal and Jerry were drowned.
421	412	11th April To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of George Bryon Hayes & William Hayes Sheweth That your Petitioners hath a Lease Expired for four Acres of Land, lying in the East Division of this Island humbly requests that your Worship and Council, will be pleased to grant him a renewal of the same - And your Petitioners will ever pray - Signed George Bryon Hayes 11th April 1768 Wm. Hayes Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	George Bryan Hayes and William Hayes presented a joint petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 11 April 1768. Their lease of four acres of land in the East Division of the island had expired, and they asked for it to be renewed. The Council granted their request. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The two Hayeses held their land jointly, probably as father and son or as brothers. A joint lease kept a family holding together and let both men answer for the rent. Four acres was a small farm even by St Helena standards, enough for yams, vegetables and a few animals. Families with holdings of this size often depended on other sources of income as well. William Hayes owned a fishing boat, wrecked on 25 February 1768, and George Hayes had just been appointed overseer of the East Division by the Council on 4 April. The renewal followed the same routine as Simon Whaley's on 1 February and Henry Bazett's earlier in the day. Leases on St Helena ran for fixed terms and lapsed unless the holder applied for renewal. Granting renewals readily to established settlers kept the land under cultivation and the rent coming in, while the need to apply each time preserved the Company's control over who held its land.
422	413	18th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th day of April 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 11th April 1768 Tuesday the 12th Passed by a Swede Ship Do. Do. Arrived a Swede Ship from China called the Lovisa Ulrica Captain Holmes burthen 1200 Tons, carrys 26 Guns and 150 Men, loaden with Tea, China Ware, and Silk bound to Gottenburg - Wednesday the 13th Sailed the Dane Ship Queen Sophia Magdalena for Copenhagen Do. Do. Arrived the Europa's Boat at Banks's, half an Hour past nine o'Clock in the morning -	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 18 April 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 11 April 1768. The arrivals and departures of the week were recorded as follows. Tuesday 12 April, a Swedish ship passed the island Tuesday 12 April, a Swedish ship from China, the *Louisa Ulrica*, arrived under Captain Holmes; 1,200 tons, 26 guns and 150 men, laden with tea, china and silk for Gothenburg Wednesday 13 April, the Danish ship *Queen Sophia Magdalena* sailed for Copenhagen Wednesday 13 April, a boat from the *Europa* landed at Banks's at half past nine in the morning,

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		Do. Do. Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Europa from Bengal Thursday the 14th Arrived a Dutch Ship from Bengal called the Elizabeth Captain Monland burthen 300 Tons, carrys 24 Guns and one hundred and ten Men, loaden with Salt Petre and Pepper bound to Holland Do. Do. Died William Hayes Soldier Friday the 15th Arrived a Dutch Ship from China called the Margaret Maria Capt. Algerbout burthen 1000 Tons, carrys 28 Guns and 120 Men loaden with Tea, China Ware, and Silk bound to Holland Saturday the 16th Arrived the Earl of Middlesex's Boat at Banks's, three quarters of an Hour past nine o'Clock in the morning Do. Do. Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Earl of Middlesex from Bencoolen, last from the Cape Do. Do. Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Prince Frederick Capt. Thrie, burthen 1300 Tons carrys 30 Guns and 170 Men loaden with Tea, China Ware, and Silk bound to Copenhagen Do. Do. Arrived a Dutch Ship from Bengal called the Cornatena Capt. Leaven, burthen 1100 Tons, carrys 32 Guns and 110 Men loaden with Salt Petre and Pepper bound to Holland - Do. Do. Sailed the Swede Ship Lovisa Ulrica for Gottenburg The Europa brought Us the following Supplies viz.	and the Company's ship *Europa* arrived from Bengal the same day Thursday 14 April, a Dutch ship from Bengal, the *Elizabeth*, arrived under Captain Monland; 800 tons, 24 guns and 110 men, laden with saltpetre and pepper for Holland Thursday 14 April, William Hayes, a soldier, died Friday 15 April, a Dutch ship from China, the *Margaret Maria*, arrived under Captain Algerbout; 1,000 tons, 28 guns and 120 men, laden with tea, china and silk for Holland Saturday 16 April, a boat from the *Earl of Middlesex* landed at Banks's at a quarter to ten in the morning, and the Company's ship *Earl of Middlesex* arrived the same day from Bencoolen, having called last at the Cape Saturday 16 April, a Danish ship from China, the *Prince Frederick*, arrived under Captain Thrue; 1,300 tons, 30 guns and 170 men, laden with tea, china and silk for Copenhagen Saturday 16 April, a Dutch ship from Bengal, the *Cornelia*, arrived under Captain Leaven; 1,100 tons, 32 guns and 110 men, laden with saltpetre and pepper for Holland Saturday 16 April, the Swedish ship *Louisa Ulrica* sailed for Gothenburg The *Europa* brought the following supplies. **Interpretations** The week brought an unusual gathering of foreign East Indiamen. Swedish, Danish and Dutch ships all anchored in James Bay within five days, besides two Company ships. In earlier months the Dutch had passed the island without stopping. Several of their ships now called, perhaps because the lateness of the season or sickness aboard made water and fresh food at St Helena worth the visit. The Council recorded each foreign ship's tonnage, guns and crew. Together the four Dutch, Danish and Swedish ships in the road on 16 April carried more than 100 guns and over 500 men, a force larger than the island's garrison. The cargoes show the different trades of the European companies. The Swedish, Danish and Dutch China ships carried tea, porcelain and silk, much of it destined to be smuggled into Britain. The Dutch Bengal ships carried saltpetre and pepper. Saltpetre was the chief ingredient of gunpowder, and Bengal supplied most of Europe's needs, which made it a strategic cargo for every nation. William Hayes, the soldier who died on 14 April, was probably the private of that name in the Second Company. If he was the same William Hayes who renewed his family's lease with George Bryan Hayes on 11 April and owned the fishing boat wrecked in February, his death came only three days after that renewal.
423	414	18th April Invoice of Ship Europa Rice fine 60 Bags of B. Mds. 120 @ 25 . 8 S. Mds. Pr. Rs. 218 5 6 Sugar fine 10 Bags of F. Mds. 20 @ 3 . 10 Pr. Md. 172 8 Paddy 15 Bags of F. Mds. 22 . 10 @ 1 . 15 Pr. Cr. 16 6 Wax Candles 4 Chests of F. Mds. 8 @ 72 Pr. Md. 576 Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers @ 190 Ar. each 410 6 6 Beef 30 Casks of lb 42225 @ 11 Pr. lb Ar. 603 . 23 . 4 is	The *Europa*'s invoice listed the supplies she brought from Bengal, in Bengal money. Fine rice, 60 bags weighing 120 bazaar maunds at 25 seers 8 chittacks per rupee, 218 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Fine sugar, 10 bags weighing 20 factory maunds at 8 rupees 10 annas per maund, 172 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Paddy, 15 bags weighing 22 factory maunds 10 seers at 1 rupee 15 annas per [...], 16 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 8 factory maunds at 72 rupees per maund, 576 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 190 Arcot rupees each, 410 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Beef, 30 casks weighing 4,222½ lb at [...], 603 Arcot rupees 2 annas 3 pies, or 651 rupees 11 annas 6 pies Total cost of goods, 1,908 rupees 0 annas 6 pies

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		509 11 6 1903 5 6 Charges Merchandize 145 Gunny bags @ 14 Pr. % 21 14 3 2 . 3 Twine 4 6 4 Chests and Package 15 6 50 Reed Matts 3 8 3 Diet 1 6 6 Coloun 2 6 Weighmen 9 Packers 1 1 3 Boat hire 12 15 6 Sloop hire 199 12 9 Masters @ 9 Pr. 6 Ar. 44 10 6 30 Casks 297 9 6 Coopers 11 14 605 2 6 Current Rupees 2513 8 Errors Excepted Richd. Wills Sub Accompt.	Charges on the goods 145 gunny bags at 14 rupees per hundred, 21 rupees 14 annas 3 pies 2 [...] 3 [...] of twine, 0 rupees 4 annas 6 pies 4 chests with packing, 15 rupees 6 annas 0 pies 50 reed mats, 3 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Food, 1 rupee 6 annas 6 pies Coolies, 0 rupees 2 annas 6 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Packers, 1 rupee 1 anna 3 pies Boat hire, 12 rupees 15 annas 6 pies Sloop hire, 194 rupees 12 annas 0 pies Salt at 9 Arcot rupees per [...], 44 rupees 10 annas 6 pies 30 casks, 297 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Coopers, 11 rupees 14 annas 0 pies Total for charges, 605 rupees 2 annas 6 pies Total in current rupees, 2,513 rupees 3 annas 0 pies Richard Wells signed the invoice as sub-accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The *Europa* brought the usual Bengal consignment of rice, sugar, paddy, candles and arrack, and with it 30 casks of salt beef. The beef was the costly addition. Its casks, salt and coopers added over 350 rupees to the charges, and sloop hire to carry the heavy casks down the Hooghly cost almost 195 rupees more. The charges came to nearly a third of the cost of the goods, far above the 7 per cent on the *Norfolk*'s invoice, which carried no beef. Salt beef from Bengal was the meat the Company issued to its slaves. The stores account for the last quarter of 1767 listed Bengal beef and Bengal pork among the slaves' rations, alongside the dearer European salt meat. Bengal beef was cheaper to buy than beef from Ireland or England, even with the cost of packing and freight. On 14 March 1768 the Council had refused Captain Sandys's offer of 20 casks of beef and pork, saying the stores were well stocked and more was expected. The *Europa*'s 30 casks were probably part of the supply it had in mind. Bazaar maunds and factory maunds were two different measures of weight in Bengal. The bazaar maund used in the local markets was heavier than the factory maund used in the Company's own warehouses, and Wells named the measure for each item so that the weights could be checked correctly at St Helena.
424	415	1768 The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 Janry. and ending the 31 March 1768 which were examined and approved, and are as follow viz. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Ware Houses from the 1 January to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Sold to the Honorable Company's Servants at 10 Pr. Ct. Sugar & Candy viz. 6482 lb Sugar 91 3 547 Candy 12 10 3 103 13 3 Flour viz. 1623 lb Flour 15 5 3 322 . 2 . 16 Do. Baked cwt. qrs. lb 301 2 8 316 7 11 Tea viz.	James Powell, the storekeeper, brought in his record of sales for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1768, and the paymaster presented his accounts for the same quarter. The Council examined and approved both. The storekeeper's record listed the goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses during the quarter. It began with goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost. Sugar and sugar candy 6,432 lb of sugar, £91 3s 0d 547 lb of sugar candy, £12 10s 3d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £103 13s 3d Flour 16 cwt 2 qr 8 lb of flour, £15 5s 3d 322 cwt 2 qr 16 lb of flour baked into bread, £301 2s 8d Total for flour, £316 7s 11d Tea 17 lb of Congou tea, £1 2s 0d 24 lb of Singlo tea, £1 11s 0d 101 lb of Bohea tea, £5 3s 2d Total for tea, £7 16s 2d 254 lb of soap, £9 13s 2d Rice and paddy 11 cwt 3 qr 7 lb of rice, £4 17s 4d

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		17 lb Congo 1 2 24 lb Singlo 1 11 121 Bohea 5 3 2 7 16 2 Sope 254 lb 9 13 2 Rice and Paddy viz. 1157 Rice 4 17 4 2023 lb Paddy 6 2 4 10 19 8 Candles 198 lb 23 6 5 Pepper 42 lb 1 3 7 Salt 13¼ Bushels 3 2 3 Challow 10 Ps. 4 11 2 Oil viz. 3½ Galls. Train 12 10 11¼ Do. Linseed 2 11 10½ ¾ Do. Oil of Turpentine 4 2½ 3 8 11 Cordage 201 lb 3 15 6 Starch 10½ lb 4 7 Twine viz. 32 Sks. Twine 1 10 lb Cotton Wick 1 11 3 2 11 3 Carried Over£ 490 14 7	20 cwt 2 qr 8 lb of paddy, £6 2s 4d Total for rice and paddy, £10 19s 8d 198 lb of candles, £23 6s 5d 42 lb of pepper, £1 3s 7d 13¼ bushels of salt, £3 2s 3d 10 pieces of chelloes, £4 11s 2d Oil 3½ gallons of train oil, £0 12s 10d 11¼ gallons of linseed oil, £2 11s 10½d ¾ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 4s 2½d Total for oil, £3 8s 11d 201½ lb of cordage, £3 15s 6d 10½ lb of starch, £0 4s 7d Twine 32 skeins of twine, £1 0s 0d 10 lb of cotton wick, £1 11s 3d Total for twine, £2 11s 3d Carried forward, £490 14s 7d **Interpretations** Set against the last quarter of 1767, the figures show how the warehouse's trade followed the shipping. Sugar sales rose sharply. Over 6,400 lb went to employees, against 5,715 lb in the previous quarter, and the value rose far more steeply. The arrival of the Bengal and China sugar from January onwards filled the warehouse, and the Company's men bought freely. Bread was again the largest item, but it fell from £372 11s 0d in the last quarter of 1767 to £301 2s 8d. The garrison had shrunk by about a dozen men through deaths and discharges at the end of the quarter, and bread was baked and sold in proportion to the men drawing it. The fall in tea sales was steeper. Employees bought 101 lb of Bohea against 219½ lb in the previous quarter. Tea had been sold heavily over the Christmas season, while the new season's China tea had not yet been landed for the island's own use, since the China ships carried tea for England rather than for St Helena. Linseed oil and turpentine were bought in larger quantities than before. They were the ingredients of paint, and their sale suggests that the island's householders were painting and repairing their houses in the dry weeks of late summer.
425	416	18th April Brought over£ 490 14 9 Iron Pots 2 Wt. 145 lb 1 10 2 Ticking 3 Yards 10 3 Serge 2½ Yds. Scarlet 18 Pitch and Tar viz. 13½ Pitch 1 5 3¼ Galls. Tar 7 3 92 lb Rozin 15 4 1 4 Thread viz. 5 lb Coloured 17 6 8 Whited Brown 2 18 8 5 oz. Nuns Thread 11 5 4 7 7 Buckram 5½ Yards 6 2 Lead 106½ Shot 1 2 2 Coffee 21 lb 19 3 Leather 64¾ lb	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost continued from a total of £490 14s 7d. Brought forward, £490 14s 7d 2 iron pots weighing 145 lb, £1 10s 2d 3 yards of ticking, £0 10s 3d 2½ yards of scarlet serge, £0 12s 0d Pitch and tar 13½ lb of pitch, £0 1s 5d 3¼ gallons of tar, £0 7s 3d 92 lb of rosin, £0 15s 4d Total for pitch and tar, £1 4s 0d Thread 5 lb of coloured thread, £0 17s 6d 8 lb of whited-brown thread, £2 18s 8d 3 lb of nuns' thread, £0 11s 5d Total for thread, £4 7s 7d 5½ yards of buckram, £0 6s 2d 106½ lb of sheet lead, £1 2s 2d 21 lb of coffee, £0 19s 3d 64¾ lb of leather, £2 19s 1d 4 gross of corks, £0 10s 8d 1¼ bushels of pease, £0 14s 3d 34 gallons of arrack, £8 10s 0d 10½ yards of kersey, £0 15s 11d 1½ yards of scarlet long ells, £0 4s 0d Deals 15 double deals, £2 16s 6½d 1 single deal, £0 2s 5½d 10 [...] of pine timber, £2 13s 2½d Total for deals and timber, £5 12s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 19 1 Corks 4 Gross 10 8 Pease 1¼ Bushel 14 3 Arrack 34 Galls. 8 10 Kersey 10½ Yards 15 11 Long Ells 1½ Yd. Scarlet 4 Deals viz. 15 Double 2 16 6½ 1 Single 2 5½ 1 Ft. Riga Timber 2 13 2½ 5 12 3 Camblet 3 Yds. Brown 10 1 Canvas 19½ Do. 16 1 Beef & Pork viz. 1490 lb Beef 149 2370 lb Pork 237 386 Cuttlery ware 12 Buckling Combs 3 9½ 12 Horn Do. 3 4½ 2 Fine Ivory Do. 5 2 1 Pr. Leather Garters 7½ Cutlery Ware Carrd. Over£ 12 11 Carried Over£ 908 4 3	3 yards of brown camlet, £0 10s 1d 17½ yards of canvas, £0 16s 1d Beef and pork 1,490 pieces of beef, £149 0s 0d 2,370 pieces of pork, £237 0s 0d Total for beef and pork, £386 0s 0d Cutlery 12 tucking combs, £0 3s 9½d 12 horn combs, £0 3s 4½d 2 fine ivory combs, £0 5s 2d 1 pair of leather garters, £0 0s 7½d Cutlery carried forward, £0 12s 11½d Carried forward, £908 4s 3d **Interpretations** Beef and pork were sold at a flat 2s a piece, for £386 in all. In the last quarter of 1767 the same meat had sold at about 2s 1d for beef and 1s 11d for pork. The Company had evidently simplified its price to a single round figure for both meats. Salt meat was the soldiers' main ration after bread, and a fixed price per piece made the stoppages from their pay easy to reckon. Arrack sales to employees rose to 34 gallons, from 29¼ in the previous quarter. The warehouse had received fresh supplies from the *Lord Holland*, the *Hector* and the *Norfolk*, and the garrison's drinking kept pace with the stock. Drunkenness was a constant concern for the Council, which licensed the island's public houses and had imposed rules on Sunday trading, yet the Company itself sold spirit freely to its own men at little above cost. Scarlet serge and scarlet long ells were cheap woollen cloths in the colour of the soldiers' coats. Their sale in small lengths points to men mending or making up parts of their uniforms at their own expense.
426	417	1768 Brought over£ 908 4 3 Cutlery Ware brought over£ 12 11 1 Pallet Knife 11 1 Carving Do. 5 1 4 Shoe Do. 1 6 9 Butchers Do. 3 9 1 4 2 Hosiers Ware viz. 42 Pr. Ordinary Thread Stockings 6 14 9 12 Pr. India Cotton 5 11 12 5 9 Haberdashery viz. 21 Sks. Silk 12 3 13 Do. Mohair 6 6 1½ Gro. Horn Moulds 3 8 2 doz. Yellow Mettal Ct. Buttons 1 1½ 9 doz. Mohair Coat Do. 6 9 7½ Do. Silver Wire Do. 19 3 ¼ Gross Shirt Do. 7½ ½ Do. White Waistcoat Do. 1 3	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost continued from a total of £908 4s 3d. Brought forward, £908 4s 3d Cutlery Cutlery brought forward, £0 12s 11d 1 palette knife, £0 0s 11d 1 carving knife, £0 5s 1d 4 shoe knives, £0 1s 6d 9 butcher's knives, £0 3s 9d Total for cutlery, £1 4s 2d Hosiery 42 pairs of ordinary thread stockings, £6 14s 9d 12 pairs of Indian cotton stockings, £5 11s 0d Total for hosiery, £12 5s 9d Haberdashery 21 skeins of silk, £0 12s 3d 13 skeins of mohair, £0 6s 6d 1½ gross of horn button moulds, £0 3s 8d 2 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 1s 1½d 9 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 6s 9d 7½ dozen silver wire coat buttons, £0 19s 3d ¼ gross of shirt buttons, £0 0s 7½d ½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 3d 2 cockades, £0 0s 9d Total for haberdashery, £2 12s 2d Ironware 3 scythe stones, £0 0s 11½d 7 iron shovels, £1 15s 0d 1 smoothing plane, £0 2s 2½d 4 blank keys, £0 2s 10d 1 packing needle, £0 0s 2d 6 splinter locks, £0 3s 3d 1 [...] of round-headed tacks, £0 1s 9½d 2 broad hoes, £0 4s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		9 Cockades 9 2 12 2 Iron Ware viz. 5 Scythe Stones 1½ 7 Iron Shovels 1 15 1 Smoothing Plane 2 2½ 4 Blank Keys 2 10 1 Pack'g Needles 2 6 Splinter Locks 3 3 1 lb Round Headed Tacks 1 9½ 2 Broad Hoes 4 10 2 Garden Do. 2 2½ 3 Pick Axes 10 10½ 1 Hd. Hatchet 1 11½ 1 Ash Helve 8 1 Small Fry'g Pan 2 2½ 16 Pr. H. L. Hinges 1 14 5 Pr. Dovetail Do. 1 10½ Iron Ware Carried Over£ 5 4 9½ Carried Over£ 924 6 9	2 garden hoes, £0 2s 2½d 3 pickaxes, £0 10s 10½d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 11½d 1 axe handle, £0 0s 3d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 2½d 16 pairs of H hinges, £1 14s 0d 5 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 1s 10½d Ironware carried forward, £5 4s 9½d Carried forward, £924 6s 9d **Interpretations** The 12 pairs of Indian cotton stockings came from the bale landed by the *Hector* in February, which held 2½ corge, or 50 pairs, bought at Madras for 22 pagodas a corge. They sold at over 9s a pair, against about 3s 2d for English thread stockings. Cotton stockings knitted in India were finer and softer, and their price placed them among the better clothing sold to the Company's officers rather than its private soldiers. The haberdashery shows clothes being made and trimmed on the island. Silk, mohair, button moulds and several kinds of buttons were sold together. Silver wire buttons and mohair coat buttons were for coats, while yellow metal buttons were the cheaper brass kind. Tailoring on St Helena was done by local craftsmen or within households, and the warehouse supplied the materials. Seven iron shovels, three pickaxes and two broad hoes were working tools. Employees with gardens or small plots bought them to cultivate their ground, which supplemented the food bought from the warehouse.
427	418	18th April Brought Over£ 924 6 9 Iron Ware brought over£ 5 4 9½ 3 doz. Wood Screws 1 1½ ½ lb Tin'd Tacks 1 3 1 Bricklayers Trowell 1 3 5 8 5 Shoes viz. 8 Pr. Mens fine 2 8 10 12 Pr. Do. Do. Pumps 3 6 1 Pr. Girls Calf 2 3 5 17 1 Tin Ware viz. 1 Tin Kettle wt. a Cover 3 3 5 Lamps 4 - ½ 3 half Gall. Sauce Pans 2 3½ 2 lb Salamoniac 3 3½ 1 Single Sheet Tin 4½ 1 Dripp. Pan 2 . ½ 1 Gallon Funnel 2 4½ 18 2 China Ware viz. 7 Stone Sneakers 2 11 4 Bowls 6 8	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost continued from a total of £924 6s 9d. Brought forward, £924 6s 9d Ironware Ironware brought forward, £5 4s 9½d 3 dozen wood screws, £0 1s 1½d ½ [...] of round-headed tacks, £0 1s 3d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 3d Total for ironware, £5 8s 5d Shoes 8 pairs of men's fine shoes, £2 3s 10d 12 pairs of men's fine pumps, £3 6s 0d 1 pair of girl's calfskin shoes, £0 2s 3d Total for shoes, £5 12s 1d Tinware 1 tin kettle with lid, £0 3s 3d 5 lamps, £0 4s 0½d 3 half-gallon saucepans, £0 2s 3½d 2 lb of sal ammoniac, £0 3s 3½d 1 single sheet of tin, £0 0s 4½d 1 dripping pan, £0 2s 0½d 1 gallon funnel, £0 2s 4½d Total for tinware, £0 18s 2d China 7 stoneware saucers, £0 2s 11d 4 bowls, £0 6s 8d 1 old guglet and basin, £0 2s 7d Total for china, £0 12s 2d Wooden ware 3 paint brushes, £0 4s 6d 2 plasterers' brushes, £0 2s 5d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 3d 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 9½d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 2½d Total for wooden ware, £0 11s 1d Hooks and lines 124 lines of size 2, £2 2s 9½d 30 lines of size 3, £0 11s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Guglet & Bason Old 1 7 12 2 Turners Ware viz. 8 Paint Brushes 4 6 2 Plaisterers Do. 2 5 1 Punch Ladle 3 2 Shoe Brushes 1 9½ 1 Scrub. Do. 2 2½ 11 1 Hooks & Lines viz. 134 No. 2 2 2 9½ 30 . 3 11 - ½ 14 . 4 5 9½ 5 Hambro 3 9 Lines 450 No. 1 7 5 6 175 . 9 5 4½ 200 . 11 3 6 25 . 12 5 350 . 14 3 7½ 425 . 16 2 5½ Hooks 5 9 4 Carried Over£ 943 13 6	14 lines of size 4, £0 5s 9½d 5 Hamburg lines, £0 3s 9d 450 hooks of size 1, £1 5s 6d 175 hooks of size 9, £0 5s 4¾d 200 hooks of size 11, £0 3s 6d 25 hooks of size 12, £0 0s 5d 350 hooks of size 14, £0 3s 7¾d 425 hooks of size 16, £0 2s 5½d Total for hooks and lines, £5 9s 4d Carried forward, £943 13s 6d **Interpretations** Fishing tackle again sold in large quantities. More than 1,600 hooks and 170 lines went to the Company's employees in three months, against about 550 hooks in the last quarter of 1767. The late summer and autumn were good fishing months on St Helena, when the sea was calmer and shoals of mackerel and other fish came close inshore. Fish stretched the soldiers' salt rations cheaply, and the warehouse supplied the tackle at little above cost. Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, a white salt used as a flux in soldering and tinning. It cleaned the surface of the metal so that solder would take. Its sale together with a sheet of tin points to an employee repairing tin kettles, lamps and pans, which wore through quickly in daily use. The single pair of girl's calfskin shoes is one of the few signs in the account of the children of the Company's employees. Families lived within the garrison and the civil establishment, and the warehouse supplied their needs alongside those of the soldiers.
428	419	1768 Brought over£ 943 13 6 Nails viz. 11 . 2 10 3½ 16 . 3 13 4 49 . 4 1 12 8 105½ . 6 3 5 11½ 57 . 10 1 9 8 31 . 20 12 11 14 . 40 5 10 10 lb Clench 5 2½ ½ Glazg. Brads 1 4½ 2 Barrk. Nails 9 4 Floorg. Brads 1 10 8 19 10 Long Cloth viz. 13 Ps. C 10 16 9 10 Ps. K 15 19 4½ 10¼ Ps. Y 10 17 9½ 1 Ps. D 4 10 3	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost continued from a total of £943 3s 6d. Brought forward, £943 3s 6d Nails 11 [...] of twopenny nails, £0 10s 3¾d 16 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 13s 4d 49 [...] of fourpenny nails, £1 12s 8d 105½ [...] of sixpenny nails, £3 5s 11½d 57 [...] of tenpenny nails, £1 9s 8d 31 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 12s 11d 14 [...] of fortypenny nails, £0 5s 10d 10 [...] of clench nails, £0 5s 2½d ¼ [...] of glaziers' brads, £0 1s 4½d 2 [...] of barrel nails, £0 0s 9d 4 [...] of flooring brads, £0 1s 10d Total for nails, £8 19s 10d Longcloth 3 pieces marked C, £10 16s 9d 10 pieces marked X, £15 19s 4½d 10¼ pieces marked Y, £10 17s 9½d 1 piece marked &, £4 10s 3d Total for longcloth, £42 4s 2d 8 yards of scarlet bunting, £0 6s 4d Pewter 1 water plate, £0 3s 6½d 1 close-stool pan, £0 4s 11½d 1 basin, £0 2s 6½d Total for pewter, £0 11s 1d Paint 6 [...] of stone colour, £0 2s 7½d 135 lb of whiting, £0 11s 1¾d 4½ lb of blue smalt, £0 3s 3½d 33½ [...] of mixed stone ochre, £0 17s 3½d 17 lb of mixed red paint, £0 7s 2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		42 4 2 Bunting 8 Yards Scarlet 6 4 Pewter viz. 1 Water Plate 5 6½ 1 Close Stool Pan 4 11½ 1 Bason 2 6½ 13 1 Paint viz. 6 lb Stone Colour 2 7½ 185 Whiting 11 1½ 1½ Blue Smalts 3 3½ 33½ Stone Oaker mixed 17 3½ 17 Ston. Red mixed 7 2 2¼ Do. dry 2 1½ Blue Black 11½ 8 lb Chalk 4 3½ Indico 6 10½ 3 Blue Paint 7 4 2 Red Lead 5 Paint Carried Over£ 3 9 1 Carried Over£ 995 6 11	2¼ lb of dry red paint, £0 0s 8d 1½ [...] of blue black, £0 0s 11½d 8 [...] of chalk, £0 0s 4d 3½ lb of indigo, £0 6s 10½d 3 [...] of blue paint, £0 7s 4½d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 5d Paint carried forward, £3 5s 9d Carried forward, £995 6s 11d **Interpretations** The quantity of nails, paint and timber sold to employees in this quarter points to a good deal of private building and repair. Over 300 lots of nails of every size went out, along with flooring brads, clench nails and glaziers' brads. Clench nails were driven through two boards and their points bent over, or clenched, on the far side, so they held fast in doors, gates and boats. Flooring brads were nails with small heads that sank flush into floorboards. With the 15 double deals and pine timber sold on the previous page, the figures suggest households in Jamestown building and refitting their houses during the dry late summer. Bunting was a light woollen cloth used for making flags. Eight yards of scarlet bunting would make a small ensign or signal flag, perhaps for a private boat or a planter's signal post, since the island used flags to pass messages between its lookouts and the Castle. A water plate was a double-walled pewter plate with a hollow base filled with hot water, which kept food warm at table. A close-stool pan was the pewter bowl fitted beneath a close stool, the covered seat used as an indoor privy. Both were household goods of a comfortable kind, bought by officers or settlers furnishing their homes.
429	420	18th April Brought over£ 995 6 11 Paint Brought over£ 3 5 9½ 1 lb Yell. Oaker mixed 5½ ½ Barrl. Blacking 1 2 34 White Lead dry 15 7 1½ Olive Colour 1 2 6½ 5 5 4 Blankets 1 6 3 Glass ware viz. 45 Sqr. 6 by 8 16 10½ 2 Sqr. 10 by 16 2 3½ 3 Wine Glasses 1 7½ 3 Beer Do. 3 - ½ 1 4 3 Oars 1 4 5 Earthen Ware 6 Milk Pans 6 3 Sailors Clothes viz. 3 Jackets 3 Pr. Breeches 1 6 6 Books viz. 1 Bible 4 1 1 Common Prayer 3 2 7 3 Shirts viz.	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost ended with the following items. Brought forward, £995 6s 11d Paint Paint brought forward, £3 5s 9¾d 1 [...] of mixed yellow ochre, £0 0s 3½d ½ barrel of blacking, £0 1s 2d 34 [...] of dry white lead, £0 15s 7d 11½ [...] of olive colour, £1 2s 6½d Total for paint, £5 5s 4d 1 blanket, £0 6s 3d Glassware 45 panes of glass 6 by 8 inches, £0 16s 10½d 2 panes of glass 10 by 16 inches, £0 2s 3½d 3 wine glasses, £0 1s 7½d 3 beer glasses, £0 3s 0½d Total for glassware, £1 4s 3d 1 oar, £0 4s 5d Earthenware, 6 milk pans, £0 6s 3d Sailors' clothing, 3 jackets and 3 pairs of breeches, £1 6s 6d Books 1 Bible, £0 4s 1d 1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 3s 2d Total for books, £0 7s 3d Shirting 2¼ yards of brown holland, £0 5s 6½d 2 pieces of Irish linen, £3 11s 2½d Total for shirting, £3 16s 9d Total sold to employees at 10 per cent, £1,008 3s 11d The record then turned to goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost. Shoes 5 pairs of men's fine pumps, £1 11s 3d 1 pair of girl's calamanco shoes, £0 3s 10d Total for shoes, £1 15s 1d Longcloth

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2½ Yards Brown Holland 5 6½ 2 Do. Irish Linen 3 11 6½ 3 16 9 1008 3 11 Sold to the Planters at 25 Pr. Cent Shoes viz. 5 Pr. Mens fine Pumps 1 11 3 1 Pr. Girls Calimanco 3 10 1 15 1 Long Cloth viz. 1 Ps. K 1 14 6 1 Ps. W 4 5 14 6 Thread 3 lb Coloured 13 6 Shirts ½ Ps. Irish Linen 1 - 2 Carried Over£ 9 3 3	1 piece marked X, £1 14s 6d 1 piece marked W, £4 0s 0d Total for longcloth, £5 14s 6d 3 lb of coloured thread, £0 13s 6d Shirting, ½ piece of Irish linen, £1 0s 2d Carried forward, £9 3s 3d **Interpretations** Sales to employees came to £1,008 3s 11d for the first quarter of 1768, against more than £1,250 in the last quarter of 1767. The fall came mostly from bread and tea. The garrison was smaller after the deaths and discharges of March and April, and the Christmas season, when spending on tea and spirits rose, had passed. Building materials, cloth and sugar sold more strongly than before. The pumps sold to the planters at 25 per cent cost 6s 3d a pair, against 5s 6d for the same shoes sold to employees on the previous quarter's account. The difference of 9d a pair reflected the two tiers of mark-up. Planters paid more because they were not on the Company's payroll and drew no other benefits from it. The Book of Common Prayer contained the services of the Church of England, used in the chapel in Jamestown. Its sale with a Bible suggests a household setting up its own religious books for family prayers, a common practice in Protestant homes of the period. Calamanco was a glossy woollen cloth used for the uppers of women's and girls' shoes.
430	421	1768 Brought over£ 9 3 3 Sold at 40 Pr. Cent viz. Sugar and Candy viz. 630 lb Sugar 13 2 6 53 Candy 1 11 4 14 13 10 Flour 394 lb 5 6 8 Tea viz. 10 lb Bohea 13 4 5 Congo 11 3 7 Singlo 15 9 2 . 4 Sope 6 lb 6 3 Candles 17 lb 2 12 5 Salt 2 Bushels 10 4 Pepper 7 lb 5 3 Rice 112 lb 11 8 Cordage 149¾ 3 14 10 Oil viz. 4¼ Gall. Linseed 1 6 11 ½ Gall. Oil of Turpentine 5 5 1 12 4 Canvas 6 Yards English 10 Lead 57½ lb Shot 15 6 Coffee 5 lb 5 10 Books 1 Common Prayer Book 4	The record turned to goods sold at 40 per cent above cost, continuing from a total of £9 3s 3d. Brought forward, £9 3s 3d Sugar and sugar candy 6 cwt 3 qr 0 lb of sugar, £13 2s 6d 53 lb of sugar candy, £1 11s 4d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £14 13s 10d 394 lb of flour, £5 6s 3d Tea 10 lb of Bohea tea, £0 13s 4d 5 lb of Congou tea, £0 11s 3d 7 lb of Singlo tea, £0 15s 9d Total for tea, £2 0s 4d 6 lb of soap, £0 6s 3d 17 lb of candles, £2 12s 5d 2 bushels of salt, £0 10s 4d 7 lb of pepper, £0 5s 3d 112 lb of rice, £0 11s 8d 149¼ lb of cordage, £3 14s 10d Oil 4¼ gallons of linseed oil, £1 6s 11d ½ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 5s 5d Total for oil, £1 12s 4d 6 yards of English canvas, £0 10s 0d 57¼ lb of sheet lead, £0 15s 6d 5 lb of coffee, £0 5s 10d Books, 1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 4s 0d Brassware, 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 9s 11d 3 yards of kersey, £0 5s 3d 1 lb of starch, £0 0s 7d 2 skeins of twine, £0 1s 6d Wooden ware 1 paint brush, £0 0s 9d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 6d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 11d 1 plate basket lined with tin, £0 7s 3½d 1 shoe brush, £0 1s 1½d Total for wooden ware, £0 13s 11d China 3 stoneware guglets and basins, £0 1s 8d 1 stoneware sneaker, £0 0s 6d Total for china, £0 2s 2d Carried forward, £45 12s 2d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Braziers ware 1 Pr. Candle Sticks 9 11 Kersey 3 Yards 5 3 Starch 1 lb 7 Twine 2 Skains 1 6 Turners Ware viz. 1 Paint Brush 9 1 Plaistr. Do. 1 6 1 Scrub. Do. 2 11 1 Plate Basket Lin'd wt. Tin 7 3½ 1 Shoe Brush 1 1½ 13 11 China ware viz. 3 Guglets & Basons Stone 1 8 1 Sneaker Do. 6 1 2 6 Carried Over£ 45 12 2	The Book of Common Prayer shows the effect of the three tiers of price directly. An employee paid 3s 2d for the same book on the previous page, while the buyer at 40 per cent paid 4s 0d. Coffee followed the same pattern, at over 1s 2d a pound against under 1s 0d for employees. The buyers at the highest rate were chiefly the officers and passengers of visiting ships, and the season's heavy shipping brought the warehouse a steady trade at its best margin. Sugar was the largest item sold at 40 per cent, at more than £13. Passengers and ships' officers bought it for the voyage home, since the China sugar landed in March was cheaper at St Helena than it would be in England. A plate basket lined with tin was a carrying basket for crockery and table plate, its tin lining protecting the contents from damp. Such purchases, along with a pair of brass candlesticks, suggest travellers fitting out a cabin for the last leg of the passage to England.
431	422	18th April Brought Over£ 45 12 2 Paint viz. 69 lb Whiting 5 7 6 Barrls. Blacking 4 6 58 lb Stone Oaker mixed 1 15 5 14 Ven. Red Do. 9 2 Red Lead 6½ 5 White Lead dry 2 3½ 1½ Olive Colour 3 9 6 Chalk 4½ ½ Blue Smalts 1 3 ½ Blue Paint 1 6½ 3 5 2 Hooks & Lines viz. 25 No. 9 1 25 . 8 2 . ½ 50 . 11 1 1½ 25 . 16 2 Hooks 12 . 2 Lines 4 11 2 Hambro 4 6 13 9 Nails viz. 2 . 2 2 5 6 . 4 5 1½ 7 . 6 5 3 5 . 10 3 6½	The record of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from a total of £45 12s 2d. Brought forward, £45 12s 2d Paint 67 lb of whiting, £0 5s 7d 6 [...] of blacking, £0 4s 6d 54 [...] of mixed stone ochre, £1 15s 5d 14 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 9s 0d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 6½d 5 lb of dry white lead, £0 2s 3½d 1½ [...] of olive colour, £0 3s 9d 6 [...] of chalk, £0 0s 4½d ½ [...] of blue smalt, £0 1s 3d ½ [...] of blue paint, £0 1s 6½d Total for paint, £3 5s 2d Hooks and lines 25 hooks of size 9, £0 1s 0d 25 hooks of size 8, £0 2s 0½d 50 hooks of size 11, £0 0s 11½d 25 hooks of size 16, £0 0s 2d 12 lines of size 2, £0 4s 11d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £0 13s 9d Nails 2 [...] of twopenny nails, £0 2s 5d 6 [...] of fourpenny nails, £0 5s 1½d 7 [...] of sixpenny nails, £0 5s 3d 5 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 6½d 2 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 1s 1d Total for nails, £0 17s 10d Ironware 2 iron shovels, £0 12s 10d 1 pair of butt hinges, £0 2s 4d 1 pair of H hinges, £0 2s 9d 1 broad hoe, £0 3s 1d 1 padlock, £0 2s 2d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 7d Total for ironware, £1 4s 9d Cutlery, 2 butcher's knives, £0 0s 11d Carried forward, £51 14s 9d **Interpretations** The iron shovels show the mark-up at its plainest. Two sold at 40 per cent for 12s 10d, or 6s 5d each. On the previous page seven had sold to employees at 10 per cent for £1 15s 0d, or 5s each. The outside buyer paid about 28 per cent more for the same tool, which is the gap between the two rates of mark-up applied to the same cost.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 . 20 1 1 17 10 Iron Ware viz. 2 Iron Shovels 12 10 1 Pr. Barrk. Hinges 2 4 1 Pr. H. L. Do. 2 9 1 Broad Hoe 3 1 1 Pad Lock 2 2 1 Brick Layers Trowel 1 7 1 4 9 Cuttlery ware 2 Butchers Knives 11 Carried Over£ 51 14 9	Venetian red was a natural red pigment of iron oxide, originally shipped from Venice and later made from earths dug elsewhere. It was cheap, durable and resistant to weather, and was widely used to paint doors, window frames and outbuildings. Olive colour was a dull green mixed from yellow ochre and black, popular for woodwork and shutters. The paints sold at 40 per cent were in small quantities suited to touching up a house or a boat, as a passing buyer or a settler without a claim on the Company would need. Butt hinges were small hinges set into the edge of a door and its frame so that only the knuckle showed. They were neater than the strap hinges commonly used on outbuildings and were fitted to doors and cupboards inside a house.
432	423	1768 Brought over£ 51 14 9 Glass ware viz. 19 Sqr. 10 by 12 1 8 10½ 1 Sqr. 11 by 19 2 2 Tumblers 1 3½ 2 Beer Glasses 2 8 1 Half Minute 10 1 16 1 £ 53 10 10 Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships at 40 Pr. Cent viz. Oil viz. 6 Galls. Linseed 2 14 ⅛ Do. Oil of Turpentine 11 2 14 11 Paint viz. 16 lb Red Lead 4 8 ¼ Verdigrease 1 5 8 Barrls. Blacking 6 4 12 5 Twine viz. 24 Sks. Twine 1 1 4 lb Flew Do. 6 11 2 lb Cotton wick 9 1 16 11 Iron ware viz. 31 Sail Needles 3 4 3 Bolt Rope Do. 6 2 Pr. H. L. Hinges 5 6 9 4 Tar 1 Barrel 1 7 10 Salt 1 Bushel 5 6 Glass ware viz. 2 Half Minute Glasses 1 11 13 Sqr. Glass 10 by 12	The record of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost ended with glassware. Brought forward, £51 14s 9d Glassware 19 panes of glass 10 by 12 inches, £1 8s 10½d 1 pane of glass 11 by 19 inches, £0 2s 0d 2 tumblers, £0 1s 3½d 2 beer glasses, £0 2s 8d 1 half-minute glass, £0 0s 10d Total for glassware, £1 16s 1d Total sold at 40 per cent, £53 10s 10d The record then listed goods sold to the Company's ships at 40 per cent above cost. Oil 6 gallons of linseed oil, £2 14s 0d [...] of oil of turpentine, £0 0s 11d Total for oil, £2 14s 11d Paint 16 lb of red lead, £0 4s 8d ½ lb of verdigris, £0 1s 5d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 6s 4d Total for paint, £0 12s 5d Twine 24 skeins of twine, £1 9s 3d 4 [...] of flax twine, £0 6s 11d 2 lb of cotton wick, £0 0s 9d Total for twine, £1 16s 11d Ironware 31 sail needles, £0 3s 4d 3 [...] of bolt rope, £0 0s 6d 2 pairs of H hinges, £0 5s 6d Total for ironware, £0 9s 4d 1 barrel of tar, £1 7s 10d 1 bushel of salt, £0 5s 6d Glassware 2 half-minute glasses, £0 1s 11d 13 panes of glass 10 by 12 inches, £1 0s 0d 2 panes of glass 11 by 16 inches, £0 3s 6d Total for glassware, £1 5s 5d 442 lb of cordage, £11 1s 0d 12 lines of size 2, £0 4s 11d Nails 12 [...] of sixpenny nails, 21 [...] of tenpenny nails, 23 [...] of twentypenny nails and 1 [...] of glaziers' brads, £1 3s 3d 10 bushels of coal, £0 17s 6d Total sold to the Company's ships, £22 4s 5d **Interpretations** The 10 bushels of coal sold to the Company's ships were the coal the Council had let the *Triton* have on 31 March 1768, when Captain Elphinstone asked for firewood. The minutes recorded that the Council agreed to supply it. This account shows that the coal was sold, not given, and charged at the full 40 per cent rate. Even a Company ship in need paid the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 . . 2 Sqr. 11 by 16 3 6 1 5 5 Cordage 442 lb 11 1 Lines 12 No. 2 4 11 Nails viz. 12 . 6 21 . 10 23 . 20 1 Glaz. Brads 1 8 8 Coals 10 Bushels 17 6 £ 22 4 5	outsider's price for stores drawn from the island, since the ships belonged to private owners who hired them to the Company and bore their own running costs. The ships bought mostly naval stores to repair their rigging and fittings after the long voyage from the East. Cordage was by far the largest item, at 442 lb for over £11. Bolt rope was the strong rope sewn round the edges of a sail to bear the strain. Sail needles, flax twine and tar served the sailmakers and riggers, while linseed oil, red lead and verdigris painted the hulls and ironwork. A half-minute glass was a small sandglass that ran out in 30 seconds. It was used with the log line to measure a ship's speed: a seaman counted the knots on the line that ran out while the glass emptied. A ship needed spare glasses, since they broke easily at sea.
433	424	18th April Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Iron Ware viz. 2 Pad Locks for the Lime House 3 1 Two foot Rule Armourers use 1 28 Rolled Iron for the Crane 9 11 6 Coopers Vices 3 4½ 2 Do. Drivers 3 4 Coopers use 57 Files Armourers and Carpenters use 1 2 6¾ 2 Smiths Rubbers Armrs. Use 3 10 1 Melting Ladle Do. 3 11½ 2 Blank Keys Store use and Castle 1 3 4 Farriers Rasps 3 8 1 Hammer Helve 2½ 3 Bastard Rubber Files 13 3 Armourers use 1 Small Fry'g Pan Castle 2 1 Iron Shovel 4 6½ 2 Ash Helves 1 2½ Do. 1 Scythe Stone Store use 2 2 Black Lead Pencils Carpenters use 9 6 Sheets Sand Paper Armourers use 4½ ¼ lb Flour Emery Do. 5¼ 4 3 10 Arrack 135½ Galls. Sundrys Men Employed in the Stores Doctors Shop & Kill'g wild Goats 15 7 11 Coals 10 Bushels for the Armourers Shop 6 2 11 Twine viz. 3½ Twine Artilly. Compy. Castle & Store 3 8 2½ Cotton wick	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued from 1 January to 31 March 1768 and charged to the Company's general expenses. Ironware 2 padlocks for the lime house, £0 3s 0d 1 two-foot rule for the armourer's use, £0 1s 0d 28 [...] of rolled iron for the crane, £0 9s 11d 6 coopers' vices for the coopers' use, £0 3s 4½d 2 coopers' drivers for the coopers' use, £0 3s 4d 57 files for the armourer's and carpenters' use, £1 2s 6¾d 2 smith's rubbers for the armourer's use, £0 8s 10d 1 melting ladle for the armourer's use, £0 3s 11½d 2 blank keys for use in the stores and the Castle, £0 1s 3d 4 farrier's rasps, £0 3s 3d 1 hammer handle for the armourer's use, £0 0s 2½d 3 bastard rubber files for the armourer's use, £0 13s 3d 1 small frying pan for the Castle, £0 2s 0d 1 iron shovel for the Castle, £0 4s 6½d 2 axe handles for the Castle, £0 1s 2½d 1 scythe stone for use in the stores, £0 0s 2d 2 black lead pencils for the engineer's use, £0 0s 9d 6 sheets of sandpaper for the armourer's use, £0 0s 4d 14 [...] of flour emery for the armourer's use, £0 0s 5¼d Total for ironware, £4 3s 10d 135½ gallons of arrack for sundry men employed in the stores, the doctor's shop and hauling wood, £14 7s 11d 10 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop, £6 2s 11d Twine 3½ [...] of twine for the Artillery Company, the Castle and the stores, £0 3s 8d 2½ [...] of cotton wick, £0 7s 1d Total for twine, £0 10s 9d Hooks and lines for the Governor's fishermen 125 hooks of size 1, £0 6s 4¾d 25 hooks of size 9, £0 0s 0¾d 125 hooks of size 11, £0 1s 11¾d 125 hooks of size 16, £0 0s 7d 36 lines of size 2, £0 10s 3¾d 13 lines of size 4, £0 6s 9¼d Total for hooks and lines, £1 6s 9d Carried forward, £26 12s 2d **Interpretations** The Governor kept his own fishermen, and the Company supplied their hooks and lines from its stores at its own cost. In the last quarter of 1767 the same kind of issue had been made to the Lieutenant

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		7 1 10 9 Hooks & Lines viz. 125 No. 1 6 8½ 25 . 9 3½ 125 . 11 1 11¼ 125 . 16 7½ Hooks, for the Govr. Fishermen 36 . 2 10 3¾ 18 . 4 6 9¾ Lines Do. 1 6 9 Carried Over£ 26 12 2	Governor's household. Fresh fish for the senior officers' tables was thus caught by slaves or servants working at the Company's expense, a further allowance in kind that added to the value of their offices. Arrack was again the largest charge, at £14 7s 11d for 135½ gallons. It was issued as an allowance to the men who did extra or heavy work in the stores, the doctor's shop and the hauling of wood. A daily dram for labour beyond ordinary duty was a standard reward, used throughout the Company's settlements, and a convenient way of paying in kind rather than cash. Flour emery was emery ground to a fine powder. The armourer used it with oil to polish and clean the metal parts of muskets and to give a fine edge to tools, while sandpaper and the coarser files and rubbers did the heavier work. The rolled iron for the crane was used to repair the lifting crane on the wharf at Jamestown, where cargo was hoisted from the boats.
434	425	1768 Brought over£ 26 12 2 Lead 27½ Shot Fishermen 5 2 Leather 2½ Sole for the Crane 2 1 Sope 56 lb for Linen 1 19 8 Tea 6 lb Bohea for the Groom and Gardener 5 6 Candy 74 lb for Do. & Do. and Doctor Shop 1 10 10 Cordage 137 lb for a Bell Rope, Horse Stable, and tying up Arbor 2 2 4 Starch 14 lb for Linen 5 7 Candles viz. 200 lb Castle 21 13 4 150 Council 16 5 1 lb Artillery Company 2 2 4 lb Doctor Shop 8 8 38 9 2 Oil viz. 9⅝ Galls. Train Castle 1 12 6 4¾ Do. Linseed for Paint'g Centry Boxes & Crane 19 ¼ Do. Oil of Turpentine Do. 1 4 2 12 10 Iron and Steel viz. 43 lb Steel for the Armourer Shop 15 2½ 93 lb Iron for Do. & Crane 1 . 5½ 1 15 8 Nails viz. 5 . 3 2 8 5 . 4 3 . ½ 30 . 6 16 10½ 15 . 10 6 10½ 2 . 40 9 for the Crane Centry Boxes & Stores 11 Coopers Rivets Coopers use	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £26 12s 2d. Brought forward, £26 12s 2d 27½ lb of sheet lead for the fishermen, £0 5s 2d 2½ lb of sole leather for the crane, £0 2s 1d 56 lb of soap for linen, £1 19s 8d 6 lb of Bohea tea for the groom and the gardener, £0 5s 6d 74 lb of sugar candy for the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop, £1 10s 10d 127 lb of cordage for a bell rope, the horse stable and tying up the arbour, £2 2s 4d 14 lb of starch for linen, £0 5s 7d Candles 200 lb for the Castle, £21 13s 4d 150 lb for the Council, £16 5s 0d 1 lb for the Artillery Company, £0 2s 2d 4 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 8s 8d Total for candles, £38 9s 2d Oil 9¾ gallons of train oil for the Castle, £1 12s 6d 4¾ gallons of linseed oil for painting the sentry boxes and the crane, £0 19s 0d ¼ gallon of oil of turpentine for the same, £0 1s 4d Total for oil, £2 12s 10d Iron and steel 43 lb of steel for the armourer's shop, £0 15s 2¼d 93 lb of iron for the armourer's shop and the crane, £1 0s 5¼d Total for iron and steel, £1 15s 8d Nails 3 [...] of threepenny nails, 5 [...] of fourpenny nails, 30 [...] of sixpenny nails, 15 [...] of tenpenny nails and 2 [...] of fortypenny nails for the crane, the sentry boxes and the stores, £1 9s 9½d 11 [...] of coopers' rivets for the coopers' use, £0 5s 0½d 1 [...] of glaziers' brads for the sentry boxes, £0 1s 3¼d Total for nails, £1 16s 6d Canvas 2½ yards of osnaburg for buckets, £0 2s 2d 15 yards of English canvas for buckets, £0 17s 6d Total for canvas, £0 19s 8d Thread for the Castle 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 2d 4 oz of thread number 30, £0 6s 3d 1 lb of whited-brown thread, £0 6s 3d Total for thread, £0 15s 8d

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		5 . ½ 1 Glazing Brads for Centry Boxes 1 8¼ 1 16 6 Canvas viz. 2½ Yds. Osenbrigs for Pockets 2 2 15 Do. Engs. Canvas Do. 17 6 19 8 Thread viz. 1 lb Coloured 3 2 4 oz. No. 30 6 3 1 Whited Brown 6 3 Castle 16 6 Haberdashery 1 Sk. Silk Do. 6 Carried Over£ 79 14 2	Haberdashery, 1 skein of silk for the Castle, £0 0s 6d Carried forward, £79 14s 2d **Interpretations** Candles were again the largest charge, at £38 9s 2d. The Castle took 200 lb and the Council 150 lb, the same allowance of 50 lb a quarter for each of the three councillors recorded at the end of 1767. The allowance was a regular part of their pay in kind, set at a fixed weight and drawn every quarter. Several issues show running repairs to the Company's works. The sentry boxes along the batteries and lines were painted with linseed oil and turpentine and fitted with new glazing. The crane on the wharf received leather, rolled iron, nails and paint. The canvas was made into buckets for carrying water, used both for fighting fire and for the daily needs of the Castle. Canvas buckets were light, could be folded flat, and did not split in the dry weather as wooden ones did. The sheet lead for the fishermen was cut into sinkers to weight their lines. The cordage for tying up the arbour served a garden arbour, probably at Plantation House or in the Castle garden, where vines or climbing plants were trained over a frame to give shade.
435	426	18th April Brought over£ 79 14 2 Paint viz. 14 lb Ven. Red mixed 6 3½ 1 lb Copperas 1½ 2 lb Red Lead 4½ 4 Barrls. Blacking 2 1 6 Stone Oaker mixed 2 9 11 White Lead dry 3 5¼ for Paint'g the Crane, Centry Boxes & Blinds for the Prison 20 Whiting Castle 10 6 Blue Smalts 10 6 5 Indico 8 9 for Linen 22 lb Chalk Carpenters use 5¼ 1 16 10 Glass ware 2 Quart Decanters Castle 4 8 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 90 16 11 Cuttlery ware viz. 1 Horse Comb for the use of the Stable 3 2 Pallet Knives for the Painter 1 8 1 11 Turners ware viz. 4 Paint Brushes for Do. 2 4 Birch Brooms Castle 1 5 1 Labourers Basket for the Stable 1 2 4 7 Table Linen viz. 24 Table Cloths 12 Pr. Napkins	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £79 14s 2d. Brought forward, £79 14s 2d Paint for painting the crane, the sentry boxes and the blinds for the prison 14 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 6s 3½d 1 lb of copperas, £0 0s 11½d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 4½d 4 barrels of blacking, £0 2s 1d 6 [...] of mixed stone ochre, £0 2s 9d 11 lb of dry white lead, £0 3s 5¼d 20 lb of whiting for the Castle, £0 0s 10d 6 lb of blue smalt for linen, £0 10s 6d 5 lb of indigo for linen, £0 8s 9d 22 [...] of chalk for the carpenters' use, £0 0s 5¼d Total for paint, £1 16s 10d Glassware, 2 quart decanters for the Castle, £0 4s 8d 1 iron pot weighing 90 lb, £0 16s 11d Cutlery 1 horse comb for the stable, £0 0s 3d 2 palette knives for the painter, £0 1s 8d Total for cutlery, £0 1s 11d Wooden ware 4 paint brushes for the painter, £0 2s 0d 4 birch brooms for the Castle, £0 1s 5d 1 labourer's basket for the stable, £0 1s 2d Total for wooden ware, £0 4s 7d Table linen for the Castle, 24 tablecloths and 12 [...] of napkins, £34 16s 0d 4 double deals to make blinds for the prison windows, £0 13s 8d ½ gross of corks for the Castle, £0 3s 7d Total charged to general expenses, £168 12s 4d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for repairs from 1 January to 31 March 1768. 9 double deals for repairing the slaves' square, £1 10s 9d Oil for the Castle, Plantation House and the slaves' square 2⅛ gallons of linseed oil, £0 8s 6d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 0s 10d ⅝ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 3s 3d Total for oil, £0 12s 7d Carried forward, £2 3s 4d **Interpretations**

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		for the Castle 8 4 16 Deals 4 double to make Blinds for the Prison Windows 13 8 Corks 1½ Gross Castle 3 7 £ 168 12 4 Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Deals 9 Double for repairing the Blacks Square 1 10 9 Oil viz. 2⅛ Galls. Linseed 8 6 ¼ Do. Train 10 ⅔ Do. Oil of Turpentine 3 3 Castle Plantation House & Black Square 12 7 Carried Over£ 2 3 4	The 24 tablecloths and 12 lots of napkins issued to the Castle were the table linen landed from the *Hector* in February 1768. Her invoice from Madras had listed exactly 24 tablecloths in three sizes and 12 lots of napkins, bought for 211 pagodas. None of it reached the warehouse for sale. The whole consignment went straight to the Governor's table at the Castle, charged at £34 16s 0d to the Company's general expenses. The Madras Council had evidently been asked to supply new linen for the Castle, where the Governor entertained the officers and passengers of every passing ship. The blinds for the prison windows were wooden shutters or slatted screens fixed over the openings of the island's gaol. They kept prisoners from seeing out or talking to people in the street, and from receiving goods passed through the bars. The gaoler's account in the paymaster's book for the last quarter of 1767 had shown regular committals and punishments, so the prison was in steady use. The slaves' square was the enclosure where the Company's slaves were housed. Corneille had reported on 29 February 1768 that the slaves' houses in the country had fallen almost to ruin and had used the stone layers to repair them. The deals and paint issued here show further work on the slaves' quarters during the same quarter.
436	427	1768 Brought over£ 2 3 4 Paint viz. 5 lb Ven. Red mixed 2 4½ 6 Red Lead 1 1½ 24 Whiting 1 21 White Lead dry 6 6¼ 1 B. Blacking 6¼ 6 Yell. Oaker dry 1 4¼ 3 Brimstone 8 for the Castle Plantation House and Black Square 13 8 Nails viz. 2 . 3 1 6 10 . 6 5 7½ 12 . 10 5 6 6 . 20 2 8 10 . 40 3 9 2 . 4 1 2½ for Do. 19 10 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pr. Cross Garnett Hinges for Plant. House 7 2 1 Lathing Hammer 1 8 1 Plaisterers Trowel 1 8½ for repairs to Plantation House & Castle 12 Wood Screws Plantation House 4 1 Pad Lock Lime House 1 6½ 12 5 Pitch and Tar viz.	The account of stores issued for repairs continued from a total of £2 3s 4d. Brought forward, £2 3s 4d Paint for the Castle, Plantation House and the slaves' square 5 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 2s 4¾d 6 lb of red lead, £0 1s 1½d 24 lb of whiting, £0 1s 0d 21 lb of dry white lead, £0 6s 6¼d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 6¼d 6 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 1s 4¾d 3 lb of brimstone, £0 0s 3d Total for paint, £0 13s 3d Nails for the same 2 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 1s 6d 10 [...] of sixpenny nails, £0 5s 7½d 12 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 5s 6d 6 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 2s 3d 10 [...] of fortypenny nails, £0 3s 9d 2 [...] of fourpenny nails, £0 1s 2½d Total for nails, £0 19s 10d Ironware 1 pair of cross-garnet hinges for Plantation House, £0 7s 2d 1 lathing hammer for repairs to Plantation House and the Castle, £0 1s 8d 1 plasterer's trowel for repairs to Plantation House and the Castle, £0 1s 8½d 12 wood screws for Plantation House, £0 0s 4d 1 padlock for the lime house, £0 1s 6½d Total for ironware, £0 12s 5d Pitch and tar for Plantation House and the Castle 3 lb of rosin, £0 0s 5¼d 1 [...] of turpentine, £0 0s 2¾d Total for pitch and tar, £0 0s 8d 3 lb of candles for Plantation House, £0 6s 6d Wooden ware for Plantation House and the Castle 1 plasterer's brush, £0 0s 11d 5 paint brushes, £0 2s 6d Total for wooden ware, £0 3s 5d Glassware for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house 3 panes of glass 10 by 10 inches, £0 0s 11d 1 pane of glass 10¾ by 13¾ inches, £0 1s 4d Total for glassware, £0 2s 3d Total charged to repairs, £5 2s 5d **Interpretations**

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		3 lb Rozin 5¼ 1 lb Turpentine 2½ for the Plantation House & Castle 8 Candles 3 lb for Plantation House 6 6 Turners ware viz. 1 Plaisterers Brush 1 1 5 Paint Do. 2 6 Do. & Castle 3 7 Glass ware viz. 3 Sqr. 10 by 10 11 1 Sqr. 10¾ by 13¾ 1 4 Castle and Lt. Govr. House 2 5 £ 5 2 5	The repairs of the quarter fell mainly on Plantation House and the Castle, with smaller work on the slaves' square and the lime house. The lathing hammer and plasterer's trowel and brush show that walls and ceilings at Plantation House were being re-plastered. Plasterers nailed thin strips of wood, called laths, across the joists and studs with a lathing hammer, then spread lime plaster over them with the trowel. The island's damp uplands made plaster at Plantation House crack and fall more often than in the drier valley. Brimstone was sulphur. Builders melted it and poured it into holes cut in stone to fix iron cramps, railings and hinge pins firmly in place, since it set hard and resisted rust. Three pounds of brimstone suggests ironwork being fixed into stone at the Castle or Plantation House. The repairs account came to only £5 2s 5d for the quarter, about half the previous quarter's £9 9s 11d. The Company's skilled masons and carpenters were committed to the batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point, as Mitchell's letter of 4 April 1768 described, leaving little labour or material for its civil buildings.
437	428	18th April Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 January to the 31 March 1768 viz. Arrack 76¼ Galls. 8 1 6 Rice 543 lb 2 . 9 Flour 8 . - . 4 cwt. qrs. lb 4 5 5 Beef & Pork viz. 15 Ps. Beef 7 12 2 49 Ps. Pork 7 6 14 18 2 Salt 2½ Bushels 9 2 Candy 410 lb 8 10 10 Coffee 20 lb 16 8 Tea 6 lb Singlo 7 6 Pepper 10 lb 5 £ 39 15 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 January to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Tea 50 lb Bohea for the Several Guards 2 5 10 Candles 22½ lb for the Officers on Duty 2 8 9 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens Midling for a Recruit 4 6 Blankets 7 1 19 8 Oil viz. 33⅞ Galls. Train for the Sevl. Guards 5 11 3 ¼ Do. Linseed for mark'g Blankets 1 5 12 3 Soldiers Cloaths viz. 3 Centinels Coats and Breeches 4 7 9 2 Watch Coats 1 13 6 . 9 Hats 3 Centinels	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued from 1 January to 31 March 1768 and charged to the cost of the Company's table. 76 gallons of arrack, £8 1s 6d 543 lb of rice, £2 0s 9d 8 cwt 0 qr 4 lb of flour, £4 5s 5d Beef and pork 15 pieces of beef, £7 12s 2d 49 pieces of pork, £7 6s 0d Total for beef and pork, £14 18s 2d 2½ bushels of salt, £0 9s 2d 410 lb of sugar candy, £8 10s 10d 20 lb of coffee, £0 16s 8d 6 lb of Singlo tea, £0 7s 6d 10 lb of pepper, £0 5s 0d Total charged to the table, £39 15s 0d A further account listed the stores issued to the garrison over the same period. 50 lb of Bohea tea for the guards, £2 5s 10d 22½ lb of candles for officers on duty, £2 8s 9d 1 pair of men's middling shoes for a recruit, £0 4s 6d 7 blankets, £1 19s 8d Oil 33⅜ gallons of train oil for the guards, £5 11s 3d ¼ gallon of linseed oil for marking the blankets, £0 1s 0d Total for oil, £5 12s 3d Soldiers' clothing 3 privates' coats and breeches, £4 7s 9d 2 watch coats, £1 13s 0d Total for soldiers' clothing, £6 0s 9d 3 privates' hats, £0 8s 6d 30 lines of size 2 for whips, £0 8s 7d Hosiery, 3 pairs of ordinary thread stockings, £0 8s 9d Haberdashery, 1½ gross of broad worsted lace for hats, £1 3s 5d 9¼ gallons of arrack for drams at muster, £0 19s 8d Carried forward, £22 0s 8d **Interpretations** The three suits of clothing and hats issued to recruits match the men enlisted during the quarter. Sutton Isaacke, the island native, and Samuel Willson, the Dane who stayed behind from the *Lord Holland*, both joined on 25 January 1768, and each received a bounty to buy clothes and necessaries. The Company also supplied their uniform coats, breeches and hats from its own stores, so the bounty went on shirts, shoes and personal kit. The single pair of shoes listed

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		8 6 Lines 30 No. 2 for Whips 8 7 Hosiers ware 3 Pr. Ordinary Thread Stockgs. 8 9 Haberdashery 1½ Gro. Broad Worsted Lace for Hats 1 3 5 Arrack 9¼ Galls. for Muster Drams 19 8 Carried Over£ 22 . 8	as for a recruit points to a man who arrived without serviceable footwear. The broad worsted lace was the binding sewn round the brims of the soldiers' hats. Uniform hats of the period were cocked into three corners and edged with lace, white or yellow according to the regiment. A gross and a half was enough to re-bind the hats of a large part of the garrison. The 30 lines issued for whips belonged to the garrison account, not to the plantation or the boats. They were probably used to make the cats with which soldiers were flogged when sentenced by a court martial, a punishment carried out by the drummers. Linseed oil for marking the blankets was mixed with lampblack to paint the Company's mark on them, so that blankets issued to the guardhouses could not be sold or taken away. The sugar candy for the Company's table came to 410 lb in the quarter, against 450 lb in the previous quarter. It remained the table's largest single cost after salt meat, and the steady quantity shows how much of the Castle's hospitality was sweetened punch and tea.
438	429	1768 Brought over£ 22 . 8 Iron Ware viz. 1 lb Round headed Tacks for Drums 5 ½ Corn Emery 10½ ½ Flour Do. 10½ 6 Sheets Sand Paper 5 for Cleaning Small Arms 2 7 Shirts viz. 3 Shirts 13 4½ 3 Robes 2 . ½ for recruits 15 5 Paint viz. 28 Yell. Oaker dry 6 5 18 Whiting 9 for Cleaning Belts 7 2 £ 23 5 10 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Rice 87 . 1 . 19 cwt. qrs. lb 36 8 10 Beef and Pork viz. 3 Ps. Beef 10 5 202 Ps. Pork 103 17 6946 lb Bengal Pork 130 4 9 235 16 0 Oil 1⅜ Galls. Train for the Sick 5 5 Pepper 9 lb 4 6 Arrack 144 Galls. for Stonelayers Plantn. House Blacks & Blacks at Sy. Bay 15 6 Sugar 284 lb 3 11 Tea 115 lb Bohea 5 5 5	The garrison account ended with the following items. Brought forward, £22 0s 8d Ironware ¼ [...] of round-headed tacks for drums, £0 0s 5d ½ [...] of corn emery for cleaning small arms, £0 0s 10½d ½ [...] of flour emery for cleaning small arms, £0 0s 10½d 6 sheets of sandpaper for cleaning small arms, £0 0s 5d Total for ironware, £0 2s 7d Shirts for recruits 3 shirts, £0 13s 4½d 3 rollers, £0 2s 0½d Total for shirts, £0 15s 5d Paint for cleaning belts 28 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 6s 5d 18 lb of whiting, £0 0s 9d Total for paint, £0 7s 2d Total charged to the garrison, £23 5s 10d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's slaves from 1 January to 31 March 1768. 87 cwt 1 qr 19 lb of rice, £36 8s 10d Beef and pork 3 pieces of beef, £0 10s 3d 402 pieces of pork, £103 1s 7d 6,946 [...] of Bengal pork, £130 4s 9d Total for beef and pork, £233 16s 0d 1⅝ gallons of train oil for the sick, £0 5s 5d 9 lb of pepper, £0 4s 6d 7¼ gallons of arrack for the stone layers at Plantation House and the slaves at the square, £0 15s 6d 284 lb of sugar, £3 11s 0d 115 lb of Bohea tea, £5 5s 5d 14 lb of flour for the sick, £0 2s 8d ⅔ piece of longcloth marked Y for women in childbirth, £0 12s 10d 5 lb of soap for the Lieutenant Governor's servants, £0 3s 7d 26 pairs of men's middling shoes for the skilled tradesmen, £5 17s 0d 1 barrel of blacking to blacken a coffin, £0 0s 6d ½ bushel of salt for the slaves from Anjengo, £0 0s 11d Hooks and lines for the fishermen 3 large hooks, £0 0s 6d 100 hooks of size 16, £0 1s 0d 4 lines of size 4, £0 0s 9d

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		Flour 1 lb for the Sick 2 8 Long Cloth ⅓ Ps. Y for Lying in Women 12 10 Sope 5 lb for the Lieut. Governors Servants 3 7 Shoes 26 Pr. Mens midling for the Handy Crafts Men 5 17 Paint 1 Barl. Blacking to Black a Coffin 6 Salt ¼ Bushel Anjango Blacks 11 Hooks & Lines viz. 3 Large Hooks 100 No. 16 Do. 6 4 . 4 Lines 1 6 for the Fishermen 2 8 Carried Over£ 307 18 1	Total for hooks and lines, £0 2s 3d Carried forward, £301 18s 1d **Interpretations** The 26 pairs of shoes were issued only to the slaves who worked as skilled tradesmen, such as masons, carpenters and smiths. Most of the Company's slaves went barefoot. Shoes for the craftsmen marked their higher value and status within the slave workforce. They also served a practical purpose, since men cutting stone and working with iron on the fortifications needed their feet protected. The arrack issued to the stone layers at Plantation House was likewise a reward for skilled labour. The slaves from Anjengo formed a distinct group in the account. Anjengo was the Company's fort on the Malabar coast of south-western India. Slaves bought or brought from there kept a separate identity on St Helena, as the Malays did, and the clerk listed their issues apart from those of the other slaves. Salt meat again formed the bulk of the slaves' rations, at over £233 for the quarter. Bengal pork made up more than half of it, being cheaper than European pork. Rice came second at over £36. The blacking issued to blacken a coffin marks the burial of one of the slaves who died that quarter: Fortune, Hannibal or Jerry. The issue of longcloth to women in childbirth matches the two boys born during the quarter, Richard Grower and John Frank.
439	430	18th April Bro. Over£ 301 18 1 Thread viz. ½ Whited Brown 3 4 1 lb Coloured 3 2 for the Blacks in the Castle 6 6 Candles 1 lb to Examine Blacks Square 2 2 Tar 1 Gall. for the Blacks Square 1 6 Iron Ware 1 Small Fry'g Pan Do. 2 Canvas 6½ Yds. Eng. for Aprons for the Black Armourer 7 Challow 1 Ps. for Blacks in the Castle 8 4 £ 303 5 7 Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Arrack 6½ Galls. 13 10 Sugar 38 lb 9 6 Rice 136 lb 11 7 Tea 3 lb Bohea 2 9 Flour 12 lb 2 3 Oil ¾ Train 2 6 Salt ¼ Bushel 11 Shoes 1 Pr. Fine Shoes 5 7 Sope 6 lb 4 3 Candy 12 lb 5 £ 2 18 2 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1	The account of stores issued to the Company's slaves ended with the following items. Brought forward, £301 18s 1d Thread ½ lb of whited-brown thread for the slaves, £0 3s 4d 1 lb of coloured thread for the slaves in the Castle, £0 3s 2d Total for thread, £0 6s 6d 1 lb of candles for examining the slaves' square, £0 2s 2d 1 gallon of tar for the slaves' square, £0 1s 6d Ironware, 1 small frying pan for the slaves' square, £0 2s 0d 6 yards of English canvas for aprons for the slave armourers, £0 7s 0d 1 piece of chelloes for the slaves in the Castle, £0 8s 4d Total charged to the slaves, £303 5s 7d The storekeeper next listed the stores issued to the Malays from 1 January to 31 March 1768. 6½ gallons of arrack, £0 13s 10d 38 lb of sugar, £0 9s 6d 136 lb of rice, £0 11s 7d 3 lb of Bohea tea, £0 2s 9d 12 lb of flour, £0 2s 3d ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 6d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 11d 1 pair of fine shoes, £0 5s 7d 6 lb of soap, £0 4s 3d 12 lb of sugar candy, £0 5s 0d Total charged to the Malays, £2 18s 2d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's plantation over the same period. Rice and paddy 3 cwt 3 qr 12 lb of rice for the poultry, £1 12s 3d 57 cwt 0 qr 27 lb of paddy for the poultry and horses, £17 8s 3d Total for rice and paddy, £19 0s 6d Carried forward, £19 0s 6d **Interpretations** The Malays' account fell from £14 9s 8d in the last quarter of 1767 to £2 18s 2d. Their food issues stayed much the same, with arrack, sugar, rice and tea in similar small quantities. The difference lay almost entirely in clothing. In the previous quarter they had received broadcloth, longcloth, silk and fine

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		January to the 31 March 1768 viz. Rice and Paddy viz. 3 . 3 . 12 Rice cwt. qrs. lb 1 12 3 57 . 27 Paddy 17 8 3 for the Poultry and Horses 19 . 6 Carried Over£ 19 . 6	stockings, costing well over £8. This quarter they received only a pair of fine shoes. The Company evidently clothed the Malays once or twice a year rather than every quarter, and the earlier issue had covered their needs for some time. The canvas aprons for the slave armourers confirm that the Company trained some of its slaves in skilled trades. The armourer's shop repaired the garrison's muskets and the fortifications' ironwork, and slaves worked there under the white armourer. A heavy canvas apron protected them from sparks and hot metal at the forge. The slaves kept in the Castle as servants received chelloes and coloured thread to make their own clothing. The plantation drew 57 cwt of paddy for its poultry and horses, against 74 cwt in the last quarter of 1767. The fall followed the reduction in the poultry, which stood at 66 birds on 31 March 1768 against 109 at the end of December.
440	431	1768 Brought over£ 19 . 6 Iron ware viz. 11 Ash Helves 6 7½ 7 Pick Axes 1 3 - ½ 1 Spade 3 9 for the Several Plantations 12 Plate Iron for Wood Cart 5 3 2 Scythe Stones for the Bush Cutters 3½ 1 19 Cordage 72 lb for Oxen and Thatch'g a Hay Stack 1 4 Oil ⅛ Gall. Linseed for Paint'g Gates 1 6 Turners ware viz. 1 Tubmans Yoke for Plantation House 1 6 1 Labourers Basket for Carr'g Milk 1 1½ 2 Yokes for Oxen 1 16 2 2 Ox Bows for Do. 2 8½ 2 1 6 Paint 9 lb White Lead dry for Paint'g Gates 2 10 Cart Wheels viz. 8 Wheel Barrows 6 4 2 Pr. Cart Wheels 8 9 1 for Plantation House and the Wood Carts 14 13 1 Cuttlery ware 12 Butchers Knives for the Plantations 4 6 £ 39 6 11 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Sugar 269 lb 3 7 3 Flour 269 lb 2 10 5 Rice 269 1 . . Salt 1½ Bushel 6 Tea 13 lb Bohea 11 11 Oil 13½ Galls. Train 2 5	The account of stores issued to the Company's plantation continued from a total of £19 0s 6d. Brought forward, £19 0s 6d Ironware 11 axe handles for the several plantations, £0 6s 7½d 7 pickaxes for the several plantations, £1 3s 0½d 1 spade for the several plantations, £0 3s 9d 12 [...] of plate iron for the wood cart, £0 5s 3d 2 scythe stones for the rush cutters, £0 0s 3½d Total for ironware, £1 19s 0d 72 lb of cordage for the oxen and for thatching a haystack, £1 4s 0d ⅜ gallon of linseed oil for painting gates, £0 1s 6d Wooden ware 1 carrying yoke for Plantation House, £0 1s 6d 1 labourer's basket for carrying milk, £0 1s 1½d 2 yokes for oxen, £1 16s 2d 2 ox bows for the oxen, £0 2s 3¾d Total for wooden ware, £2 1s 6d 9 lb of dry white lead for painting gates, £0 2s 10d Cart wheels 8 wheelbarrows for Plantation House, £6 4s 0d 2 pairs of cart wheels for the wood carts, £8 9s 1d Total for cart wheels and wheelbarrows, £14 13s 1d Cutlery, 12 butcher's knives for the plantation, £0 4s 6d Total charged to the plantation, £39 6s 11d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the hospital from 1 January to 31 March 1768. 269 lb of sugar, £3 7s 3d 269 lb of flour, £2 10s 5d 269 lb of rice, £1 0s 0d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 6s 0d 13 lb of Bohea tea, £0 11s 11d 13½ gallons of train oil, £2 5s 0d ¼ [...] of cotton wick, £0 0s 9d Total charged to the hospital, £10 1s 4d **Interpretations** The hospital again drew equal weights of sugar, flour and rice, 269 lb of each against 371 lb of each in the last quarter of 1767. The fixed proportion confirms a standard sick diet issued per patient. The fall of more than a quarter suggests fewer men in hospital during the late summer than in the sickly spring months, when Andrew Barton and several slaves had died. Oxen did the heavy draught work on the Company's plantation, pulling carts and probably ploughs on the more level ground. Each pair worked under a wooden yoke laid across their necks, held in place by curved ox bows that passed beneath their

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		Twine ¼ Cotton wick 9 £ 10 1 4	throats. The two new yokes cost almost £2, showing that the plantation still relied on animal power for hauling. Cordage for the oxen made their traces and halters. Two more pairs of cart wheels went to the wood carts, after a pair costing £4 4s 7d was issued in the last quarter of 1767. The constant replacement of wheels shows how quickly the island's steep, rough roads wore out wheeled transport, and how important the wood carts were in bringing fuel from Longwood. The rush cutters cut rushes for thatch and bedding, the same rushes bought from Mr Mason and cut for the hospital in the previous quarter.
441	432	18th April Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. Oars 5 Small for the fishing Boat 1 . 2 Nails viz. 10 . 2 8 6½ 13 . 3 9 9 2 . 4 1 2½ 21 . 6 11 9½ 21 . 10 9 7½ 1 . 20 4½ 12 lb Spike 3 9½ 10 Clench 4 7 for the Boats in General 2 9 8 Cordage 7 . 2 . 22 cwt. qrs. lb 14 7 4 Lead 71 lb Shot for the Long Boats 13 4 Oil viz. 1½ Galls. Linseed 5 8⅝ Train 1 8 9 ⅛ Oil of Turpentine 8 Long Boats 1 14 5 Iron ware viz. 1 Pr. Hand Screws 2 8 9 12 Sail Needles 9 1 Hand Hatchet 1 9 1 Splinter Lock 5 20 lb Rolled Iron 7 1 Do. 4 11 9 Anchors viz. 1 Anch. Stock 16 Feet Long 6 6 2½ 4 Iron Hoops 1 1 9 8 Tree Nails 1 6½ Do. 7 9 6	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's boats from 1 January to 31 March 1768. 5 small oars for the fishing boat, £1 0s 2d Nails for the boats in general 10 [...] of twopenny nails, £0 3s 6½d 13 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 9s 9d 2 [...] of fourpenny nails, £0 1s 2½d 21 [...] of sixpenny nails, £0 11s 9¾d 21 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 9s 7½d 1 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 4½d 12 [...] of spikes, £0 3s 9½d 10 [...] of clench nails, £0 4s 7d Total for nails, £2 4s 8d 7 cwt 2 qr 22 lb of cordage, £14 7s 4d 71 lb of sheet lead for the longboat, £0 13s 4d Oil for the longboats 1¼ gallons of linseed oil, £0 5s 0d 8⅝ gallons of train oil, £1 8s 9d ½ [...] of oil of turpentine, £0 0s 8d Total for oil, £1 14s 5d Ironware for the longboats 1 pair of hand screws, £4 1s 9d 12 sail needles, £0 0s 9d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 9d 1 splinter lock, £0 0s 5d 20 [...] of rolled iron, £0 7s 1d Total for ironware, £4 11s 9d Anchors for the longboats 1 anchor stock 16 feet long, £6 6s 2½d 4 iron hoops, £1 1s 9d 8 [...] of treenails, £0 1s 6½d Total for anchors, £7 9s 6d 8¾ gallons of arrack for the men employed on the longboat, £0 18s 7d 73 lb of iron for the longboat, £0 16s 3d 2 double deals for the longboat, £0 6s 10d Tinware, 3 double sheets of tin for the longboat, £0 2s 0d 9 [...] of leather for the boats in general, £0 7s 11d 11 yards of English canvas for the longboats, £0 12s 10d Brassware, 1 brass cock for the longboat, £0 4s 6d 3½ lb of twine for the longboat, £0 3s 6d Carried forward, £35 13s 7d **Interpretations** Much of the quarter's work went into the longboats, the largest of the Company's boats in James Bay. On 22 February 1768 the carpenter had found one longboat, damaged by the *Hector*, beyond repair and valued it at £10. The lead, iron, deals, canvas and arrack for the men employed on the longboat suggest that the Company built or thoroughly refitted a replacement during the following weeks rather than buying one from a passing ship. The anchor stock was the heavy wooden crossbar fixed at the top of an anchor's shank, set at right angles to the arms so that the anchor would

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		Arrack 8¼ Galls. for men Employed about the Lg. Boats 18 7 Iron 73 lb Do. 16 3 Deals 2 Double Do. 6 10 Tin ware 2 Double Sheets Do. 2 Leather 9½ lb Boats in General 7 11 Canvas 11 Yds. Engh. Lg. Boats 12 10 Braziers ware 1 Brass Cock Do. 4 6 Twine 3½ lb Do. 3 6 Carrd. Over£ 35 18 7	turn and dig into the seabed. One 16 feet long belonged to a large anchor, probably for mooring a longboat or a buoy in the bay. It cost over £6, because timber long and sound enough for such a piece was not to be found on the island and had to be imported. Iron hoops bound the two halves of the stock together, and treenails, wooden pegs driven through holes, fastened it without iron that would rust in salt water. A pair of hand screws, at more than £4, was a heavy lifting jack worked by turning a large screw. It was used to raise a boat on the beach for repairs, or to shift heavy weights such as guns and anchors. A brass cock was a tap fitted to a cask or to the hull to let water be drawn off or drained, chosen in brass because it did not rust.
442	433	1768 Brought over£ 35 18 7 Paint viz. 22 lb Ven. Red dry 5 6 1½ Verdigrease 5 10½ 4 White Lead dry 1 3 1 Yell. Oaker mixed 3 3 Barrls. Blacking 1 6½ 4 Ven. Red mixed 1 11 2 Red Lead 4½ ¼ Umber ½ 1 Blue Black 6½ for the Boats in General 17 4 Pitch & Tar viz. 28 lb Rozin 3 8 10 lb Turpentine 2 3 1 Barrl. Pitch 18 7 Do. 1 4 6 Blocks viz. 3 Single wt. Brass Sheeves 3 Double wt. Do. 2 1 9 £ 40 2 2 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry. to the 31 March 1768 viz. Iron 200 lb for Ruperts Bullies 1 . 10 Iron ware viz. 15 lb Rolled Iron Ruperts Bullies 5 4 10 Plate Do. Aprons for Guns at Sandy Bay 4 4 9 8 Candles 3 lb for the use of the Magazines 6 6 Cordage 8 lb for Banks's Flagg Staff 2 8 £ 1 19 8	The account of stores issued to the Company's boats continued from a total of £35 13s 7d. Brought forward, £35 13s 7d Paint for the boats in general 22 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 5s 6d 1½ lb of verdigris, £0 5s 10½d 4 lb of dry white lead, £0 1s 3d 1 [...] of mixed yellow ochre, £0 0s 3d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 6½d 4 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 1s 11d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 4½d ¼ [...] of umber, £0 0s 0¾d 1 [...] of blue black, £0 0s 6½d Total for paint, £0 17s 4d Pitch and tar for the boats in general 28 lb of rosin, £0 3s 8d 10 [...] of turpentine, £0 2s 3d 1 barrel of pitch, £0 18s 7d Total for pitch and tar, £1 4s 6d Blocks, 3 single blocks and 3 double blocks with brass sheaves, £2 1s 9d Total charged to the boats, £40 2s 2d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for the fortifications from 1 January to 31 March 1768. 200 lb of iron for Rupert's [...], £1 0s 10d Ironware 15 [...] of rolled iron for Rupert's [...], £0 5s 4d 10 [...] of plate iron for aprons for the guns at Sandy Bay, £0 4s 4d Total for ironware, £0 9s 8d 3 lb of candles for use in the magazines, £0 6s 6d 8 lb of cordage for the flagstaff at Banks's, £0 2s 8d Total charged to the fortifications, £1 19s 8d **Interpretations** The fortifications drew less than £2 in stores during the quarter, against more than £60 for the three works at Sandy Bay, Banks's and Munden's Point in the last quarter of 1767. Sandy Bay was finished, and the new batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point were still at the stage of preparing foundations and carrying materials, as Mitchell's letter of 4 April 1768 explained. Most of the cost of that work lay in labour, paid through the paymaster rather than drawn from the stores. The plate iron aprons for the guns at Sandy Bay were covers laid over the vents of the cannon to keep out rain and spray, larger and stronger than the lead aprons used by the gunners elsewhere. The newly mounted guns on the exposed south coast needed this protection. Candles for the magazines were burned only inside closed lanterns, since an open flame near gunpowder risked a catastrophic explosion. Rupert's lay just east of Jamestown, where a line of defences guarded the bay beside the main anchorage.

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			Blocks with brass sheaves were pulleys whose wheels were made of brass instead of the usual lignum vitae wood. Brass did not swell in water or split under heavy loads, and it ran smoothly against the rope, which made such blocks worth their higher price on boats working constantly in salt water. Umber was a brown earth pigment from Italy, used to tone other colours.
443	434	18th April Mundens Point Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 January to the 31 March 1768 viz. - Iron ware viz. 2 Two Feet Rules 2 9 Hammer Helves 1 10½ 30 Ash Do. 18 1½ 2 Splinter Locks 11 3 Pick Axes 9 10½ 1 Bastard Rubber File 4 5 2 Iron Crows 16 2½ 2 13 5 Iron 439 lb 4 11 5 Twine ½ lb 1 8 Tin Ware 1 Single Sheet 4 Cordage 204 lb 3 8 Candles ½ lb 1 1 Deals 4 double 13 8 Blocks viz. 1 Double of 8 Ins. 6 Single of 8 Do. 4 11 7 Cart Wheels 2 Wheel Barrows 2 6 6 Lines 12 No. 4 4 6 Turners ware 6 Labourers Baskets 6 11 Paint 4 lb Chalk 1 £ 18 19 2 Banks's Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 January to the 31 March 1768 viz. Iron ware viz. 3 Hammer Helves 7½ 13 Ash Do. 10 10½ 2 lb Iron Binding wire 1 9½ 10 Sail Needles 7½ 2 Two Feet Rules 2 15 11 Carried Over£ 15 11	The storekeeper next listed the stores issued for the fortification at Munden's Point from 1 January to 31 March 1768. Ironware 2 two-foot rules, £0 2s 0d 9 hammer handles, £0 1s 10½d 30 axe handles, £0 18s 1½d 2 splinter locks, £0 0s 11d 3 pickaxes, £0 9s 10½d 1 bastard rubber file, £0 4s 5d 2 iron crowbars, £0 16s 2½d Total for ironware, £2 13s 5d 489 lb of iron, £4 11s 5d 1½ [...] of twine, £0 1s 8d Tinware, 1 single sheet of tin, £0 0s 4d 204 lb of cordage, £3 8s 0d ½ lb of candles, £0 1s 1d 4 double deals, £0 13s 8d Blocks, 1 double block of 8 inches and 6 single blocks of 8 inches, £4 11s 7d 2 wheelbarrows, £2 6s 6d 12 lines of size 4, £0 4s 6d Wooden ware, 6 labourers' baskets, £0 6s 11d Paint, 4 lb of chalk, £0 0s 1d Total charged to the fortification at Munden's Point, £18 19s 2d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for the fortification at Banks's over the same period. Ironware 3 hammer handles, £0 0s 7½d 18 axe handles, £0 10s 10½d 2 [...] of iron binding wire, £0 1s 9½d 10 sail needles, £0 0s 7½d 2 two-foot rules, £0 2s 0d Total for ironware, £0 15s 11d Carried forward, £0 15s 11d **Interpretations** The stores sent to Munden's Point match Mitchell's account of the work there in his letter of 4 April 1768. Iron crowbars were used to prise and lever loose rock from the cliff, and the 489 lb of iron was forged into cramps and tools for the masons building the first flank. The blocks and 204 lb of cordage made up the tackle for hoisting stone up the steep face to the battery. Thirty axe handles in one quarter show how fast the tools broke against the hard volcanic rock. The work at Banks's was only just beginning in the quarter. Its stores were a handful of tools for the stone layers whom Mitchell planned to move there while Munden's Point waited for fresh materials. Sail needles at a fortification were used to sew canvas, probably the buckets and slings in which earth and stone were carried and hoisted. Wheelbarrows went to Munden's Point despite the steep ground, where most material was carried in labourers' baskets. On the level platforms of the old battery, where Mitchell stored and prepared his materials, barrows could move stone and mortar more quickly than baskets over short distances.
444	435	1768 Brought over£ 15 11 Cordage 186 lb 3 2 Iron 273 lb	The account of stores issued for the fortification at Banks's continued from a total of 15s 11d. Brought forward, £0 15s 11d 186 lb of cordage, £3 2s 0d 273 lb of iron, £2 16s 10d

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		2 16 10 Blocks 2 Double of 8 Ins. 1 6 2 Twine 3½ lb 3 11 Braziers ware ¼ lb Brass wire 9 Thread 2 lb Coloured 6 4 Oil ⅛ Gall. Linseed 6 Cart Wheels 3 Wheel Barrows 2 6 6 Turners ware 6 Labourers Baskets 6 11 Pewter 1 Funnel 2 4 Lead 17 lb Shot 3 2 £ 11 11 4 St. Helena 31 March 1768 Errors Excepted Signed James Bowell Storekeeper List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salary's, Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing the 1 January and ending the 31 day of March 1768 viz. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Saly. 125 Do. Allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Saly. 62 10 Do. Diet Money 25 87 10 Mr. Purling of Council Salary 15 Do. Accomptant 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. Gratuity 15 62 10 Capt. Kirkpatrick of Council Saly. 7 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 10 Carried Over£ 316 14 9	Blocks, 2 double blocks of 8 inches, £1 6s 2d 3½ [...] of twine, £0 3s 11d Brassware, ¼ [...] of brass wire, £0 0s 9d 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 6s 4d ⅛ gallon of linseed oil, £0 0s 6d 3 wheelbarrows, £2 6s 6d Wooden ware, 6 labourers' baskets, £0 6s 11d Pewter, 1 funnel, £0 2s 4d 17 lb of sheet lead, £0 3s 2d Total charged to the fortification at Banks's, £11 11s 4d James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Company's list of its officers and employees on St Helena gave their salaries, table allowances and other payments for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1768. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Total for John Skottowe, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, table allowance, £25 0s 0d Total for Daniel Corneille, £87 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, of the Council, salary, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d William Matthew Purling, table allowance, £15 0s 0d William Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Total for William Matthew Purling, £62 10s 0d Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, £10 0s 0d Carried forward, £316 14s 9d **Interpretations** Banks's drew more stores than Munden's Point in some respects during the quarter, though its total was lower. The two double blocks, 186 lb of cordage and three wheelbarrows show the work there moving from preparation to building, with tackle rigged to lift stone and barrows to move it along the site. Mitchell had written on 4 April that materials of every kind were already prepared at Banks's, and that he expected good progress there in the coming quarter. Across the island the Company issued stores worth about £32 to its three fortifications in the first quarter of 1768, against more than £60 in the last quarter of 1767. The fall reflects the completion of Sandy Bay rather than any slowing of the programme, since the heavy cost of labour at the new batteries was paid separately through the paymaster. The councillors' pay for the first quarter of 1768 was identical to the last quarter of 1767, item by item. Salaries, table allowances, house rent and Purling's payments as accountant and by gratuity were fixed sums set by the Court in London and did not vary from quarter to quarter.
445	436	18th April Brought over£ 316 14 9 Archibald Mitchell Engineer Saly. 50 Do. Diet Money 25 Do. House Rent 2 10 77 10 William Bearcroft Chaplain Saly. 40 Do. Diet Money	The list of the Company's officers and employees continued from a total of £316 14s 9d. Brought forward, £316 14s 9d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, table allowance, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Archibald Mitchell, £77 10s 0d William Bearcroft, chaplain, salary, £40 0s 0d William Bearcroft, table allowance, £15 0s 0d Total for William Bearcroft, £55 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, table allowance, £15 0s 0d

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		15 55 Matthew Bazett Secretary's Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 2 10 35 James Bowell Storekeeper Saly. 17 10 Do. Diet Money 15 Do. House Rent 2 10 35 William Wrangham Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 Do. Assistant to the Governor 10 30 Jonathan Doveton Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 22 10 Britannicus Wright Factor Saly. 7 10 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 20 John Goodwin Writer Saly. 5 Do. Diet Money 10 15 Robert Barclay Surgeon Saly. 9 15 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 22 5 John Pritchard Surgeon Saly. 6 5 Do. Diet Money 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 18 15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate 12 10 Do. Schoolmaster 7 10 20 Thos. Bazett Superintendant 13 13 Samuel Alexander 7 10 John Worrall 15 Overseers 36 3 Carried Over£ 703 17 9	Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Matthew Bazett, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, table allowance, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Powell, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, table allowance, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Total for William Wrangham, £30 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total for Jonathan Doveton, £22 10s 0d Bartholomew Wright, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Bartholomew Wright, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Bartholomew Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Bartholomew Wright, £20 0s 0d John Goodwin, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Total for John Goodwin, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Barclay, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, table allowance, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Pritchard, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Total for Richard Beale, £20 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, superintendent, £13 13s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Worral, overseer, £15 0s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, Samuel Alexander and John Worral, £36 3s 0d Carried forward, £703 17s 9d **Interpretations** The list named Thomas Bazett's post for the first time, as superintendent. His salary of £13 13s 0d a quarter had appeared without a title in the list for the last quarter of 1767. He probably superintended the Company's works or plantation, a separate post from that of John Bazett, who was paid as superintendent of the Company's slaves. John Goodwin was entered as a writer, the lowest grade of the Company's civil servants, who copied letters and kept the books under the secretary and the factors. Every salary and allowance matched the previous quarter exactly. The establishment of civil officers did not change in a quarter that saw several soldiers discharged and new recruits enlisted. Civil posts on St Helena were few and fixed by the Court, and their holders tended to remain in them for years, adding duties and allowances rather than changing places. Samuel Alexander drew his pay as an overseer of the Company's labour while also being chosen a churchwarden on 4 April 1768 and petitioning against Margaret Alcock's land claim on 7 March. He was one of the island's established settlers who combined Company employment with a stake in the land and a role in parish affairs.
446	437	1768 Brought over£ 703 17 9 William Holbrooke Master Mason	The list of the Company's officers and employees continued from a total of £703 17s 9d. Brought forward, £703 17s 9d

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		30 John Robinson Carpenter 25 Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 10 Thomas Yates Clerk of the Church 5 John Bazett Superintendt. over the Company's Blacks 10 James Black Gardener 10 George Bazett Steward 7 10 Saml. Perry Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 Thos. Payne Overseer of the Honble Company's Workmen 6 16 10½ Robert Allum Groom 2 John Robins Armourer 15 Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 John Criswell Patron of the Long Boats 7 10 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7 10 John Drawwater Cooper 8 15 To the Drum Major for Instructing the Young Drummers 1 To John Lemon an Invalid 91 days at 9d. Pr. Day 3 8 3 157 . 0 1½ First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Saly. 45 12 6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Samuel Duffountain Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacob Barnard Millard 29 13 1½ Serjeants Phillip Mahoney 7 11 8 Thomas Payne 7 11 8 William Bannister 7 11 8 Henry Howell 7 11 8 30 6 8 Corporals Joseph Tracy 5 6 2 William Rowlands 5 6 2 Corporals Carried Over£ 10 12 4 Carried Over£ 1021 13 11	William Holbrooke, master mason, £30 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Thomas Yates, parish clerk, £5 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d James Black, gardener, £10 0s 0d George Bazett, steward, £7 10s 0d Samuel Perry, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Byne, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d Robert Allom, groom, £2 0s 0d John Robins, armourer, £15 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Criswell, coxswain of the longboats, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d John Drawwater, cooper, £8 15s 0d Drum major, for teaching the young drummers, £1 0s 0d John Simon, an invalid, for 92 days at 9d a day, £3 8s 3d Total from William Holbrooke to John Simon, £157 0s 1½d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Solomon St Maurice, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Desfountain, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs and Bernard Millard, as adjutant, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Phillip Mahoney, £7 11s 8d Thomas Byne, £7 11s 8d William Bannister, £7 11s 8d Henry Howell, £7 11s 8d Total for sergeants, £30 6s 8d Corporals Joseph Stacey, £5 6s 2d William Rowlands, £5 6s 2d Corporals carried forward, £10 12s 4d Carried forward, £1,021 13s 11d **Interpretations** The adjutant's pay was now shared between Solomon Jacobs and Bernard Millard. Jacobs's six-month suspension ended on 18 March 1768, when the Council restored him to his post. Millard had acted as adjutant for the rest of the quarter, so the single allowance of £29 13s 1½d was divided between them according to the days each served. John Simon appeared as an invalid paid 9d a day. He was a soldier no longer fit for duty, kept on a small allowance rather than discharged. The Company maintained a few such men on the island instead of shipping them home, and the allowance was lower than a private's 10d. The entry corresponds to the line in the previous quarter's list that recorded 92 days' pay to an invalid. The sergeants' pay fell slightly, from £7 12s 1d to £7 11s 8d, and the corporals' from £5 6s 5½d to £5 6s 2d. The first quarter of 1768 had 91 days, one fewer than the last quarter of 1767, and pay was reckoned by the day. Only two corporals of the First Company remained on the list. William Burn had left since December, and John Allum, appointed corporal on 16 November 1767, no longer appeared in that rank.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
447	438	18th April Brought over£ 1021 13 11 Corporals brought over£ 10 12 4 John Allum 5 6 2 Thomas Townsend 10 days 11 8 Do. Centinel 81 days 3 7 6 19 17 8 Drummers John Martin 5 6 2 Richard Ashford 5 6 2 Joseph Beacham 5 6 2 15 18 6 Centinels James Greentree Cadet 7 11 8 James Avery 3 15 10 James Armstrong 3 15 10 John Buckham 3 15 10 Thomas Blake 3 15 10 Moses Biffen 3 15 10 John Bull 3 15 10 John Barnes 3 15 10 Timothy Bryan 3 15 10 Emanuel Brunner 3 15 10 William Benson 3 15 10 Benjamin Barclay 3 15 10 Samuel Bingrove 3 15 10 Richard Brown 3 15 10 Thomas Berwick 3 15 10 William Bunn 10 days 8 4 Do. Corporal 81 days 4 14 6 Edward Corker 3 15 10 William Clissold 3 15 10 Patrick Conner 3 15 10 Andrew Conner 3 15 10 John Charlton 3 15 10 John Davis 3 15 10 John Dove 3 15 10 David Davis 3 15 10 James Drake 3 15 10 Thomas Durham 3 15 10 James Dunn 3 15 10 John Dobson	The list of the First Company continued from a total of £1,021 13s 11d. Brought forward, £1,021 13s 11d Corporals brought forward, £10 12s 4d John Allum, £5 6s 2d Thomas Townsend, as corporal for 10 days, £0 11s 8d Thomas Townsend, as private for 81 days, £3 7s 6d Total for corporals, £19 17s 8d Drummers John Martin, £5 6s 2d Richard Ashford, £5 6s 2d Joseph Bucham, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £15 18s 6d Privates James Greentree, cadet, £7 11s 8d James Avery, £3 15s 10d James Armstrong, £3 15s 10d John Buchmans, £3 15s 10d Thomas Blake, £3 15s 10d Moses Biffin, £3 15s 10d John Bull, £3 15s 10d John Barnes, £3 15s 10d Timothy Bryan, £3 15s 10d Emanuel Bunner, £3 15s 10d William Benson, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Barclay, £3 15s 10d Samuel Pengrove, £3 15s 10d Richard Brown, £3 15s 10d Thomas Berwick, £3 15s 10d William Burn, as private for 10 days, £0 8s 4d William Burn, as corporal for 81 days, £4 14s 6d Edward Crocker, £3 15s 10d William Clissold, £3 15s 10d Patrick Connor, £3 15s 10d Andrew Connor, £3 15s 10d John Charlton, £3 15s 10d John Davis, £3 15s 10d John Dare, £3 15s 10d David Davis, £3 15s 10d James Drake, £3 15s 10d Thomas Durham, £3 15s 10d James Dunn, £3 15s 10d John Dobson, £3 15s 10d Adam Evans, £3 15s 10d Henry Enslear, £3 15s 10d Cornelius Finn, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £115 2s 0d Carried forward, £1,065 1s 9d **Interpretations** Thomas Townsend and William Burn exchanged places in the First Company after the first 10 days of the quarter. Townsend served as a corporal until about 10 January 1768 and was then paid as a private for the remaining 81 days. Burn was paid as a private for those same first 10 days and as a corporal for the rest of the quarter. The two changes were one transaction: Townsend was reduced and Burn promoted into his place, as Simcox and Moreton had been in the Fourth Company in October. Burn had been a corporal in the previous quarter, so he had evidently been reduced at the end of 1767 and was now restored. Every private now drew £3 15s 10d, against £3 16s 0½d in the previous quarter. The difference came from the shorter quarter of 91 days, at the unchanged rate of 10d a day. The First Company had lost several privates since December. David Davis and others who claimed their discharge in early April still appeared, since their engagements ended only after the quarter closed on 31 March.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Adam Evans 3 15 10 Henry Evstear 3 15 10 Cornelius Fish 3 15 10 Centinels Carried Over£ 113 2 Carried Over£ 1065 . 9	
448	439	1768 Brought over£ 1065 1 9 Centinels brought over£ 113 2 William French 3 15 10 William Greenwood 3 15 10 John Grainger 3 15 10 William Henderson 3 15 10 James Hedge 3 15 10 John Hewston 3 15 10 Edward Haddock 3 15 10 William Holmes 3 15 10 William Hallsall 7 days 5 10 Sutton Leache 67 days 2 15 10 Duncan McClaren 3 15 10 William Mumford 3 15 10 Thomas Means 3 15 10 John McAllister 3 15 10 James Miller 3 15 10 John Pickering 3 15 10 Matthew Palmer 3 15 10 Thomas Roberts 3 15 10 William Robinson 3 15 10 Thomas Ransom 3 15 10 Silvanus Rolf 3 15 10 George Roe 3 15 10 Thomas Rogers 3 15 10 Anthony Reynolds 3 15 10 William Swaby 3 15 10 John Springthorpe 3 15 10 John Stairs 3 15 10 John Stewart 3 15 10 Edward Stevenson 3 15 10 William Smell 3 15 10 Robert Saunders 3 15 10 George Seale 88 days	The list of privates in the First Company continued from a total of £115 2s 0d. Brought forward, £1,065 1s 9d Privates brought forward, £115 2s 0d William French, £3 15s 10d William Greenwood, £3 15s 10d John Granger, £3 15s 10d William Henderson, £3 15s 10d James Hodge, £3 15s 10d John Hourston, £3 15s 10d Edward Haddock, £3 15s 10d William Holmes, £3 15s 10d William Halsall, for 7 days, £0 5s 10d Sutton Isaacke, for 67 days, £2 15s 10d Duncan McLaren, £3 15s 10d William Mumford, £3 15s 10d Thomas Meares, £3 15s 10d John McAllister, £3 15s 10d James Miller, £3 15s 10d John Pickering, £3 15s 10d Matthew Palmer, £3 15s 10d Thomas Roberts, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ransom, £3 15s 10d Erasmus Relf, £3 15s 10d George Roe, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rogers, £3 15s 10d Anthony Reynolds, £3 15s 10d William Swaby, £3 15s 10d John Springthorpe, £3 15s 10d John Shinn, £3 15s 10d John Stewart, £3 15s 10d Edward Stevenson, £3 15s 10d William Snell, £3 15s 10d Robert Saunders, £3 15s 10d George Seale, for 88 days, £3 13s 4d Richard Tillotson, £3 15s 10d William Tipper, £3 15s 10d Luke Vernon, £3 15s 10d John Whittingdale, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Wise, £3 15s 10d Thomas Windall, £3 15s 10d John Wiston, £3 15s 10d George Wall, £3 15s 10d Richard Youncas, £3 15s 10d Total for privates, £265 18s 8d Carried forward, £1,331 0s 5d **Interpretations** Sutton Isaacke, the island native enlisted on 25 January 1768 with a bounty of £5, was paid for exactly 67 days, from his enlistment to the end of March. George Seale, another island-born recruit, drew pay for 88 days, so he joined the company on 4 January 1768. The Company paid its soldiers strictly from the day they entered service, never from the start of the quarter. William Halsall was paid for only the first 7 days of the quarter. He had served the full previous quarter, so he left the company on about 7 January 1768, whether by death, discharge or transfer. The minutes recorded the death of Thomas Adams of the Second Company on 8 March but no entry for Halsall, which suggests his engagement had expired and he was discharged without a petition being noted. Several men on this page, including Thomas Ransom and Robert Saunders, claimed their

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 13 4 Richard Tollerton 3 15 10 William Tipper 3 15 10 Luke Vernal 3 15 10 John Whittingdale 3 15 10 Benj. Wise 3 15 10 Thomas Windall 3 15 10 John Weston 3 15 10 George Wall 3 15 10 Richd. Toucas 3 15 10 265 18 8 Carried Over£ 1331 . 5	discharge on 4 April 1768. Their full quarter's pay was still due, since their service ran to 31 March. The end of their engagements explains why the First Company's numbers would fall sharply in the next quarter's list.
449	440	18th April Brought over£ 1331 . 5 Second Company Henry Bazett Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Michael Frost Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7 11 8 George Freeman 7 11 8 Edmund Leech 7 11 8 Stephen Prior 7 11 8 30 6 8 Corporals John Fish 5 6 2 John Sabourin 5 6 2 Robert Stephenson 5 6 2 Jonathan Burden 59 days 3 2 10 Do. Centinel 32 days 1 6 8 20 14 Drummers Francis Scoane 5 6 2 John Brown 5 6 2 10 12 4 Centinels Thomas Adams 63 days 2 16 3 Robert Allum 3 15 10 Joseph Banks 3 15 10	The list continued with the officers and men of the Second Company, from a total of £1,331 0s 5d. Brought forward, £1,331 0s 5d Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Michael Frost, £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welch, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welch, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Ware Welch, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Bazett, £7 11s 8d George Freeman, £7 11s 8d Edmund Lock, £7 11s 8d Stephen Prior, £7 11s 8d Total for sergeants, £30 6s 8d Corporals John Fish, £5 6s 2d John Sabourin, £5 6s 2d Robert Stephenson, £5 6s 2d Jonathan Burden, as corporal for 59 days, £3 8s 10d Jonathan Burden, as private for 32 days, £1 6s 8d Total for corporals, £20 14s 0d Drummers Francis Swane, £5 6s 2d John Brown, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Privates Thomas Adams, for 68 days, £2 16s 8d Robert Allum, £3 15s 10d Joseph Banks, £3 15s 10d William Birch, £3 15s 10d William Brookes, £3 15s 10d Jacob Brown, £3 15s 10d Robert Brown, £3 15s 10d Nicholas Bushell, £3 15s 10d Daniel Bye, £3 15s 10d James Byrne, £3 15s 10d Thomas Caverly, £3 15s 10d William Conquest, £3 15s 10d John Crawley, £3 15s 10d Samuel Card, £3 15s 10d William Carter, £3 15s 10d John Cunningham, £3 15s 10d William Carfree, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £63 10s 0d Carried forward, £1,493 9s 8d **Interpretations** Thomas Adams was paid for 68 days, from 1 January to the day of his death on 8 March 1768. As with Andrew Barton in November, the sum due for

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Birch 3 15 10 William Brookes 3 15 10 Jacob Brown 3 15 10 Robert Brown 3 15 10 Nicholas Bushel 3 15 10 Daniel Bye 3 15 10 James Byrne 3 15 10 Thomas Cheverly 3 15 10 William Conquest 3 15 10 John Crawley 3 15 10 Samuel Curd 3 15 10 William Carter 3 15 10 John Cunningham 3 15 10 Wm. Carfree 3 15 10 Centinels Carried Over£ 63 10 Carried Over£ 1493 9 8 **Margin Notes:** 18	the weeks he served passed to his estate or was set against his debts to the warehouse. Jonathan Burden had been a private in the Second Company in the last quarter of 1767. He was raised to corporal at the start of 1768 and served in that rank for 59 days, until about 29 February, before being reduced to private for the last 32 days of the quarter. His short tenure suggests a breach of discipline soon after promotion. Robert Stephenson appeared as a new corporal, while William Fullwood and William Shant, corporals in the previous quarter, were no longer listed in that rank. Michael Frost and John Ware Welch were the Second Company's two lieutenants. The fuller form of their names given in this list corrects the readings of the previous quarter's list.
450	441	1768 Brought over£ 1493 9 8 Centinels brought over£ 63 10 Robert Dickens 3 15 10 William Drennan 3 15 10 John Dayley 3 15 10 John Forbes 3 15 10 William Fullwood 3 15 10 John Goldsole 3 15 10 John Gray 3 15 10 Robert Green 3 15 10 James Gates 3 15 10 Charles Goulding 3 15 10 William Greenough 3 15 10 James Goudy 3 15 10 William Harris Senr. 3 15 10 William Harris Junr. 3 15 10 Abraham Harding 3 15 10 Samuel Hiles 3 15 10 John Holebrooke 3 15 10 James Hudson 3 15 10 Thomas Hayes 3 15 10 William Hayes	The list of privates in the Second Company continued from a total of £63 10s 0d. Brought forward, £1,493 9s 8d Privates brought forward, £63 10s 0d Robert Dickens, £3 15s 10d William Dunnan, £3 15s 10d John Dayley, £3 15s 10d John Forbes, £3 15s 10d William Fullwood, £3 15s 10d John Goosole, £3 15s 10d John Gray, £3 15s 10d Robert Green, £3 15s 10d James Gates, £3 15s 10d Charles Golding, £3 15s 10d William Greenough, £3 15s 10d James Gouty, £3 15s 10d William Harris senior, £3 15s 10d William Harris junior, £3 15s 10d Abraham Harding, £3 15s 10d Samuel Hiles, £3 15s 10d John Holbrooke, £3 15s 10d James Hudson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hayes, £3 15s 10d William Hayes, £3 15s 10d James Hogg, £3 15s 10d John Ham, £3 15s 10d William Harper, £3 15s 10d William Hunt, as private for 59 days, £2 9s 2d William Hunt, as corporal for 32 days, £1 17s 4d Samuel Instone, £3 15s 10d William Johnson, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Gordon, £3 15s 10d John Jacks, £3 15s 10d Thomas James, £3 15s 10d John James, £3 15s 10d Samuel Ibson, £3 15s 10d Henry Lockham, £3 15s 10d Henry Mills, £3 15s 10d James Mannington, £3 15s 10d John Morris, £3 15s 10d John McCullen, £3 15s 10d William Merrick, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 James Hogg 3 15 10 John Ham 3 15 10 William Harper 2 9 2 William Hunt 59 days 1 17 4 Do. Corporal 32 days 3 15 10 Samuel Instone 3 15 10 William Johnson 3 15 10 Jeremiah Gordon 3 15 10 John Jacks 3 15 10 Thomas James 3 15 10 John James 3 15 10 Samuel Kitson 3 15 10 Henry Kirkham 3 15 10 Henry Miller 3 15 10 James Mannington 3 15 10 John Morris 3 15 10 John McCullen 3 15 10 William Merrick 3 15 10 Thomas Newton 3 15 10 Pierce Osborne 3 15 10 Samuel Perry 3 15 10 John Povey Centinels Carried Over£ 219 9 10 Carried Over£ 1493 9 8	Thomas Newton, £3 15s 10d Reeves Osborne, £3 15s 10d Samuel Povey, £3 15s 10d John Povey, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £219 9s 10d Carried forward, £1,493 9s 8d **Interpretations** William Hunt was raised from private to corporal for the last 32 days of the quarter, the same 32 days for which Jonathan Burden was reduced from corporal to private. The two entries record a single change on about 29 February 1768: Burden lost his rank and Hunt took his place at once. William Fullwood, a corporal in the previous quarter, now appeared among the privates, so he too had been reduced at some point before the year began. The two privates named William Harris, entered one after the other in the last quarter of 1767, were here distinguished as senior and junior. They were father and son serving together in the same company. A father and son in the ranks points to a family that had settled on the island, with the younger man following his father into the garrison. William Hayes drew a full quarter's pay to 31 March. He died on 14 April 1768, after the quarter closed, as the minutes of 18 April recorded.
451	442	18th April Brought over£ 1493 9 8 Centinels brought over£ 219 9 10 Thomas Richards 3 15 10 John Christian Strife 3 15 10 Benjamin Stringer 3 15 10 Thomas Stowers 3 15 10 Gregory Southernwood 3 15 10 John Salsbury 3 15 10 Francis Seale 3 15 10 John Tucker 3 15 10 Thomas Wansell 88 days 3 13 4 Thomas Woffington 3 15 10 John Wyrill 3 15 10 Joseph Whaley 3 15 10 264 17 4 Third Company	The list of privates in the Second Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,493 9s 8d Privates brought forward, £219 9s 10d Thomas Richards, £3 15s 10d John Christian Shiff, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Springer, £3 15s 10d Thomas Bowers, £3 15s 10d Gregory Southerwood, £3 15s 10d John Salisbury, £3 15s 10d Francis Seale, £3 15s 10d John Tucker, £3 15s 10d Thomas Wansell, for 88 days, £3 13s 4d Thomas Woffington, £3 15s 10d John Wyrill, £3 15s 10d Joseph Whaley, £3 15s 10d Total for privates, £264 17s 4d The list continued with the officers and men of the Third Company. Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Lambert, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Richard Beale Captain Saly. 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Witman 11 days 18 4 Do. Centinel 80 days 3 6 8 Barnard Millard 20 days 1 13 4 William Roberts 7 11 8 William Clifton 7 11 8 Fisher Gamble 80 days 6 13 4 Do. Corporal 11 days 12 10 28 7 10 Corporals Samuel Johnson 5 6 2 Thomas Pearce 5 6 2 John Hilliard 5 6 2 Adam Scott 80 days 4 13 4 Do. Centinels 11 days 9 2 21 1 Drummers John Swaits 5 6 2 George Carney 5 6 2 10 12 4 Carried Over£ 1919 4 5	John Watson, as sergeant for 11 days, £0 18s 4d John Watson, as private for 80 days, £3 6s 8d Bernard Millard, as sergeant for 20 days, £1 13s 4d William Roberts, £7 11s 8d William Clifton, £7 11s 8d Fisher Gamble, as sergeant for 80 days, £6 13s 4d Fisher Gamble, as corporal for 11 days, £0 12s 10d Total for sergeants, £28 7s 10d Corporals Samuel Johnson, £5 6s 2d Thomas Pearce, £5 6s 2d John Hilliard, £5 6s 2d Adam Scott, as corporal for 80 days, £4 13s 4d Adam Scott, as private for 11 days, £0 9s 2d Total for corporals, £21 1s 0d Drummers John Swift, £5 6s 2d George Varney, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Carried forward, £1,919 4s 5d **Interpretations** The Third Company underwent a chain of changes on about 11 January 1768. Sergeant John Watson was reduced to private. Corporal Fisher Gamble was raised to sergeant in his place, and Private Adam Scott was raised to corporal to fill Gamble's place. One reduction thus set off two promotions on the same day, keeping the company's full complement of sergeants and corporals. The pattern matched the changes in the Fourth Company in October 1767 and in the First Company in January. Bernard Millard drew a sergeant's pay for the last 20 days of the quarter, from about 12 March. For most of the quarter he had served as acting adjutant while John Jacobs was suspended. Jacobs's suspension ended on 18 March, and Millard returned to his former rank of sergeant in the Third Company. The adjutant's allowance shared between the two men on the First Company's list covered the overlap. Thomas Wansell was paid for 88 days, to 28 March 1768, the day the Council granted his discharge. Francis Seale and Joseph Whaley, the island-born recruits who enlisted in November 1767, now drew a full quarter's pay.
452	443	1768 Brought over£ 1919 4 5 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 15 10 James Anderson 3 15 10 Henry Brown 3 15 10 Jacob Brill 3 15 10 Mark Balls 3 15 10 John Blinkhorn 3 15 10 Frederick Wm. Beard 3 15 10 Wm. Caleb Baldwin 3 15 10 John Cork 3 15 10 Robert Davis 3 15 10 Edward Dudley	The list continued with the privates of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,919 4s 5d Richard Ashford, £3 15s 10d James Anderson, £3 15s 10d Henry Brown, £3 15s 10d Jacob Bull, £3 15s 10d Mark Bell, £3 15s 10d John Blinkhorn, £3 15s 10d Frederick William Beard, £3 15s 10d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 15s 10d John Cork, £3 15s 10d Robert Davis, £3 15s 10d Edward Dudley, £3 15s 10d James Donavan, £3 15s 10d William Foster, £3 15s 10d John Foxen, £3 15s 10d Archibald Grayham, £3 15s 10d Richard Gregory, £3 15s 10d William Greenup, £3 15s 10d Felix Hyder, £3 15s 10d William Hill, £3 15s 10d William Hopkins, £3 15s 10d Thomas Killock, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 James Donavan 3 15 10 William Foster 3 15 10 John Foxon 3 15 10 Archibald Grayham 3 15 10 Richard Gregory 3 15 10 William Greenup 3 15 10 Felix Hyder 3 15 10 William Hill 3 15 10 William Hopkins 3 15 10 Thomas Hillock 3 15 10 Mannard Hayes 3 15 10 Joseph Holloway 3 15 10 Robert Hardy 3 15 10 Peter Higgins 3 15 10 Josiah Johnson 3 15 10 Robert Johnson 3 15 10 Richard Johnson 3 15 10 James Kemp 3 15 10 Richard Linney 3 15 10 John Long 3 15 10 Edward Lamburn 3 15 10 Bryan Lynch 3 15 10 James Long 3 15 10 Thomas Little 3 15 10 Charles Mountague 3 15 10 Richard Moyce 3 15 10 Thomas Morriss 3 15 10 John Miller 3 15 10 Abraham Major 3 15 10 James Moyce 3 15 10 Thos. Matthews Centinels Carried Over£ 159 5 Carried Over£ 1919 4 5 **Margin Notes:** 18	Mannard Hayes, £3 15s 10d Joseph Holloway, £3 15s 10d Robert Hinkey, £3 15s 10d Peter Higgins, £3 15s 10d Josiah Johnson, £3 15s 10d Robert Johnson, £3 15s 10d Richard Johnson, £3 15s 10d James Kemp, £3 15s 10d Richard Linney, £3 15s 10d John Long, £3 15s 10d Edward Lambourn, £3 15s 10d Bryan Lynch, £3 15s 10d James Long, £3 15s 10d Thomas Little, £3 15s 10d Charles Mountague, £3 15s 10d Richard Moyce, £3 15s 10d Thomas Morris, £3 15s 10d John Miller, £3 15s 10d Abraham Major, £3 15s 10d James Moyce, £3 15s 10d Thomas Matthews, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £159 5s 0d Carried forward, £1,919 4s 5d **Interpretations** Every private on this page drew the full quarter's pay of £3 15s 10d, which was 91 days at 10d a day. None of them joined, died or changed rank during the quarter. The names and their order match the Third Company's roll for the last quarter of 1767 almost exactly. The First and Second Companies, by contrast, recorded deaths, reductions, promotions and new island-born recruits over the same period. The Third Company's ranks stayed steady while its sergeants and corporals changed places in January. The first name, given as Richard Arford in the previous quarter's list, is entered here as Richard Ashford. A drummer named Richard Ashford also served in the First Company. Common surnames recurred across the garrison, and on muster days the men were told apart by their company.
453	444	18th April Brought over£ 1919 4 5 Centinels brought over£ 159 5 Joseph Martin 3 15 10 Daniel Masterson 3 15 10 William Medcalf	The list of privates in the Third Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,919 4s 5d Privates brought forward, £159 5s 0d Joseph Martin, £3 15s 10d Daniel Masterson, £3 15s 10d William Medcalf, £3 15s 10d Charles Norris, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 Charles Morris 3 15 10 Thomas Perry 3 15 10 Henry Pinckson 3 15 10 William Parkes 3 15 10 David Patten 3 15 10 James Proctor 3 15 10 Samuel Packer 3 15 10 William Robinson 3 15 10 Robert Stack 3 15 10 Adam Scott 3 15 10 John Shorland 3 15 10 Arthur Shell 3 15 10 William Smith 3 15 10 John Thompson 3 15 10 Thomas Taylor 3 15 10 Richard Vincent 3 15 10 John Vaughan 3 15 10 Thomas Ward 3 15 10 Edward Welch 3 15 10 Hatton Walker 3 15 10 George Washington 3 15 10 James York 3 15 10 254 . 10 Fourth Company John Howard Captain Salary 45 12 6 Henry De Laune Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Flemming 7 11 8 Thomas Bailey 7 11 8 Thomas Ferris 24 days 1 Richard Moreton 81 Do. 6 15 John Moore 10 Do. 16 8 Do. Corporal 81 Do. 4 14 6 34 9 6 Corporals James Brilliott 5 6 2 Joseph West 5 6 2 Corporals Carried Over£ 10 12 4	Thomas Povey, £3 15s 10d Henry Pinchen, £3 15s 10d William Perkis, £3 15s 10d David Patton, £3 15s 10d James Proctor, £3 15s 10d Samuel Packer, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, £3 15s 10d Robert Stack, £3 15s 10d Adam Scott, £3 15s 10d John Sherlock, £3 15s 10d Arthur Still, £3 15s 10d William Smith, £3 15s 10d John Thompson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Taylor, £3 15s 10d Richard Vincent, £3 15s 10d John Vaughan, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ward, £3 15s 10d Edward Welsh, £3 15s 10d Hatton Walther, £3 15s 10d George Washington, £3 15s 10d James York, £3 15s 10d Total for privates, £254 0s 10d The list continued with the officers and men of the Fourth Company. John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Henry De Laune, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Flemming, £7 11s 8d Thomas Bailey, £7 11s 8d Thomas Ferris, for 84 days, £7 0s 0d Richard Moreton, for 81 days, £6 15s 0d John Moore, as sergeant for 10 days, £0 16s 8d John Moore, as corporal for 81 days, £4 14s 6d Total for sergeants, £34 9s 6d Corporals James Brilliott, £5 6s 2d Joseph West, £5 6s 2d Corporals carried forward, £10 12s 4d Carried forward, £2,280 19s 1½d **Interpretations** Richard Moreton was paid as a sergeant for 81 days. His pay ran from 1 January to 21 March 1768, which was the day the Council granted his discharge because his engagement had ended. Corporal John Moore was paid as a sergeant for the last 10 days of the quarter, so he was promoted into Moreton's place the next day. Moreton himself had reached sergeant only in October 1767, after John Simcox was reduced. That means the Fourth Company's sergeant's post changed hands twice in six months, and each time the gap was filled from among its own corporals. Thomas Ferris was paid as a sergeant for 84 days, so he left the company on about 24 March. The minutes did not record a death or a petition for his discharge. He was probably one of the men whose five-year engagements ran out together at the end of March. Twelve such soldiers were discharged between 21 March and 4 April, so the Fourth Company lost two of its four sergeants in less than a week. The Fourth Company still listed only one lieutenant, Henry De Laune, as it had in the last quarter of 1767. The second lieutenant's post stayed empty for at least six months, because a commission had to come from the Court in London.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carrd. Over£ 2280 19 1½	
454	445	1768 Brought over£ 2280 19 1½ Corporals brought over£ 10 12 4 James Toe 5 6 2 John Deal 10 days 11 8 Do. Centinel 81 Do. 3 7 6 19 17 8 Drummers George Wills 5 6 2 John Campen 5 6 2 10 12 4 Centinels John Allen 3 15 10 William Allen 3 15 10 Daniel Armin 3 15 10 George Bennett 3 15 10 Joseph Blackwell 3 15 10 John Brooke 3 15 10 Richard Bickerstaff 3 15 10 John Beecham 3 15 10 John Bowler 3 15 10 William Blackman 3 15 10 George Capeling 75 days at 10d. 3 2 6 William Cooksey 3 15 10 Duncan Cameron 3 15 10 James Culsher 3 15 10 Richard Clere 3 15 10 Josiah Cummings 3 15 10 John Eustone 3 15 10 Charles Field 3 15 10 Francis Flinn 3 15 10 George Green 3 15 10 John Gillmore 3 15 10 Edward Germain 3 15 10 Henry Hermingburg 3 15 10 Thomas Hilliard 3 15 10 Roger Haydon 3 15 10 John Harper 3 15 10 Stephen John 3 15 10 Christian Johnson 3 15 10 John Joyce	The list of the Fourth Company continued from a total of £2,280 19s 1½d. Brought forward, £2,280 19s 1½d Corporals brought forward, £10 12s 4d James Ive, £5 6s 2d John Deale, as corporal for 10 days, £0 11s 8d John Deale, as private for 81 days, £3 7s 6d Total for corporals, £19 17s 8d Drummers George Wills, £5 6s 2d John Crispin, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Privates John Allen, £3 15s 10d William Allen, £3 15s 10d Daniel Aaron, £3 15s 10d George Bennett, £3 15s 10d Joseph Blackwell, £3 15s 10d John Brooke, £3 15s 10d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 15s 10d John Beauchamp, £3 15s 10d John Bowler, £3 15s 10d William Blackman, £3 15s 10d George Copling, for 75 days at 10d a day, £3 2s 6d William Cobury, £3 15s 10d Duncan Cameron, £3 15s 10d James Culsher, £3 15s 10d Richard Cox, £3 15s 10d Josiah Cummings, £3 15s 10d John Eastone, £3 15s 10d Charles Field, £3 15s 10d Francis Glynn, £3 15s 10d George Greer, £3 15s 10d John Gilmore, £3 15s 10d Edward German, £3 15s 10d Henry Verringbury, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hilliard, £3 15s 10d Roger Haydon, £3 15s 10d John Harper, £3 15s 10d Stephen John, £3 15s 10d Christian Johnson, £3 15s 10d John Joyce, £3 15s 10d Thomas Johnson, £3 15s 10d Richard Kempster, £3 15s 10d Thomas Haylock, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lee, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £124 9s 2d Carried forward, £2,311 9s 1½d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company had five men in the corporal's rank at different points in the quarter. James Brilliott, Joseph West and James Ive served the whole quarter. John Moore served as a corporal for the first 81 days and was then made sergeant in Richard Moreton's place. John Deale held a corporal's rank for only the first 10 days of January and was then paid as a private. He had been a private in the last quarter of 1767, so his promotion was short-lived and ended in a reduction early in the new year. The company's corporals' places therefore changed hands several times in a single quarter. The officers kept moving men up and down the ranks as conduct and vacancies required. George Copling was paid for 75 days, which means his service ended on about 16 March 1768. The minutes recorded no death or discharge for him. He left before the large group of discharges at the end of March, so his engagement probably expired a little earlier than theirs. William Blackman, who had been reduced from corporal to private on 7 October 1767, remained a private for the whole quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Thomas Johnson 3 15 10 Richard Kempton 3 15 10 Thomas Shylock 3 15 10 Thomas Lee Centinels Carried Over£ 124 9 2 Carried Over£ 2311 9 1½	
455	446	18th April Brought Over£ 2311 9 1½ Centinels brought Over£ 124 9 2 Thomas Lyne 3 15 10 Charles Lewellen 3 15 10 Murdoch McCloed 3 15 10 Thomas Marshall 3 15 10 John Mayor 3 15 10 Thomas McDearman 3 15 10 Patrick Mahoney 3 15 10 Robert May 3 15 10 John Newton 3 15 10 James Newport 3 15 10 John Oswald 3 15 10 John Pluck 3 15 10 Daniel Patrick 3 15 10 Stephen Papps 3 15 10 William Parker 3 15 10 Thomas Pritchard 3 15 10 John Pink 3 15 10 Benjamin Poole 3 15 10 James Richardson 3 15 10 Thomas Rutherforde 3 15 10 John Shaw 3 15 10 William Seedman 3 15 10 John Slade 3 15 10 William Stedman 3 15 10 John Simcox 3 15 10 John Terry 3 15 10 Jeremiah Wherrell 3 15 10 William Waite 3 15 10 John Woods 3 15 10 Thomas Williams 3 15 10 Thomas Watts 3 15 10	The list of privates in the Fourth Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £2,311 9s 1½d Privates brought forward, £124 9s 2d Thomas Lyne, £3 15s 10d Charles Llewellin, £3 15s 10d Murdoch McLeod, £3 15s 10d Thomas Marshall, £3 15s 10d John Major, £3 15s 10d Thomas McNamara, £3 15s 10d Patrick Mahoney, £3 15s 10d Robert May, £3 15s 10d John Newton, £3 15s 10d James Newport, £3 15s 10d John Oswald, £3 15s 10d John Pluck, £3 15s 10d Daniel Patrick, £3 15s 10d Stephen Papps, £3 15s 10d William Parker, £3 15s 10d Thomas Pritchard, £3 15s 10d John Pink, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Poole, £3 15s 10d James Richardson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rotherford, £3 15s 10d John Shaw, £3 15s 10d William Scotman, £3 15s 10d John Slade, £3 15s 10d William Stedman, £3 15s 10d John Simcox, £3 15s 10d John Terry, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 15s 10d William Waite, £3 15s 10d John Wood, £3 15s 10d Thomas Williams, £3 15s 10d Thomas Watts, £3 15s 10d James Wilson, £3 15s 10d James Waller, £3 15s 10d Samuel Willson, for 67 days, £2 15s 10d Total for privates, £252 7s 6d The list continued with the officers of the Artillery Company. Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Semple, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Semple, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Semple, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Nathan Semple, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £2,637 1s 0d **Interpretations** Samuel Willson was the Danish seaman who stayed on the island when the *Lord Holland* sailed. The Council enlisted him on 25 January 1768 with a bounty of £3. He was paid for 67 days, the same as Sutton Isaacke, who joined the First Company on the same day. The Council placed the two new men in different companies. That spread the new recruits across the garrison rather than putting them all in one unit. John Simcox was reduced from sergeant to private on 7 October 1767, and he stayed a private throughout the quarter. His reduction lasted, while men demoted in other companies were sometimes restored within months, as William Burn was in the First Company in January. Thomas Marshall and Thomas Lee drew a full quarter's pay here. They

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Willson 3 15 10 James Walter 3 15 10 Samuel Willson 67 days 2 15 10 252 7 6 Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Nathan Sample Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Carried Over£ 2637 1 **Margin Notes:** 18	claimed their discharges on 2 and 4 April 1768, after the quarter had closed.
456	447	1768 Brought over£ 2637 1 Thomas Leech Lieut. Saly. 18 5 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 2 Adam Watson 9 2 John Shirtley 9 2 John Cox 9 2 36 8 Corporals Thomas Collier 6 16 6 Nicholas Houghton 6 16 6 Robert Gillson 6 16 6 John Jacks 6 16 6 27 6 Bombardiers John Turner 6 16 6 James Parfett 6 16 6 John Martin 6 16 6 David Dennis 6 16 6 27 6 Gunners John Smith 6 1 4 Thomas Tyler 6 1 4 Samuel Smith 6 1 4 Thomas McFarling 6 1 4 Adam Creighton 6 1 4 Thomas Jones 6 1 4 William Stapleford 6 1 4	The list of the Artillery Company continued from a total of £2,637 1s 0d. Brought forward, £2,637 1s 0d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, table allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Leech, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Whitchurch, £9 2s 0d Adam Watson, £9 2s 0d John Shirley, £9 2s 0d John Cox, £9 2s 0d Total for sergeants, £36 8s 0d Corporals Thomas Collier, £6 16s 6d Nicholas Houghton, £6 16s 6d Robert Gibson, £6 16s 6d John Peck, £6 16s 6d Total for corporals, £27 6s 0d Bombardiers John Turner, £6 16s 6d James Bayfell, £6 16s 6d John Martin, £6 16s 6d David Dennis, £6 16s 6d Total for bombardiers, £27 6s 0d Gunners John Smith, £6 1s 4d Thomas Tyler, £6 1s 4d Samuel Smith, £6 1s 4d Thomas McFarling, £6 1s 4d Adam Creighton, £6 1s 4d Thomas Innes, £6 1s 4d William Stapleford, £6 1s 4d Sedgwick Wetherall, £6 1s 4d Total for gunners, £48 10s 8d Drummers George Barwood, £5 6s 2d Joseph Purdey, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Carried forward, £2,814 15s 10d **Interpretations** The artillery's officers and non-commissioned men held their places unchanged through the quarter, unlike the companies of foot. Sedgwick Wetherall had been raised from matross to gunner for the last 10 days of 1767, and he now drew a gunner's full pay for the whole quarter. William Hodges, the man he replaced, was no longer listed among the gunners. Hodges was reduced at the end of December and remained among the matrosses. The artillery's rates of pay again stood above those of the infantry. An artillery sergeant earned 2s a day against 1s 8d for a sergeant of foot. Artillery corporals and bombardiers earned 1s 6d a day against

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Sedgwick Witherall 6 1 4 48 10 8 Drummers George Garrard 5 6 2 Joseph Purdey 5 6 2 10 12 4 Carried Over£ 2814 15 10½	1s 2d for infantry corporals. The difference reflected the skill the Company needed in its gunners at a time when it was mounting new guns at Sandy Bay and building batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point.
457	448	18th April Brought over£ 2814 15 10½ Matrosses James Abraham 4 11 James Bottomby 1 day 1 Benjamin Burton 4 11 William Brown 4 11 John Cope 4 11 Thomas Clarke 4 11 John Criswell 4 11 Robert Cunningham 4 11 John Carfoot 4 11 William Durham 4 11 Daniel Finn 4 11 Joseph Fellows 4 11 Robert Frankish 4 11 John Cox 4 11 Christian Greenawald 4 11 Thomas Gorral 4 11 Thomas Green 4 11 Lawrence Hall 4 11 William Hodges 4 11 William Hallsall 84 days 4 4 William Jenkins 4 11 John Lewis 4 11 William Luke 4 11 Daniel Malony 4 11 George Marshall 4 11 Jonathan Mallett 4 11 John Moore 4 11 Thomas Nimble 4 11 Evan Newland 4 11 Martin Newman 4 11 John Osborne 4 11	The list of the Artillery Company continued with the matrosses, from a total of £2,814 15s 10½d. Brought forward, £2,814 15s 10½d Matrosses James Abraham, £4 11s 0d James Bottomly, for 1 day, £0 1s 0d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 0d William Brown, £4 11s 0d John Cope, £4 11s 0d Thomas Clarke, £4 11s 0d John Criswell, £4 11s 0d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 0d John Canfort, £4 11s 0d William Durham, £4 11s 0d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 0d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 0d Robert Frankish, £4 11s 0d John Fox, £4 11s 0d Christian Grunewald, £4 11s 0d Thomas Gerrall, £4 11s 0d Thomas Green, £4 11s 0d Lawrence Holt, £4 11s 0d William Hodges, £4 11s 0d William Halsall, for 84 days, £4 4s 0d William Jenkins, £4 11s 0d John Lewis, £4 11s 0d William Luke, £4 11s 0d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 0d George Marshall, £4 11s 0d Jonathan Mallett, £4 11s 0d John Moore, £4 11s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 0d Ezra Nowland, £4 11s 0d Martin Newman, £4 11s 0d John Osborne, £4 11s 0d Matrosses carried forward, £136 4s 0d Carried forward, £2,814 15s 10½d **Interpretations** William Halsall was paid as a matross for 84 days. On the First Company's list he was paid as a private for only the first 7 days of the quarter. The two periods together came to the full 91 days, so Halsall was not discharged. He moved from the First Company into the artillery on about 8 January 1768, and his pay rose from 10d to 1s a day. A transfer to the artillery was a real gain for a private of foot. The Company used these transfers to fill the gunners' ranks with men who were already trained to arms. William Hodges served the whole quarter as a matross after his reduction from gunner at the end of December 1767. His pay fell from about 1s 4d to 1s a day. James Bottomly was paid for the first day of the quarter only, so he left the company on 1 January 1768. William Jenkins was probably the soldier the Council fined on 22 February 1768 for buying cabbages and milk from a planter's slave. He was judged the more guilty of the two men and paid £3 10s 0d of the £5 fine. That was more than three-quarters of his matross's pay for the whole quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Matrosses Carried Over£ 136 4 Carried Over£ 2814 15 10½	
458	449	1768 Brought over£ 2814 15 10½ Matrosses brought over£ 136 4 William Poulton 4 11 William Phillips 4 11 Godfrey Smith 4 11 William Stone 4 11 Daniel Song 4 11 Thomas Watts 4 11 John Webbley 4 11 Richard Wellman 4 11 Thomas Wyatt 4 11 Richard Watterhouse 4 11 John Willson 4 11 Thomas Yates 4 11 190 16 £ 3005 11 10½ **Margin Notes:** 96	The list of matrosses in the Artillery Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £2,814 15s 10½d Matrosses brought forward, £136 4s 0d William Poulton, £4 11s 0d William Phillips, £4 11s 0d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 0d William Stone, £4 11s 0d Daniel Long, £4 11s 0d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 0d John Webbley, £4 11s 0d Richard Wellman, £4 11s 0d Thomas Wyatt, £4 11s 0d Richard Waterhouse, £4 11s 0d John Wilson, £4 11s 0d Thomas Yates, £4 11s 0d Total for matrosses, £190 16s 0d Total for the quarter, £3,005 11s 10½d **Interpretations** The pay list for the first quarter of 1768 came to £3,005 11s 10½d. That was almost the same as the £3,004 2s 10d paid for the last quarter of 1767. The quarter was one day shorter, and the garrison lost men through death, reduction and the ending of engagements. The new enlistments roughly balanced those losses. They included island-born men such as Sutton Isaacke and George Seale, Samuel Willson the Dane, and William Halsall, who moved across from the foot companies into the artillery. The real fall in numbers came only after the quarter closed, when twelve soldiers took their discharges between 21 March and 4 April 1768. That fall would show in the next quarter's list. Thomas Yates was probably also the parish clerk, who received £5 a quarter on the civil list. On a small island one man often held a post in the garrison and a minor office at the same time. Two other examples were Phillip Mahoney, who was both a sergeant and clerk of the peace, and Robert Allom, who was both a private and the Company's groom. The matross Thomas Watts shared his name with a private in the Fourth Company. The clerk listed each man under his own company, and that kept the two men apart in the accounts.
459	450	18th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. 1768 March 31 To Cash received £ 3621 17 Carrd. Over£ 3621 17	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account for the quarter showed the cash he received from the treasury. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit 31 March 1768, cash received, £3,621 17s 0d Carried forward, £3,621 17s 0d **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick drew £3,621 17s 0d for the first quarter of 1768, which was about £68 more than the £3,554 0s 7½d he drew at the end of December 1767. The pay list itself cost almost exactly the same in both quarters, at just over £3,000. The increase therefore came from the sundry payments, which would take up about £616 against £550 in the previous quarter. Those payments covered the labour on the fortifications, the bounties paid to new recruits and the Company's other cash costs. The heavier work at Banks's and Munden's Point probably accounts for most of the rise. Captain Mitchell had moved the Company's workmen there after the Sandy Bay works were finished, as his letter of 4 April 1768 described. The Council could make this advance without strain. The bills sold to ships' captains and Company officers since January had built up the treasury's coin. Captain Mitford's £1,200 on 14 March alone covered a third of the quarter's pay.

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460	451	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Janry. 4 By Cash paid George Seale for Enlisting to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years as a Soldier 5 11 By Cash paid for Boat Bought for the use of the Honble Compy. to supply the Place of that Staved in landing Lime at Banks's 3 15 By Cash paid Thomas Wansell for 33 days Work in mowing & making Hay for the Honorable Company @ 1/8 day 2 15 16th By Cash paid Capt. Nairn for Stock brought from the Cape on Account of the Honble Company as pr. Bill delivered 79 13 18 By Cash pd. Roger Witman for relist'g to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years longer as a Soldr. 10 25 By Cash pd. Sutton Leache for Enlisting to serve as above 5 By Cash pd. Saml. Willson for Do. as above 3 By Cash pd. for 26 Pr. Mens Shoes at 6 Pr. Pr. bought for the Honble Compy's Slaves there being none in the Stores 7 16 By Cash for three Pr. Boys at 5/6 Pr. Pr. 16 6 By Cash pd. a Soldier for coming express from Banks's with an Acct. of a Ship Seen off S. W. Point 5 By Cash pd. Thos. Tyler diving and taking up one of the 13 Inch Shells Lost in bringing on Shore from the Storeship 5 23 By Cash paid 5 Garrison Men for Work done in the Stores getting the Honorable Company's Goods from the Ship Hector 5 By Cash paid Capt. Williams for Stock brought from the Cape on the Honble Compy. Account 30 8 By Cash paid Anthony Reynolds for Relist'g to serve the Honorable Company 5 Years longer as a Soldier 10 March 7 By Cash paid Jno. Dobson for the Cure of one of the Honble Compy's Horses Kept in the Shoulder 12 By Cash paid Do. for one Do. Hurt in the Legg 5 8 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 10½ Days Work getting the Ship Northumberlands Goods on Shore 10 6 10 By Cash pd. James Donavan for clean'g the Windows of the Lt. Govr. House 2 6 By Cash pd. Saml. Willson left out of the Ship Lord Holland 5 days Subsistence at 6 Pr. day 2 6 By Cash pd. 4 Fishermen for saving one of the Honble Company's fishing Boat with one of their Slaves which went a Drift 10 Carried Over£ 161 1	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account listed the payments he made during the quarter. 4 January 1768, George Seale, bounty for enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five years, £5 0s 0d 11 January 1768, a boat bought for the Company to replace one wrecked while landing lime at Banks's, £3 15s 0d 11 January 1768, Thomas Wansell, for 33 days' work mowing and making hay for the Company at 1s 8d a day, £2 15s 0d 16 January 1768, Captain Nairn, for stock brought from the Cape for the Company according to his bill, £79 13s 0d 18 January 1768, Roger Watson, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company for five more years, £10 0s 0d 25 January 1768, Sutton Isaacke, bounty for enlisting on the same terms, £5 0s 0d 25 January 1768, Samuel Willson, bounty for enlisting on the same terms, £3 0s 0d 25 January 1768, 26 pairs of men's shoes at 6s a pair bought for the Company's slaves, there being none in the stores, £7 16s 0d 25 January 1768, 3 pairs of boys' shoes at 5s 6d a pair, £0 16s 6d 25 January 1768, a soldier, for bringing an express from Banks's reporting a ship seen off South West Point, £0 5s 0d 25 January 1768, Thomas Tyler, for diving to recover one of the 10-inch shells lost while landing them from the store ship, £0 5s 0d 23 February 1768, 5 men of the garrison, for work in the stores landing the Company's goods from the ship Hector, £0 5s 0d 23 February 1768, Captain Williams, for stock brought from the Cape for the Company, £30 8s 0d 23 February 1768, Anthony Reynolds, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years, £10 0s 0d 7 March 1768, Mr Dobson, for curing one of the Company's horses kept at the Shelter, £0 12s 0d 7 March 1768, Mr Dobson, for curing another horse hurt in the leg, £0 5s 0d 8 March 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 10½ days' work landing the goods of the ship Northumberland, £0 10s 6d 10 March 1768, James Donavan, for cleaning the windows of the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 2s 6d 10 March 1768, Samuel Willson, left behind by the ship Lord Holland, 5 days' subsistence at 6d a day, £0 2s 6d 10 March 1768, 4 fishermen, for saving one of the Company's fishing boats with one of the Company's slaves in it, which had gone adrift, £0 10s 0d Carried forward, £161 1s 0d **Interpretations** The Company's stores had no men's shoes left in January 1768, so Kirkpatrick bought 26 pairs on the island at 6s a pair. The 26 pairs matched the shoes issued to the Company's skilled slave tradesmen during the same quarter. The Council could have waited for the next shipment from England, but it bought locally at once, and the record shows why. The slave masons and smiths were working on rock and iron at the new batteries and could not wait barefoot for a ship. The local price was above the warehouse price of about 4s 6d a pair, but the Company accepted the higher cost to keep its craftsmen at work. The ten-inch shells were mortar bombs for the mortars the Council had agreed on 14 December 1767 to place in front of Munden's Point. One shell fell into the sea while it was being landed from the

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			store ship. Thomas Tyler, a gunner in the Artillery Company, dived to recover it for 5s. A boat had also been wrecked while landing lime at Banks's for the new battery. Both mishaps show how dangerous it was to land heavy cargo through the surf at the island's rocky landing places. Samuel Willson received 6d a day for the five days between leaving the *Lord Holland* and enlisting on 25 January 1768. That was the same rate the Company had paid Mr Turson, who was left behind by the *Devonshire* in the previous quarter. The Company kept men who were stranded by the ships while their future was settled, and in Willson's case it then enlisted him. Thomas Wansell was paid 1s 8d a day for 33 days of haymaking. That was twice a private's wage. He took his discharge on 28 March, and in his last months of service he was earning extra pay working for the Company in the fields.
461	452	18th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 March 31 To Cash brought Over £ 3621 17 Carried Over£ 3621 17	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account carried forward the cash he had received for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit 31 March 1768, cash brought forward, £3,621 17s 0d Carried forward, £3,621 17s 0d **Interpretations** The debit side again held only the single sum Kirkpatrick drew from the treasury. Carrying it forward unchanged to the next leaf kept the two sides of the account level on facing pages while the credit side ran on through the sundry payments. The diagonal line ruled through the blank space closed the page, so that no payment could be added after the Council approved the account.
462	453	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought Over£ 161 1 March 21 By Cash pd. Robt. Brown for relist'g to serve the Honble Compy. 5 Years as a Soldr. 10 By Cash pd. a Messenger for bringing Mrs. Townsend out of the Country to attend Council 5 31 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for coming express with Account of Ships Seen to Windward this Quarter 3 5 By Cash pd. John Dobson Farrier by Order of the Lt. Govr. for the Cure of two Mares of the Company's 12 By Cash paid Nocquedah Cockullem for 13 Ps. Salt Provision left in the Stores this Quarter, he being indulged with the Money to buy fresh 1 6 By Cash paid Do. his Quarters Allowance from the Honorable Company 1 12 6 By Cash pd. for House Rent for Do. 1 By Cash pd. the Clerk of the Arraigns and Parador of the Court 12 6 By Cash pd. the Sexton for the Burial of three Soldiers this Quarter 7 6 By Cash paid the Goaler for Committments & Punishments in the Quarter 1 8 6	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account continued from a total of £161 1s 0d. Brought forward, £161 1s 0d 21 March 1768, Robert Brown, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company for five more years, £10 0s 0d 21 March 1768, a messenger, for bringing Mr Townsend in from the country to attend the Council, £0 5s 0d 31 March 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for bringing expresses reporting ships seen to windward during the quarter, £3 5s 0d 31 March 1768, John Dobson, farrier, by order of the Lieutenant Governor, for curing two of the Company's mares, £0 12s 0d 31 March 1768, Nequedah Pocholam, for 13 pieces of salt provisions left in the stores during the quarter, the money being allowed him to buy fresh meat, £1 6s 0d 31 March 1768, Nequedah Pocholam, his quarter's allowance from the Company, £1 12s 6d 31 March 1768, Nequedah Pocholam, house rent for the quarter, £1 0s 0d 31 March 1768, the clerk of the arraigns and the crier of the court, £0 12s 6d 31 March 1768, the sexton, for burying three soldiers during the quarter, £0 7s 6d 31 March 1768, the gaoler, for committals and punishments during the quarter, £1 8s 6d 31 March 1768, William Holbrooke, for 78 days' work by his apprentice during the quarter, £3 18s 0d Articles bought for the Company's table during the quarter 456 lb of beef at 5d a pound, £9 10s 0d 7 pigs at 5s each, £1 15s 0d 3 bottles of Florence oil, £0 3s 6d 100 lb of raisins, £4 7s 6d 3,000 almonds, £2 17s 0d Total for the table, £18 13s 0d

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		By Cash paid William Holbroke for 78 days Work of his Apprentice this Quarter 3 18 By Cash paid for the following Articles for the use of the Compy's Table this Qr. 456 lb Beef @ 5 Pr. lb£ 9 10 5 Pigs @ 5/ 1 . 15 3 Bottles Florence Oil @ 12 6 100 Reasons @ 4 . 6 300 Almonds @ 2 . 17 18 13 By Cash pd. Capt. Henry Bazett for 27 days Work of his Stone Layer in removing the Honorable Company's Furnace @ 2/6 3 7 6 By Cash pd. for 304¾ days Masons Work at Mundens Point Battery @ 1/6 Pr. d. 22 17 1½ By Cash pd. for 343½ Stone Layers Do. at Do. Do. at 1/6 Pr. d. 26 2 9 By Cash pd. for 5 Carpenters Do. at Do. @ 1/6 7 6 By Cash pd. for 4874 Labourers Do. at Do. @ 1/ 243 14 By Cash paid for 152 Masons Do. at Banks's @ 1/6 11 8 By Cash pd. for 174 Stone Blowers Do. at Do. @ 1/6 13 1 By Cash pd. for 3 Carpenters Do. at Do. @ 1/6 4 6 By Cash pd. for 2437½ Labourers Do. at Do. @ 1/ 121 17 6 By Cash pd. for 15¼ Plaisterers Do. at the Castle @ 1/6 1 3 7½ Carried Over£ 658 4 6	Captain Henry Bazett, for 27 days' work by his stone layer in moving the Company's [...] at 2s 6d a day, £3 7s 6d 304¾ days' masons' work at Munden's Point battery at 1s 6d a day, £22 17s 1½d 348½ days' stone layers' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £26 2s 9d 5 days' carpenters' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £0 7s 6d 4,874 days' labourers' work at Munden's Point at 1s a day, £243 14s 0d [...] days' masons' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £11 3s 0d 174 days' stone blowers' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £13 1s 0d 3 days' carpenters' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £0 4s 6d 2,431½ days' labourers' work at Banks's at 1s a day, £121 11s 6d 15¾ days' plasterers' work at [...] at 1s 6d a day, £1 3s 7½d Carried forward, £648 4s 6d **Interpretations** Captain Mitchell's letter of 4 April 1768 said that the Company's workmen had spent the quarter preparing foundations and carrying materials. The paymaster's account shows what that meant in labour. Almost 4,900 days of labouring were paid at Munden's Point and nearly 2,500 at Banks's. Munden's Point cost about £293 in wages and Banks's about £146. Labourers' pay at 1s a day made up most of the cost, while the skilled masons and stone layers at 1s 6d were far fewer. That pattern fits work spent cutting rock and carrying stone up the cliffs rather than laying finished masonry. It explains why Mitchell felt he had to defend progress that looked small on the ground. Captain Henry Bazett received 2s 6d a day for the work of his stone layer, almost certainly one of his own slaves. That was well above the 1s 6d paid to the soldiers who did masons' work. Hiring out a skilled slave earned a good income for his owner. William Holbrooke, the master mason, was paid the same way for his apprentice's 78 days. The Company met its shortage of skilled hands by paying the island's leading men for the labour of the people bound to them. The raisins and almonds bought for the Company's table were luxuries for puddings and sweetmeats at the Castle's entertainments. The fresh beef was bought at 5d a pound, cheaper than the fresh mutton in the steward's monthly accounts. The sexton's bill for three soldiers' burials matched Thomas Adams and two others who died in the quarter. The clerk of the arraigns and the crier were officers of the island's court of sessions, which tried serious offences.
463	454	18th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 To Cash brought Over £ 3621 17 £ 3621 17	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account closed with the cash he had received from the treasury. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit Cash brought forward, £3,621 17s 0d Total, £3,621 17s 0d **Interpretations** The debit side closed with the one advance Kirkpatrick drew from the treasury on 31 March 1768. He collected no money of his own as paymaster. The account existed only to show how the treasury's cash was spent. The credit side had to account for every penny of this sum through the pay list and the sundry payments. A ruled double line under the total and a diagonal stroke through the blank space sealed the page. That meant nothing could be added after the Council had examined and approved the account.

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464	455	1768 Per Contra Cr. Brought Over£ 658 4 6 By Cash paid 15¾ days Labourers Work at the Castle @ 1/ Pr. d. 15 9 By Cash paid 134 Do. Smiths Do. at the Armourers Shop @ 1/6 10 10 By Cash paid 46 Do. Lime Burning at Mundens Point @ 1/6 3 9 By Cash paid 45 Do. Do. at Banks's @ 1/6 3 7 6 By Cash paid 5½ Do. Painting the Long Boats @ 1/6 6 9 By Cash paid 21 Do. Carpenters Work repairing the L. Boat at 1/6 1 11 6 By Cash pd. 10 Paint'g Sentry Boxes at 1/6 15 By Cash pd. 27 days Carpenters Work preparing Do. @ 1/6 2 . 1 By Cash pd. 11 days Do. Do. repairing the Black Square @ 1/6 16 6 By Cash pd. 7¾ days Do. Do. Pasture Gates @ 1/6 11 7½ By Cash pd. 11 days Do. Do. repairing the Wood Carts @ 1/6 16 6 By Cash pd. 12 days Do. Do. repairing Ruperts Bullies @ 1/6 18 By Cash pd. 7 days Do. Do. to the Crane @ 1/6 10 6 By Cash pd. 17 days Do. Do. Repairs to the Castle @ 1/6 1 5 6 £ 670 5 1½ By the amount of the Pay List 3005 11 10½ £ 3631 17 St. Helena 31 March 1768 Errors Excepted Signed Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of March last which is as follows viz.	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account continued from a total of £648 4s 6d. Brought forward, £648 4s 6d 15¾ days' labourers' work at the Castle at 1s a day, £0 15s 9d 144 days' smiths' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £10 16s 0d 46 days' lime burning at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £3 9s 0d 45 days' lime burning at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £3 7s 6d 4½ days' painting the longboats at 1s 6d a day, £0 6s 9d 21 days' carpenters' work repairing the longboat at 1s 6d a day, £1 11s 6d 10 days' painting the sentry boxes at 1s 6d a day, £0 15s 0d 27 days' carpenters' work making the sentry boxes at 1s 6d a day, £2 0s 6d 11 days' carpenters' work repairing the slaves' square at 1s 6d a day, £0 16s 6d 7¾ days' carpenters' work on the [...] gates at 1s 6d a day, £0 11s 7½d 11 days' carpenters' work repairing the wood carts at 1s 6d a day, £0 16s 6d 12 days' carpenters' work repairing Rupert's [...] at 1s 6d a day, £0 18s 0d 7 days' carpenters' work on the crane at 1s 6d a day, £0 10s 6d 17 days' carpenters' work on repairs to the Castle at 1s 6d a day, £1 5s 6d Total of sundry payments, £670 5s 1½d Amount of the pay list, £3,005 11s 10½d Total, £3,675 17s 0d Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster at St Helena on 31 March 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for March 1768. **Interpretations** The sundry payments came to £670 5s 1½d for the quarter, against £549 17s 9½d in the last quarter of 1767. Nearly all of the increase came from wages at the new batteries. In the previous quarter most of the labour money had gone to Sandy Bay. Now it went to Munden's Point and Banks's, where lime was being burned on site for mortar as well as stone being cut and carried. Making lime at each battery saved carrying heavy loads of it over the island's steep paths. The carpenters' smaller jobs repeated the repairs shown in the storekeeper's account for the quarter. They made and painted new sentry boxes, mended the slaves' square, the wood carts and the crane, refitted the longboat and repaired the Castle. Every such job was paid at the skilled rate of 1s 6d a day. That pay was a useful extra for soldiers who had a trade. The 144 days in the armourer's shop show smiths working almost every day of the quarter, repairing muskets and forging ironwork for the batteries. The pay list and the sundry payments together came to £3,675 17s 0d. That was the full sum Kirkpatrick had drawn from the treasury. The account balanced exactly with nothing left over, and it was ready for the Council's approval.
465	456	18th April Cash Dr. 1768 March 1 To Balance remaining £ 10162 6 9 14 To Ship Earl of Lincoln 6 7 9 To Ship Norfolk	The Council's cash account for March 1768 opened on the debit side. Cash, debit 1 March 1768, balance remaining, £10,162 6s 9d 14 March 1768, received from the ship *Earl of Lincoln*, £6 7s 9d 14 March 1768, received from the ship *Norfolk*, £5 12s 4d

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		5 12 4 To Exchange for 3 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follow viz. One Set to Mr. George Martin for £ 371 . 5 One Set to Mr. Robert Mitford 1200 One Set to Capt. John Sandys 100 1671 5 21 To Ship Northumberland 6 17 10 To Ship Osterly 5 10 31 To Ship Triton 7 17 4 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Capt. Wm. Elphinstone 100 To James Bowell recd. of him for Stores Sold in the Qr. ending this day 1061 14 9 To Licences for Publick Houses 18 10 To Plantation for Provision Sold 36 13 1 To Fortification for Lime Sold 2 11 3 To Fines recd. of Wm. Jenkins and Francis Soanes for buy'g of a Black Contrary to Orders 5 £ 13090 6 1	14 March 1768, received in exchange for 3 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to George Martin, £371 5s 0d 1 set payable to Robert Mitford, £1,200 0s 0d 1 set payable to Captain John Sandys, £100 0s 0d Total for the 3 sets of bills, £1,671 5s 0d 21 March 1768, received from the ship *Northumberland*, £6 17s 10d 21 March 1768, received from the ship *Osterley*, £5 10s 0d 31 March 1768, received from the ship *Triton*, £7 17s 4d 31 March 1768, received in exchange for 1 set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Captain William Elphinstone, £100 0s 0d 31 March 1768, received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,061 14s 9d 31 March 1768, licences for public houses, £13 10s 0d 31 March 1768, received from the plantation for provisions sold, £36 13s 1d 31 March 1768, received from the fortifications for lime sold, £2 11s 3d 31 March 1768, fines received from William Jenkins and Francis Soane for buying from a slave contrary to orders, £5 0s 0d Total, £13,090 6s 1d **Interpretations** March brought more money into the treasury than any other month of the season. The bills sold to Mitford, Barclay, Sandys and Elphinstone added £1,771 5s 0d in coin. The five Company ships paid small sums of £5 to £8 each before sailing, probably for water and fresh provisions. The receipts lifted the reserve to just over £13,000 on the last day of the quarter. That was the moment the Council had to advance Kirkpatrick the whole of the quarter's pay. Powell paid in £1,061 14s 9d for the quarter's sales, against £1,311 15s 3d at the end of December 1767. Most of the fall came from lower sales to the garrison, especially bread and tea, after the Christmas season and as the number of soldiers fell. The plantation's sales of provisions rose to £36 13s 1d from £32 10s 3½d, while licences for public houses fell to £13 10s 0d from £18 10s 0d. The fine of £5 imposed on William Jenkins and Francis Soane on 22 February 1768 went into the general cash. Fines were a small source of income, but they appeared in the same account as the Company's trade and bills. Even so minor a penalty was recorded and answered for to the Court.
466	457	Per Contra Cr. 1768 March 31 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &ca In the Quarter ending this day 3631 17 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 8868 14 1 In Cash notes 539 15 9408 9 1 £ 13090 6 1 We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to George Bryan Hayes, & William Hayes Planters, for a piece of Land, containing four Acres, lying in the East Division of this Island, at 5/ Pr. Acre -	The credit side of the Council's cash account for March 1768 read as follows. Cash, credit 31 March 1768, sums advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges for the quarter ending that day, £3,681 17s 0d 31 March 1768, balance remaining in coin, £8,868 14s 1d 31 March 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance remaining, £9,408 9s 1d Total, £13,090 6s 1d The Council renewed the lease of George Bryan Hayes and William Hayes, planters, for a piece of land of four acres in the East Division of the island, at a rent of 5s an acre. **Interpretations** The treasury closed the quarter with £9,408 9s 1d, almost the same as the £9,435 19s 1d at the end of December 1767. Over three months the island's own income and the sale of bills had almost exactly covered the quarter's pay. The bills drawn on the

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			Court in London did most of that work. Without them, the reserve would have fallen by nearly £2,500. Every quarter the Council was turning the coin of homeward captains and Company officers into wages for the garrison, and leaving the Court to pay those officers and captains in London. The renewal of the Hayes lease completed the petition granted on 11 April 1768. The rent of 5s an acre was the same as Simon Whaley paid on 1 February, which suggests a standard rate for small holdings in the East Division. The lease was renewed to William Hayes on 18 April, four days after the death of the soldier William Hayes on 14 April. The planter who renewed the lease was therefore a different man from the soldier who died. Both the name and the family were common on the island.
467	458	18th April Fisher Gamble Serjeant, George Wills, drummer, John Pickering Luke Vernon, and Richard Linney Centinels, Thomas Clark, Lawrence Hall, Daniel Song, and William Poulton Matrosses, this day Petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times - Granted Mr. William Wrangham was this day Sworn into the Office of Sheriff, and Joseph Chamberlain in that of Constable Captain Hasell brought Us nine Bullocks from the Cape on the Honble Company's Account for which we paid him £ 55 . 15 The Honble Company to Capt. John Hasell Dr. 1768 April 21 To 9 Bullocks at 18 R. Dollrs. Each 162 £ 40 . 10 3 Do. died on board 15 Do. 45 11 . 5 £ 55 . 15 Errors Excepted & Content recd. St. Helena April 25th 1768 for Capt. John Hasell Thos. Hodgson Dorchester, Dixon, Bostona, & Thunder four of the Honorable Company's Madagascar Men Slaves having on Thursday Night last taken Mr. Samuel Alexanders Fishing Boat at Sandy Bay with an Intention of running from the Island, but not knowing how to Manage a Boat the Sea, drove them on shore upon the Beach when they were taken and being this day Examined before Us, had nothing to say in their defence, but that they	Nine more soldiers petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. Fisher Gamble, sergeant George Wills, drummer John Pickering, private Luke Vernon, private Richard Linney, private Thomas Clark, matross Lawrence Holt, matross Daniel Long, matross William Poulton, matross The Council granted all their requests. William Wrangham was sworn in as sheriff, and Joseph Chamberlain as constable. Captain John Hasell brought nine bullocks from the Cape for the Company, and the Council paid him £55 15s 0d according to his bill. The Company, debit, to Captain John Hasell 21 April 1768, 9 bullocks at 18 rix dollars each, 162 rix dollars, £40 10s 0d 21 April 1768, 3 bullocks that died on board at 15 rix dollars each, 45 rix dollars, £11 5s 0d Total, £55 15s 0d Thomas Hodgson signed the bill on Captain Hasell's behalf at St Helena on 25 April 1768, acknowledging payment and reserving the right to correct any errors. Four of the Company's slaves from Madagascar, named Dorchester, Dixon, Bostona and Thunder, took Samuel Alexander's fishing boat from Sandy Bay on the previous Thursday night. They meant to escape from the island. None of them knew how to handle a boat at sea, and the waves drove them back onto the beach, where they were caught. The Council examined them that day, and they offered nothing in their own defence. **Interpretations** Captain Hasell charged the Company for three bullocks that died on the voyage, as well as the nine he landed. Captain Nairn's bill of 23 December 1767 had charged for 21 bullocks, although only 19 reached the Company's herd, and the Council paid it without remark. Hasell's bill was different, because it set out the dead animals separately and charged them at a lower price, 15 rix dollars against 18. The Council accepted that the Company should share the risk of losses at sea. It bore part of the cost of the animals that died, while the captain bore the rest through the lower price. Hasell reckoned the rix dollar at 5s, a higher rate than either Nairn or Williams had used. Each captain set his own rate of exchange. Fisher Gamble was raised to sergeant in the Third Company in January 1768, and he now took his discharge only three months later. With these nine men, 21 soldiers had left the garrison since 21 March. That was more than a twentieth of its strength, and almost all of them went because their engagements had run out at about the same time. Four of the nine

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			were matrosses, which hit the artillery hard just as the new batteries were being built. The attempt by Dorchester, Dixon, Bostona and Thunder shows that the island's fishing boats were the only realistic way off St Helena for a slave. The nearest land was more than 1,000 miles away. To sail an open boat across that distance was almost hopeless without skill at sea. Two Company slaves, Hannibal and Jerry, had drowned when a fishing boat was wrecked on 25 February 1768. Madagascar men had been brought to the island as slaves in the Company's ships. They had their own reasons to look toward the sea, since their home lay to the east, across the Indian Ocean and beyond the Cape.
468	459	1768 did not like to be under a Black Overseer. As Dorchester appears to us to be the Chief Instigator of this Scheme, we Ordered him to receive one hundred and fifty Lashes, and the three others one hundred each, And directed the Engineer to Send four other Slaves to Sandy Bay in their Room, and to keep these men at the Works at Mundens Point, and likewise remove the Black Overseer for a White Man John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The four Madagascar slaves who took Samuel Alexander's boat told the Council only that they did not like working under a black overseer. The Council judged Dorchester to be the chief instigator of the scheme and ordered him to receive 150 lashes. Dixon, Bostona and Thunder were each ordered to receive 100 lashes. The Council also directed the engineer to send four other slaves to Sandy Bay in their place, and to keep these four men at the works at Munden's Point. It further ordered that the black overseer be removed and a white man appointed in his place. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council's sentence did more than punish. The obvious course was to flog the four men and send them back to their gang. Instead the Council acted on the one reason they had given and removed the black overseer. The likely reason appears in the record itself. These men had been willing to risk drowning in an open boat rather than stay under him, and the danger of the attempt showed how strongly they objected. The Council evidently judged that leaving him in charge would invite further attempts, perhaps by other men in the same gang. A black overseer was usually a trusted slave raised above the others. He might be harsher than a white overseer, and Madagascar men may have felt it was a particular humiliation to be driven by a man of different origin and the same condition as themselves. The Council also moved the four men away from Sandy Bay. That bay was a remote landing place on the south coast, where boats were kept and few people lived to keep watch. Munden's Point stood next to Jamestown and the Castle, and there the men would work under the eyes of the garrison and the engineer. Four other slaves were sent to Sandy Bay in their place, so the work there was not left short of hands. The sentences were severe. A soldier convicted by a court martial might receive several hundred lashes, but 150 lashes was still enough to disable a man for weeks. The Council made Dorchester's punishment heavier as the ringleader. It needed both to deter others and to keep the men fit enough to return to labour. Those two aims explain why the other three received fewer strokes.
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