St Helena Records 1768-1769

Introduction: This is the 47th 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/EAP1364-1-1-47.

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.

Loss of Text: The volume was bound very tightly, and on many pages the final characters of the longer lines on the left-hand page disappeared into the gutter, making them impossible to read or transcribe.

Pagination: The pages are not numbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 8 is designated as page 1 (location 8/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 25 April 1768, with the final meeting occurring on 20 March 1769. All the sessions were convened during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary
Introduction

The records comprise the weekly consultations of the Council at the Castle, the gunner's, steward's, storekeeper's, livestock and cash accounts, the civil and military pay lists, the paymaster's accounts, the rent roll and the warehouse inventory of 30 September 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided throughout, with Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille until 21 July 1768, William Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick.

Governance and Administration

The civil list for the quarter ending 30 June 1768 paid Skottowe £125 0s 0d with £31 14s 9d for servants, Corneille £62 10s 0d with a table allowance of £25 0s 0d, Purling £62 10s 0d as councillor, accountant and holder of a gratuity and Kirkpatrick £10 0s 0d as councillor, the same as in the two previous quarters. William Wrangham, made sheriff on 4 April 1768, drew nothing extra beyond his pay as factor and assistant to the Governor. The Council table was recovered in green broadcloth for £1 12s 10d. In the quarter to 30 September 1768 Corneille drew £20 2s 8d for 21 days, Kirkpatrick his full councillor's and captain's pay, Archibald Mitchell £123 2s 6d as engineer and captain of artillery, the largest income on the island, and Richard Beale £65 12s 6d as captain, judge advocate and schoolmaster; John Corfield appeared as patroon, master of the Company's boats. With the Lieutenant Governor's post unfilled, the councillors' entries fell from £249 7s 5d to £229 4s 9d in the quarter to 31 December 1768. [Film No. 112, 124, 125, 233, 234, 235, 242, 248, 399]

Five Bazetts held Company posts in 1768: Matthew as secretary, Thomas as lieutenant and overseer of the works, John as superintendent of the slaves, George as steward and Henry as captain of the Second Company. George petitioned on 23 July 1768 that issuing materials to the works at all hours had damaged his health and that £30 a year was no living; since only the Court could raise salaries, the Council made him a writer on 25 July, a post vacant since Francis Wrangham's death, because the stores could not keep pace with issues to the works and the secretary's office lacked an assistant. Robert Leech replaced him as steward at £30 a year, and the civil list paid George 24 days as steward and 68 as writer. On 2 January 1768/9 he became clerk of the works at 1s 6d a day. [Film No. 125, 126, 127, 130, 134, 177, 178, 179, 235, 367]

The *Tilbury*, the first ship from England in 1768, brought a packet from the Court on 12 May 1768. The Council read Captain Richard Beale, captain of the Third Company, judge advocate and schoolmaster, the paragraph concerning him and told Phillip Mahoney the Court's order on his appointment as clerk of the peace; neither decision was minuted. Mahoney had left his sergeant's post in the First Company on 11 May, and his pay as clerk of the peace rose from £10 0s 0d to £16 16s 5d a quarter. The *Duke of Richmond* brought a second packet on 5 June 1768, its contents unrecorded. [Film No. 24, 49, 125, 126, 127]

On 25 May 1768 the Council wrote by the *Tilbury*, bound for Canton, to Harry Verelst at Fort William, Charles Bourchier at Fort St George, Thomas Hodges at Bombay and the Canton supercargoes, its first letters since 6 April 1767. It asked Fort William for 8 maunds of the best wax candles by each ship, the usual arrack, rice and paddy and no more salt provisions; Fort St George for 108 pieces of longcloth in five grades from 10 to 2½ pagodas, 80 of them the cheapest, 50 pairs of men's stockings larger than the *Hector*'s and the usual arrack, rice and paddy; Bombay for 200 pieces of Surat chelloes with rice and paddy; and Canton for the 1,000 lb of sugar candy in the finest kind and saucers of good china for the breakfast cups, asking Canton to forward the Indian letters and enclosing the *Tilbury*'s charter party, victualling bill, manifest and instructions with a Court packet. A further letter to Bombay followed on 30 May. On 17 June 1768 the *Duke of Richmond* carried the Council's answer to Richard Wyatt, President at Fort Marlborough, whose letter had come by the *Earl of Middlesex*, with copies of the presidency letters for forwarding. [Film No. 37, 38, 39, 40, 45, 63, 64]

The *Tilbury*'s charter party allowed 10 working days for unloading; on their expiry on 25 May 1768 the Council ordered Captain William Hunt to sail for Canton, but she left only on 9 June. The *Duke of Richmond*'s 10 days also expired, and on 17 June the Council ordered her commander, named as Thomas Woodman (Hindman in other entries), to Fort Marlborough; she sailed for Bencoolen on 27 June 1768. [Film No. 37, 52, 63, 69]

Kirkpatrick missed the consultation of 6 June 1768 through sickness, the first absence that year. After the Corneille hearing he sat on 25 July but was absent from 1 August; on 29 August he wrote from his house

that bad weather kept him indoors and asked for about £750 for the advance to the captains. Skottowe and Purling sat alone on 12 and 19 September, Kirkpatrick returning on 26 September; he was absent ill on 2 January 1768/9 and returned on 9 January. Purling inspected each disputed piece of land and set its rent, and the battery at Banks's was named after him. [Film No. 49, 176, 180, 182, 199, 201, 202, 203, 210, 214, 217, 227, 232, 358, 365, 368]

On 29 August 1768 every household was ordered to send the secretary a signed account of its family, land and cattle by 20 September, rents and dues were made payable at the Castle on 30 September and the stores were closed from 12 September to 10 October for Purling's yearly count. On 22 August the Council paid £8 10s 0d for a silver inkstand bought in London on 4 November 1767 from George Retherdon, goldsmith, outside Aldgate; a roasting jack cost £8 10s 0d and a mahogany tea table £4 5s 0d in the quarter to 30 September. [Film No. 198, 201, 256]

Purling signed the inventory of 30 September 1768, valued at £14,654 0s 0d; film 317 carries forward £12,545 19s 7d where the items add to the £12,845 19s 7d brought forward on the next page. On 24 October 1768 Powell's account of waste for the year to 30 September wrote off £69 19s 5d, chiefly 97 gallons of arrack, soap, candles, sugar and cordage. On 31 October Purling reported the general books balanced to 30 September and a copy was ordered for the Court. On 21 November damaged goods from the inventory, among them broadcloth, bunting, stockings, a hogshead of Bengal pork and 20¾ bushels of pease, were ordered sold at auction for ready money, raising £22 5s 1d. [Film No. 317, 318, 319, 324, 325, 326, 331, 340, 341, 381]

On 5 December 1768 the Council ordered every executor who had sold orphans' property in the past 12 months, or did so in future, to file a witnessed account of each sale at the Secretary's Office for the orphans to consult. On 20 March 1768/9 it summoned the inhabitants to meet in vestry at the chapel in the valley the following Monday to choose parish officers and a constable and to nominate three leading inhabitants, from whom the Council would choose the sheriff. [Film No. 346, 347, 458]

The Corneille Inquiry

On 13 June 1768 Corneille laid before the Council news from friends in England that Skottowe had written privately to the Court about a clash at the consultation of 6 October 1766, saying that Corneille had spoken with undue heat after words with the engineer, had been rebuked for trying to dictate to the Board, took too much upon himself and habitually said the government lay in the Council alone. Corneille called the charges underhand and asked the members, the secretary and the engineer to state what had happened. Purling and Kirkpatrick jointly answered that the dispute concerned a ditch for the flanking line of the new works at Sandy Bay, which Corneille wanted and Mitchell opposed, that they recalled no anger, that the Governor had told Corneille not to dictate or give his opinion until asked, and that Corneille had never exceeded his duty or made such a claim. Mitchell confirmed the rebuke and added that Corneille had threatened to take his objections to the Court before accepting Mitchell's reasons; the secretary, Matthew Bazett, cautiously confirmed Corneille's account. Skottowe signed the minutes but excepted Corneille's letter. [Film No. 59, 60, 61, 62]

Kirkpatrick signed a declaration on 20 June 1768, sent privately to the Governor and read in Council on 27 June, claiming that Purling had pressed him to sign the joint answer late on the evening before the *Northington* and *Vansittart* sailed, when accounts had confused him; he kept its facts but withdrew the clearance of Corneille's conduct, saying Corneille had not always kept within an office subordinate to the Governor. Corneille protested that the retraction sprang from malice and design, and Purling excepted it as far as it touched him. On 21 June Kirkpatrick wrote privately to Corneille blaming his paper for dragging the members into his quarrel with the Governor, recalling that Corneille had called a prisoner's confession forced when Kirkpatrick consulted the justices about committing the man, and warning that he could carry his conjectures further while offering reconciliation. [Film No. 73, 74, 86, 87, 88, 89]

On 4 July 1768 Corneille and Purling replied that Kirkpatrick had himself proposed the joint answer, that Purling read the draft to him between 7 and 8 pm on 14 June and he signed at once, and that the paper was read to the full Council at about 11 the next morning and again that afternoon, when Kirkpatrick signed the consultation without reservation. Matthew Bazett confirmed on oath that Kirkpatrick had offered to

join Purling. Corneille noted that the Council's opinion on the Sandy Bay plan was not taken until 13 October 1766, made Kirkpatrick's letter public, demanded specific written charges within a week and cleared Skottowe of acting from anger; Purling called Kirkpatrick's charge an invention to divide the Board. [Film No. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 155]

Early on 6 July 1768 Kirkpatrick called on John Desfountain, wrote a pencilled statement naming a quantity of yams and asked him to copy and sign it; Desfountain refused. Next morning Phillip Mahoney came for the paper, and Desfountain replied that Kirkpatrick could question him by word of mouth. On 8 July Kirkpatrick brought the Governor's summons and asked after the paper, which Desfountain said he had burnt. A letter of 9 July told him he could speak of the 12 sheep as freely as of the yams because "G B", the steward George Bazett, had admitted the sale, feared that the quantity of yams named looked more like a quarter's use than a month's, and ended "Burn this". Desfountain kept both papers. The draft, dated the Friday though left on the Wednesday, said the overseer had told him about 5 or 6 June 1767 that 5,900 lb of yams went to Corneille's stock in one month. [Film No. 155, 156, 157, 158]

On 11 July 1768 Skottowe defended Kirkpatrick's sincerity and asked Purling whether he cleared Corneille of ever taking too much upon himself; Purling replied that his clearance covered only what he had seen in Council and that checking any excess had been the President's duty, and Skottowe confirmed Purling's fairness in every debate. Kirkpatrick called Corneille's paper abuse and asked to call witnesses; Purling insisted on a charge first, and Kirkpatrick charged Corneille with taking Company property for his own use and profit. Desfountain swore that about July 1767 he and Kirkpatrick saw Corneille's hogs in the horse pound at Long Wood, that the Company's overseer had told him several thousand pounds of yams went to them monthly and that he had heard the Governor ordered 12 Company sheep sent as a present to Governor Robert Palk in the *Lord Camden*, yet Corneille billed for them. The steward George Bazett swore that the sheep were sold to the ship and the purser's money paid to Corneille on 11 May 1767. Kirkpatrick described a kid taken for Corneille on 3 October 1766, the eve of Corneille's entertainment for Skottowe's wedding guests. Corneille refused to sign the minutes because he was to defend himself at what the record called his trial. [Film No. 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100]

At the consultation of 19 July 1768 Corneille admitted keeping hogs in the horse pound, the Lieutenant Governor's by custom since his predecessor Skottowe, feeding Company yams, rice and paddy to his hogs and poultry and grazing a few sheep in the Long Wood; he held no land, said his salary could not meet the cost of entertaining strangers, volunteered that he had sold 15 hogs to ships that year and asked for allowances to be fixed in writing. The overseer John Worrall swore Corneille had received about 600 lb of yams a week a year before, at times 150 lb, and now 425 lb; John Bazett swore 500 lb a week had gone to the Wood since digging began at the Maldivia plantation; both called them refuse nubbs that the slaves would not eat. Corneille's private ledger showed £12 credited for the 12 sheep sold to the *Lord Camden* on 11 May 1767, with the balance of £42 10s 1¼d paid into the treasury on 20 July 1767, and himself charged 4s 7d for an 11 lb kid on 4 October 1766, that balance reaching the treasury on 19 January 1766/7. [Film No. 158, 159, 160, 161, 162]

Corneille then charged Kirkpatrick with drawing £140 too much as paymaster up to July 1767 and charging a bounty for a non-existent man, uncovered by Purling on 27 July 1767, after which Kirkpatrick had been ordered to enter re-enlistment dates and give captains pay statements but obeyed for one quarter only; he had also been barred from drawing on the storekeeper after a £100 error, and Powell disputed a receipt for £550 that Kirkpatrick said overstated the sum by £100. Kirkpatrick replied that he would rather be honest than be thought so, that his information came from Desfountain, connected with Worrall, and that he had acted with the Governor's knowledge; Skottowe answered that a complainant bore the whole burden of proof and that he had prejudged nothing. Corneille and Kirkpatrick withdrew, and Skottowe and Purling reduced the charge to yams, sheep and kid, accepted the yams as a customary allowance of refuse, found the other articles disproved, read the letter of 21 June as an offer to trade charges, acquitted Corneille wholly and declared the charge frivolous and vindictive and Kirkpatrick a scheming man lacking candour and honesty, leaving his censure to the Court. [Film No. 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169]

On 20 July 1768 every gentleman in the civil and military service was summoned to the Castle at 10 am on 21 July to hear the proceedings read. The judges found that Kirkpatrick had entered re-enlistment dates

only for the quarter ending 30 September 1767, returned his latest account for correction and warned him. They fixed the Lieutenant Governor's allowance at 200 lb of good yams a week besides refuse, 50 lb of paddy and 20 lb of rice, subject to the Court; concluded that Palk had probably preferred to pay for the sheep; and, believing Mahoney had drafted many of Kirkpatrick's papers, forbade him any part in Company or Council papers. On 21 July Corneille resigned, refusing to sit beside a man so branded, criticising the Governor and Purling for keeping Kirkpatrick in his seat and announcing that he would go to the Court in person although he had promised to stay until the following year; he ceased to act and draw salary that day. He sailed in the *Admiral Pocock* on 14 August 1768 to a 17-gun salute. The quarter's livestock account recorded 9,150 lb of bad yams to the stock, about 700 lb a week. [Film No. 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 190, 212, 230]

Military Affairs and Defence

Banks's foundations were being laid on 4 April 1768 and Munden's Point was under way. On 23 May Mitchell reported that carrying materials to the masons at Banks's left too few labourers to stock Munden's Point and asked for 30 garrison men for two months; the Council gave him the *Tilbury*'s recruits at 1s a day. In the quarter to 30 June Banks's took 5,238¾ labourers' days, 529¾ days of blasting and 247¾ of masonry, about £330 against £146 in the previous quarter, and stores worth £23 7s 0d against £11 11s 4d; Munden's Point took about £180 in wages against £293 and £57 12s 0d in stores, £40 6s 0d of it for 2,418 lb of cordage. A gun slipped from the slings into the sea there and two men were paid £1 to dive for it. Men carrying stores to the point and unloading the store ships drew 232½ gallons of arrack costing £31 0s 8d, against 135½ gallons. [Film No. 34, 110, 121, 122, 123, 150, 152]

On 4 July 1768 Mitchell reported that only the merlons and gun platforms remained at Banks's, that blasting at Munden's Point had enlarged the platform and yielded stone for a longer right flank, that the powder magazine should be enlarged and that many stores ordered in 1767 had come short or not at all; he offered to plan works at Lemon Valley, which the Council approved once Banks's was done. On 8 August he announced his return to Europe the next season: engaged by the Court's letter of 21 November 1764, he had found the old works badly designed and built, had finished the Sandy Bay line and the lower battery at Banks's in his first year, and expected to finish by May or June 1769, leaving plans for a church, a courthouse and storehouses. He called the master mason ignorant and ill-tempered, recommended Lieutenant Thomas Bazett, his overseer for two years, as acting engineer at £100 a year more without a step in rank and asked for an officer from England to command the untrained Artillery Company; the Council referred both to the Court by the *Admiral Pocock*. [Film No. 59, 79, 80, 81, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189]

On 22 August 1768 Mitchell's plan for Lemon Valley, approved at once, carried the flanks to the cliffs with a ditch and glacis so that no wall lay more than 50 yards from a flanking gun. On 29 August he laid a plan of the finished upper battery at Banks's, to go home by the *Greenwich*. The September return counted Purling's Battery at 39 pieces, six 32-pounders, 15 18-pounders and 18 9-pounders, and Rupert's at 22 from 32- to 9-pounders, all scaled that month. On 3 October Mitchell reported Purling's Battery finished, the revetment at Munden's Point more than half built and old work at Lemon Valley pulled down for new foundations. In the quarter to 30 September Munden's Point took 6,314½ labourers' days at 1s and skilled days at 1s 6d, about £424, Banks's 3,158¼ labourers' days and skilled work, including 22½ days of sailmaking and 14 of painting, about £193, and Lemon Valley 841 labourers' days with 12 of carpentry and 18 of overseeing. [Film No. 196, 197, 198, 202, 212, 227, 228, 231, 258, 260]

Stores for the works in the quarter to 30 September 1768 included 24 chaldrons of coal for lime-burning worth £48 16s 7d of Banks's £64 16s 1d and 24 chaldrons 13 bushels worth £49 14s 9d of Munden's Point's £102 13s 8d. Munden's Point drew double and single blocks with brass sheaves, deadeyes and 9 cwt of cordage for hoisting, melting ladles for running lead round cramps and German and blistered steel for masons' tools; Banks's drew shovels, trowels, setting hammers, plasterers' brushes, brass wire sieves and 36 sail needles. Lemon Valley's £19 19s 11d was pickaxes, shovels, cart wheels, wheelbarrows and timber. The fortifications in general drew paint for gun carriages, twine and thread for cartridges, magazine candles and timber worth £32 5s 10d. [Film No. 278, 280, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298]

In the quarter to 31 December 1768 Lemon Valley took 6,899 labourers' days costing £344 19s 0d with masons, carpenters, smiths, painters and overseers, while Munden's Point took 2,299 labourers' days, 781

days of stone blowing at 1s 6d and 74¾ days of cooks feeding the parties on site. Lemon Valley drew £11 13s 5d in stores, chiefly bricklayers' trowels, timber and nails, and Munden's Point £18 17s 7d, including four stone saws, 543 lb of cordage and 17 large oars; the armourer took 11 cwt of iron and over 100 lb of steel. October's issues included rammers, sponges and tompions for six guns at Lemon Valley and November's cleats for gun carriages at Mitchell's Line. [Film No. 334, 348, 386, 396, 397, 398, 420, 421]

On 2 January 1768/9 Mitchell reported most workmen at Lemon Valley, its line, ditch and glacis due within the month and its platforms to wait until the rampart settled; at Munden's Point a mass of rock had been blasted and levelled for the platform, supplying building stone, and its completion was fixed as the time of his departure. Because Munden's Point was too cramped for all the men, he offered either to discharge part of the soldiers or to rebuild the two demi-bastions in James's Valley at the same time; the Council chose the second. In December 16 guns came down from the curtain in James's Valley with 32 levers, over 7 cwt of cordage and nails rigging the sheers. On 6 February 1768/9 Mitchell laid a plan of the inner line, whose flanks, absurd in shape and built of earth mortar without lime, he would rebuild as solid demi-bastions with a new parapet and gun platforms, which the line had never had; the Council ordered the work with all possible speed. On 6 March 1768/9 he reported Lemon Valley finished except for platforms awaiting the store ships and sent a plan for the Court; the Council resolved to inspect the works next day. [Film No. 365, 366, 367, 370, 397, 398, 425, 426, 427, 441]

On 30 May 1768 Mitchell indented on Bombay for 2 beds for 13-inch brass mortars, agreed on 14 December 1767 for Munden's Point, and carriages for 24 24-pounders, 6 12-pounders and 21 6-pounders, routed through China. The *Tilbury*'s stores, opened on 6 June, included 12 broken 24-pound and 33 broken 6-pound shot and lacked a 6-pounder bed, and the *Duke of Richmond*'s, reported on 20 June, lacked 14 24-pound shot, six gun beds and six quoins. On 13 June the Council bought a sheer mast from Captain John Sealy of the *Northington*, recorded at £13 in the minutes and £18 in the paymaster's account. The gunners received two lawn sieves with six spare bottoms, costing over £3, to sift damp powder. The half-bastions of James's Valley and the walling of minor gullies needed only a mason, Mitchell reported on 8 August 1768. Ropes were renewed for the Castle portcullis, rolled iron supplied for the gate at Rupert's, where carpenters spent 20 days on a lattice mould, and a new flagstaff cut for the alarm house. [Film No. 45, 51, 59, 65, 112, 113, 124, 146, 148, 152, 186]

The gunners fired 263 guns in April 1768 against 173 in March, using 607 lb 10 oz of powder; 156 guns and 445 lb in May, when 133 lb went to blasting at Banks's and Munden's Point and 13 lb to the quarry; 157 guns and 381 lb in June, with 225 lb on sundry services; 15 guns but 512 lb 8 oz in July, 493 lb 12 oz of it sundry; 251 lb 7 oz in August, 100 lb for blasting; 598 lb 1 oz in September; 448 lb 7 oz in October, 426 lb 15 oz sundry; 135 lb 3 oz in November; 231 lb 2 oz in December; 72 guns and 242 lb 5 oz in January 1768/9; and 73 guns in February 1768/9. Salutes marked George III's birthday on 4 June and accession on 25 October 1768 with 21 guns each. Banks's fired a shot to bring to two Dutch ships on 14 and 15 April, the Dutch *Bergh* on 13 May and the Company's *Northington* on 5 June 1768. Powder also went on signals, damp cartridges at the main guard and funeral volleys, and lead ball on shooting wild goats every month. [Film No. 19, 20, 56, 91, 184, 212, 231, 334, 348, 370, 431, 447]

Soldiers carrying expresses about ships to windward shared £6 5s 0d in the quarter to 30 June 1768 and £1 5s 0d in the next; on 16 August one received 2s 6d for news from Munden's Point of a ship 9 leagues out. On 8 February 1768/9 the posts at Turk's Cap and Prosperous Bay fired alarms for the *Valentine* before her nine-gun salute; six Dutch ships passing on 20 February drew a 15-gun alarm. The outguards received 34 frying pans, 11 wood axes and 26 hand hatchets, the main guard two watch coats and the guard rooms 52⅛ gallons of train oil in the quarter to 30 September 1768. [Film No. 148, 152, 254, 258, 285, 286, 447]

Officers were clothed at the Company's cost with scarlet and blue broadcloth, gilt buttons and 16 gold-laced hats costing £32 8s 6d in the quarter to 30 September 1768, and worsted lace went to the hats and the oboe players of the garrison band and tinned tacks to the drums; soldiers bought shirts, shoes and stockings from store against their pay. Between 1 April and 30 June 1768 the whole garrison had been reclothed from the *Tilbury* and *Duke of Richmond* for £1,105 12s 9d, about 400 each of hats, shirts, stockings, shoes and hair stocks with coats, breeches and 87 blankets; a sergeant's coat and breeches cost over £5 4s

0d, a sentinel's under £1 10s 0d and a drummer's laced suit over £3 0s 0d. [Film No. 115, 116, 263, 270, 285]

The Garrison
The pay lists totalled £3,005 11s 10½d for the quarter to 31 March 1767/8, £3,008 2s 5¾d to 30 June 1768, £3,045 3s 2d to 30 September and £3,008 0s 5d to 31 December 1768. Daily pay was 20d for a foot sergeant, 14d for a corporal and 10d for a private; the artillery paid 24d to a sergeant, 18d to a corporal or bombardier, 16d to a gunner and 12d to a matross. Each salary was divided by the day among its holders, and Charles Montague, dying on 31 December 1768, drew a full quarter. [Film No. 128, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 408, 415]

Between 4 and 18 April 1768 the paymaster paid 19 soldiers, mostly £10 each, £185 in all, to serve five more years, and seven more took £10 on 16 May; William Johnson, discharged at the start of the run, rejoined for £10 on 23 April, and Andrew Sedrick enlisted that day for £3, the rate paid to the Dane Samuel Willson in January 1767/8, while island-born recruits such as George Seale, enlisted on 4 January 1767/8 and a corporal within six months, received £5. Drummer George Wills, discharged on 18 April, re-enlisted for £10. Private Richard Youncas's discharge on 9 May was the 22nd since 21 March 1767/8; six followed on 16 May, among them Sergeant Edmund Lock, the gunner Adam Creighton and John Simcox, reduced from sergeant on 7 October 1767; Sergeant Bernard Millard, acting adjutant while John Jacobs was suspended until 18 March 1767/8, left with Benjamin Springer on 23 May, making 30; Bombardier John Martin and Samuel Card followed on 30 May and James Gouty on 6 June. Discharged men awaiting passage were kept at 6d a day, 271 days costing £6 15s 6d. [Film No. 22, 25, 35, 43, 52, 132, 137, 140, 143, 144, 146, 150]

Recruits numbered 47 in the quarter to 30 June 1768, 26 landing from the *Tilbury* on 12 May and 21 from the *Duke of Richmond* on 5 June; each ship's surgeon received 5s a head, the *Tilbury*'s Mr Hay £6 10s 0d. In August and September John Tanton (John Tanker in the paymaster's account), a seaman of the *Admiral Pocock*, enlisted for £3 (£5 in the account); John Hill and Matthew Dunhill, former Madras soldiers from the *Egmont*, for £10 each, though only Hill, from 5 September, appears on the pay list; Mathew Burchell for £10; and Thomas Palmer and George Towns of the *Greenwich* on 26 September, Towns for £3 10s 0d in the minutes and £2 10s 0d in the account. [Film No. 35, 36, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 183, 209, 218, 238, 239, 240, 242, 245, 254]

Vacancies were filled the same day. When Sergeant Fisher Gamble of the Third Company left on 18 April 1768, Corporal Samuel Johnson became sergeant and Private John Sherland corporal, and Millard's departure set off a similar chain; Cox's death made three artillery promotions, Gunner Thomas Tyler, who had dived for a lost 10-inch shell in January 1767/8, becoming bombardier on 31 May. The Fourth Company reduced Sergeant Thomas Ferris about 9 May and Sergeant Thomas Bailey about 20 June, about five weeks after his £10 bounty, and had five corporals within the quarter. John Dobson left the First Company on 20 May as an artillery gunner at 1s 4d a day, and Matthew Chalton and Patrick Mahoney followed in early June. [Film No. 113, 128, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 146]

Sergeant George Freeman and the gunner Thomas McFarlan were recorded discharged on 1 August 1768 and Sergeant William Bannister and Matross Joseph Fellows on 8 August, though the pay list records McFarling dying on 1 August and Bannister on 8 August. Private Thomas Naylor died on 3 August (Newton in the minutes and the gunner's return), Lieutenant Henry De Laune on 8 August and Private James Long on 16 September. The Council made the cadet James Greentree lieutenant of the Fourth Company on 10 August, subject to the Court, his pay running from 9 August, since Lieutenant Thomas Bazett did no garrison duty. When McFarling's death raised Matross William Durham to gunner, Private John Glenny of the Fourth Company replaced him on 2 August and Thomas Blake moved from the First Company to fill Glenny's place; Samuel Bingrave joined on 9 August and William Harper on 13 September, the day after Thomas Watts left, Harper having gone about 10 weeks unpaid. [Film No. 181, 182, 183, 193, 207, 212, 237, 241, 242, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251]

In the quarter to 31 December 1768 Sergeant John Fish of the Second Company was reduced on 6 October and Sergeant John Sabourin on 21 November, Robert Stephenson and John Salisbury replacing them and

the island-born Francis Seale and Joseph Whaley becoming corporals; Corporal John Shirland of the Third Company was reduced after one day, Thomas Taylor replacing him from 2 October; in the Fourth Company Corporal John Woods was reduced on 25 October and Sergeant James Fox on 15 November, John Terry, Thomas Blake and John Deale being promoted; and Gunner William Durham reverted to matross on 5 October, Benjamin Holmes succeeding him. Sergeant Thomas Payne's discharge on 12 December made Corporal Thomas Townsend a sergeant and Private William Small a corporal. Greentree drew his first full quarter, £18 5s 0d salary, £6 16s 10½d diet money and £2 10s 0d house rent. [Film No. 401, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 412, 413, 414]

A general court martial on 7 and 8 November 1768 suspended Lieutenant Thomas Leech of the artillery for six months for neglect of duty, and on Mitchell's recommendation Sergeant John Shirley became acting lieutenant from 9 November. On 14 November the artillery lieutenant, named Nathan Campell in his memorial and Sempill in the decision, asked to retire in his 62nd year after 37 years' service; the Council, unable to grant the pension he deserved, retired him on half pay, Corporal Robert Gibson taking the other half as acting lieutenant from 15 November. Each step promoted men down to the matrosses: Nicholas Hoskin to sergeant, James Garfett and David Dennis to corporal, Thomas Jones and William Hopkinson to bombardier and John Osborne and Thomas Yates to gunner. Thomas Durham transferred from the First Company on 9 November, Mathew Burchell from the Second on 15 November and Owen Howard from the First on 22 December. [Film No. 335, 336, 337, 349, 412, 413, 414]

Deaths in the garrison included Privates William Hayes on 14 April, Roger Watson on 18 May, four months after re-enlisting for £10 on 18 January 1767/8, and Richard Tollington on 26 May, and Sergeant John Cox of the artillery on 10 June 1768. Private Stephen John drowned at Banks's, dated 21 October 1768 on the pay list and 22 October in the minutes and burial bill; Charles Newstead died on 8 November and was buried on 9 November; Matross Daniel Finn died on 21 December, James Harris on 28 December, Isaac Burden on 30 December and Charles Montague on 31 December 1768, the sexton charging 2s 6d a burial. Henry Brown died on 19 January 1768/9, the adjutant Solomon Jacobs, paid £29 13s 1½d a quarter, on 7 February, Matross Daniel Maloney on 28 February and Sergeant Thomas Collier of the artillery on 11 March 1768/9, and Private Richard Gregory drowned at Munden's Point on 12 February 1768/9. Dr Robert Barclay (Pinday on the September list) was paid £17 11s 8d for necessaries for the sick and £8 0s 0d for fresh provisions in the quarter to 31 December 1768. [Film No. 28, 43, 52, 128, 324, 334, 400, 402, 403, 409, 411, 414, 418, 423, 428, 440, 442]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

On 23 May 1768 Corneille relayed Samuel Alexander's complaint that settlers' goats from Lot's range and Sandy Bay range, at times 60 at once, were stripping the Company's plantations at Sandy Bay; on 30 May the owners were ordered to herd or remove them and promised to do so. The South Division's scarce grazing had been noted on 7 March 1767/8, when the Council refused Margaret Alcock part of the Sandy Bay common against Alexander's opposition. On 6 June the Council forbade taking earth from Munden's Point hill between the Company's slave house and the Castle, where digging for mortar undermined the watercourse, on pain of 40s an offence, loose surface stones excepted. [Film No. 31, 44, 52]

On 8 May 1768 Mary Swaits petitioned to sell her lease of 4 acres called Hyams in the South Division to Benjamin Seale, overseer of that division since 4 April, approved on 9 May, unlike Simon Whaley's request of 28 March to sell by auction. On 27 June John Goodwin's lease of 5 acres in the West Division was renewed and Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice granted 4 acres 3 roods there at 5s an acre; on 4 July St Maurice gave up 10¾ acres in the West Division to Gabriel Harper, and George Alexander, executor of Thomas Cadgrove, renewed the orphans' 14 acres in the East Division. On 22 August Gabriel Alexander Harper was allowed to pass 19½ acres in Powell's Valley to John Scott, refused waste at Green Saddle on 29 February 1767/8, and a lease of 19½ acres in the South Division at 2s an acre was executed to Harper; on 29 August Captain Henry Bazett's James's Valley plot of 20 by 40 feet was renewed at 5s a year and Goodwin's 5 acres at 5s an acre. [Film No. 22, 23, 69, 74, 75, 76, 196, 199, 202]

In September 1768 John Alexander received 40 acres in the West Division for 21 years at 2s 6d an acre for 14 years and 5s thereafter, and Cadgrove's executors' 14 acres were renewed at 5s. Matthew Bazett sought waste round his land at Woody Ridge on 12 September and John Desfountain senior the same ground on

19 September; Purling set Sarah Fuge's piece at Sandy Bay at 1s an acre on 26 September and Benjamin Seale's rocky waste beside Hyams at 1s on 10 October. On 19 December the Governor and Purling divided Woody Ridge, giving Bazett the part needed for fencing and Desfountain the part reaching water, at 1s 6d an acre. [Film No. 210, 211, 213, 214, 217, 228, 232, 363]

The rent roll of 30 September 1768 totalled £599 16s 11½d on 2,205 acres of freehold and 2,004¾ of leasehold, against £593 9s 4d the year before, leasehold rents running from 6d to 4s an acre. Richard Bagley held over 300 acres and paid £49 12s 11d, Purling held 205 acres freehold and nearly 109 leasehold, Wrangham and Matthew Bazett each over 200 acres and Kirkpatrick 14; Margaret Alcock, Elizabeth Greentree and Ruth Colgrave held land in their own right, and executors held several holdings for orphans. John Scott paid for one month on his Powell's Valley land. The clerk carried £339 1s 7d forward and brought £331 1s 7d forward. [Film No. 218, 219, 220, 221]

On 17 October 1768 the Council revived a regulation of 12 December 1757 barring anyone with less than 10 acres from keeping a horse, which idle young people and junior servants had defied on the commons: from 17 November offenders would pay £10, half to the informer, and 20s for each trespass on the waste, landless people keeping sheep 5s a sheep, and all grazing on the waste was banned each year from 1 February until the churchwardens reported it fit. On 19 December every planter was ordered to declare by 28 December the cattle he would supply for slaughter in 1769, to report any accident to a beast within three days or provide another and to return his horses, sheep and goats and the sheep he could sell. [Film No. 322, 323, 329, 358]

Gabriel Alexander Harper petitioned on 17 October 1768 for waste beside his West Division holding; on 24 October John Desfountain claimed it for the orphans of Onesiphorus Gurling, Simon Whaley for land beside his Water Fall Plain and William Young for ground enclosing his own on two sides, down which cattle strayed. On 7 November Purling gave Young and the Gurling orphans the hillside above their fences, Whaley a grove at the foot and Harper the flat hilltop, fenced to Whaley's ditch with a bank fence facing the Gurling ground, Young paying 5s an acre for grassy land improvable by grubbing furze and the others 2s. The leases were completed on 20 March 1768/9: Young 4 acres at 5s, Robert Gurling 15½ acres, Whaley 2¼ acres and Harper ¾ acre at 2s, all in the East Division. [Film No. 321, 326, 327, 328, 332, 333, 460]

Orlando Bagley junior received waste in Dogwood Valley at 2s an acre and James Greentree Thompson's Hill at 2s 6d in October and November 1768. William Seale senior sought Dogwood Valley land to shorten his fence, part of it sown with grass at public expense; on 14 November he received only the unsown part at 2s, the Council resolving never to lease improved commons, and on 21 November it agreed to exchange a piece of his own land for the ground he needed. Town plots were renewed between October and December: John Worrall, executor of James Jobbett, a plot with a 21-foot frontage, 80 feet deep and 50 feet wide at the back, at 12s a year, and Thomas Harper the ground under his house, 40 feet deep with a 60-foot frontage, at 10s, both executed on 5 December; Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain a four-sided plot at 3s; Leech land held through his mother, Eleanor Leech, at 12s; St Maurice a plot of 60 by 16 feet beside his house at 5s; and Shirley a plot 60 feet deep at 10s on 12 December. [Film No. 321, 322, 329, 330, 331, 337, 338, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 363, 372]

On 9 January 1768/9 Purling set William Beale's land beside the Samuel Thorpe orphans' holding in the East Division, sought on 19 December, and John Robinson's East Division plot, sought on 12 December, at 1s 6d an acre as steep and rocky, and granted Desfountain a half-acre strip of Beale's request without petition; James Whaley was allowed to sell his house and 11 acres of leasehold to William Hayes senior, an innkeeper. On 16 January Mary Burnham, a widow, was allowed to sell part of a building near the billiard room in James's Valley, formerly occupied by James Goafty; John Preston, a mason with a family, complaining of dear rents, asked for a plot of 60 by 60 feet at the upper end of St Maurice's buildings to build a house in his spare hours, which Kirkpatrick inspected and which was leased on 30 January at 15s a year. On 30 January Simon Whaley was refused ground sought on 9 January because it lay too close to Plantation House. [Film No. 350, 362, 371, 372, 373, 374, 422, 423, 424, 425]

Isaac Doveton sought waste on Merches Ridge on 30 January 1768/9 and William Hayes junior about an acre on 6 February, both for fencing, and both were let on 20 February at 5s an acre; Bagley's 30 acres in

Swanly Valley were renewed at 5s and Goodwin's 5¼ acres in the West Division renewed. Bagley offered his 4¼ acres at Monkey's Ridge, isolated in a common, for an equal area beside his land at Thompson's Wood, and William Hayes, buyer of James Whaley's estate, offered land for part of the Fisher's Valley ground lately rented by Matthew Bazett. On 27 February Purling reported that Bagley's plot obstructed cattle on the common and that Hayes's 1⅔ acres were wooded and adjoined the Long Wood, unsuitable for private hands; the Council approved both exchanges, any surplus to be let at 5s an acre. On 20 March 1768/9 Nathan Sempill sought a strip of waste beside his East Division land for fencing. [Film No. 424, 427, 428, 434, 435, 437, 439, 457, 458]

The Company's livestock went from 336 to 359 cattle in the quarter to 30 June 1768, helped by 37 calves and nine Cape steers from the *Earl of Middlesex* on 19 April, then to 375 by 30 September with 31 calves and 383 by 31 December; sheep fell from 775 to 698, 634 and 611; goats went from 294 to 315, 282 and 296; hogs rose from eight to 12, and pigs fell from 16 to nine in the last quarter; the Company kept 10 horses and one ass. In the quarter to 30 June 95 sheep were killed and 32 lambs died, and in the next 67 sheep died, 36 of them lambs. Worrall signed the September account after Corneille left. In the quarter to 31 December the Castle table took 47 sheep, 72 fowls and 14 turkeys and the slaves two cattle and 15 goats. [Film No. 92, 230, 369, 393, 394]

Plantation stores cost £18 13s 11d in the quarter to 30 June 1768, against £39 6s 11d, including a new axletree for the wood cart that hauled firewood from the Long Wood; carpenters spent 36½ days on new gates, and Jonathan Doveton and Simon Whaley sold 24 loads of island bamboo at 2s 6d a load to thatch the Company's country houses. They cost £26 13s 9d in the quarter to 30 September, covering 4,246 lb of paddy for the poultry house, a wood cart at Sandy Bay, 12 milk pans for the Plantation House dairy, ox bows, fleams for bleeding cattle and £10 7s 4d of timber for gates and carts, and £29 15s 4d in the quarter to 31 December, including eight pairs of sheep shears, scythes and cordage to bind thatch. Samuel Parker kept the garden from 29 August 1768 at 1s a day. In December 1768 John Robinson supplied rafters for Plantation House and rafters, laths and binders, with Elisha Jeakes, for the thatched Company houses in James's Valley. [Film No. 119, 125, 150, 152, 153, 256, 290, 291, 393, 394, 416, 418]

Captain Charles Purvis of the *Valentine* brought 45 Cape sheep at 15s each, including boat hire, corn, hay and labour, paid £33 15s 0d with £7 0s 0d for tar and pitch on 13 February 1768/9; Captain John Mills of the *Kent* brought 60 for £45 0s 0d and Captain Thomas Baddison of the *Verelst* 20 for £15 0s 0d on 16 March 1768/9. [Film No. 433, 452, 453]

Supply and Provisioning

The *Latham* and *Houghton* from China landed 51 chests of sugar candy on 27 and 28 April 1768, 13,534 lb net at 7 taels 5 mace a picul against 4 taels 5 mace for plain sugar, short by 62 lb and 33 lb. The *Worcester* brought 45 bags of rice and 32 of batty from Bombay for 523 rupees 1 quarter 26 reas; the batty was received as 57 cwt 1 qr 23 lb. The *Vansittart* brought the first tea of 1768 on 6 June: 769 lb of Bohea at 16 taels a picul, 427 lb of Congou at 25 and 232½ lb of Singlo at 24. The *Earl of Elgin*, anchored on 19 May, and the *Northington*, arrived on 5 June, each carried rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles, 2 leaguers of Batavia arrack at 235 Arcot rupees, against 200 in the *Norfolk* and 190 in the *Europa*, 20 casks of pork and 5 of beef, worth 6,219 rupees 7 annas 6 pies; their beef weighed 7,437½ lb and 7,037½ lb at the same price and their charges 375 and 579 rupees, sloop hire of 216 rupees the largest in both. [Film No. 12, 13, 17, 23, 30, 49, 50]

The *Admiral Pocock* arrived from Bengal on 30 July 1768 with rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles and 2 leaguers of arrack invoiced at 1,643 rupees 0 annas 9 pies, including charges of 101 rupees 4 annas 6 pies and sloop hire of 36 rupees, and no salt meat; her arrack was 21 gallons short of 285. The *Greenwich* brought rice and batty from Bombay on 22 August, 482 rupees 2 quarters 52 reas, over 66 rupees of it bags and porterage from the Mandavee customs house. The *Egmont* arrived from Madras on 1 September with superfine, fine and middling longcloth, the fine at 64 pagodas a corge of 20 pieces and the superfine up to 12 pagodas a piece, with washing charged per corge, rice, paddy and Batavia arrack at 45 pagodas a leaguer, totalling 764 pagodas 28 fanams 20 cash; her paddy was over 6 cwt short from bad bags and her arrack 21 gallons short of 285. [Film No. 180, 181, 192, 199, 200, 203, 204, 208]

The *Valentine* from Bengal on 8 February 1768/9 and the *Kent* and *Verelst* on 9 and 10 March each carried 60 bags of rice, 10 of sugar, 15 of paddy, 4 chests of wax candles and 2 leaguers of arrack, the *Valentine*'s costing 1,542 rupees 4 annas 9 pies with 57 rupees of boat hire and the others 1,543 rupees 6 annas 3 pies each with about 99 rupees of sloop hire; the *Kent*'s goods are totalled at 1,377 rupees 10 annas 6 pies on one page and 1,374 rupees 10 annas 6 pies on the next. The *Royal Captain* from Bombay on 6 March brought 45 bags of rice and 32 of batty for 506 rupees 0 quarters 96 reas, at the *Worcester*'s prices to the rea. The *Grosvenor* from China on 19 March brought 1,063 lb of superfine sugar candy at 9.5 taels a picul and 2,646 lb of ordinary at 7.5 taels; the *Duke of Gloucester* on 20 March brought 6 boxes of blue and white china, 10 table sets of 5 dishes, 20 plates and 12 soup plates at 3 taels 9 mace each, tureens, cups, punch bowls and guglets, less 2 per cent for breakage, with 271 lb of Hyson and 373 lb of Congou at 25 taels and 889 lb of Bohea at 12.8 taels; her price list charges 150 pint basins absent from the packing list. Both China invoices were signed at Canton on 13 December 1768, with two supercargoes' names differing between them. [Film No. 428, 429, 440, 442, 443, 444, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457]

Shortfalls on landing included the *Europa*'s rice, sugar and 15 gallons of arrack in April 1768, the *Northington*'s arrack 11 gallons short of 293 in June, the *Valentine*'s rice 2 cwt 0 qr 16 lb and arrack 16 gallons short of 286, the *Royal Captain*'s rice 4 cwt 3 qr 15 lb, the *Kent*'s rice 5 cwt 3 qr 1 lb and the *Verelst*'s 3 cwt 3 qr 0 lb. On 6 June 1768 Powell sorted the *Tilbury*'s losses by cause: milk pans, scythe stones and glass broken in sound packages, soap, cordage and salt dried or wasted, a hogshead of pork and a bar of iron missing and soldiers' shirts and osnaburg ruined by wet in damaged packages; 295¼ of 306 gallons of wine arrived. Six packages of linen in the *Duke of Richmond* had been broken open on board and the captain claimed the contents wet and worthless. [Film No. 11, 51, 58, 65, 432, 448, 452]

On 25 May 1768 the Council told Fort William that Bengal salt meat arrived so bad that much was thrown into the sea and asked for no more, the Court having already so ordered. It bought European meat at 2s a piece after inspection: 1,128 pieces from the *Earl of Elgin* for £112 16s 0d on 30 May under the Court's orders, 578 from the *British King* for £57 16s 0d with 60 bushels of coal for £6 13s 4d on 1 June, and pork and beef from the *Northington*'s owners, with tar and the sheer mast, for £65 11s 6d on 13 June, £216 12s 0d to Captains Cooke, Hoare and Sealy in all; on 14 March 1767/8 it had refused Captain Sandys's private offer of 20 casks because the stores were full. In September it bought 1,260 pieces, 30 tierces, from Captain Charles Mears for £126 0s 0d. The inventory of 30 September held beef and pork worth £7,740 7s 6d, including 42 casks of Bengal provisions and one damaged cask worth £965 15s 7d, and 406 casks of flour, 1,228 cwt, worth £1,234 1s 0d. [Film No. 30, 31, 33, 37, 46, 59, 146, 209, 254, 301, 303]

The inventory of 30 September 1768 also held 504 soldiers' shirts, 25 soldiers' suits, 1,545 gallons of arrack at 3s 4½d a gallon, over 20 cwt of candles, longcloth worth £539 12s 1d, sugar £442 10s 9d, rice and paddy £246 1s 7d, spars worth £74 18s 0d including a teak topmast and a bowsprit, nearly 250 items of sailors' clothing, ironware worth £257 7s 1d with 100 spades and three pairs of hand screws worth £12 5s 1½d, nails worth £148 18s 10d, over 14 cwt of white lead, Prussian blue, logwood and alum, a pewter still worth £10 12s 4d, six roasting jacks, anchors worth £223 2s 4d, one lying on the rocks at £13 7s 11d, cordage of 276 cwt 3 qr 9 lb worth £485 13s 7d from a 17-inch cable to ratline, canvas worth £77 9s 1d, four brass rollers for the landing crane, 122½ yards of scarlet broadcloth worth £117 7s 11d, 895 pairs of thread stockings worth £131 8s 3d, 80 dozen pairs of shoe buckles worth £25 1s 8d against 12 pairs sold in the quarter, 349 buckle combs, over 91,000 fish hooks and lines worth £226 8s 11d, 52 cwt 3 qr 25 lb of bar iron, locks graded A to M, six gaol padlocks and timber worth £161 10s 2d for the church in Jamestown. [Film No. 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319]

The armourer received 88 bushels of coal in the quarter to 30 June 1768, his forge almost dry since March 1767/8, and 190 bushels worth £10 5s 10d in the next quarter; the carpenters received a near-complete set of tools, and three wire rat traps cost £1 1s 3d. Repairs rose to £13 14s 2d from £5 2s 5d, chiefly 956 lb of sheet lead for the roofs of the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, and fell to £9 5s 0d in the quarter to 30 September. Captain Riddell of the *Admiral Pocock* sold a worn hawser, old cable, wax candles, olive oil and turpentine for £26 10s 1¾d in August 1768. The Council bought 146 bottles of Florence oil from Mr Brown at 3s 6d, 31 files from the armourer John Robins and a 30-gallon jar of oil from Captain Bazett for £9 8s 9½d in December. In the quarter to 30 September the cooper's shop was almost wholly

re-equipped with borers, shaves, adzes, a howel, a head jointer, vices, a pot for size and glue and 33 truss hoops, and the Castle library received a lock, three wainscot boards and Riga timber worth £4 11s 8d for shelves; carpenters had spent 10 days on a library frame in the quarter to 30 June. [Film No. 110, 111, 113, 114, 148, 152, 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 418]

The boats drew £123 9s 7d in stores in the quarter to 30 September 1768, including 55 cwt 2 qr 1 lb of cordage worth £66 5s 8d, four grapnels at £9 11s 3d and timber worth £20 13s 2d. Three longboats were bought from Captains Pelly of the *Europa* for £35 0s 0d on 25 April, James Moffatt of the *Latham* for £32 10s 0d on 12 May and Palmer of the *Vansittart*, with a yawl and eight oars from Captain Smith of the *Houghton*, replacing a boat valued at £10 0s 0d that the *Hector* wrecked on 22 February 1767/8; the Company's men sewed six pieces of canvas into new longboat sails. Heavy surf tore a Company yawl from its moorings and lost it on the night of 28 January 1768/9. [Film No. 10, 11, 24, 120, 121, 146, 148, 292, 293, 424]

The Company's table cost £33 7s 3d in April 1768, when 11 ships anchored, £32 12s 0d in May, £26 19s 8d in June, £25 16s 2d in July, £26 9s 11d in August, £28 10s 7d in September, £28 7s 7½d in October, £26 4s 4d in November, £27 17s 8d in January 1768/9 and £34 6s 7d in February 1768/9; beef rose from about 5¾d a pound in March to 8⅓d in April and mutton from 5d to 7d, both returning to 5d in May. Arrack ran at 30 gallons a month, falling to 24 in August 1768 and January 1768/9. Port rose to 18 bottles in September 1768. On 30 July the Governor bought over 140 live birds from planters for £12 1s 8d. John Irwin supplied the table with butter, cheese at 10d a pound, ham at 1s, currants and vinegar worth £46 17s 2d and meat and poultry worth £17 18s 10d in the quarter to 30 June, beef at 5d, pigs, eggs and fowls worth £15 18s 10d in the next and 524 lb of beef, pigs, geese, eggs, pickles and shears for the Company's tailor worth £18 7s 0d in the quarter to 31 December. The table drew £31 11s 5d in stores with 54 gallons of arrack, against 76, in the quarter to 30 June, and 76 gallons of arrack and 797 lb of sugar candy in the quarter to 31 December. The recruits' first rations were pork, rice and flour. [Film No. 20, 57, 90, 114, 115, 148, 150, 184, 231, 232, 252, 258, 335, 348, 349, 385, 418, 432, 447, 448]

On 1 June 1768 Captain Thomas Cooke reported the *Earl of Elgin*'s crew sickly, the clerk of the market saying she had nearly drawn her bullocks, and the Council allowed a stop of a few hours at Ascension for turtle. On 27 February 1768/9, with no coffee in store, it ordered Captain the Honourable Patrick Maitland of the *Bute* to land three half-bales of the Company's own coffee. The hospital drew 403 lb each of sugar, rice and flour in the quarter to 30 June 1768, against 269 lb, and £14 9s 10d in stores in the next quarter. William Jenkins baked 117 batches of bread a quarter at 20d each, £9 15s 0d. Henry Kirkham drew an allowance, house rent and cash in place of 12 or 13 pieces of salt meat, as Nequedah Pocholam did in the quarter to 30 June. [Film No. 47, 48, 120, 150, 211, 254, 291, 416, 418, 438]

Trade and Shipping

The Dutch *Elizabeth*, *Margaret Maria* and *Cornelia* arrived between 14 and 16 April 1768 and sailed on 22 and 24 April, the Danish *Prince Frederick* stayed from 16 to 25 April and two Swedish ships arrived on 12 April. The Dutch *Bergh*, 700 tons, 28 guns and 100 men, arrived from Batavia with pepper and coffee on 13 May, the French *Marquis de Lanoe*, 500 tons and 130 men, from Bengal for Lorient on 26 May and the Dutch *Schoonsigt*, 700 tons, from Ceylon with coffee and spices on 29 May; the Dutch pair sailed on 4 June and the French ship on 8 June 1768. The Dutch *Blyswick*, 30 guns and 112 men, arrived from Batavia with coffee, sugar and pepper on 13 August and sailed on 24 August. Six Dutch ships passed on 20 February and seven on 18 March 1768/9. [Film No. 8, 12, 19, 25, 43, 49, 52, 59, 190, 191, 194, 434, 453]

The *Europa* and *Earl of Middlesex* sailed on 26 April 1768; the *Latham* and *Houghton* from China and the *Worcester* from Bombay arrived on 27 and 28 April by the minutes and on 28 and 29 April by the gunner; the *Worcester* sailed on 5 May and the China ships on 14 May; the *Earl of Elgin* and *British King* arrived on 19 May and sailed on 2 June; the *Northington* and *Vansittart* sailed on 15 June. The *Admiral Pocock* arrived on 30 July and sailed on 14 August with the general letter and the Corneille papers; the *Greenwich* arrived on 22 August and the *Egmont*, by way of Mauritius with 34 invalid soldiers against the *Greenwich*'s five, on 1 September 1768. After a quarter without Company ships the *Valentine* arrived on 8 February 1768/9 and sailed on 14 February, the *Bute* arrived from Bombay on 21 February and sailed with the *Royal Captain* on 13 March, and the *Kent* and *Verelst* sailed on 17 March 1768/9, the Council meeting that Friday to clear

them. Each Company ship sent a boat to Banks's before entering the road, the *Valentine*'s on 7 February and the *Duke of Gloucester*'s at one in the morning of 20 March 1768/9. Purling mustered every Company ship for deserters and found none. [Film No. 12, 14, 18, 19, 25, 40, 49, 53, 59, 180, 190, 199, 203, 205, 206, 428, 430, 434, 438, 440, 444, 449]

On 16 May 1768 the Council refused Captain Rust of the *Bergh* leave to land 28 leaguers of arrack, about 4,000 gallons, because the island did not need it, Dutch arrack had always caused disputes and unrest and unlicensed sale by the glass caused heavy drinking, but allowed his 61 piculs of sugar and Japanese lacquer ware. On 18 May it published the lists of goods brought by the *Tilbury*'s officers and forbade shopkeepers to buy them, and on 13 June allowed the *Duke of Richmond*'s officers' goods on the same terms. [Film No. 27, 28, 29, 59]

Captain Cooke and his mates John Crichton and Daniel Clarke protested against the sea at St Helena on 21 May 1768: the *Earl of Elgin* had left Bengal on 13 February 1767/8 with saltpetre and bale goods and met gales near 33° 5' S on 7, 16, 20 and 22 April that let water into the hold, and the island having no notary or stamped paper, Cooke promised a full protest at the first British port. On 30 May Powell certified that the ship's stores for the island had lost weight only by wastage in sound packages. [Film No. 31, 32, 33, 43]

The crews included seamen with Dutch, German and Scandinavian names in the *Europa* and *Latham*, seven Portuguese names in the *Earl of Elgin*, the Frenchman Pierre Belanger in the *British King*, three men entered only as Moors and a cook entered as Black Johnson in the *Northington*, which also carried nine midshipmen, and Peter Fernandes, Jan Gehadt, Peter Pierre and Martin Olinsque in the *Verelst*; the *Latham* and *Vansittart* had six mates. The *Royal Captain* carried six soldiers home from Bombay. [Film No. 9, 14, 41, 42, 53, 54, 446, 450]

His Majesty's ship *Swallow*, probably Philip Carteret's sloop returning from her voyage round the world, arrived from the Cape on 21 January 1768/9 and sailed on 25 January, saluted with 15 guns on arrival, on her captain's landing, on his return aboard and on departure, 75 lb of powder in all. [Film No. 423, 431]

Finance, Currencies and Accounting

The cash account for April 1768 opened at £9,408 9s 1d, received £9 1s 1d from the *Europa*, £5 10s 0d from the *Earl of Middlesex* and £255 15s 0d for bills, paid nothing and closed with £9,139 0s 2d in coin and £539 15s 0d in cash notes; Hasell's whole bill was entered as cash received with no payment shown for his cattle. In May bills brought in £2,611 17s 9d and the *British King* paid over £251, coin reaching £12,032 19s 4d on 31 May, when the cash notes were first described as of no use. June received £451 16s 0d for bills, £930 6s 8d from store sales, £18 10s 0d from licences and £11 10s 0d in fines, shipped £2,000 in two chests to Bencoolen in the *Duke of Richmond* on 17 June, charged to the London account, and closed with £7,102 5s 3d in coin. July took in a bill of £36 0s 6d payable to Stainforth and Giberne and closed at £7,238 5s 9d. August, with seven sets of bills worth about £2,675, closed at £9,924 10s 0d. September opened at £10,464 5s 0d, received £1,015 10s 0d in bills on 5 September, £109 7s 8d from the *Greenwich*, £68 11s 7d from the *Egmont*, £599 16s 11½d in rents, £2,018 5s 6d in warehouse sales, £11 0s 0d in licences, £12 10s 0d in fines and sums for plantation produce, lime and tiles, paid the paymaster £3,978 6s 4¼d and closed with £9,813 17s 2½d in coin (2¼d in one entry). No money moved in October, November or January 1768/9. [Film No. 26, 67, 68, 153, 154, 179, 195, 216, 320, 339, 364, 436]

December 1768 received £52 13s 3½d from De Laune's estate, £1,428 8s 9d from Powell for stores, £36 8s 3d for plantation provisions, £11 0s 0d for licences and £1 1s 10½d for lime from Munden's Battery, paid the paymaster £3,723 10s 5½d and closed with £7,619 18s 11d in coin. On 13 February 1768/9 Mitchell paid in £800 0s 0d for a bill payable to Alexander Hume and William Wrangham £87 15s 3d for one to Hutcheson Mure, both at 90 days' sight, and with £9 8s 3d from the *Valentine* coin reached £8,517 2s 5d on 28 February 1768/9. [Film No. 421, 433, 459]

Bills of exchange on the Court, mostly at 90 days, carried remittances home. On 25 April 1768 Captain Pelly, named Henry Kent, Henry Hinde and Henry Pelly in different entries, took £100 0s 0d and Captain John Hasell £155 15s 0d, including £55 15s 0d for nine Cape bullocks; on 2 May Skottowe remitted £400 0s 0d to Robert Wood and Purling £250 0s 0d to John Purling; on 16 May Corneille paid £427 2s 9d for a

bill to John Paslow, chief mate of the *Triton*, gone since 3 April 1768; on 23 May Kirkpatrick drew £1,034 15s 0d for the estate of the late Captain Cornelius Inglis, payable to Luke Scrafton, and John Irwin £100 0s 0d to Robert Irwin; and on 30 May Mitchell remitted £400 0s 0d to Alexander Hume. Inglis's bill was smaller than Captain Mitford's £1,200 0s 0d of 14 March 1767/8. On 13 and 20 June bills went to Corneille, Captain Henry Bazett, payable to John Purling, Robert Wigram and Captain Hindman for £451 16s 0d. Corneille's bill of 25 July was for £36 6s 0d, payable to Fairfax and Gilmore. Captain Henry Bazett paid in £189 1s 7d on 1 August; on 8 August bills went to Corneille for £400 payable to himself, Purling for £450 payable to John Purling, Jonathan Doveton for £487 14s 0d, Hugh Jones for £68 12s 6d (£368 12s 6d in another entry) and Captain Thomas Riddell for £80; and Colvill Mure paid in £500 on 15 August for a bill on Mure, Son and Atkinson. On 5 September Matthew Bazett remitted £600 through Riddell, Powell £350 to Captain John Williams of the *Hector*, as his £200 had been in February 1767/8, Captain John Howard £215 10s 0d and Wrangham £120; Riddell's £300 bill was entered although the *Admiral Pocock* had sailed on 14 August. [Film No. 8, 11, 18, 25, 36, 46, 62, 63, 66, 179, 180, 181, 190, 194, 200, 209, 216, 320]

The paymaster drew £4,425 3s 6¼d for the quarter to 30 June 1768, with sundry payments of £1,417 1s 0½d against £670, including 335½ days at 1s for soldiers unloading the *Tilbury*; the debit ran across blank leaves ruled through diagonally, one miscopying the total as £4,426 3s 6¼d, and the account was examined on 18 July. His single receipt of £3,978 6s 4¼d on 30 September 1768 covered payments from 3 July, £3,045 3s 2d of pay list and £933 3s 2¼d of contingencies, including £5 0s 0d to Captain Hook for James Black's passage. The account for the quarter to 31 December, £3,723 10s 5½d with £715 10s 0½d of contingencies, was signed on 30 December though it included payments dated 31 December. Each account was set equal to its spending and posted to the island's general account, signed "errors excepted". [Film No. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 416, 417, 419, 420]

The warehouse sold to Company servants at 10 per cent above cost, planters at 25 per cent and others at 40 per cent. Servants bought £1,008 3s 11d in the first quarter of 1768, £887 3s 3d in the second, £1,866 11s 9d in the third and £1,338 15s 10d in the fourth, against store sales paid into the treasury of £1,311 15s 3d in the last quarter of 1767. In the quarter to 30 June bread sold for £301 2s 0d, beef and pork for £342 14s 0d and sugar for £52, with only 40 lb of Bohea, 91 sneakers, an octagonal porcelain set, 18 pairs of Indian cotton stockings at over 9s, 16 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, nearly 20 yards of broadcloth and wool cards; 40 per cent sales fell to £43 3s 5d from £53 10s 10d, a guglet and basin costing 5s against about 3s on the *Northumberland*'s Canton invoice; in the quarter to 30 September bread from 269 cwt 2 qr 2 lb of flour sold for £251 11s 0d, beef and pork for £431 14s 0d, longcloth for £164 0s 8d, shoes, 592 pairs of them men's ordinary, for £144 18s 4d, wine, almost all Lisbon and Mountain at about 6s 3d a gallon, for £120 8s 3d, 132 soldiers' shirts for £33 0s 0d over 150 panes of glass, 11 tea kettles, porcelain worth £24 18s 1d, 5,210 fish hooks, garden tools, 12 rat traps and 11 mousetraps, while the 40 per cent buyers took about 1,000 hooks and the Company's fishermen were issued hooks and lines; in the quarter to 31 December bread used 414 cwt of flour worth £387 3s 4d, beef and pork reached £571 14s 0d, arrack rose from under 5 to 48¼ gallons and only 12 shirts sold, a page carrying £1,337 13s 5d forward and the next £1,327 13s 5d. Planters' purchases at 25 per cent reached about £56 9s 0d in the quarter to 30 September within a running total closing at £151 13s 9d for the 40 per cent sales, and £67 7s 10d at 40 per cent in the next quarter. Sugar cost a servant about 3¾d a pound and a 40 per cent buyer over 5d, Bohea about 9s 9d and 12s. General expenses came to £136 2s 8d in the quarter to 30 September and £111 5s 8d in the next, when candles for the Governor and Council, the chaplain, the doctor's shop and the bakehouse cost £31 10s 6d. Ships bought £273 4s 0d in the quarter to 30 June, a cable and anchor making £243, and £172 5s 5d in the next, chiefly 2,149 lb of cordage at 6d a pound. [Film No. 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390]

The inventory of 30 September 1768 held 53,960 copper halfpence worth £112 8s 4d; its running total stood at £11,195 2s 9d at film 307. Invoices came in Canton taels, mace, candareens and cash by the picul and catty, Bengal current and Arcot rupees, annas and pies by the maund and seer, Bombay rupees, quarters and reas by the Surat maund and candy, with labour in copper pice, and Madras pagodas, fanams and cash; Bombay's charges were under 4 per cent of the goods against almost 7 per cent on the *Norfolk*'s Bengal invoice. [Film No. 12, 13, 30, 38, 204, 301, 307, 429, 440, 454]

On 2 January 1768/9, the kilns having burned surplus lime, the Council called in claims from inhabitants who had sent labourers, chiefly slaves, to burn lime for the Company at a bushel a day's work: Elizabeth Purling claimed 25 bushels for work at Sandy Bay in 1742, the estate of John Bazett 52, the estate of Francis Wrangham senior 90, James Greentree 18 and the estate of John Desfountain nine from 1744, all paid on 9 January without testing, Purling, Matthew Bazett and William Wrangham signing for their families. [Film No. 367, 368, 373, 374]

Social Order

On 27 June 1768 Skottowe proposed cutting the 10 licensed punch houses to six by recalling the four newest licences, with fines for selling to slaves or selling unlicensed, half to the informer, exempting measured arrack served at fixed hours to men on the works. Corneille showed that four houses were run by deputy, one keeper paying Mr Kennedy £50 a year and Burnham paying his mother £40, that two others bought arrack from licence holders at 8s or 8s 6d a gallon against the fixed 6s 6d and a Company fee of £6 a year, and objected to Sergeant Howell and Bombardier James Bayfell holding licences. On 4 July the Council kept five houses, kept by John Price, Roderick Merchant, Stephen Young, William Hayes and John Seale; forbade sales to slaves on pain of £5 and unlicensed retailing, defined as under 2 gallons, on pain of £10, £5 to the informer; banned letting licences, selling below the fixed price, keeping of houses by soldiers and wholesale sales to soldiers and slaves; required spirit to be served mixed with water; and set hours from 9 am, or 4 pm on Sunday, to 9 pm. Women, who held five licences, were excluded, and the Council asked the Court to grant the widows of Captain Beale and Kennedy £20 a year each. Licences yielded £18 10s 0d in the last quarter of 1767, £13 10s 0d in the first quarter of 1768 and £18 10s 0d in the quarter to 30 June, and warehouse arrack sold to employees fell to 5¼ gallons against 34 in the first quarter. [Film No. 27, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 90, 106, 110, 137, 141, 153]

On 8 August 1768 Hugh Jones was fined £10 for retailing arrack, half to the informer John Price, and Thomas Yates £20 on Roderick Merchant's proof of two sales, of which he could pay only £5. On 28 November the Council offered a halfpenny for each dead rat and a farthing for each mouse brought by anyone, white or black, to the constable in Jamestown valley, who cut off the heads before the marshal and had the bodies buried, burned or sunk, the cost shared by the Company and inhabitants; country owners kept weekly counts of their slaves' kills. Joseph Chamberlain received £6 18s 2d, the first payment, in the quarter to 31 December. [Film No. 189, 190, 344, 345, 416]

Arrack rewarded labour throughout: men hauling and launching the boats, lowering guns, haymaking, thatching and shearing drew it, the doctor's shop and store workers received 80½ gallons in the quarter to 30 September 1768 and 135¾ in the next, and the guards received Bohea tea and 75 lb of candles. [Film No. 277, 385, 387, 388, 391, 394, 396, 398]

Crime, Punishment and the Judiciary

At the consultation of 9 May 1768 garden slaves told the Governor that James Black, gardener at Plantation House, sold its produce to ships' crews and Jamestown householders; Roderick Merchant testified that four bags of Black's potatoes stored at his house went to the *Triton*'s steward and admitted taking about 300 lb of onions, partly for shallots, and John Price, marshal and gaoler at £7 10s 0d a quarter, admitted taking greens for beer and cider. Black was found to have disposed of 300 lb of onions and 8 bushels of potatoes worth £9 10s 0d, nearly his quarter's salary of £10 0s 0d, which he was ordered to repay, and was sentenced to a week in prison and proposed for dismissal for suspected long-standing theft and complaints of great cruelty to the garden slaves; Merchant was fined £1 0s 0d and Price 10s 0d. Corneille's dissent from remitting the prison term cited Black's two earlier appearances for insolence to the Governor and Lieutenant Governor and two for cruelty to slaves. Black drew his full salary for the quarter to 30 June, was dismissed on 2 August for those reasons and later neglect and insolence and was paid for 59 days and sent home in the *Greenwich* as a charter party passenger. [Film No. 21, 22, 126, 150, 152, 153, 199, 202, 203, 254]

On 3 October 1768 Peter Mariot, the carpenter's mate, was examined for fitting a lock from Plantation House to his own door, called worthless and suspected of selling spirits illegally and ordered off the island; after a further complaint of neglect he was dismissed on 7 November, paid for 38 days, and James Hogg, a soldier of the Second Company, replaced him for five years, keeping his private's pay. On 14 November

the master carpenter John Robinson was told to attend daily and give the Company's work his whole attention. [Film No. 228, 229, 333, 335, 400, 405]

On 12 December 1768 Sergeant Thomas Payne, clerk of the works at 1s 6d a day for 73 days, charged that Company stone, earth, timber, iron, lime, hair and labour had gone into a billiard house built by Mitchell and Captain Henry Bazett about 1765 and charged to repairs at the Castle and Plantation House, naming nine informants. Robinson denied telling Payne anything and said only slave boys and his apprentice had worked on it in spare hours; the Governor said eight timbers lent from the slaves' hospital had been returned; Joseph Chamberlain had made the frames at home; John Dobson had used four bars of Company iron for a cellar window on Robinson's order and replaced them, Mitchell and Bazett cutting his £8 bill to £5 1s 3d; Bazett said the stones and earth were borrowed, replaced and paid for; Grainger said Payne had led his answers; and Powers denied a statement written down by the master mason William Holbrook on 24 July 1768. Thomas Yates, assistant overseer about 1765 when the hospital stone was gathered, saw stones taken but could not say whether they were replaced. The Council found nothing proved and no loss, called the accusations spiteful, impudent and malicious, dismissed Payne and ordered him to England. [Film No. 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 400]

Mitchell answered on 19 December 1768 that his accusers were men he had disciplined, that a Mr Bland had laid the same charge before the Court, that the walls were of earth mortar, the roof used 23 bushels of lime bought with the Governor's leave and paid quarterly through Payne, Riga timber and deals were charged and paid, door frames and sashes from the abandoned slaves' hospital were replaced, the dismissed armourer had sworn the bars were old Castle railings and stones worth under 40s were replaced. He judged Payne's sentence a release for a man in debt, hinted at causes he would explain only to the Court and asked for a public testimony to his character. The repairs account for the quarter to 31 December itemised every pane, nail and brush issued for Plantation House, and the garrison account charged 42 lines for whips. [Film No. 359, 360, 361, 362, 389, 390, 391]

The coroner, Mr Bovell, was paid £1 5s 0d on 24 October 1768 for the inquest on Stephen John and £1 5s 0d for one on Josiah Smith, who was not on the garrison roll. The clerk of the arraigns and crier of the court received 12s 6d each quarter, the gaoler 2s 6d each for the keep of four prisoners in the quarter to 30 June, and Beale £12 10s 0d as judge advocate. The court's porter, or crier, was clothed from store, and Thomas Watts, the discharged matross, was paid £1 0s 0d on 17 September to make the suit; the clerk of the peace received green broadcloth for a coat in the quarter to 31 December. Price, also sexton, charged 5s for committing and releasing Matthew Bazett's slave Cupid, 6s together for Joe, Cato, Nobbin and Caesar, slaves of Lieutenant Desfountain, Mrs Greentree, Robert Goodwin and John Seale, and 5s each for Benjamin Fish and Joseph Gaffe in the quarter to 30 September; Adam Evans received 5s 8d for mending the bag carrying the clerk of the peace's papers to court. [Film No. 150, 152, 251, 254, 258, 281, 282, 391, 416, 418, 420]

On 23 May 1768 the Council registered a mortgage bond for James Greentree. It proved the will of Sergeant John Cox, made on 6 June, witnessed by George Roe and Thomas Ferris, signed with a cross and leaving all to Corporal Nicholas Houghton, at the consultation of 13 June 1768. On 8 August it proved the will of Alexander Hoar, seaman of the *Admiral Pocock*, made at sea on 21 July on plain paper for want of stamped paper, leaving half to John Cross and half to Thomas Stubbs, John Burke and Christopher Armstrong. [Film No. 35, 57, 58, 127, 182, 183, 191]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

On 30 May 1768 Jonathan Doveton junior reported that Patna, a slave of his mother Mary Doveton, who had escaped about three years before in His Majesty's ship *Medway*, was a seaman named Francis Neptune in the *Earl of Elgin*; brought ashore before planters ready to swear to him, including his former master and his brother, he admitted his identity before the Council and Captain Cooke, who was ordered in writing to give him up. In April four Madagascar slaves had tried to escape in a fishing boat and been driven back. On 19 September the Council offered £5 for Tony, a slave of Jonas Doveton who had run some months before and lived by robbery, the Company, parish and owner each paying a third, and made the reward standing for any slave absent over 14 days; it joined the pass system for slaves carrying goods of February

1767/8. On 17 October the paymaster paid £1 13s 4d, the Company's third of a reward for a runaway of Mr Doveton. [Film No. 44, 215, 416]

On 11 July 1768, sales of drink to slaves being banned, the Council gave its own slaves a weekly arrack ration of three drams for men and two for women and working boys, about 19 gallons a week; slaves at the works and plantations drew 131 gallons in the quarter to 30 June, 284¼ in the next and 454¾ in the quarter to 31 December. The slaves received 32,060 lb of yams in the first quarter of 1768, 89,835 lb in the second, 71,515 lb in the third and 43,305 lb in the fourth. Stores issued to them cost £303 in the first quarter, £592 5s 7d in the second, £438 3s 1d in the third and £517 8s 9d in the fourth, including 10,049 lb of Bengal beef in the second, Bengal meat worth £195 17s 0d with English worth £84 16s 1d and 82 cwt 1 qr 2 lb of rice in the third, and Bengal beef worth £318 15s 8d and over 214 cwt of rice in the fourth. [Film No. 92, 93, 117, 118, 150, 230, 286, 369, 391, 392]

The clothing issue of the quarter to 30 June 1768 included 259 men's shirts, 46 boys' shirts, 118 suits of sailors' jackets and breeches, 175 Dutch caps and longcloth for women lying in; John Bazett bought more privately, a flannel shirt costing 4s, and the Governor's household slaves received scarlet shalloon, green serge, mohair and tape for livery. In the quarter to 30 September the slaves received 91 pairs of men's shoes, 31 of women's calf shoes and 3 of boys', 7 blankets, sagathy, stockings, combs and shalloon for Castle servants, sailors' clothing and over 1,000 fish hooks with more than 40 lots of lines, and in the quarter to 31 December 55 pairs of shoes, flour and salt for the aged, osnaburg aprons for craftsmen and linen, thread and chelloes for the Castle servants; two stock locks were fitted at the Blacks' Square. [Film No. 117, 118, 287, 288, 392, 393]

Charles Plato and Simon were born to Company slaves and Selah and a boy named Guinea died in the quarter to 30 June 1768; George Caesar and Martin Monkey died in the quarter to 30 September; Jupiter was born in the quarter to 31 December, entered in the livestock account. On 16 April 1768 Powell was paid on Corneille's order for 34 days by a stone layer at 2s 6d a day, and William Holbrook for 78 days by a labourer and, in the quarter to 31 December, 72 days by his apprentice at 1s a day. Stone and earth gathered about 1765 for a slaves' hospital were never built into one, and two of its door cases stood in the slaves' house. The Black House was repaired in the quarter to 30 June. [Film No. 92, 113, 144, 148, 230, 256, 351, 352, 353, 369, 418]

The Malays received food, oil and soap worth £2 11s 5d in the quarter to 30 June 1768, and Nequedah Pocholam an allowance and house rent; the account headed "Mallay" supplied one household with rations, tea, blue broadcloth, silk, fine shoes, cotton stockings and china worth £17 16s 9d in the quarter to 30 September and £5 1s 10d in the next. [Film No. 118, 144, 288, 289, 393]

Black servants travelled in the ships: the Campbells, Mr Court and Captain Grady of the *Europa* listed four unnamed in April 1768; the *Earl of Elgin* carried three; James Hayfield, a black boy in the *Latham*, and Caesar in the *Vansittart* were named; the *Egmont* listed Mrs Taylor's servants Jose, Silvia and Flora, Mr Devereux's Phill and the captain's John Caesar on 1 September; the *Valentine* carried two black maidservants and a black boy; the *Bute* listed Cato and Mocha, servants of the second mate and gunner; the *Verelst* the second mate's servant Peter Cesar; and the *Kent* "Bandillo, a black man". [Film No. 9, 15, 41, 55, 206, 207, 431, 445, 450, 451]

Religion and Education

The chaplain, the Reverend William Bearcroft, paid £40 0s 0d with a £15 0s 0d table allowance, pleaded on 23 May 1768 that candles cost him heavily and was granted 30 lb a quarter, the councillors drawing 50 lb, subject to the Court's approval; he received 10 lb in the quarter to 30 June. He had sent £100 home by bill on 22 February 1767/8 and repaid a £100 bond borrowed in England on 4 July 1768, credited to the London account. On 25 July he laid rules for the library the Company had sent for its principal servants: borrowers signed for one folio or quarto or four smaller volumes, kept a folio eight weeks and a smaller book four if others wanted it, replaced damaged books and answered to the chaplain, a gentleman checked the books yearly and a councillor inspected the library on the first Wednesday of each September. [Film No. 35, 89, 110, 125, 176, 177, 179]

Beale drew £7 10s 0d a quarter as schoolmaster, Thomas Yates £5 0s 0d as clerk of the church and the drum major £1 0s 0d for teaching the young drummers; Private John Joyce drew £1 5s 0d as cleaner of clocks and instruments. Servants bought primers, spelling books, Testaments, Bibles and prayer books, and the store held 12 hornbooks, 15 spelling books and 11 primers on 30 September 1768. John Price billed for silk and ferreting to bind the church book. [Film No. 102, 125, 126, 143, 235, 258, 263, 300, 381, 411, 413]

Personalities

Lieutenant Henry De Laune died at home on 8 August 1768 without a will; his 106 lots were auctioned at Richard Bagley's house in Jamestown on 12 September for £84 14s 6d, among them billiard cues, a backgammon table, paste buckles, over 30 shirts, a gorget, gold-laced hats, swords, uniform cloth fetching £9 and books including Rapin, Beaumont and Fletcher, Burnet, Swift, Hudibras, Locke, Milton, Shaftesbury and Anson's Voyage. Captain John Howard, administering, added £11 15s 2½d of pay and paid £43 16s 5d in debts and charges, including £12 16s 4½d for the funeral to John Bazett and sums to fellow officers, sergeants, John Price and Corporal Richard Bickerstaff; the balance was £52 13s 3½d (5½d in the minutes of 3 October). [Film No. 208, 217, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 421]

Passengers included Thomas Fitzhugh and Alexander Todd, Canton supercargoes, in the *Latham*, Thomas Smith in the *Houghton* and Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake in the *Vansittart*; Mr Wrench, signatory of the *Worcester*'s Bombay invoice, his wife and daughter and a Mr Skottowe in the *Worcester*; Charles Stafford Playdell, Lady Hope, Mrs Bloomer and a John Holwell in the *Earl of Elgin*; Major and Mrs Tibbert and the Hare family in the *Northington*; Mrs Taylor's family in the *Egmont*; Mr and Mrs Bolts, probably William Bolts, deported from Bengal by Governor Verelst in 1768, in the *Valentine*; and Major Gowan, saluted with 11 guns on landing on 22 February 1768/9, his wife, Captain Scott and his wife, Captain Burr and a supercargo in the *Bute*. [Film No. 15, 16, 17, 41, 54, 55, 207, 431, 445, 447]

Margaret Isbell, a widow, died on 23 August 1768, George Young, an inhabitant, on 13 December 1768 and Jane, wife of the master mason William Holbrook, on 23 January 1768/9. [Film No. 203, 358, 424]

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1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date: ST HELENA RECORDS 1768-1769 Photographer: PETER Date photographed: 18 JAN 2022 Additional comments:	
2		Book cover	
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8	1	Island St. Helena At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th 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 18th day of April 1768 Friday the 22d Sailed the Dutch Ship Elizabeth for Holland Yesterday Do. the Dutch Ships Margaret Maria, and Cornatena for Do. Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Europa, and Earl of Middlesex to Muster their Company's and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. Muster Roll of Ship Europa Henry Kent Pelly Commr. Edward Westrop Chief Mate	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 25 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 18 April 1768. The Dutch ship *Elizabeth* sailed for Holland on Friday 22 April. The Dutch ships *Margaret Maria* and *Cornelia* sailed for Holland on Sunday 24 April. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Europa* and the *Earl of Middlesex* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. Their muster rolls read as follows, beginning with the *Europa*. Henry Kent Pelly, Commander Edward Westorp, Chief Mate Raymond Snow, Second Mate Robert Ross, Third Mate Robert Boyle Nicholas, Fourth Mate John Wells, Fifth Mate

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		Raymond Snow Second Do. Robert Ross 3d Do. Robert Boyle Nicholas 4th Do. John Wells 5th Do. Robert Tidmas Purser Robert Baldwin Surgeon William Triggen Carpenter George Halton Boatswain John Webster Gunner Elisha Point Surgeons Mate Samuel Steers Caulker Norman Brander Cooper Charles Crane Sailmaker Jonah Yeates Ships Steward James Mills Capt. Do. John Dixon Capt. Cook William Palmer Ships Do. Thomas Outerloney Carpr. Mate John Young Do. Charles Godfrey Do. James Pittman Cooper Mate Robert Hunt Boatsw. Do. John Barnett Do. Edward Ponsil Gunners Do. Andrew Shorles Armourer William Saunders Butcher Geo. Thompson Quartermaster David Jones Do. Danl. Masterton Quartermr. Peter McLean Do. Lawrence Fridman Do. Thomas Jenkins Midshipman Thos. Horden Midshipman John Johnson Do. James Remington Do. Geo. Hall Do. James Willcot Seaman Richd. Masterton Isaac Naston Chas. Nelvie Joseph Johnson Stephn. Owen Charles Cooper	Robert Thomas, Purser Robert Baldwin, Surgeon William Jaggen, Carpenter George Halton, Boatswain John Webster, Gunner Elisha Corbett, Surgeon's Mate Samuel Stevens, Caulker Norman Brander, Cooper Charles Crane, Sailmaker Joseph Yeates, Ship's Steward James Mills, Captain's Steward John Owen, Captain's Cook William Palmer, Ship's Cook Thomas Butterley, Carpenter's Mate John Young, Carpenter's Mate Charles Godfrey, Carpenter's Mate James Pitman, Cooper's Mate Robert Hunt, Boatswain's Mate John Barnett, Boatswain's Mate Edward Pencil, Gunner's Mate Andrew Showles, Armourer William Saunders, Butcher George Thompson, Quartermaster David Jones, Quartermaster Daniel Masterton, Quartermaster Peter McLean, Quartermaster Laurence Fledman, Quartermaster Thomas Jenkins, Midshipman Thomas Horton, Midshipman John Johnson, Midshipman James Kensington, Midshipman George Hall, Midshipman James Willet, Seaman Richard Masterton, Seaman Isaac Martin, Seaman Charles Nelme, Seaman Joseph Johnson, Seaman Stephen Owen, Seaman Charles Cooper, Seaman **Interpretations** The three Dutch ships that called in mid-April all stayed in James Bay for about a week before sailing for Holland. The *Elizabeth* arrived on 14 April and left on 22 April. The *Margaret Maria* and the *Cornelia* arrived on 15 and 16 April and sailed together on 24 April. The Dutch usually passed St Helena without stopping, since their own company had its refreshment station at the Cape. A stay of a week shows that these ships needed water and fresh food in earnest, probably after a long passage from Bengal and China. The island served the whole homeward trade of Europe, not only the English Company's ships. The Council kept a careful record of every foreign ship's arrival and departure for the Court in London. The *Europa*'s commander, Henry Kent Pelly, belonged to a family that was well established in the Company's maritime service. Several Pellys commanded East Indiamen in the eighteenth century. Commands of this kind often passed among related families, who held shares in the ships as well as sailing them. The roll entered Daniel Masterton as a quartermaster and Richard Masterton as a seaman. They were probably brothers or cousins. Kinsmen often signed on together, and one rose faster than the other as he gained experience at sea.
9	2	25th April Thos. Aldridge Seaman Emanuel McCosta Samuel Anderson James Nuvels Joshua Mam Thomas Dunavan William Cook James Gray	The *Europa*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew. Thomas Aldridge, Seaman Emanuel McCosta, Seaman Samuel Anderson, Seaman James Nuels, Seaman Joshua Ham, Seaman Thomas Dunason, Seaman William Cook, Seaman

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		Joseph Jones Thomas Jackson William Andrews John Armstrong Stephen Porter George Dierks Andrew Dinhorn Anthony Michaelson Anthony Ryall Henry Westhart James Anderson Thomas Head Seaman Samuel Willmore Francis Clarke William McKay John Brewster John Watson Henry Pinks John Dennis Edmund Farley Henry Allen John Willson Michael Tadlock Edward Jolly William Usher David Lees Robert Charleson Francis Malcomb Peter Fountain John Norwood Seaman John Smith Antony Christ Andrew Brile Chas. Hopkins Peter Dufrise Wilhelmin Johnson Hans Young William Pane John Dangerfield Thomas Smith James Anderson Thomas Pope James Worrell Henry Mears John Callen George Bowman John Frederick Peter Tuck Passengers Mr. Alexr. Campbell Mrs. Campbell Black Man Black Maid Servants Mr. Court Black Servant Capt. Grady Black Man Servant Signed Henry Pelly	James Gray, Seaman Joseph Jones, Seaman Thomas Jackson, Seaman William Andrews, Seaman John Armstrong, Seaman Stephen Porter, Seaman George Dierks, Seaman Andrew Dinkorn, Seaman Anthony Michaelson, Seaman Anthony Ryall, Seaman Henry Westhart, Seaman James Anderson, Seaman Thomas Head, Seaman Samuel Willmore, Seaman Francis Clarke, Seaman William McKay, Seaman John Brewster, Seaman John Watson, Seaman Henry Parks, Seaman John Dennis, Seaman Edmund Farley, Seaman Henry Allen, Seaman John Willson, Seaman Michael Tadlock, Seaman Edward Jolly, Seaman William Usher, Seaman David Tees, Seaman Robert Charleson, Seaman Francis Malcomb, Seaman Peter Fountain, Seaman John Norwood, Seaman John Smith, Seaman Antony Christ, Seaman Andrew Brite, Seaman Cliff Hopkins, Seaman Peter Dufrese, Seaman Wilhelmin Johnson, Seaman Hans Young, Seaman William Gary, Seaman John Dangerfield, Seaman Thomas Smith, Seaman James Anderson, Seaman Thomas Pope, Seaman James Worrell, Seaman Henry Mears, Seaman John Callen, Seaman George Bowman, Seaman John Frederick, Seaman Peter Tuck, Seaman The ship also carried passengers. Mr Alexander Campbell Mrs Campbell A black man, servant A black maid, servant Mr Court A black servant Captain Grady A black man, servant Captain Henry Pelly signed the roll. **Interpretations** Every European passenger in the *Europa* travelled with at least one black servant, and the roll gave none of those servants a name. The Campbells brought a man and a maid. Mr Court and Captain Grady each brought one servant. Returning officials and officers from Bengal commonly brought Indian or African servants to England, many of them slaves bought in the East. The clerk entered them by colour and duty alone, as had happened with Fanny and the three black boys in the *Hector* on 22 February 1768. The roll treated them as attendants who belonged to their masters, not as passengers in their own right. Their legal standing in England was still unsettled in 1768. The courts would not address the question directly until Somerset's case in 1772.

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			Several of the seamen had Dutch, German or Scandinavian names, including George Dierks, Andrew Dinkorn, Anthony Michaelson, Wilhelmin Johnson and Hans Young. A Bengal ship took on such men in the Hooghly. Seamen from every European nation gathered there between voyages, and English commanders filled the places of men lost on the way out.
10	3	1768 Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Middlesex John Hasell Commander Thos. Timbrill Chief Mate Joseph Simkinson 2d Do. Thomas Lloyd 3d Do. Robert Noble 4th Do. William Wilson Surgeon Thomas Hodgson Purser James Bean Boatswain Joseph Bowers Gunner John Rollinson Carpenter Patrick Corquron Midshipman Andrew Saunders Qr. Master John Peters Do. Andrew Vial Do. Robert Steward Do. Thoms. Patterson Ships Steward William Dennis Cooper John Harcourt Capt. Cook Henry Greentree Ships Do. Robert Scot Caulker John March Armourer Peter Bride Butcher Robert Baxter Sailmr. Thos. Nicholls Boatsw. 1 Mate John Green Carpr. 1 Do. Joseph Matthews Coopers Do. Francis Pebble Caulkers Do. Andrew Clarke Cooks Do. John Brown Boatsw. 2 Do. John Pattison Carpr. 2 Do. Thomas Davy Chief Mates Servt. William Dashwood Capt. Servt. Andrew Peirce 2d Mates Servt. Richd. Bate Man Surgeons Do. Nichl. Sterling Boatswains Do. Robert Green Gunners Do. John Whitby Carpenters Do. Richard Williams Seaman John Milliard Do. John Bellas Will. Rufus Saxon Elias Fisher George Fletcher Chas. Pinchback Edward Hill Thos. Saunderson Robert Jefferson William Hutton Andrew Douglass Joseph Moss John Small John Patterson Richd. Mosley Henry Withers Patrick Browne George Pierce John Carr George Rudd Will. Page John McClelland Will. Sparks John Forth Robert Darbon Thos. Smith Seaman Will. Greenley	The muster roll of the *Earl of Middlesex* followed. John Hasell, Commander Thomas Timbrell, Chief Mate Joseph Jenkins, Second Mate Thomas Lloyd, Third Mate Robert Noble, Fourth Mate William Wilson, Surgeon Thomas Hodgson, Purser James Bean, Boatswain Joseph Bowis, Gunner John Pattinson, Carpenter Patrick Corgueror, Midshipman Andrew Saunders, Quartermaster John Peters, Quartermaster Andrew Vial, Quartermaster Robert Steward, Quartermaster Thomas Patterson, Ship's Steward William Dennis, Cooper John Starrett, Captain's Cook Henry Greentree, Ship's Cook Robert Scot, Caulker John Marsh, Armourer Peter Bride, Butcher Robert Baxter, Sailmaker Thomas Nichols, Boatswain's First Mate John Green, Carpenter's First Mate Joseph Matthews, Cooper's Mate Francis Pebble, Caulker's Mate Andrew Clarke, Cook's Mate John Brown, Boatswain's Second Mate John Robinson, Carpenter's Second Mate Thomas Drury, Chief Mate's Servant William Dashwood, Captain's Servant Andrew Lewis, Second Mate's Servant Richard Bate, Surgeon's Servant Nicholas Starling, Boatswain's Servant Robert Green, Gunner's Servant John Whaley, Carpenter's Servant Richard Williams, Seaman John Milliard, Seaman John Bellas, Seaman William Rufus Saxon, Seaman Elias Fisher, Seaman George Fletcher, Seaman Charles Pinchback, Seaman Edward Hill, Seaman Thomas Saunderson, Seaman Robert Jefferson, Seaman William Hulton, Seaman Andrew Douglass, Seaman Joseph Ross, Seaman John Small, Seaman John Pattison, Seaman Richard Morley, Seaman Henry Withers, Seaman Patrick Browne, Seaman George Purse, Seaman John Carr, Seaman George Reed, Seaman William Page, Seaman John McClelland, Seaman William Sparks, Seaman John Forth, Seaman Robert Dobson, Seaman Thomas Smith, Seaman William Grumley, Seaman John Hallifax, Seaman

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		John Hallifax Neal McCloed William Cullingham Richd. Oliver James Rushmore Chas. Gowin Thomas Bowen Francis Clement Thomas Jones Michl. Sullivan Will. Wicks James Selyard Thomas Jackson Will. Young James Stephenson Will. Sisson Will. Almond Will. Thompson Will. Bach Will. Mitchell Thos. Dunsdale Will. Watts Thos. Byrne Will. Alexander Richd. Smiles Jacob Johnson Harm Hinder Cranbrook Andrew Corthy James McLain Passengers Signed J. Hasell	Neil McCloud, Seaman William Cunningham, Seaman Richard Oliver, Seaman James Rushmore, Seaman Charles Govin, Seaman Thomas Pearson, Seaman Francis Clement, Seaman Thomas Jones, Seaman Michael Sullivan, Seaman William Wicks, Seaman James Telford, Seaman Thomas Jackson, Seaman William Young, Seaman James Stephenson, Seaman William Tipson, Seaman William Almond, Seaman William Thompson, Seaman William Beech, Seaman William Mitchell, Seaman Thomas Dunsdale, Seaman William Watts, Seaman Thomas Byrne, Seaman William Alexander, Seaman Richard Smiles, Seaman Jacob Johnson, Seaman Harman Hunter, Seaman [...] Cranbrook, Seaman The ship also carried two passengers. Andrew Carthy James McLain Captain John Hasell signed the roll. **Interpretations** The roll shows that the *Earl of Middlesex* was the ship that brought the nine bullocks from the Cape, for which the Council paid £55 15s 0d. John Hasell was her commander. Thomas Hodgson, who signed the bill on Hasell's behalf on 25 April 1768, was her purser. The purser kept the ship's accounts and dealt with suppliers, so it fell to him to settle the captain's sale of livestock with the Council. The cattle were carried on Hasell's own account, as Captain Nairn's had been in December 1767. They were part of the private trade that commanders added to their pay. The *Earl of Middlesex* had come from Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra. It was the Company's pepper settlement, and it had a reputation as one of the unhealthiest posts in the East. Her crew list was shorter than those of the large China ships. Like the *Norfolk*, she carried a full set of servants attached to her officers, mostly boys bound to learn the sea. John Whaley, the carpenter's servant, shared a surname with the island's Whaley family. The name was common enough that no link can be assumed.
11	4	25th April The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores, short received from the Ship Europa Account of Stores short received from Ship Europa viz. 2 . 2 . 10 Rice cwt. qrs. lb - . 1 . - Paddy 1 . 3 . 14 Sugar - . - . 5 Candles Short Weight 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 142 Galls. Wants to fill 9 Galls. 1 Do. Do. 149 Do. 6 Do. 291 15 15 Galls. 276 Recd. St. Helena 25th April 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper We this day granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange, drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. One Set to Capt. Henry Kinde Pelly for £ 100 -	James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Europa* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it at St Helena on 25 April 1768. Rice, short in weight by 2 cwt 2 qr 10 lb Paddy, short in weight by 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb Sugar, short in weight by 1 cwt 3 qr 14 lb Wax candles, short in weight by 0 cwt 0 qr 5 lb Arrack, 1 leaguer gauged at 142 gallons, lacking 9 gallons to fill it Arrack, 1 leaguer gauged at 149 gallons, lacking 6 gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 291 gallons, total lacking 15 gallons Arrack received, 276 gallons The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors. 1 set to Captain Henry Hinde Pelly for £100 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee 1 set to Captain John Hasell for £155 15s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee, of which £55 15s 0d

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		payable to himself (Or Order) - And one Set to Capt. John Hasell for £ 155 . 15 payable to himself, or Order) £ 55 . 15 of which he laid out on the Honble Company's Account for Cattle, he brought from the Cape. - In consequence of a former Resolution for purchasing a Long Boat, We have bought one of Capt. Pelly, with Masts, Sails Oars, Grapnel &ca for which we paid him £ 35 - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	was for the cattle he brought from the Cape on the Company's account Under an earlier resolution to buy a longboat, the Council bought one from Captain Pelly, complete with masts, sails, oars and grapnel, and paid him £35 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council did not pay Captain Hasell for his cattle in cash. It added the £55 15s 0d to a bill on the Court in London and gave him one bill for £155 15s 0d. The other £100 was coin that Hasell paid into the treasury. The Council kept its coin on the island and settled the Company's debt with paper payable in London. Hasell, for his part, carried home the value of his cattle and his spare cash in one safe document. Captain Nairn's cattle had been settled the same way in January. The longboat bought from Pelly replaced the boat the *Hector* had damaged beyond repair on 22 February 1768. The carpenter had valued that boat at £10. The Council had since spent heavily on refitting the Company's other longboat, as the storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts for the quarter showed. Building a new boat on the island would have taken timber the island did not have and months of the carpenters' time, which was already committed to the batteries. A ship's boat bought ready-made and complete with her gear met the need at once for £35. Homeward commanders could spare a boat for the last leg of the voyage to England. The *Europa*'s arrack lacked 15 gallons in two casks, a normal loss on a voyage from Bengal. That was close to the *Norfolk*'s 13 gallons in March. It was far below the 54 gallons missing from one of the *Lord Holland*'s casks in January.
12	5	2d May At a Consultation on Monday the 2d day of May 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 25th April 1768 Monday the 25th April Sailed the Dane Ship Prince Frederick for Copenhagen Tuesday the 26th Do. Do. the Honorable Company's Ships Europa and Earl of Middlesex for England - Wednesday the 27th Do. Arrived the Lathams Boat at Banks's, half an Hour past five o'Clock in the Afternoon Do. Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Latham from China Thursday the 28th Do. Do. the Worcesters Boat at Banks's at six o'Clock in the morning Do. Do. Do. the Honble Company's Ship Worcester from Bombay last from the Cape - Do. Do. Do. the Houghtons Boat at Banks's, half an Hour past four o'Clock in the afternoon - Do. Do. Do. the Honble Company's Ship Houghton from China Do. Do. Passed by a French Ship The Latham, Worcester and Houghton brought Us the following Supply viz. Invoice of Ship Latham Sugar Candy 25 Chests No. 1 to 25 Tare, Nett No. 1: Tare 24, Nett 289 2: Tare 26, Nett 284 3: Tare 25, Nett 289	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 2 May 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 April 1768. The movements of shipping since then were recorded as follows. Monday 25 April, the Danish ship *Prince Frederick* sailed for Copenhagen. Tuesday 26 April, the Company's ships *Europa* and *Earl of Middlesex* sailed for England. Wednesday 27 April, a boat from the *Latham* landed at Banks's at half past five in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Latham* arrived from China the same day. Thursday 28 April, a boat from the *Worcester* landed at Banks's at six in the morning, and the Company's ship *Worcester* arrived from Bombay, having called last at the Cape. Thursday 28 April, a boat from the *Houghton* landed at Banks's at half past four in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Houghton* arrived from China the same day. Thursday 28 April, a French ship passed the island. The *Latham*, the *Worcester* and the *Houghton* brought the following supplies. The *Latham*'s invoice came first. Sugar candy, chests numbered 1 to 25, 25 chests Chest 1, tare 24 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 2, tare 26 lb, gross 294 lb Chest 3, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 4, tare 23 lb, gross 283 lb Chest 5, tare 24 lb, gross 286 lb Chest 6, tare 25 lb, gross 286 lb Chest 7, tare 27 lb, gross 293 lb

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		4: Tare 23, Nett 283 5: Tare 24, Nett 286 6: Tare 25, Nett 286 7: Tare 27, Nett 293 8: Tare 26, Nett 290 9: Tare 26, Nett 291 10: Tare 25, Nett 292 Total: Tare 251, Nett 2883 No. 11: Tare 26, Nett 292 12: Tare 24, Nett 287 13: Tare 25, Nett 291 14: Tare 25, Nett 290 15: Tare 25, Nett 291 16: Tare 25, Nett 292 17: Tare 25, Nett 291 18: Tare 25, Nett 289 19: Tare 26, Nett 292 20: Tare 26, Nett 291 Total: Tare 252, Nett 2906 No. 21: Tare 26, Nett 289 22: Tare 24, Nett 290 23: Tare 25, Nett 289 24: Tare 25, Nett 289 25: Tare 24, Nett 289 Total: Tare 124, Nett 1446 Gross Wt. 7855 lb Tare 629 6626 Nt. Pecl. 49 . 69 @ Ta. 7 . 5 E. Excepted Ta. 372 . 6 . 7 . 5 Signed Mattw. Raper junr. John Bradley Blake Wm. Rous Thoms. Bevan Wm. Harrison Benj. Torin Mann Horner Thos. Smith Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Stephn. De Visme	Chest 8, tare 26 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 9, tare 26 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 10, tare 25 lb, gross 293 lb Chests 1 to 10, tare 253 lb, gross 2,903 lb Chest 11, tare 26 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 12, tare 24 lb, gross 287 lb Chest 13, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 14, tare 25 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 15, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 16, tare 25 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 17, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 18, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 19, tare 26 lb, gross 293 lb Chest 20, tare 26 lb, gross 291 lb Chests 11 to 20, tare 252 lb, gross 2,906 lb Chest 21, tare 26 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 22, tare 24 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 23, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 24, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 25, tare 24 lb, gross 289 lb Chests 21 to 25, tare 124 lb, gross 1,446 lb Gross weight, 7,255 lb Tare, 629 lb Net weight, 6,626 lb, or 49 piculs 69 catties, at 7 taels 5 mace per picul, 372 taels 6 mace 7 candareens 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** Unlike the plain sugar that came in March, the chests of sugar candy were not packed to one standard gross weight. Each chest weighed slightly differently. Crystallised candy came in hard lumps, so it could not be poured in to fill a chest to an exact weight. The weighers therefore recorded each chest's gross weight as it stood. Sugar candy cost 7 taels 5 mace a picul. Plain sugar from the same supercargoes had cost 4 taels 5 mace. The extra two-thirds paid for the slow work of crystallising the syrup. The island used candy heavily. The Company's table drew 410 lb in the first quarter of 1768, and the hospital, the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop all received it. At about 1¾d a pound before freight, Chinese candy was still cheap enough to be used daily at the Castle. The Danish ship *Prince Frederick* stayed nine days in James Bay, from 16 to 25 April. The Dutch ships had stayed about a week. The foreign ships that called in April needed time ashore for water and fresh food. That brought custom to the island's planters and householders, who sold them provisions.
13	6	2d May Invoice of Ship Worcester Rice beaten fine 45 Bags of S. Mds. 300 viz. 44 Bags @ 6¾ S. Mds. 297 S. Mds. @ 22 Rs. Pr. 13 S. Md. 363 1 Do. 3 @ ditto 3 2 66 45 Bags 300 S. Mds. 366 2 66 Batty 32 Bags @ 3 Corahs viz. Mor. Cors. 3 . 21 Batty @ 20 Pr. Morah 76 3 20 Charges on Merchandize Gunny Pieces 70 Expended for Rice Bags @ 5 Pr. C. 17 2 Batty Bags 45 for Do. @ 3 Qrs. @ 33 3 Gunny Pieces 64 making Bags for Batty @ 5 Pr. C.	The *Worcester*'s invoice listed the supplies she brought from Bombay, in Bombay money. Fine beaten rice, 45 bags weighing 300 [...] 44 bags at 6¾ [...] each, 297 [...] at 22 rupees per [...], 363 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas 1 bag of 3 [...] at the same rate, 3 rupees 2 quarters 66 reas Total for 45 bags of rice, 366 rupees 2 quarters 66 reas Batty, 32 bags at 3 [...] each, 3 [...] 21 [...] at 20 [...] per morah, 76 rupees 3 quarters 20 reas Charges on the goods 50 gunny pieces used for rice bags at 35 per hundred, 17 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas 45 batty bags for the same at 3 [...], 3 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas 64 gunny pieces for making bags for the batty at 25 per hundred, 16 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas 7 lb of twine for sewing the bags at 4 [...] per maund, 1 rupee 0 quarters 0 reas

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		16 Twine 7 lb sowing Bags @ 4 Rs. Pr. Md. 1 Lascars 30 for Do. at 17 pice @ 6 1 50 Hammals carrying 45 Bags to the Pier Head @ 2 pice @ 1 50 Ditto carrying 32 Bags of Batty from the Old Mandavie to the Pier Head @ 4 pice @ 1 2 40 Company's Boat Hire for one Day 2 2 79 3 40 Errors Excepted Rupees 523 1 26 Signed P. Wrench Acct. Invoice of Ship Houghton Sugar Candy 26 Chests No. 26 to 51 Chests Tare, Nett No. 26: Tare 24, Nett 289 27: Tare 20, Nett 282 28: Tare 26, Nett 299 29: Tare 24, Nett 290 30: Tare 25, Nett 289 Total: Tare 117, Nett 1449 No. 31: Tare 25, Nett 291 2: Tare 25, Nett 290 3: Tare 25, Nett 291 4: Tare 25, Nett 291 5: Tare 25, Nett 291 6: Tare 25, Nett 291 7: Tare 25, Nett 289 8: Tare 25, Nett 291 9: Tare 24, Nett 292 40: Tare 24, Nett 288 Total: Tare 248, Nett 2905 No. 41: Tare 25, Nett 290 42: Tare 25, Nett 291 3: Tare 24, Nett 294 4: Tare 24, Nett 290 5: Tare 25, Nett 290 6: Tare 26, Nett 291 7: Tare 24, Nett 289 8: Tare 24, Nett 286 9: Tare 24, Nett 291 50: Tare 25, Nett 289 51: Tare 24, Nett 288 Total: Tare 270, Nett 3189 Gross Wt. 7543 Tare 635 6923 Nt. Pecl. 51 . 81 @ Ta. 7 . 5 Errors Excepted Ta. 388 . 5 . 7 . 5 Signed Mattw. Raper junr. John Bradley Blake Wm. Rous Thos. Bevan Wm. Harrison Benj. Torin Mann Horner Thos. Smith Thos. Fitzhugh Henry Revell Stepn. De Visme	30 lascars for the same at 17 pice, 6 rupees 1 quarter 50 reas Porters carrying 45 bags of rice to the pierhead at 2 pice each, 1 rupee 0 quarters 50 reas Porters carrying 32 bags of batty from the old [...] to the pierhead at 4 pice each, 1 rupee 2 quarters 40 reas The Company's boat, hired for one day, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Total for charges, 19 rupees 3 quarters 40 reas Total, 523 rupees 1 quarter 26 reas R Wrench signed the invoice as accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. The *Houghton*'s invoice listed the sugar candy she brought from China. Sugar candy, chests numbered 26 to 51, 26 chests Chest 26, tare 24 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 27, tare 20 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 28, tare 24 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 29, tare 24 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 30, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chests 26 to 30, tare 117 lb, gross 1,449 lb Chest 31, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 32, tare 25 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 33, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 34, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 35, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 36, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 37, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 38, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 39, tare 24 lb, gross 292 lb Chest 40, tare 24 lb, gross 288 lb Chests 31 to 40, tare 248 lb, gross 2,905 lb Chest 41, tare 25 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 42, tare 25 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 43, tare 24 lb, gross 294 lb Chest 44, tare 24 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 45, tare 25 lb, gross 290 lb Chest 46, tare 26 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 47, tare 24 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 48, tare 24 lb, gross 286 lb Chest 49, tare 24 lb, gross 291 lb Chest 50, tare 25 lb, gross 289 lb Chest 51, tare 24 lb, gross 288 lb Chests 41 to 51, tare 270 lb, gross 3,189 lb Gross weight, 7,543 lb Tare, 635 lb Net weight, 6,908 lb, or 51 piculs 81 catties, at 7 taels 5 mace per picul, 388 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 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 *Worcester*'s invoice was kept in the money of the Bombay presidency. The Bombay rupee was divided into four quarters, and each quarter into 100 reas. The pice was a small copper coin used to pay daily labour. Batty was the western Indian word for rice still in the husk, the same grain that Bengal and Madras sent as paddy. The morah was a Bombay measure of grain. Like the other Indian settlements, Bombay sent St Helena a fixed consignment of its cheapest staple in each homeward ship. It was the island's third source of eastern rice, alongside Bengal and Madras. The charges show how goods were moved at Bombay. Lascars were Indian seamen and dock labourers, who sewed and stowed the bags. Hamals were porters who carried each bag on their backs from the warehouses to the pierhead, and they were paid a few pice a bag. Unlike Madras, Bombay had a proper harbour and pier, so no surf boats were needed. That kept the charges to under 4 per cent of the cost of the

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			goods, against almost 7 per cent on the *Norfolk*'s Bengal invoice and far more on the *Europa*'s salt beef. The *Houghton*'s chests of sugar candy were numbered 26 to 51, continuing the series of 1 to 25 carried by the *Latham*. The Canton supercargoes had again divided one purchase between two ships of the same season, as they had done with the plain sugar in March. Together the two ships landed more than 13,500 lb of candy net.
14	7	1768 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Latham Worcester, and Houghton to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none, their Muster Muster Rolls are as follow viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Latham James Moffatt Commander John Prince Chief Mate John Hymnes 2d Do. Saml. Hough 3d Do. Ralph Dundas 4th Do. Henry Sau 5th Do. Lewis Besom 6th Do. Alexr. Thompson Surgeon Andrew Dyce Purser Christr. Pinnicock Boatsw. Robert Forman Surgeons Mate Francis Hamar Ships Steward Joseph Osborne Capt. Do. John Fay Midshipman Phillip Sharp Do. Coxswain Andrew Gordon Midshipman Chas. Gardyne Do. Joseph Windman Do. Thos. Dorrington Do. David Sangster Do. John Cox Quartermaster David Little Do. Danl. Robinson Do. John Scott Do. William Grafton Do. Geo. Wonderspoon Cooper John Wilkins Do. Mate David Matthews Capt. Cook Christr. Reily Ships Do. John Fowler Caulker Joseph Bullton Caulkers Mate Edward Bell Carpenter David Briggs Do. Mate Joseph Gill Sailmaker John Green Armourer Antony Ayre Butcher Henry Moor Gunners Mate Joseph Wagman Boatsw. 1 Do. Jacob Gerricks Seaman Robert Fuller Ralph Appleby Saml. Moron John Brook Lawrence Johnson Archd. Burd Chas. Lesslie Thomas Reid John Rich Robt. Robinson James Rider Christ. Barcer James Machin Christian Hanson Saml. Willson John Grundy Morgan Magary Wm. Forsyth John Neal	Purling reported that he had boarded the *Latham*, the *Worcester* and the *Houghton* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. Their muster rolls read as follows, beginning with the *Latham*. James Moffatt, Commander John Prince, Chief Mate John Hunnings, Second Mate Samuel Hough, Third Mate Ralph Dundas, Fourth Mate Henry Lane, Fifth Mate Lewis Beson, Sixth Mate Alexander Thompson, Surgeon Andrew Dyce, Purser Christopher Pinnicock, Boatswain Robert Forman, Surgeon's Mate Francis Kinna, Ship's Steward Joseph Osborne, Captain's Steward John Jay, Midshipman Phillip Sharp, Coxswain Andrew Gordon, Midshipman Charles Gardyne, Midshipman Joseph Vandeman, Midshipman Thomas Dorrington, Midshipman David Sangster, Midshipman John Coe, Quartermaster David Pattle, Quartermaster Daniel Robinson, Quartermaster John Scott, Quartermaster William Grafton, Quartermaster George Winderspoon, Cooper John Watkins, Cooper's Mate David Matthews, Captain's Cook Christopher Riley, Ship's Cook John Fowler, Caulker Joseph Button, Caulker's Mate Edward Bott, Carpenter David Briggs, Carpenter's Mate Joseph Gill, Sailmaker John Green, Armourer Antony Ayre, Butcher Henry Moss, Gunner's Mate Joseph Wagman, Boatswain's First Mate Jacob Vorricks, Seaman Robert Butler, Seaman Ralph Appleby, Seaman Samuel Moxon, Seaman John Brook, Seaman Lawrence Johnson, Seaman Archibald Burns, Seaman Charles Lisle, Seaman Thomas Rice, Seaman John Pitt, Seaman Robert Robinson, Seaman James Rider, Seaman Christopher Dancer, Seaman James Machin, Seaman Christian Hanson, Seaman Samuel Willson, Seaman John Grumbly, Seaman Morgan Magany, Seaman William Forsyth, Seaman John Neal, Seaman Sylvester Anderson, Seaman Simpson Graves, Seaman Thomas Brown, Seaman William Brown, Seaman

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		Sylvr. Anderson Simpson Groves Thoms. Brown Seaman William Brown Peter Monk William Brown John Dellylong James Cleveland Thomas Downey John Johnson John Martins John Pearson James Merriott James Bowzey Wm. Moron John Hurst Thomas Creighton Peter Gilly John Post Alexr. Penny William Jones Jos. Pennywork Robt. Alexander William Green John Griffin Daniel Dailey Fran. Gray John Lazar John Stedman Will. Martin Saml. Gay George Anderson	Peter Monk, Seaman William Brown, Seaman John Delylong, Seaman James Cleveland, Seaman Thomas Downey, Seaman John Johnson, Seaman John Martin, Seaman John Pearson, Seaman James Merriott, Seaman James Bowzey, Seaman William Moxon, Seaman John Hurst, Seaman Thomas Creighton, Seaman Peter Gilley, Seaman John Peat, Seaman Alexander Penny, Seaman William Jones, Seaman Joseph Pennycock, Seaman Robert Alexander, Seaman William Green, Seaman John Griffin, Seaman Daniel Dailey, Seaman Francis Gray, Seaman John Lazar, Seaman John Stedman, Seaman William Martin, Seaman Samuel Gay, Seaman George Anderson, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Latham* carried six mates, as the *Earl of Lincoln* had done in March. Six mates was the establishment of the largest China ships. These ships made the longest round voyages in the Company's service and carried the most valuable cargoes. Six China ships called in March and April 1768. They kept the Council busy with musters, invoices and bills through the whole southern autumn. The roll named a coxswain, Phillip Sharp. He was in charge of the captain's boat and its crew. He steered the boat when the captain went ashore or visited other ships in the road. At St Helena that was a constant duty, since every passenger and every piece of business had to pass through the surf by boat. Samuel Moxon and William Moxon, and Christopher Pinnicock the boatswain and Joseph Pennycock the seaman, were probably relatives serving together. Several of the names, such as Jacob Vorricks, Christian Hanson and Lawrence Johnson, were Dutch or Scandinavian. Such men were often taken on at Canton, where the European companies' ships lay side by side at Whampoa for months.
15	8	2d May Chas. Campell Thos. Hardie Will. Mitchell Capt. Servants Jno. Carruthers 1 Mates Servt. Will. Briggs Surgeons Do. Robert Shields Boatswains Do. Thos. Fitzhugh Supra Cargo Alexr. Todd Passenger John McIntire Supracargoes Servt. James Hayfield Black Boy Jos. Grimsley Carpenter Servt. Chas. Webster Gunners Do. Chas. Chalmers 2 Mates Do. Signed James Moffatt Muster Roll of Ship Worcester Richd. Hall Commander Richard Dobbie 1 Mate Wm. Parker 2d Do. Saml. Burges 3d Do. Jeremiah Butcher 4th Do. Thos. Geo. Tea 5 Do. David Bristow Purser	The *Latham*'s muster roll ended with the officers' servants and her passengers. Charles Campbell, Captain's Servant Thomas Hardie, Captain's Servant William Mitchell, Captain's Servant John Arbuthnot, First Mate's Servant William Briggs, Surgeon's Servant Robert Shields, Boatswain's Servant Joseph Grimsley, Carpenter's Servant Charles Webster, Gunner's Servant Charles Chalmers, Second Mate's Servant Thomas Fitzhugh, Supercargo Alexander Todd, Supercargo John McIntire, Supercargoes' Servant James Hayfield, a black boy Captain James Moffatt signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Worcester* followed. Richard Hall, Commander Richard Dobbie, First Mate William Parker, Second Mate Samuel Burgess, Third Mate Jeremiah Butcher, Fourth Mate Thomas George Lea, Fifth Mate David Bristow, Purser

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		John Inwood Surgeon Thos. Jennings Do. Mate Henry Wilson Midshipman Barw. Gidley Do. James Teal Do. Robert Wood Do. Chas. Broad Do. James Bodling Gunner James Ormond Boatswain John Petty Carpenter James Pilly Ships Steward Willm. McCagan Capt. Do. Chas. Emmerson Gunr. Mate James Coats Boatsw. 1 Mate George Councel Do. 2 Do. John Taffit Carpr. 1 Do. Danl. Goodenough 2 Do. John French Joiner John Tate Cooper Heath Haggis Caulker Wm. Wainwright Do. Mate Willm. Atkins Sailmaker Benj. Burgoin Armourer Willm. Glanville Capt. Cook Andrew Holme Ships Do. Robt. Graves Coopers Mate Thomas Harris Poulter William Bickley Taylor James Harold Quartermaster William Sinclair Do. Thos. Young Do. Henry Gary Seaman Joseph Witham Duncan Grange Thos. Trace Edwd. Rupe Wm. John Gordon Watts George Kelly John Ramsey Nichl. Dickens Step. Hart Archd. Primer Seaman Joseph Hill John Glover Joseph Swail Archibald Williamson Thomas Malcolm William Dawson James Randry Paul Oulton Saml. Brow Peter Sebastian Fredick Mayer Anthony Harris John Miller David Thompson John Mathews Alexr. Mitchell Neal McDormitt David Robinson George Brown David Hogg Chas. Penman Adam Bud Wm. Brain	John Inwood, Surgeon Thomas Jennings, Surgeon's Mate Henry Wilson, Midshipman Bartholomew Gidley, Midshipman James Teal, Midshipman Robert Wood, Midshipman Charles Broad, Midshipman James Codling, Gunner James Ormond, Boatswain John Petty, Carpenter James Billy, Ship's Steward William McCagan, Captain's Steward Charles Emmerson, Gunner's Mate James Coats, Boatswain's First Mate George Council, Boatswain's Second Mate John Tofield, Carpenter's First Mate Daniel Goodenough, Carpenter's Second Mate John French, Joiner John Tate, Cooper Heath Haggis, Caulker William Wainwright, Caulker's Mate William Atkins, Sailmaker Benjamin Burgoin, Armourer William Glanville, Captain's Cook Andrew Holme, Ship's Cook Robert Graves, Cooper's Mate Thomas Harris, Poulterer William Bickley, Tailor James Harold, Quartermaster William Sinclair, Quartermaster Thomas Young, Quartermaster Henry Gary, Seaman Joseph Witham, Seaman Duncan Grange, Seaman Thomas Trace, Seaman Edward Rupe, Seaman William John, Seaman Gordon Watts, Seaman George Kelly, Seaman John Ramsey, Seaman Nicholas Dickens, Seaman Stephen Hart, Seaman Archibald Brimer, Seaman Joseph Hill, Seaman John Glover, Seaman Joseph Sweall, Seaman Archibald Williamson, Seaman Thomas Malcolm, Seaman William Dawson, Seaman James Pantry, Seaman Paul Oulton, Seaman Samuel Brown, Seaman Peter Sebastian, Seaman Friedrich Mayer, Seaman Anthony Harris, Seaman John Miller, Seaman David Thompson, Seaman John Matthews, Seaman Alexander Mitchell, Seaman Neal McDermott, Seaman David Robinson, Seaman George Brown, Seaman David Hogg, Seaman Charles Brennan, Seaman Adam Bad, Seaman William Prain, Seaman **Interpretations** Thomas Fitzhugh was going home in the *Latham* as a passenger. He was the first of the eleven supercargoes who had signed every Canton invoice for St Helena that season, from the *Northumberland*'s on 21 December 1767 to the *Latham*'s own. The Canton trading season ended when the last ships sailed. At that point a supercargo whose term was over went home in one of the season's ships, taking his private fortune with him. Alexander Todd, the second supercargo,

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			travelled with him. The man who had bought and packed the island's sugar candy at Canton passed through St Helena with it. James Hayfield, entered as a black boy, was given both a forename and a surname. The black servants in the *Hector* and the *Europa* had been recorded without names. A boy with an English surname had probably been baptised, perhaps in India, and placed in the household of one of the passengers or officers. The *Worcester* carried a tailor, William Bickley, as well as a joiner. A tailor made and mended clothes for the officers and passengers on a voyage of many months. His presence, like the joiner's, marks a ship fitted out for comfort as well as cargo. The *Worcester* came from Bombay. Her crew list had fewer Asian or Portuguese names than the China ships, perhaps because Bombay had its own pool of European seamen from the Company's marine.
16	9	1768 James Phillips Seaman John Barker Robert Roberts Joseph Powell James Miller Thomas Carr William Morris Robt. Elwin Joseph Brown William Suple Seaman James Taylor Richd. Harris Robert Clifton Samuel Tayler John Francis William Radley William Collings Thomas Casey Andrew Forbis Seaman Will. Greaves Peter Dickson Robt. Fitzgerald Henry Threlfoe Thomas Williamson John Grant Danl. Ellis Passengers Mr. Wrench his Lady & daughter Mr. Matcham Mr. Collingson Mr. Skottowe Mr. Torin Mr. Geb John Taylor Invalid Joseph Howard, Mr. Collinson's Servant R. Hall Muster Roll of Ship Houghton William Smith Commander John Kidd Chief Mate William Hall 2d Do. Andrew Lucy 3d Do. Thos. Brittle 4th Do. David Sangster 5th Do. James Carrick Surgeon William Snell Purser William Bond Midshipman Danl. Swenson Do. Mr. Duke Jeffries Carpenter James Barrans Gunner Edward Cook Boatswn. Edward Dore Ships Steward Danl. Morgan Capt. Do. William McKenty Caulker Barthy. Robert Cooper John Inman Sailmaker Peter Bell Armourer	The *Worcester*'s muster roll ended with the following seamen and her passengers. James Phillips, Seaman John Barker, Seaman Robert Roberts, Seaman Joseph Powell, Seaman James Miller, Seaman Thomas Carr, Seaman William Morris, Seaman Robert Elvin, Seaman Joseph Brown, Seaman William Tuple, Seaman James Taylor, Seaman Richard Harris, Seaman Robert Clifton, Seaman Samuel Taylor, Seaman John Francis, Seaman William Radley, Seaman William Collings, Seaman Thomas Casey, Seaman Andrew Forbes, Seaman William Grove, Seaman Peter Dickson, Seaman Robert Fitzgerald, Seaman Henry Shelf, Seaman Thomas Williamson, Seaman John Grant, Seaman Daniel Ellis, Seaman Passengers Mr Wrench, his wife and daughter Mr Matcham Mr Collinson Mr Skottowe Mr Torin Mr Gyb John Taylor, an invalid Joseph Howard, Mr Collinson's servant Captain Richard Hall signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Houghton* followed. William Smith, Commander John Kidd, Chief Mate William Hall, Second Mate Andrew Lucy, Third Mate Thomas Burkett, Fourth Mate David Sangster, Fifth Mate James Cassick, Surgeon William Snell, Purser William Bond, Midshipman Daniel Swenson, Midshipman Marmaduke Jeffries, Carpenter James Barrans, Gunner Edward Cook, Boatswain Edward Dore, Ship's Steward Daniel Morgan, Captain's Steward William McKenty, Caulker Bartholomew Robert, Cooper John Inson, Sailmaker

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		Jerml. Bartholomy Capt. Cook John Hanrell Ships Do. James Bright Surgeons Mate Benj. Sharpe Carpr. 1 Mate John Skinner Do. 2 Do. David Robertson Gunners Mate Richard Bell Boatswain Do. Alexr. Long Caulkers Do. Thomas Longgrave Coopers Do. Wm. Dunn Quartermaster John Lewis Do. John Gray Do. Andrew Dunn Do. Andrew Thompson Do. James Munroe Capt. Servt. Saml. Thomas Do. John Moss 1 Mate Do.	Peter Bell, Armourer Jeremiah Bartholomew, Captain's Cook John Hannell, Ship's Cook James Bright, Surgeon's Mate Benjamin Sharpe, Carpenter's First Mate John Skinner, Carpenter's Second Mate David Robertson, Gunner's Mate Richard Bell, Boatswain's Mate Alexander Long, Caulker's Mate Thomas Lovegrove, Cooper's Mate William Dunn, Quartermaster John Lewis, Quartermaster John Gray, Quartermaster Andrew Dunn, Quartermaster Andrew Thompson, Quartermaster James Munro, Captain's Servant Samuel Thomas, Captain's Servant John Moss, First Mate's Servant **Interpretations** Mr Wrench, who sailed home in the *Worcester* with his wife and daughter, was almost certainly the R Wrench who signed the Bombay invoice as accountant. Company servants often finished their last duties at a settlement by making up the accounts of the ships that would carry them home. Wrench signed the invoice for the island's rice and batty and then embarked in the same ship. Other Company servants and their families joined him, among them Mr Matcham, Mr Collinson and Mr Torin. The invalid John Taylor was a soldier discharged from the Bombay army as unfit for service. One of the passengers was a Mr Skottowe, coming home from Bombay. The surname was rare. He was probably a kinsman of Governor Skottowe and may have spent the ship's week in the road as a guest at the Castle. The family had evidently placed members in more than one of the Company's settlements, a common way of advancing a family's fortunes in its service. The *Houghton*'s fifth mate, David Sangster, had the same name as a midshipman in the *Latham*. The two ships arrived on the same day from China. The name was common in north-east Scotland, which sent many young men into the Company's ships, and the two entries need not be the same man.
17	10	2d May William Sealson Second Mates Servt. Thos. Danes Surgeons Do. John Worman Do. John Young Gunners Servt. John Maker Boatswn. Do. Will. Alsop Seaman James Bonfield William Benson James Belgreau Claxton Fellon John Collins William Leglovehouse Jacob Comber Geo. Foringham Thomas Foster Joseph Foard Edward Greaves John Henderson John Harris Emmanual Halling Michel Hill Seaman John Hutton John Jackson Thos. Johnson Wm. Jeffreyes Andrew King Wm. Longmore Willm. Lake William Langford Will. Martin	The *Houghton*'s muster roll ended with the following men. William Jealson, Second Mate's Servant Thomas Danes, Surgeon's Servant John Worman, Surgeon's Servant John Young, Gunner's Servant John Maker, Boatswain's Servant William Alsop, Seaman James Penfield, Seaman William Benson, Seaman James Belpreau, Seaman Clayton Fellon, Seaman John Collins, Seaman William Culverhouse, Seaman Jacob Comber, Seaman George Feringham, Seaman Thomas Foster, Seaman Joseph Foard, Seaman Edward Groves, Seaman John Henderson, Seaman John Harris, Seaman Emmanuel Halling, Seaman Michael Hill, Seaman John Hutton, Seaman John Jackson, Seaman Thomas Johnson, Seaman William Jeffreys, Seaman Andrew King, Seaman William Longmore, Seaman William Lake, Seaman William Langford, Seaman

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		Lawrence Mallin Danl. Mahoney Chas. McKinna John Miller Richd. Newton Henry Peterson Christr. Primer John Roach James Rigby Robt. Robinson Thomas Smith Supra Cargo Arthur Spender Do. Servt. Thos. Rodon Wm. Russell Geo. Sellers Wm. Simson James Stevenson Henry Spears Robt. Smith James Southgate Thomas Taylor Richd. Wells Thomas Williamson Hugh Watins Thomas Welch John Patreay Michl. Goard John Haverwick John Cathram Lewis Mosslock Jos. Seaboulton Edward Whitefield Signed Will. Smith The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores, short received from the Ship Worcester viz. Acct. of Stores short received from the Ship Worcester viz. - 5 . 14 Rice Short Weight qrs. lb 37 . 1 . 23 Paddy received cwt. qrs. lb St. Helena 2d May 1768 Signed Jas. Bowell Storekeeper	William Martin, Seaman Lawrence Mullen, Seaman Daniel Mahoney, Seaman Charles McKenna, Seaman John Miller, Seaman Richard Newton, Seaman Henry Paterson, Seaman Christopher Primer, Seaman John Roach, Seaman James Rigby, Seaman Robert Robinson, Seaman Thomas Rodon, Seaman William Russell, Seaman George Sellers, Seaman William Simson, Seaman James Stevenson, Seaman Henry Spears, Seaman Robert Smith, Seaman James Southgate, Seaman Thomas Taylor, Seaman Richard Wells, Seaman Thomas Williamson, Seaman Hugh Weekes, Seaman Thomas Welch, Seaman John Patreaux, Seaman Michael Sygard, Seaman John Havenick, Seaman John Cathram, Seaman Lewis Moslock, Seaman Joseph Seaboulton, Seaman Edward Whitfield, Seaman Thomas Smith, Supercargo Arthur Spender, his servant Captain William Smith signed the roll. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Worcester* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it at St Helena on 2 May 1768. Rice, short in weight by 5 [...] 2 [...] Batty received, 57 cwt 1 qr 23 lb **Interpretations** Thomas Smith was the second of the Canton supercargoes to pass through St Helena on his way home. He sailed in the *Houghton* with his servant Arthur Spender, while Thomas Fitzhugh and Alexander Todd travelled in the *Latham*, which arrived the same day. Smith's signature stood on every Canton invoice for the island that season. The supercargoes spread themselves among the last ships of the season. No single loss at sea could then take away the whole of the Company's experienced men at Canton, nor all of their private fortunes. Powell recorded only a shortfall in the rice. For the batty he entered the weight actually received, 57 cwt 1 qr 23 lb. The Bombay invoice had measured the batty in morahs, a measure of volume, not of weight. Powell had no way to compare a weight in English hundredweights against a quantity in morahs. So he set down what came ashore, and the Council would value it in sterling from that figure.
18	11	1768 We this day Granted the two following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. One Set to John Skottowe Esqr. Governor for £ 100 - payable to Robert Wood Esqr. (or Order) - And one Set to Mr. Matthew Purling for £ 250 - payable to John Purling Esqr. (or Order) both drawn at ninety days sight - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The Council granted two further sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, both payable 90 days after presentation. 1 set to Governor John Skottowe for £400 0s 0d, payable to Robert Wood or his nominee 1 set to William Matthew Purling for £250 0s 0d, payable to John Purling or his nominee Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 9 May 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of May 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Dan Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 2d May 1768 This day passed by a Dutch Ship Thursday the 5th Sailed the Honble Company's Ship Worcester for England 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.	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 2 May 1768. A Dutch ship passed the island that day. The Company's ship *Worcester* sailed for England on Thursday 5 May. The gunner's and steward's accounts for April were presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The Governor and Purling sent money home through the same bills they granted to captains and junior officers. Skottowe paid in £400 and Purling £250. The Governor's salary and servants' allowance came to almost £157 a quarter, so £400 was about eight months of his pay. The councillors approved bills for each other. The Court in London relied on the minutes and the cash account to check that each bill had been matched by coin paid into the treasury. Purling's bill was payable to John Purling, probably a kinsman in London. A John Purling was a leading figure in the Company's shipping at this period. He owned shares in East Indiamen, commanded ships himself and later sat on the Court of Directors. A family connection of that kind would explain how William Matthew Purling came to hold a seat on the St Helena Council and the post of accountant. Patronage through relatives in Leadenhall Street was the usual route into the Company's service overseas. The *Worcester* stayed a week in the road, from 28 April to 5 May. The Bombay ship sailed ahead of the *Latham* and the *Houghton*, which had arrived from China on the same day as her.
19	12	9th May Artillery Stores Expended in April 1768 Guns fired, Shot fired, 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 3 Departed the Triton: 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 6th 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 Arrived a Dane Ship: 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 9th An Alarm at Banks's Ship passed by: Guns fired 2, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 2, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 10th An Alarm the Ship Passed by: Guns fired 6, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 12 12th A Double Alarm for two Swede Ships: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 3, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 3, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived one of the above Ships: Guns fired 12, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 12, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 13th 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 Arrived the Europa: 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 14th 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 Arrived a Dutch Ship Fired at Do. from Banks's: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 1, 9 Pr 1, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 12 15th 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 Arrived a Dutch Ship Fired at Do. from Banks's: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 1, 9 Pr 1, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 5, Powder Expended lb 14, Powder Expended oz 4	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in April 1768 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 9-pounders, 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 3 April, departure of the *Triton*: guns fired 0, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 6 April, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 6 April, arrival of a Danish ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 9 April, an alarm at Banks's for a ship that passed by: guns fired 2, shot 0, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 0 oz 10 April, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 6 lb 12 oz 12 April, a double alarm for two Swedish ships: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 3; powder 18 lb 0 oz 12 April, arrival of one of the Swedish ships: guns fired 12, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 12, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 0 oz 13 April, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 13 April, arrival of the *Europa*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 14 April, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 14 April, arrival of a Dutch ship, fired at from Banks's: guns fired 13, shot 1, 9-pounders 1, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 12 lb 12 oz

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		Departed a Dane Ship: 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 16th A double Alarm for three Ships: Guns fired 12, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 4, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 4, Powder Expended lb 24, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Earl of Middlesex a Dane & a Dutch: Guns fired 29, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 24, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 27, Powder Expended oz 8 Departed a Swede: Guns fired 10, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 10, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 7, Powder Expended oz 8 22d Departed a Dutch Ship: 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 23d Departed two Dutch Ships: Guns fired 22, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 22, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 25th Departed a Dane Ship: 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 26th Departed the Europa: 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 Departed the Earl of Middlesex: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 6, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 10, Powder Expended oz 0 27th 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 28th Arrived the Latham: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 6, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 10, Powder Expended oz 0 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 An Alarm at Banks's for the same Ship: Guns fired 2, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 2, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Worcester: 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 A double Alarm: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 3, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 3, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 29th Arrived the Houghton: 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 279, Powder Expended oz 10 Total: Guns fired 263, Shot fired 2, 9 Pr 6, 4 Pr 35, 3 Pr 29, 2 Pr 176, 1 Pr 29, Powder Expended lb 607, Powder Expended oz 10	15 April, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 15 April, arrival of a Dutch ship, fired at from Banks's: guns fired 9, shot 1, 9-pounders 1, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 5; powder 14 lb 4 oz 15 April, departure of a Danish ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 16 April, a double alarm for three ships: guns fired 12, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 4, 3-pounders 4, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 4; powder 24 lb 0 oz 16 April, arrival of the *Earl of Middlesex*, a Danish ship and a Dutch ship: guns fired 29, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 4, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 24, 1-pounders 0; powder 37 lb 8 oz 16 April, departure of a Swedish ship: guns fired 10, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 10, 1-pounders 0; powder 7 lb 8 oz 22 April, departure of a Dutch ship: guns fired 11, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 11, 1-pounders 0; powder 8 lb 4 oz 24 April, departure of two Dutch ships: guns fired 22, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 22, 1-pounders 0; powder 18 lb 0 oz 25 April, departure of a Danish ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 26 April, departure of the *Europa*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 26 April, departure of the *Earl of Middlesex*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 6, 1-pounders 0; powder 10 lb 0 oz 27 April, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 28 April, arrival of the *Latham*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 6, 1-pounders 0; powder 10 lb 0 oz 28 April, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 28 April, an alarm at Banks's for the same ship: guns fired 2, shot 0, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 0 oz 28 April, arrival of the *Worcester*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 28 April, a double alarm: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 3; powder 18 lb 0 oz 29 April, arrival of the *Houghton*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz Powder used on sundry services, 279 lb 10 oz Total: guns fired 263, shot 2, 9-pounders 6, 4-pounders 35, 3-pounders 29, 2-pounders 176, 1-pounders 29; powder 607 lb 10 oz **Interpretations** April was the heaviest month of the season for the island's guns. The gunners fired 263 guns, against 173 in March. Most of the increase came from the foreign ships. The Company's own Indiamen received the usual nine guns on arrival and departure. Every Danish, Swedish and Dutch ship that anchored was also saluted coming in and going out. On 16 April alone, 29 guns greeted the *Earl of Middlesex* and a Danish and a Dutch ship arriving together. Saluting foreign ships was a courtesy between friendly nations in peacetime. It cost the island more than 150 lb of powder in a month. Two Dutch ships, on 14 and 15 April, had a single shot fired at them from Banks's before they anchored.

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			The island's rule required every ship to heave to off Banks's and send a boat to identify herself. The *Hector* had been brought to in the same way in February. The Dutch ships, unused to calling at St Helena, probably stood on towards the anchorage without stopping. The battery's shot across their bows reminded them of the rule. Each was then saluted in the ordinary way once she had answered. Alarms were fired on almost every day a ship appeared. Double alarms for two or three ships were frequent, as foreign and English ships came in from the Cape in groups. The powder spent on sundry services fell to 279 lb from 537 lb in March. Less blasting of rock seems to have been done at the batteries as the work moved from cutting foundations to laying masonry.
20	13	1768 Tallow expended in Sundry Services 32 . 8 lb oz Lead Balls to Shoot Goats 15 Sulphur 4 Spunge Staves 5 Handspikes 5 Tompions for 2 lb 2 Cartridge Paper 13 Qr. Match 12 lb Speaking Trumpets 1 Signed R. Mitchell Sundries Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in April 1768 - 2 Bottles Port Wine £ 3 30 Do. Lisbon 2 5 18 Do. Mountain 1 7 24 Do. Beer 6 30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 150 lb Beef 5 4 2 250 lb Mutton 7 5 10 4 Lambs 2 5 Turkeys 1 5 6 Ducks 9 8 Fowles 12 30 lb Butter 1 10 90 lb Candy 1 1 3 300 lb Flour 2 10 £ 33 7 3	The gunner also accounted for other stores used during April. Tallow used on sundry services, 32 lb 3 oz Lead balls for shooting goats, 15 lb 0 oz Sulphur, 4 lb Sponge staves, 5 Handspikes, 5 Tompions for 2-pounders, 2 Cartridge paper, 13 quires Match, 12 lb Speaking trumpets, 1 Archibald Mitchell signed the return. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in April 1768. 2 bottles of port wine, £0 3s 0d 30 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 5s 0d 18 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 7s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 6s 0d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d 150 lb of beef, £5 4s 2d 250 lb of mutton, £7 5s 10d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 8 fowls, £0 12s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 90 lb of sugar candy, £1 1s 3d 300 lb of flour, £2 10s 0d Total, £33 7s 3d **Interpretations** The Company's table cost £33 7s 3d in April, the highest of any month so far in 1768. Eleven ships anchored in James Bay during the month, Company and foreign together. Their officers and passengers were entertained at the Castle. More Lisbon wine was drunk than in any earlier month, and four lambs were bought, against one or none before. The prices of fresh meat rose sharply. In March, 150 lb of beef had cost about £3 11s 0d. In April the same weight cost £5 4s 2d, about 8⅓d a pound. Mutton rose from about 5d to 7d a pound. So many ships in the road at once drove up demand for fresh meat from every captain and purser on the island. The island's planters sold to whoever paid best. The Company had to pay the higher price for its own table rather than hold the price down. A speaking trumpet was a long metal horn used to hail ships and boats at a distance. The gunners at Banks's and the other batteries used one to call to an approaching ship to heave to and send her boat. With so many foreign ships arriving in April, some of them unfamiliar with the island's rule, the trumpet saw heavy use. The 15 lb of lead for shooting goats shows that the culling of wild goats continued alongside the gunners' other duties.
21	14	9th May The Governor having been informed by some of the Working	The Governor learned from some of the slaves working in the garden at Plantation House that James Black, the gardener, had been selling produce from the

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		Blacks in the Garden at Plantation House that the Gardener James Black has made a practice of selling several things out of the Garden, both to the People of the Shipping and to the House keepers in the Valley, he was this day Ordered before Us and examined, when it plainly appeared by Roderick Marchant that four Bags of Potatoes which came from the said Black were lodged at his House, and sold to the Steward of the Ship Triton but denys he received the Money for them, but supposes Black received the Money on board the Ship he going on board just before the Ship Sailed, the said Marchant likewise acknowledges he had at different times received about three hundred pounds of Onions which he in part exchanged for Shallots, which the Gardener told him was the Superfluitys of the Garden: That John Price acknowledges that he had received from the Gardener several times Sallad and others Greens for which he says he gave him in exchange Beer, and Cyder, and supposes that it was the superfluities of the Garden which he did not know but that he had leave to dispose of. - Having Considered of this Affair it plainly appears to Us that the said Black had disposed of three hundred pounds of Onions, and eight - Bushels of Potatoes which according to the Current Price of the Island - amounts to £ 9 . 10 - which Sum we Ordered him to make good to the Honble Company's Cash as their Property, and Ordered him to be imprisoned a Week for the fraud; And as we are well convinced of his dishonesty, we apprehend that he has for this Long time made a practice of selling things out of the Garden, which we have not been able to have any positive proof of, and likewise several complaints being made of his great cruelty to the Slaves that Work under him; For these reasons we propose to dismiss him the Company's Service, so as to be able to send him home by the Latter Ships of this season - It likewise appears to Us that Roderick Marchant, and John Price were both Culpable in receiving these things from the Gardener without giving Proper information of them knowing that he had no liberty for so doing, We have fined the former £ 1 - as most to Blame, and the latter 10/- both Sums to be paid to the Honorable Company's Cash -	garden. His buyers were the crews of visiting ships and householders in Jamestown valley. The Council called Black before it and examined him. Roderick Merchant gave clear evidence that four bags of potatoes from Black had been stored at his house and then sold to the steward of the *Triton*. Merchant denied receiving the money himself. He believed Black had collected it on board, since Black went out to the ship just before she sailed. Merchant also admitted that he had received about 300 lb of onions from Black at various times. In part he had given shallots in exchange, and the gardener had told him the onions were surplus to the garden's needs. John Price admitted that he had several times received salad and other greens from the gardener. He said he had given beer and cider in return. He had assumed the produce was surplus and that the gardener had leave to dispose of it. The Council considered the matter. It found plainly that Black had disposed of 300 lb of onions and eight bushels of potatoes, worth £9 10s 0d at the island's current prices. It ordered him to repay that sum to the Company's treasury, since the produce was the Company's property. It also ordered him to be imprisoned for a week for the fraud. The Council was fully convinced of Black's dishonesty. It suspected that he had sold produce from the garden for a long time, although it could not prove it. Several complaints had also been made of his great cruelty to the slaves who worked under him. For these reasons the Council proposed to dismiss him from the Company's service, so that he could be sent home in one of the last ships of the season. The Council also found Roderick Merchant and John Price both at fault. They had taken goods from the gardener knowing he had no right to sell them, and they had not reported it. The Council fined Merchant £1 0s 0d as the more to blame and Price 10s 0d. Both sums were to be paid into the Company's treasury. **Interpretations** The case began with evidence from the slaves who worked in the garden. Slaves rarely had any standing to accuse a white employee. Here their report reached the Governor and set off an inquiry that ended in the gardener's dismissal. The Governor may have been ready to listen because Black's conduct struck at the Company's property and at the produce grown for his own table at Plantation House. The complaints of cruelty did not lead to any separate punishment. They did, however, weigh in the Council's decision to remove him altogether. The Council could have stopped once Black had repaid the £9 10s 0d and served his week in prison. The record shows why it went further. It believed the proven sales were only part of a long practice it could not prove, and it had heard repeated complaints of his treatment of the slaves. Fining him again would have left him in charge of the garden and its workers. Dismissal ended both problems at once. Sending him home, rather than leaving him on the island as a discharged man, also removed a known thief from a small community where he would have had every chance to go on dealing with ships' crews. John Price was the Company's marshal and gaoler, at £7 10s 0d a quarter on the civil list. The officer responsible for arresting offenders and keeping the prison was himself fined for receiving the Company's produce. The fines were light compared with Black's punishment. The Council evidently accepted that Merchant and Price had partly believed the gardener's claim that the vegetables were surplus. James Black had drawn £10 a quarter as gardener, so the £9 10s 0d he had to repay came to almost a full quarter's salary.
22	15	1768	James Black was called in and told of the Board's sentence. He appeared very penitent and repeatedly

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		James Black being called in and acquainted with the Sentence of the Board and appearing to be very penitent and often asking forgiveness with respect to remitting the Confinement in the Jail, The Governor put the question severally - to each member whether that part of the Sentence should be remitted - Capt. Kirkpatrick is of opinion that he should be remitted that part of the Sentence - Mr. Purling is of opinion that as the said Black appears to him to be very penitent, it moves him to give his opinion, that that part of the Sentence of his being imprisoned should be remitted - The Lieut. Governor is of opinion that as the said Black has so often offended in having been brought before Us, twice for Insolence to the Governor and Lieut. Governor and also twice for Cruelty to the Slaves under him in the Garden, he cannot consider him a proper object of Compassion, therefore cannot give his Vote for his Confinement to be remitted - The Governor is of opinion that as Black is very Penitent for the Crime that he is proved Guilty of, he should therefore be remitted the Confinement in Prison - The Majority being for remitting the said Blacks Confinement he was accordingly acquainted with that part of his Sentence being mitigated Richd. Toucas Centinel this day petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time - Granted - Miss Mary Swaits this day presented the following Petition viz.	begged to be forgiven, asking in particular to be spared the week in prison. The Governor put the question to each member in turn: should that part of the sentence be remitted? Captain Kirkpatrick held that the imprisonment should be remitted. Purling held that Black seemed to him to be very penitent. That moved him to vote for remitting the imprisonment. Corneille held a different view. Black had offended often. He had been brought before the Council twice for insolence to the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor, and twice for cruelty to the slaves under him in the garden. Corneille could not regard him as a proper object of mercy, so he would not vote to remit the imprisonment. Governor Skottowe held that Black was very penitent for the crime he had been proved guilty of, and that his imprisonment should therefore be remitted. A majority favoured remitting the imprisonment. Black was told that this part of his sentence had been lightened. Richard Youncas, 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. Miss Mary Swaits presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** The Council had already decided to dismiss Black and send him home. The week in prison now added little to his punishment. Three members were willing to spare it once he showed contrition. The repayment of £9 10s 0d and his dismissal stood unchanged. Remitting the imprisonment cost the Company nothing, while it kept the appearance of mercy toward a penitent offender. Corneille's dissent shows how the Council worked. Each member gave his opinion separately, and the minutes recorded every vote, so that the Court in London could see where each man stood. Corneille looked beyond the theft to Black's whole record. That record included two earlier appearances for insolence to the island's two chief officers and two more for cruelty to the slaves. Corneille's argument also makes clear that the complaints of cruelty had come formally before the Council twice. They were not just rumours raised in this case. Corneille, as Lieutenant Governor, oversaw the Company's plantation and its slaves, which gave his view particular weight. His colleagues nevertheless judged that dismissal was punishment enough. Richard Youncas was a private in the First Company. He was another of the men whose five-year engagements ran out in the spring of 1768, bringing to 22 the number of soldiers discharged since 21 March.
23	16	9th May To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of the Island St. Helena - The humble Petition of Mary Swaits Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of disposing of her right to a Lease for four Acres of Land (called Hyams) lying in the South Division of this Island, humbly requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to give her leave so to do, and accept of Mr. Benj. Seal as Tenant of the same. - And your Petitioner will ever pray - St. Helena Signed 9th May 1768 Mary Swaits Granted	Mary Swaits presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated at St Helena on 8 May 1768. She wished to sell her right to a lease of four acres of land called Hyams, in the South Division of the island. She asked the Council's leave to do so, and asked it to accept Benjamin Seale as tenant of the land. The Council granted her request. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Latham* and the *Houghton* that came ashore short of their invoices. He signed it at St Helena on 9 May 1768. Latham, sugar candy short in weight by 0 cwt 2 qr 6 lb Houghton, sugar candy short in weight by 0 cwt 1 qr 5 lb Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations**

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		The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores, short received from the Ships Latham and Houghton viz. - Account of Stores, Short received from the following Ships viz. Ship Latham viz. - . 2 . 6 Candy, Short weight qrs. lb Ship Houghton viz. - . 1 . 5 Candy, Short weight qrs. lb St. Helena 9th May 1768 Signed Jas. Bowell Storekeeper John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	Mary Swaits named the incoming tenant in her petition. Simon Whaley's petition of 28 March had asked only for leave to sell by auction. A private sale to a named buyer let the Council approve the new holder in advance. Benjamin Seale had been appointed overseer of the South Division on 4 April 1768. He was an established settler of that division, and the Council could accept him as tenant without inquiry. Like Margaret Alcock, Mary Swaits held a Company lease in her own right as a single woman. She had the same power as any planter to dispose of it with the Council's consent. The losses in the sugar candy were very small. The *Latham*'s 25 chests lacked 62 lb and the *Houghton*'s 26 chests lacked 33 lb, less than 1 per cent of what was landed. Hard candy kept its weight on a long voyage far better than loose sugar. That was one reason the Company valued it for a remote station like St Helena.
24	17	12th May At a Consultation held on Thursday the 12th day of May 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Dan Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 9th May 1768 This day arrived the Honble Company's Ship Tilbury from England by which conveyance we received a Packet from the Honble the Court of Directors, which we opened and read their Honors Orders to Us. Upon which we sent for Capt. Beale and read the Paragraph relative to him, and likewise informed Mr. Mahoney with the Honorable Company's Orders with respect to his appointment as Clerk of the Peace - Being in want of a Long Boat for the use of the Honble Company, we have purchased one of Capt. Moffatt, with Masts, Sails, Oars &ca. for which we paid him £ 32 . 10 - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Thursday 12 May 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 9 May 1768. The Company's ship *Tilbury* arrived from England that day. She brought a packet from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened, and it read the Court's orders. The Council then sent for Captain Beale and read him the paragraph that concerned him. It also told Mr Mahoney what the Court had ordered about his appointment as clerk of the peace. The Company needed a longboat, so the Council bought one from Captain Moffatt of the *Latham*, complete with masts, sails, oars and other gear. It paid him £32 10s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The *Tilbury* was the first ship from England to reach the island in 1768. Through the summer and autumn every arrival had come from the East, bringing rice, sugar and porcelain but no word from London. The Court's packet carried its replies to the Council's letters of the previous year, together with its decisions on appointments, salaries and the fortifications. The Council read the orders on the day the ship came in, and it acted on two of them at once by calling in the officers concerned. Phillip Mahoney already drew £10 a quarter as clerk of the peace on the civil list, as well as his pay as a sergeant in the First Company. The Council had evidently given him the post on its own authority and asked the Court to confirm it. Appointments made on the island stood only until London approved them. The Court's order now settled his position one way or the other. The minutes did not record what the Court had said about Captain Richard Beale, captain of the Third Company, judge advocate and schoolmaster. This was the Council's second purchase of a longboat in less than three weeks, after the boat bought from Captain Pelly on 25 April. Moffatt's boat cost £2 10s 0d less. The Company had lost one longboat to the *Hector* in February and had been refitting another through the quarter. Buying two ready-made boats from homeward ships let it rebuild its small fleet in James Bay quickly. The busy season was ending, and the island would soon have fewer ships to buy from.
25	18	16th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th day of May 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 16 May 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor

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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 12th May 1768 Friday the 13th Arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Burgh Capt. Bust, burthen about seven hundred Tons, carrys twenty eight Guns, & one hundred Men, loaden with Pepper, and Coffee bound to Holland Saturday the 14th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Latham & Houghton for England - This day passed by a Ship at a great distance Edmond Leech Serjeant, Adam Creighton Gunner, John Simcox, Jeremiah Jordon, William Greenough, and James Hedge Centinels, this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times - Granted The Lieut. Governor Applied to pay four hundred and twenty seven pounds, two Shillings, and nine pence into the Honble Company's Cash, which sum we have received, and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to Mr. John Parslow 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.	Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 12 May 1768. A Dutch ship from Batavia, the *Bergh*, arrived on Friday 13 May under Captain Rust. She was of about 700 tons burden, carried 28 guns and 100 men, and was laden with pepper and coffee bound for Holland. The Company's ships *Latham* and *Houghton* sailed for England on Saturday 14 May. A ship passed the island at a great distance on the day of the consultation. Six men petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. Edmund Lock, sergeant Adam Creighton, gunner John Simcox, private Jeremiah Gordon, private William Greenough, private James Hodge, private The Council granted all their requests. Corneille asked to pay £427 2s 9d into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to John Paslow or his nominee 90 days after presentation and dated that day. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for April 1768. **Interpretations** Corneille's bill was made payable to John Paslow, the chief mate of the *Triton*, which had sailed for England on 3 April 1768. He did not name a banker or a relative in London. Powell had done the same thing on 22 February, when his £200 bill was drawn in favour of Captain Williams of the *Hector*. A bill payable to a ship's officer pointed to a private bargain. Corneille may have bought goods from Paslow's private trade, owed him money, or engaged him to act for him in England. Paslow had already gone, so the bill would follow him home in a later ship. The odd sum of £427 2s 9d points to the settlement of a particular account rather than a round remittance of savings. John Simcox, who was reduced from sergeant to private on 7 October 1767, now left the garrison as his engagement ended. With these six men, 28 soldiers had taken their discharge since 21 March 1768. Edmund Lock was a sergeant in the Second Company and Adam Creighton a trained gunner. Their loss weakened the garrison's experienced ranks at the very moment the new batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point would need men to serve them. The *Bergh* came from Batavia in Java, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Asia. Pepper and coffee were the staples of the Dutch trade there. Coffee grown on Java by forced cultivation had become one of the Dutch company's most profitable exports to Europe.
26	19	1768 Cash Dr. 1768 April 1 To Balance remaining £ 9408 9 1 24 To Ship Europa 9 1 1 To Ship Earl of Middlesex 5 10 25 To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows viz. - One Set to Capt. John Hasell £ 155 . 15 One Do. to Capt. Henry Pelly 100	The Council's cash account for April 1768 was set out as follows. Cash, debit 1 April 1768, balance remaining, £9,408 9s 1d 24 April 1768, received from the ship *Europa*, £9 1s 1d 24 April 1768, received from the ship *Earl of Middlesex*, £5 10s 0d 25 April 1768, received in exchange for 2 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to Captain John Hasell, £155 15s 0d 1 set payable to Captain Henry Pelly, £100 0s 0d Total for the 2 sets of bills, £255 15s 0d Total, £9,678 15s 2d Cash, credit

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		255 15 £ 9678 15 2 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Apl. 30 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 9139 . 2 In Cash Notes 539 15 £ 9678 15 2	30 April 1768, balance remaining in coin, £9,139 0s 2d 30 April 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £9,678 15s 2d **Interpretations** Captain Hasell's bill was entered in full at £155 15s 0d. Yet the minutes of 25 April 1768 recorded that only £100 of it was coin he paid in. The other £55 15s 0d was the price of the nine bullocks he had brought from the Cape for the Company. The cash account showed no payment out for the cattle. By drawing the whole sum as one bill, the Council paid for the cattle in London instead of from the island's coin. It kept the treasury's reserve intact. As in January and February, the treasury paid out nothing in April. The next quarter's pay would not fall due until the end of June. Even with eleven ships calling during the month, the island's receipts from the ships themselves were small, under £15 from the two Company ships that settled their accounts. The real value of the season lay in the coin that captains and officers turned into bills. That trade lifted the reserve by about £270 in April. Larger sums were still to come in May from the Governor, Purling and Corneille.
27	20	16th May The Dutch Captain having informed Us that he had twenty eight Leaguers of Arrack, sixty one Peculs Sugar, and some Japan Ware, which he brought to this Island for Sale, and requests to know whether he has Liberty to land them - We having taken the above into Consideration, are of opinion that as the Arrack is not wanted on the Island, and the landing of that Article from the Dutch Ships, has always been productive of great disputes and uneasinesses among the Inhabitants; and to prevent the retailing by unlicenced People, which is the cause of the great drunkenness in the Island; We for these reasons acquainted the Capt. that he could not be permitted to land the Arrack, but might dispose of the Sugar or what else he had brought for Sale. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	Captain Rust of the Dutch ship *Bergh* told the Council that he had brought 28 leaguers of arrack, 61 piculs of sugar and some Japanese lacquer ware to the island for sale. He asked whether he might land them. The Council considered his request. The island did not need arrack. Landing arrack from Dutch ships had always caused serious disputes and unrest among the inhabitants. The Council also wished to stop unlicensed people from selling it by the glass, which it held to be the cause of the heavy drinking on the island. For these reasons it told the captain that he could not land the arrack. He was free to sell the sugar and anything else he had brought. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council could simply have let the Dutch captain land all his goods, as it let him sell his sugar and lacquer ware. It singled out the arrack and gave its reasons. Twenty-eight leaguers came to roughly 4,000 gallons, far more than the Company's own warehouse held in a year. The *Lord Holland*, the *Norfolk* and the *Europa* had each brought two leaguers between January and April. A cargo on that scale would have flooded the island with cheap spirit. Planters and soldiers would have bought it in bulk and sold it on by the glass outside the licensed public houses. The Council licensed those houses partly to control drinking among the garrison. The licences had brought in £18 10s 0d in the last quarter of 1767 and £13 10s 0d in the first quarter of 1768. Refusing the arrack protected that system and the order it was meant to keep. The ban also protected the Company's own trade. The warehouse sold arrack to employees, planters and visiting ships at a profit. In the last quarter of 1767 it had issued more than 150 gallons for the general expenses alone, besides large sales. A Dutch cargo sold cheaply would have undercut the Company's price. The Council's reference to past disputes points to earlier quarrels on the island over who should be allowed to buy and resell Dutch spirit. Japanese lacquer ware was furniture and small objects coated in many layers of hard, glossy lacquer, often black and gold. The Dutch were the only Europeans allowed to trade with Japan, through their post at Deshima in Nagasaki harbour. Japanese lacquer reached Europe almost entirely through Batavia in Dutch ships. On St Helena it was a rare luxury that the island's richer households might buy from a passing Dutch captain.

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28	21	18th May At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 18th day of May 1768 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 16 May 1768 This day died Roger Witman Centinel - In Order that the several Inhabitants may be supplied with the necessarys they may want from the Storeship we agreed to publish the following Advertizement viz. - Island St. Helena 18 May 1768 This is to give Notice to the several Inhabitants of this Island that the Officers of the Ship Tilbury have put up at the Market House and other public places an Account of their respective investments they have made for this place, and have agreed to furnish the said Inhabitants with whatever Articles is mentioned in the said paper on their applying to them either on board Ship or on Shore - The Shopkeepers are hereby forbid to make any purchases of any of the said Articles mentioned in those Lists - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Wednesday 18 May 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 May 1768. Roger Watson, a private, died that day. The Council wished the inhabitants to be able to buy the goods they needed from the store ship. It agreed to publish the following notice, dated 18 May 1768. The officers of the *Tilbury* had put up lists of the goods they had brought out for the island at the Market House and other public places. They had agreed to supply the inhabitants with any article on those lists, on application to them either on board or ashore. Shopkeepers were forbidden to buy any of the goods named in the lists. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council could have left the *Tilbury*'s goods to be sold in the usual way, which in practice meant to the island's shopkeepers. They had the cash to buy whole lots from the ship's officers and sell them on at a mark-up. The Council chose instead to have the lists posted publicly and to bar the shopkeepers from buying at all. Ships from England came rarely. The *Tilbury* was the first that year, and her officers carried the clothing, hardware and luxuries that eastern ships did not bring. A few shopkeepers buying up the whole stock could have set their own prices for months. The order let every household buy at the officers' first price, and it kept the benefit of the English ship spread across the island. The goods on the lists were the officers' investments. Each officer of an East Indiaman had the right to carry a set amount of private cargo, and he sold it for his own profit. A ship bound outward to the East usually sold most of this at the Indian settlements. The *Tilbury* was the island's store ship, so her officers had brought goods meant for St Helena itself. The Council treated their private trade as a supply for the whole community and set rules for how it should be sold. Roger Watson had re-enlisted on 18 January 1768 for five more years and received a bounty of £10. He died exactly four months later. For the Company, his bounty was largely lost with him.
29	22	18th May At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 18th day of May 1768 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 16 May 1768 This day died Roger Witman Centinel - In Order that the several Inhabitants may be supplied with the necessarys they may want from the Storeship we agreed to publish the following Advertizement viz. - Island St. Helena 18 May 1768 This is to give Notice to the several Inhabitants of this Island that the Officers of the Ship Tilbury have put up at the Market House and other public places an Account of their respective investments they have made	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Wednesday 18 May 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 May 1768. Roger Watson, a private, died that day. The Council wanted the inhabitants to be able to buy what they needed from the store ship. It agreed to publish the following notice, dated 18 May 1768. The officers of the *Tilbury* had posted lists of the goods they had brought for the island at the Market House and other public places. They had agreed to supply the inhabitants with any item on those lists if they applied to them on board or ashore. Shopkeepers were forbidden to buy any of the goods named in the lists. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations**

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		for this place, and have agreed to furnish the said Inhabitants with whatever Articles is mentioned in the said paper on their applying to them either on board Ship or on Shore - The Shopkeepers are hereby forbid to make any purchases of any of the said Articles mentioned in those Lists - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The Council could have let the *Tilbury*'s goods be sold in the ordinary way. In practice that meant to the island's shopkeepers, who had the cash to buy whole lots from the ship's officers and sell them on at a profit. Instead the Council had the lists posted publicly and barred the shopkeepers from buying at all. Ships from England came rarely, and the *Tilbury* was the first of 1768. Her officers carried the clothing, hardware and English goods that the eastern ships did not bring. If a few shopkeepers had bought up the whole stock, they could have set their own prices for months. The order let every household buy at the officers' first price, so the benefit of the English ship was shared across the island. The goods on the lists were the officers' investments. Each officer of an East Indiaman had the right to carry a fixed amount of private cargo and sell it for his own profit. Outward-bound ships usually sold most of it at the Indian settlements. The *Tilbury* was the island's store ship, so her officers had brought goods meant for St Helena itself. The Council treated their private trade as a supply for the whole community and set the terms on which it could be sold. Roger Watson had re-enlisted on 18 January 1768 for five more years, for a bounty of £10. He died exactly four months later, so the Company lost most of the value of that bounty.
30	23	1768 Invoice of Ship Earl of Elgin Rice fine 60 Bags Wt. B. Mds. 120 @ 25 . 8 S. Mds. Pr. Ar. 218 5 6 Sugar fine 10 Bags Wt. F. Mds. 20 @ 8 . 10 Pr. Md. 172 8 Paddy 15 Bags Wt. F. Mds. 22 . 20 @ 1 . 5 Mds. Pr. Cr. 16 5 9 Wax Candles 4 Chests weight F. Mds. 8 @ 72 Pr. Md. 576 Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers @ 235 Pr. @ 507 9 6 Pork 20 Casks Wt. 25946½ lb @ 13 Ar. Pr. 100 lb 3642 14 3 Beef 5 Casks Wt. 7287½ lb @ 16 Pr. lb 1085 12 6 6219 7 6 Charges Merchandize 25 Casks @ 9 @ 243 Coopers 7 4 6 145 Gunny Bags @ 13 . 8 Pr. % 20 13 9 5 . 8 Twine 9 9 4 Chests and Packages 15 3 3 20 Reed Matts 1 6 3 Diet 1 9 Boathire 15 2 Sloophire 216 Pecons 2 5 3 Packers 1 1 Weighmen	The *Earl of Elgin*'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 20 seers at 1 rupee 15 annas per [...], 16 rupees 5 annas 9 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 235 Arcot rupees each, 507 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Pork, 20 casks weighing [...] lb at 13 Arcot rupees per 100 [...], 3,642 rupees 14 annas 3 pies Beef, 5 casks weighing 7,437½ lb at 16 [...] per [...], 1,055 rupees 12 annas 6 pies Total cost of goods, 6,219 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods 25 casks at 9 [...] each, [...] Coopers, 7 rupees 4 annas 6 pies 145 gunny bags at 12 rupees 8 annas per hundred, [...] 5 seers of twine, 0 rupees 9 annas 9 pies 4 chests with packing, 15 rupees 3 annas 3 pies 20 reed mats, 1 rupee 6 annas 3 pies Food, 1 rupee 0 annas 9 pies Boatmen, 15 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Sloop hire, 216 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Peons, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Packers, 1 rupee 1 anna 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Porters, 40 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Total for charges, 375 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Total in current rupees, 6,595 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Richard Wells signed the invoice as sub-accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The *Earl of Elgin* brought the standard Bengal consignment of rice, sugar, paddy, candles and arrack, the same as the *Lord Holland*, the *Norfolk* and the *Europa* before her. Added to it was a large shipment of salt meat: 20 casks of pork and five of beef. The meat cost more than all the other goods together. It was the Bengal pork and beef that the Company issued to its

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		9 Masters 40 13 375 10 6 Current Rupees 6795 2 Errors Excepted Signed Richd. Wills S. A.	slaves as their main ration, cheaper than salt meat from Europe. In the first quarter of 1768 alone the slaves had consumed more than £130 worth of Bengal pork. The Bengal Council was sending a year's supply in a single ship near the end of the season. The price of Batavia arrack had risen steadily through the season. The *Lord Holland*'s two leaguers had cost about 93 rupees each in January. The *Norfolk*'s cost 200 Arcot rupees each in March and the *Europa*'s 190 in April. Now the *Earl of Elgin*'s cost 235 each. Batavia arrack reached Calcutta in Dutch and private ships, and its price there followed the supply from Java. A Dutch ship had offered 28 leaguers at St Helena only days earlier, on 16 May 1768. The Council refused it, which kept the market for the Company's own costly arrack. Sloop hire was by far the largest charge, at 216 rupees. The heavy casks of meat had to be carried down the Hooghly from Calcutta to the anchorage far downstream, where the Indiamen lay at Diamond Harbour or Kedgeree. Light bags of rice and sugar could go in country boats, but casks of salt meat needed a sloop.
31	24	23d May The Lieut. Governor presented the following Letter viz. To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council Gentlemen Mr. Alexander the Honble Company's Overseer at Sandy Bay, has several times represented to me the detriment the Plantations suffer from the Inhabitants Goats of Lots and Sandy Bay Ranges, which at times I have made known in Council, He has this day repeated the same complaint assuring me that at times he has counted Sixty Head in said Plantations which do great mischief to the Succors therefore request that some Method may be fallen upon by you Gentlemen to Remedy the above detriment that the Honorable Company's Plantations are subject to from the above - Inconveniency - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen May 23d 1768 Your most Obedt. Humble Servt. Signed Danl. Corneille Upon which we agreed to send to the several Proprietors of the abovementioned Ranges to attend Us next Monday - We this day Received the following Letter and Protest from Capt. Cooke viz. To the Worshipfull John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen Having 8 Puncheons of Europe Beef and 6 Hogsheads of Europe Pork belonging to the Stores of the [...] Earl of Elgin which we can spare at this Island, and having Orders from the Honble the Court of Directors to offer them here on the Company's Account, Should be	Corneille laid before the Council a letter to the Governor and Council, dated 23 May 1768. Samuel Alexander, the Company's overseer at Sandy Bay, had several times reported to him the damage that settlers' goats from Lot's range and Sandy Bay range were doing to the Company's plantations there. Corneille had raised the matter in Council more than once. That day Alexander had repeated his complaint. He told Corneille that at times he had counted 60 goats inside the plantations, where they did great harm to the young shoots. Corneille asked the Council to find some way of protecting the Company's plantations from this damage. The Council agreed to summon the owners of the goats on those ranges to attend it the following Monday. The Council also received letters and a formal protest from Captain Cooke. He wrote that the *Earl of Elgin* carried eight puncheons of European beef and six hogsheads of European pork among her stores, which the ship could spare at the island. The Court of Directors had ordered him to offer them at St Helena on the Company's account. **Interpretations** The goats were the island's oldest and most damaging pest. Settlers grazed their flocks on open ranges, the common hill country of each district. The animals strayed onto cultivated land and stripped the young plants, much as Corneille had found on 29 February 1768, when the old fence at the pasture entrance no longer kept the commons' sheep and goats off the Company's grass. The Council could have ordered the trespassing goats shot, as the garrison already did to wild goats with lead issued from the gunner's stores. It chose instead to call in the owners. These were planters' animals, not wild ones, and killing them would have destroyed private property and caused bitter quarrels. A meeting with the owners gave the Council a chance to agree on fencing, herding or limits on numbers. The complaint came from Sandy Bay, the district whose common land had been in dispute in March. On 7 March the Council had refused Margaret Alcock's petition for part of the common and referred the question to the Court. It had noted then that the South Division had little common grazing. With so little open range, the settlers' goats pressed onto the Company's plantations. Samuel Alexander, who reported the damage, was the same man who had defended the commons against Margaret Alcock. Captain Cooke made his offer of European salt meat under the Court's own orders. That set it apart

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			from Captain Sandys's private offer of 20 casks, which the Council had refused on 14 March 1768. He sent a protest along with his letter. A protest was a formal written statement that put a captain's position on record, usually in case the Council refused what he offered. It protected him and his owners if the Company later disputed the matter.
32	25	1768 glad to know if you'll please to take the same at the usual Price - I am Gentlemen St. Helena Your most humble Servant 23d May 1768 Signed Thos. Cooke To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council at St. Helena - Gentlemen Having met with several very Hard Gales of Wind during which time we Shipped a good deal of Water and Strained the Ship very much have thought it necessary to enter a Protest against the Seas and Bad weather which I have send you enclosed, I shall enter a proper Protest before a Notary Publick on my Arrival at the first Port in Great Britain - I am Gentlemen Your most humble Servt. St. Helena Signed 23d May 1768 Thos. Cooke We Thomas Cooke Commander of the good Ship called the Earl of Elgin, and John Crichton Chief Mate and Daniel Clarke Second Mate of the said Ship do declare that being with the said Ship at Bengal Loaden with Salt Petre & Sundry Bale Goods, that we set Sail from thence on the 13 day of February 1768 bound for the Port of London, and that on the Seventh day of April last in the Evening being in the Latitude of about 33, 55 South we met with a very Hard Gale of Wind from the WNW to the West, and a very Hard Sea which lasted about 24 Hours during which time we made some water in the Hold and the Ship Labour'd & Strain'd very much especially in her upper Works, & the Waterway Seams & Standards on all the Decks. That on the 16th day of April we met with another Hard Gale of Wind from the NW ward which lasted for about 24 Hours then moderate for about 14 Hours after which the Gale came on again & lasted about 10 Hours with a High Sea, during which time we made more Water than	Captain Thomas Cooke ended his first letter by asking whether the Council would take the beef and pork at the usual price. He signed it at St Helena on 23 May 1768. In a second letter of the same date, Cooke told the Governor and Council that the *Earl of Elgin* had met several very hard gales on her passage. She had taken on a good deal of water and had been badly strained. He had therefore thought it necessary to enter a protest against the sea and the bad weather, and he enclosed it. He would make a full protest before a notary public when he reached the first port in Great Britain. The protest was made by Thomas Cooke, commander of the *Earl of Elgin*, with John Crichton, her chief mate, and Daniel Clarke, her second mate. They declared that the ship had loaded saltpetre and various bales of goods at Bengal. She sailed from there for the port of London on 13 February 1768. On the evening of 7 April, at about 33° 5' south, she met a very hard gale from the north-north-west to the west, with a very heavy sea, which lasted about 24 hours. During that time she took some water into her hold. She laboured and strained badly, especially in her upper works, and in the waterways, seams and standards on all her decks. On 16 April she met another hard gale from the north-west, which lasted about 24 hours. It then eased for about 14 hours before blowing up again for another 10 hours with a high sea, and she took on more water. **Interpretations** A protest of this kind was a sworn statement by a ship's master and officers that damage to the ship or her cargo had been caused by the weather. It protected the owners and officers against claims from the merchants whose goods were in the hold. If the saltpetre and bale goods reached London wet or spoiled, the protest showed that the loss came from a peril of the sea. Under the law of shipping that was a risk the cargo owners and their insurers bore, not the carrier. Cooke entered the protest at the first port he reached after the storms, and he gave a copy to the Council. A statement made close to the events and lodged with an official body carried more weight than one written up only on arrival in England. The gales struck at about 33° south, in the waters south-east of the Cape of Good Hope. Homeward Indiamen had to round the Cape in those seas, and strong westerly gales blew there in the southern autumn. Ships often suffered damage and leaks there. A strained ship arriving at St Helena might need her seams caulked before she could face the rest of the voyage. Saltpetre was a valuable and sensitive cargo. Seawater dissolved it and ruined it for making gunpowder. The Company carried large quantities from Bengal for the Crown's ordnance, and any water reaching the hold put that cargo at risk. That made the protest especially important to the owners of the *Earl of Elgin*.
33	26	23d May than usual and Laboured & Strained amazingly. That on the 20 day of April we met with another Hard Gale of Wind from West with a very Great Sea which lasted about 16 Hours during which time she encreased in making	The protest continued. The *Earl of Elgin* took on more water than usual and laboured and strained very badly. On 20 April she met another hard gale from the west, with a very great sea, which lasted about 16 hours. During that time she leaked more and strained heavily. The gale eased, but the sea stayed high, and the ship went on labouring and straining, especially in the waterways, seams and standards of the decks. On 22

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		Water and strained prodigiously, and altho' the Gale moderated yet the Sea kept up which made her Labour and Strain very much especially in the Water way, Seams & Standards on the Decks. That again the 22 day of April we met with another Hard Gale of Wind from the Westward with a very High Tumbling Sea, which last for about 20 Hours, all which time she made water in her Hold & Laboured & Strained herself much at the bad weather by degrees abating we made Sail & Arrived & Arrived and came to an Anchor in the Road of Saint Helena the 19th day of May about 6 o'Clock in the Evening. And we do further declare that the said Ship at the time of her departure from the River of Bengall aforesaid was tight - Staunch & Strong to appearance & well Manned, and Had her Hatches well and sufficiently Caulked and Covered and was provided with all things Needful for the said Voyage, That during the said Hard Gales of Wind & Bad weather the said Ships Company frequently plyed the Pumps and did our utmost endeavours to preserve the said Ship and the Goods of Her Lading from damage, & therefore the said Thomas Cooke, John Crichton and Daniel Clarke, do declare to protest, as by these presents We do protest against the Seas & bad weather, for all Loss, Costs, detriment, and damage - Happened to the said Ship & the Goods of her Lading & that the same is & ought to be borne by the Merchants, Freighters, and Insurers interested in the same by way of Average or otherwise for that the said damage was occasioned by the means aforesaid & not by, or through the Insufficiency of the said Ship, Neglect of Us or any of our Mariners. - Therefore we do protest by these presents to serve and Avail as Occasion shall be or require, As Witness or Hands and Seals this 21 day of May at 1 Clock in the Afternoon, Where no Notary Publick or Stamp Paper is to be had - Signed Island St. Helena Thomas Cooke John Crichton Daniel Clarke We Ordered the Storekeeper to Examine Capt. Cookes Provision, and if it proves Good, Agreed to take it at the usual price of 2/ Pr. Piece	April she met yet another hard gale from the westward, with a very high and broken sea, which lasted about 20 hours. Throughout it she took water into her hold and laboured and strained hard. As the weather gradually eased, the crew made sail again. She arrived and anchored in the road of St Helena at about six in the evening of 19 May. The three officers further declared that when the ship left the river of Bengal she was tight, sound and strong to all appearance. She was well manned, her hatches were properly caulked and covered, and she carried everything needed for the voyage. During the gales the ship's company had worked the pumps constantly and done their utmost to save the ship and her cargo from damage. Cooke, Crichton and Clarke therefore protested against the sea and the bad weather for all losses, costs, harm and damage to the ship and her cargo. They declared that these should be borne by the merchants, freighters and insurers concerned, by way of average or otherwise. They held that the damage had been caused by the weather alone. In their view it had not come from any fault in the ship or from neglect by themselves or their crew. They made the protest to serve as needed, and signed and sealed it at one in the afternoon on 21 May 1768 at St Helena. There was no notary public or stamped paper to be had on the island. Thomas Cooke, John Crichton and Daniel Clarke signed it. The Council ordered the storekeeper to examine Captain Cooke's provisions. If they proved good, it agreed to take them at the usual price of 2s a piece. **Interpretations** The Council accepted Cooke's beef and pork, subject to inspection, although it had refused Captain Sandys's offer of 20 casks on 14 March 1768. The record gives the reason. Sandys had offered his surplus as a private bargain for his owners. Cooke offered his under the Court of Directors' own orders. The Council could not turn down provisions the Court had told the captain to offer on the Company's account. It protected the Company's interest in another way. The storekeeper had to examine the meat first, and the price was fixed at the usual 2s a piece. That was the same price the warehouse charged employees for salt beef and pork. The Company would therefore recover its cost when it sold the meat. The protest was signed on 21 May 1768, two days after the ship anchored, yet the island had no notary public and no stamped paper. In England a protest had to be sworn before a notary and written on paper bearing the government's tax stamp before a court would accept it. St Helena had neither, so Cooke noted their absence in the document. As his covering letter explained, he would make a full protest before a notary at the first British port. The St Helena copy served as a dated record that the damage had been reported soon after it happened. To claim by way of average was to share a sea loss among all those with an interest in the voyage. Under general average, the cost of saving the ship and cargo in an emergency was divided between the shipowners and the owners of the cargo in proportion to their stakes. Cooke's protest prepared the ground for such a claim if the saltpetre and bale goods were found damaged in London.
34	27	1768 This day we received the following Letter from the Engineer viz. To the Worshipful the Governor &ca & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen As the principal Motive for the Resolution you came to. of carrying on the Construction of the two Batteries of Mundens Point and Banks's	The Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell, the engineer, dated at St Helena on 23 May 1768. Mitchell reminded the Council why it had decided to build the batteries at Munden's Point and Banks's at the same time. The aim was to finish both quickly by keeping the Company's stone layers in constant work. That plan had worked so far and had greatly speeded the progress on both sites. Now, however, so many labourers were needed to carry materials to the masons

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		at the same time, was in Order to Expedite the Completion of both, by keeping the Honorable Company's Stonelayers in Constant Employment which has hitherto taken place, and thereby has greatly tended to Accelerate the Progress already made in both these Works; I am now to acquaint you, that by reason of the great Number of Labourers requisite to convey the Materials to the Masons now employed at Banks's, the Number remaining at Mundens Point is by no means adequate to the laying in a sufficient Quantity of Materials to employ the Masons there, when the Battery at Banks's shall be compleated which will take place at no very distant Period - Could an Addition of thirty Hands be spared from the - Garrison (now reinforced from Europe) for the space of two Months or thereabouts, it would fully answer this Purpose, and prevent the Company's Masons from being out of Employ, which, without such an Addition must unavoidably be the Case - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedt. & most humble Servt. 23d May 1768 Signed R. Mitchell We agreed to spare Captain Mitchell the twenty six Recruits we received by the Ship Tilbury for Expediting the Works at Mundens Point, and Banks's - Mr. James Greentree this day presented the following Petition viz. -	at Banks's that too few were left at Munden's Point. Those men could not lay in enough materials to keep the masons busy there once the Banks's battery was finished, which would be soon. Mitchell asked whether 30 extra men could be spared from the garrison for about two months, now that it had been reinforced from Europe. That would meet the need and stop the Company's masons from standing idle, as they otherwise would. The Council agreed to give Captain Mitchell the 26 recruits who had arrived in the *Tilbury*, to speed the work at Munden's Point and Banks's. James Greentree presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** Mitchell asked for 30 men from the garrison. The Council gave him instead the 26 recruits who had just landed from the *Tilbury*. It did not take trained soldiers off duty. Since 21 March 1768, 28 experienced men had left the garrison as their engagements ended, and the guard posts, batteries and alarm stations still had to be manned. The new recruits were not yet drilled or familiar with the island's posts. They were of little use as soldiers for some weeks, but they were fit for carrying stone and lime. Putting them to work on the batteries kept the trained garrison at its duties, and it gave the recruits paid labour at 1s a day while they settled in. The recruits from the *Tilbury* went a long way to replacing the men discharged in March, April and May. Mitchell's phrase that the garrison had been reinforced from Europe shows that the Court had sent them in answer to the Council's earlier requests. The island usually waited a year or more for recruits ordered from England. A draft arriving just as so many engagements ended was a stroke of good timing. Mitchell also expected the battery at Banks's to be finished soon. In his letter of 4 April he had reported only that its foundations were being laid. The progress over seven weeks shows how much the plan of keeping the masons constantly employed had achieved at the easier of the two sites. Munden's Point, where the rock was harder and space was cramped, was still lagging behind.
35	28	23d May To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of James Greentree Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Mortgage Bond, which (for his greater Security) he requests your Worship and Council will give leave to have registered - And your Petitioner will ever pray St. Helena Signed 23d May 1768 James Greentree Granted Barnard Millard Serjeant, and Benjamin Stringer Centinel this day petitioned for their Discharges from the - Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their Contracted times Granted The Reverend Mr. Bearcroft representing to Us that the Nature of his Profession requires his Constant application both by reading and writing by Candle Light, and as he finds the Expence of Candles very Considerable to him, requests an indulgence of that Article out of the Honorable Company's Stores, - We having taken the same into Consideration, think Mr. Bearcrofts Request Reasonable, agreed to allow him 30 lb of Candles a Quarter	James Greentree presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated at St Helena on 23 May 1768. He held a mortgage bond and, for greater security, asked the Council's leave to have it registered. The Council granted his request. Bernard Millard, a sergeant, and Benjamin Springer, a private, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. The Council granted both requests. The Reverend William Bearcroft told the Council that his profession obliged him to spend much of his time reading and writing by candlelight. He found the cost of candles a heavy burden and asked to be supplied with them from the Company's stores. The Council considered the request and thought it reasonable. It agreed to allow him 30 lb of candles a quarter, which it hoped the Company would approve. Mr Hay, surgeon of the *Tilbury*, applied to be paid the usual sum of 5s for each recruit. The Council directed the paymaster to pay him. **Interpretations** The Council granted Bearcroft his candles on its own authority but added that it hoped the Court would approve. Allowances in kind were part of an officer's pay, and the Court in London set them. The councillors already drew 50 lb of candles a quarter each, as the storekeeper's accounts showed. By giving the chaplain 30 lb, the Council placed him a little below themselves while recognising that his work of writing sermons, keeping registers and teaching depended on

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		which we hope the Honorable Company will approve of. - Mr. Hay Surgeon of the Ship Tilbury applying to Us to be paid the usual Sum of 5/ for each Recruit We directed the Paymaster to pay	light after dark. Its words to the Court admit that it was stretching its powers and invite the Court to overrule it if it saw fit. The surgeon's fee of 5s a head was paid for each recruit landed alive and fit at St Helena. Recruits sent out from England crowded the lower decks of an East Indiaman for months, and fevers and scurvy could kill many before they arrived. Paying the ship's surgeon by the man delivered gave him a direct reason to keep the soldiers healthy. For the 26 recruits from the *Tilbury*, Hay's fee came to £6 10s 0d. Bernard Millard had acted as adjutant while John Jacobs was suspended. He returned to the rank of sergeant in the Third Company when Jacobs was restored on 18 March 1768. His engagement now ended, and he left the garrison two months later. With Millard and Springer, 30 soldiers had been discharged since 21 March. The arrival of the 26 recruits from the *Tilbury* only just covered that loss.
36	29	1768 pay him, which amounts to £ 6 . 10. - 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 (on Account of the late Capt. Cornelius Inglis) for £ 1034 . 15 - payable to Luke Scrafton Esqr. (or Order) And One Set to Mr. John Irwin for £ 100 - payable to Mr. Robt. Irwin (or Order) both drawn at ninety days sight - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The paymaster's payment to Mr Hay for the recruits came to £6 10s 0d. The Council granted two further sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, both payable 90 days after presentation. 1 set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, on behalf of the estate of the late Captain Cornelius Inglis, for £1,034 15s 0d, payable to Luke Scrafton or his nominee 1 set to John Irwin for £100 0s 0d, payable to Robert Irwin or his nominee Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick drew the large bill of £1,034 15s 0d on behalf of the estate of the late Captain Cornelius Inglis. He was acting as executor or agent for a dead man. The money was what remained of Inglis's property after his debts on the island were settled, turned into coin and sent home. A Company bill was the safest way to send an estate's value to England. It removed the risk of shipping coin and placed the money in the hands of a named person in London. On a remote island, a councillor of standing often took on the task of winding up the affairs of an officer or captain who died there. The bill was payable to Luke Scrafton, a senior servant of the Company who had made his name and fortune in Bengal. He was then in England and in high standing with the Court. Naming him as payee suggests that he was Inglis's friend, agent or heir, or that he was handling the estate for the family. Within a year the Court would choose Scrafton as one of three supervisors sent out to reform the Company's government in Bengal. At a little over £1,000, this was the largest single bill the Council had drawn in 1768, larger even than Captain Mitford's £1,200 on 14 March. The coin came into the treasury in May. The next quarter's pay would fall due at the end of June, so the timing was useful to the Council.
37	30	25th May At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 25th Day of May 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 23 May 1768 The ten Working days allowed by Charter Party for unloading the Ship Tilbury, being expired, we gave Captain William Hunt, Sailing	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Wednesday 25 May 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 23 May 1768. The charter party allowed ten working days for unloading the *Tilbury*, and that time had now run out. The Council gave Captain William Hunt written orders to sail for Canton without delay, in line with the orders he had received from the Court of Directors. It also

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		Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Canton, according to the Orders he has received from the Honorable the Court of Directors. We likewise gave him the following Letters to the Several Presidencys in India viz. To the Honorable Harry Verelst Esqr. President & Governor &ca Council of Fort William Honble Sir and Sirs We wrote last to you the 6th April 1767 by way of China since which your several Letters of the 20th January 12th March 14 September 10 & 31 December 1767 and 1 February 1768 came safe to Hand - We request you will send Us for the use of this Island eight Maunds of the best Wax Candles by each Ship, those we have received for some time past, being extremely bad, and the same quantity of Arrack, Rice & Paddy as last Year. - The salt Provision you have sent Us proves so very bad that we have been obliged to throw great part of it into the Sea immediately upon our receiving it we therefore desire you will not continue that practice as it neither Answers in Goodness or price. We wrote to our Honorable Masters last Year to request they would forbid your sending Us any more, and by Ship Tilbury they inform Us that they have Ordered you to discontinue that Method - This Letter goes upon the Ship Tilbury by way of China	gave him letters for the Company's presidencies in India. The first letter was addressed to Harry Verelst, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort William. The St Helena Council had last written to them on 6 April 1767, by way of China. Since then their letters of 20 January, 12 March, 14 September, 10 December and 31 December 1767 and 1 February 1768 had all arrived safely. The Council asked Fort William to send eight maunds of the best wax candles by each ship, since the candles received for some time past had been extremely poor. It asked for the same quantities of arrack, rice and paddy as the year before. The salt provisions sent from Bengal had proved so bad that the Council had been forced to throw a great part of them into the sea as soon as they were received. It asked Fort William not to continue sending them, as they were good value in neither quality nor price. The Council had written to the Court the previous year asking it to stop the shipments. By the *Tilbury* the Court had now told the Council that it had ordered Fort William to end the practice. The letter was to go by the *Tilbury* by way of China. **Interpretations** Charter parties fixed how long a hired ship could be kept at each port. The *Tilbury*'s owners were paid by the voyage, so every day lost at St Helena cost them money and pushed back her arrival at Canton. Ten working days for unloading was the agreed limit. Once it passed, the Company risked paying demurrage, a daily charge for keeping the ship beyond the agreed time. The Council therefore sent Hunt on his way the moment the time expired. The *Tilbury* was bound for China, so she was also the quickest means of getting letters to India, through Madras or by ships returning from Canton. The complaint about salt provisions explains the cargo the *Earl of Elgin* had landed only days before. She brought 20 casks of Bengal pork and five of beef, costing more than 4,600 rupees. The St Helena Council had already asked the Court to stop such shipments, and the Court had agreed. Its order had simply not yet reached Calcutta when the *Earl of Elgin* was loaded. The Company had paid for meat it did not want, much of it unfit to eat. Bengal pork and beef were cheap to buy, but they spoiled easily in the heat of the long voyage, and the island had to throw them overboard. Captain Cooke's European beef and pork, offered on 23 May on the Court's orders, were part of the remedy. Better-cured meat from Europe was to replace the Bengal supply. Harry Verelst was Governor of Bengal from 1767 to 1769, after Robert Clive. The six letters received from Fort William over the year show how regularly the presidencies wrote to St Helena. Each homeward ship carried the latest correspondence, together with the invoices for the stores sent in her.
38	31	1768 Enclosed we transmitt you a List of the Ships that have touched here since our last - We are Honorable Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient, humble Servants Signed St. Helena John Skottowe 25th May 1768 Daniel Corneille Matt Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick To the Honble Charles Bourchier Esqr. President and Governor &ca Council of Fort St. George Honorable Sir & Sirs We did ourselves the Pleasure of writing last to you under date of the 6th	The Council enclosed with its letter to Fort William a list of the ships that had called at St Helena since its last letter. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed it at St Helena on 25 May 1768. The second letter went to Charles Bourchier, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort St George. The St Helena Council had last written to them on 6 April 1767, by way of China. Since then their letters of 23 January, 27 March, 15 April and 5 November 1767 had arrived safely. The Council asked Fort St George to send the following goods for the island. 8 pieces of longcloth at 10 pagodas a piece 10 pieces of longcloth at 8 pagodas a piece 10 pieces of longcloth at 6 pagodas a piece

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		April 1767 by way of China, your several Letters of the 23 January 21 March 15th April and 5th November 1767 were duly received - We request you will send for the use of this Island eight Pieces Long Cloth at ten Pagodas Pr. Piece ten pieces at eight Pagodas Pr. Piece ten pieces at six Pagodas Pr. Piece, fifty pieces at three and an Half Pagodas Pr. Piece and thirty Pieces at two and an Half Pagodas Pr. Piece fifty Pair of Mens good Cotton stockings to be of some a larger size than those we received by the Hector, and the usual quantity of Arrack Rice and Paddy. - This Letter will be forwarded to your Presidency by way of China we have enclosed for your perusal a List of Ships that have been here since our last. - We are Honble Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient, humble Servant Signed St. Helena John Skottowe 25th May 1768 Dan Corneille Matt Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	50 pieces of longcloth at 3½ pagodas a piece 30 pieces of longcloth at 2½ pagodas a piece 50 pairs of good men's cotton stockings, somewhat larger than those received in the Hector The usual quantity of arrack, rice and paddy The letter would reach Madras by way of China. The Council enclosed a list of the ships that had called at the island since its last letter. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed it at St Helena on 25 May 1768. **Interpretations** The longcloth was ordered in five grades, priced from 10 pagodas a piece down to 2½. These grades matched the letters stamped on the pieces sold in the warehouse, such as C, X, Y and &, each of which carried a different price. The cheapest grade, at 2½ and 3½ pagodas, made up 80 of the 108 pieces ordered. Coarse cotton was what most islanders bought for shirts, bedding and slaves' clothing. A few pieces of the finest cloth served the officers and the Castle. By ordering in set grades, the Council could match its stock to the different buyers who came to the warehouse. The stockings landed from the *Hector* in February had evidently been too small for English legs. Indian knitters worked to Indian sizes. The warehouse had sold the stockings at over 9s a pair to employees in the first quarter of 1768, so they were a valued item despite the problem of fit. The request for a larger size shows the Council passing on its buyers' complaints directly to the supplier. Charles Bourchier was Governor of Madras from 1767 to 1770. The letter to him had to travel by way of China, since the *Tilbury* was bound for Canton. Ships sailing from Canton could carry it down to the Coromandel coast. A letter from St Helena to Madras might take most of a year to arrive, and that is why the Council wrote so far ahead of its needs.
39	32	25th May To the Honble Thomas Hodges Esqr. President & Governor &ca Council of Bombay - Honble Sir & Sirs We addressed you last under date of the 6th April 1767 by our Honble Masters Ship Northumberland since that time your several favours of the 24 Janry. 12 May & 23 Decemr. 1767 arrived safe with Us - We desire you will send for the use of this Island two hundred Pieces of Surat Chelloes, and the same quantity of Rice and Paddy as we received last Year - You will receive this Letter by way of China, we have sent you enclosed a List of the Arrival and departure of Ships since the 6th April 1767 We are Honble Sir & Sirs Your most Obedt., humble Servants Signed St. Helena John Skottowe 25th March 1768 Danl. Corneille Matt Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick To the President and other Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton - Gentlemen We did ourselves the pleasure of writing last to you the 6th April 1767 by the Ship Northumberland since which we have received your favour of 21 December 1767 - We desire ten hundred pounds of the Sugar Candy indented for	The third letter went to Thomas Hodges, President and Governor, and the Council of Bombay. The St Helena Council had last written to them on 6 April 1767 by the Company's ship *Northumberland*. Since then their letters of 24 January, 12 May and 23 December 1767 had arrived safely. The Council asked Bombay to send 200 pieces of Surat chelloes for the island, together with the same quantity of rice and paddy as the year before. The letter would reach Bombay by way of China. The Council enclosed a list of the ships that had arrived and departed since 6 April 1767. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed it at St Helena on 25 May 1768. The fourth letter went to the President and the other supercargoes of the Council at Canton. The St Helena Council had last written to them on 6 April 1767 by the *Northumberland*. Since then it had received their letter of 21 December 1767. The Council asked that the 1,000 lb of sugar candy it had ordered for the previous year should be of the finest kind. It also asked that saucers be sent. **Interpretations** Each presidency was asked for the goods it made best and most cheaply. Bengal sent candles, arrack, rice and paddy. Madras sent longcloth and stockings from the Coromandel weavers. Bombay sent chelloes from Surat, the great cloth market of Gujarat, along with its own rice and batty. Canton sent sugar, sugar candy and porcelain. The St Helena Council drew on all four settlements at once. Its letters, written on the same day and carried by one ship, worked as a single yearly order spread across the Company's whole eastern trade. Surat chelloes were checked or striped cotton cloths, like those the warehouse already sold. Two hundred pieces was a large order, far more than the 14 pieces sold to planters and the 10 to employees in

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		last Year, may be of the finest sort, and likewise request, Saucers may be sent with	recent quarters. Much of the cloth was probably meant for the Company's own slaves. They received chelloes for their clothing, and their numbers on the plantation and at the fortifications were large. The request for finer candy followed the arrival of more than 13,500 lb of candy in the *Latham* and the *Houghton* in late April. The quantity was ample, but the Council evidently found the quality uneven. The finest grade was wanted for the Castle's table, which drew several hundred pounds a quarter.
40	33	1768 with the breakfast Cups, and to be of good China - Enclosed we transmitt you the Ship Tilbury's Charter Party, Victualling Bill, Manifest of Goods, Capt. Hunts instructions, and a Packet directed to you from our Honble Masters, as likewise a List of those Ships that have Arrived here since our Last - We request you will forward by the first Conveyance the several Letters directed to the Presidencys in India - We are Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servants Signed St. Helena John Skottowe 25th May 1768 Dan Corneille Matt Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Earl of Elgin and British King to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follows viz. Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Elgin Thomas Cooke Commander John Crichton Chief Mate Danl. Clarke 2d Do. Jas. Boswell 3d Do. Leonard Roche 4th Do. Chas. Wood 5th Do. George Tuff Purser James Rutherford Surgeon John Wilson Boatswain Andrew Mewatt Gunner Richd. Jenkins Carpenter Job. Butman Surg. Mate Robard Gair Ships Steward Samuel Bowers Capt. Do. Wm. Bruce Midshipman Richd. Wingfield Midshipman John Law Do. Wm. Hill Do. Wm. Mackey Quartermaster James Martin Do. Ralph Harrison Do. John Thompson Boatsw. Mate Lewis Lewizer Gunr. Mate Giles Vince Carpenters Do. William Ashby Caulker Thomas Hunter Cooper John Houlding Armourer Pat. Thornton Capt. Cook John Wallingtons Ships Do. Thos. Gaasby Caulkers Mate Thos. Baker Capt. Servant John Porter Do. Do. Phillip Neale Chief Mates Do.	The Council asked Canton to send saucers to go with the breakfast cups, and asked that they be of good china. It enclosed the *Tilbury*'s charter party, her victualling bill, the manifest of her cargo and Captain Hunt's instructions. It also enclosed a packet from the Court of Directors addressed to the Canton Council, and a list of the ships that had called at St Helena since its last letter. The Council asked the supercargoes to forward its letters to the presidencies in India by the first available ship. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 25 May 1768. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. Their muster rolls read as follows, beginning with the *Earl of Elgin*. Thomas Cooke, Commander John Crichton, Chief Mate Daniel Clarke, Second Mate James Boswell, Third Mate Leonard Roche, Fourth Mate Charles Wood, Fifth Mate George Tuff, Purser James Rutherford, Surgeon John Wilson, Boatswain Andrew Mewatt, Gunner Richard Jenkins, Carpenter Joseph Butman, Surgeon's Mate Abraham Grier, Ship's Steward Samuel Benner, Captain's Steward William Bruce, Midshipman Richard Wingfield, Midshipman John Law, Midshipman William Hill, Midshipman William Mackey, Quartermaster James Martin, Quartermaster Ralph Harrison, Quartermaster John Thompson, Boatswain's Mate Lewis Lewiza, Gunner's Mate Giles Viner, Carpenter's Mate William Ashby, Caulker Thomas Hunter, Cooper John Houlding, Armourer Patrick Thornton, Captain's Cook John Wallington, Ship's Cook Thomas Gadsby, Caulker's Mate Thomas Baker, Captain's Servant John Porter, Captain's Servant Phillip Neale, Chief Mate's Servant **Interpretations** The St Helena Council used the Canton supercargoes as a post office for the whole East. The *Tilbury* sailed direct to China. From Canton, ships of the season went on to Madras, Bombay and Bengal, so the supercargoes could pass the island's letters on to every presidency. The *Tilbury*'s own papers went with them, including her charter party, victualling bill, manifest and the captain's instructions. The supercargoes needed these to take charge of the ship when she arrived. They would load her with tea and porcelain for the return voyage, and the papers set out the terms on which she was hired and how she was supplied. The *Earl of Elgin*'s chief and second mates, John Crichton and Daniel Clarke, were the two officers who

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			had signed the protest against the sea with Captain Cooke on 21 May 1768. Their names on the muster roll confirm that the protest was made by the ship's senior officers, as the law required.
41	34	25th May John Mills 2d Mates Servant Robert Bowen Surgeons Do. John Elfin Gunners Do. John Travackey Carptr. Do. Samuel Turner Seaman Thomas Dykes Cashin Fallow Evan Williams John Campbell Andrew Albron James Sheppard Thomas Pinham George Slater George Coats Gabriel Tyrrell Benj. Johnston John Johnston Richd. Pome Alexandr. Russell Archd. Roberson Seaman Wm. Hooper Thomas Lambeth Wm. Tomphins John Chizom Wm. Matthews Robert Willis William Smeath Daniel Smith Alexr. Biggs Henry Johnston John Smith James Nellson Wm. Phillings Duncan Willson Will. Moore John Taylor Anthony Todd Robt. Willson Dennis Peir Seaman John Patton David Moore Edward Hawkins Nichl. Gray Richd. Alstone James Andrews John Black Andrew Laird John Jacobs Domingo Rotnad Anthy. Fernedeche Lawrence Ferdinand Anthy. D'Silva Emanl. Gomeze Emanuel Ferdinand Jno. D'Costa Josiah Peir Jacob Noplane Passengers Charles Standford Playdell Esqr. Mr. John Holwell Lady Hope Mrs. Bloomer 3 Black Servants Signed Thos. Cooke Muster Roll of Ship British King Danl. Hoare Commander John McAulay 1 Mate Henry Maugue 2d Do. Seth Bryson 3d Do.	The *Earl of Elgin*'s muster roll ended with the following men and her passengers. John Miller, Second Mate's Servant Robert Bowen, Surgeon's Servant John Elfin, Gunner's Servant John Travacky, Carpenter's Servant Samuel Turner, Seaman Thomas Dykes, Seaman Cashin Fallow, Seaman Evan Williams, Seaman John Campbell, Seaman Andrew Albion, Seaman James Sheppard, Seaman Thomas Pinkham, Seaman George Slater, Seaman George Coats, Seaman Gabriel Tyrrell, Seaman Benjamin Johnston, Seaman John Johnston, Seaman Richard Penn, Seaman Alexander Russell, Seaman Archibald Roberson, Seaman William Hooper, Seaman Thomas Lambeth, Seaman William Tomkins, Seaman John Chizum, Seaman John Matthews, Seaman Robert Willis, Seaman William Smeath, Seaman Daniel Smith, Seaman Alexander Biggs, Seaman Henry Johnston, Seaman John Smith, Seaman James Nelson, Seaman William Chillings, Seaman Duncan Willson, Seaman William Moore, Seaman John Taylor, Seaman Anthony Todd, Seaman Robert Willson, Seaman Dennis Bair, Seaman John Patton, Seaman David Moore, Seaman Edward Hawkins, Seaman Nicholas Gray, Seaman Richard Albone, Seaman James Andrews, Seaman John Black, Seaman Andrew Laird, Seaman John Jacobs, Seaman Domingo Rodriguez, Seaman Anthony Fernandez, Seaman Laurence Ferdinand, Seaman Anthony de Silva, Seaman Emanuel Gomez, Seaman Emanuel Ferdinand, Seaman John da Costa, Seaman Josiah Bair, Seaman Thomas Napleton, Seaman Passengers Charles Stafford Playdell Mr John Holwell Lady Hope Mrs Bloomer 3 black servants Captain Thomas Cooke signed the roll. The muster roll of the *British King* followed. Daniel Hoare, Commander John McAulay, First Mate Henry Montague, Second Mate Fish Bryson, Third Mate

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		Henry Wildeing 4th Mate Archd. Begg Surgeon Robt. Pridie Purser Thos. Miller Gunner Thos. Grange Carpenter Wm. Jimson Ships Steward John Wortham Boatswain Richd. Rearton Capt. Stewd.	Henry Wildey, Fourth Mate Andrew Pagel, Surgeon Robert Prudie, Purser Thomas Miller, Gunner Thomas Grange, Carpenter William Jenson, Ship's Steward John Wortham, Boatswain Richard Reader, Captain's Steward **Interpretations** The *Earl of Elgin* carried passengers of some standing home from Bengal. Charles Stafford Playdell was a senior civil servant of the Bengal establishment. John Holwell shared his surname with John Zephaniah Holwell. That Holwell had survived the Black Hole of Calcutta in 1756, briefly governed Bengal, and had already returned to England. A younger Holwell sailing home from Calcutta was probably his son, following his father into the Company's service. Lady Hope and Mrs Bloomer were presumably wives or widows of officers or officials in Bengal. As usual, the clerk did not name their three black servants. Like other homeward ships, the *Earl of Elgin* ended her roll with Portuguese names, among them Domingo Rodriguez, Anthony Fernandez, Anthony de Silva, Emanuel Gomez and John da Costa. These Indo-Portuguese seamen were hired in Bengal to fill the places of men lost on the voyage out. During the gales of April they were among the crew who worked the pumps without stopping, as the protest of 21 May 1768 recorded.
42	35	1768 Thos. Rodborn Midshipman John Mason Do. Robert Harding Do. John Lowther Quartermaster James Alexander Do. Wm. Leon Do. Robt. Purcell Surg. Mate Danl. Bridges Gunners Do. Thomas Stratton Carpenters Do. Richd. Cable Carpenters 2d Do. Thomas Butcher Boatsw. 1 Do. Richd. Butler Boatsw. 2 Do. Nichl. Harding Sailmaker Jno. Twynam Cooper Geo. Davis Caulker Geo. Siddon Capt. Cook Peter Lee Ships Do. William Hatfield Armourer Willm. Still Coopers Mate John Cotham Caulkers Do. Wm. Bills Butcher David Lett Joiner John Lock Capt. Servant Geo. Webb Do. Wm. Baker 1 Mates Do. Reynolds Crockley Surg. Do. Richd. Ford Gunners Do. Thos. Dunn Carpr. Do. Richd. Gyer Seaman James Donellan Jas. Rennie Wm. Thompson Jno. Hardy Edwd. Drew William Dennis Jno. Sharp Geo. Strait Jno. Steward Matt. Bedford Robt. Carmichael Gerard Lawson Wm. White Jno. Barber William Walker	The *British King*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew and her passengers. Thomas Redborn, Midshipman John Mason, Midshipman Robert Harding, Midshipman John Lowther, Quartermaster James Alexander, Quartermaster William Leon, Quartermaster Robert Purcell, Surgeon's Mate Daniel Bridges, Gunner's Mate Thomas Stratton, Carpenter's First Mate Richard Cable, Carpenter's Second Mate Thomas Butcher, Boatswain's First Mate Richard Butler, Boatswain's Second Mate Nicholas Harding, Sailmaker John Twynam, Cooper George Davis, Caulker George Sidden, Captain's Cook Peter Lee, Ship's Cook William Hatfield, Armourer William Hill, Cooper's Mate John Cotham, Caulker's Mate William Pitt, Butcher David Tate, Joiner John Lock, Captain's Servant George Webb, Captain's Servant William Pike, First Mate's Servant Reynolds Crockley, Surgeon's Servant Richard Ford, Gunner's Servant Thomas Dunn, Carpenter's Servant Richard Spear, Seaman James Donellan, Seaman James Rennie, Seaman William Thompson, Seaman John Hardy, Seaman Edward Drew, Seaman William Dennis, Seaman John Thorp, Seaman George Mail, Seaman John Steward, Seaman Matthew Bidford, Seaman Robert Carmichael, Seaman Gerard Lawson, Seaman William White, Seaman John Barber, Seaman

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		John Black Wm. Reaston Wm. Cook Jno. Creighton Wm. McDugall Jno. Nobles Robt. Higgins Jas. Watson Francis Major Wm. Burn John Thompson John Shaw Thos. Durand Seaman Jno. Coxe Edwd. Wellsford James Jones Gideon Walker Fras. Brooks Wm. Dawson Jno. Gardener Will. Wall Benj. Northwood Wm. Cooper Jno. Baker Peter Sapston Thos. Strafton Joseph Gale Thos. Hasell Thomas Burnett Jos. Bailey Jos. Hopkins Edwd. Poole Jno. Armstrong Mattw. Walker Jos. Jaeson Pierre Nicholas Gabl. Powell Pierre Belanger Robt. Cook Jas. Clephin Charter Party Passengers John J. Stedman Wm. Keys Signed Daniel Griffith Hoare John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	William Walker, Seaman John Black, Seaman William Reaston, Seaman William Cook, Seaman John Creighton, Seaman William McDougall, Seaman John Nichols, Seaman Robert Higgins, Seaman Joseph Watson, Seaman Francis Major, Seaman William Barr, Seaman John Thompson, Seaman John Abrey, Seaman Thomas Durand, Seaman John Cox, Seaman Edward Wellsford, Seaman James Jones, Seaman Gideon Walker, Seaman Francis Brooks, Seaman William Dawson, Seaman John Gardener, Seaman William Wall, Seaman Benjamin Northwood, Seaman William Cooper, Seaman John Baker, Seaman Peter Sapson, Seaman Thomas Strafton, Seaman Cornelius Fish, Seaman Thomas Hasell, Seaman Thomas Burnett, Seaman Joseph Bailey, Seaman Joseph Hopkins, Seaman Edward Poole, Seaman John Armstrong, Seaman Matthew Walker, Seaman Joseph Jason, Seaman Prince Nicholas, Seaman Gabriel Powell, Seaman Pierre Belanger, Seaman Robert Cook, Seaman James Clephin, Seaman Charter party passengers John Shelman William Hays Captain Daniel Griffith Hoare signed the roll. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The two charter party passengers travelled at the Company's charge under its hiring contract with the *British King*'s owners. Unlike private passengers, they paid the captain nothing. The Company usually sent soldiers, discharged invalids or minor servants this way, at rates fixed in the contract. The *British King* was the only ship that season to carry charter party passengers apart from the *Lord Holland* in January. Many of the soldiers who had taken their discharge at St Helena that spring still had to find a passage home. If any of them went this way, the minutes would have named them as such. The roll's two names do not match any of the discharged men. Like the *Norfolk* and the *Earl of Middlesex*, the *British King* carried a full set of servants attached to her officers, besides a joiner and a butcher. Her roll had fewer Portuguese and Asian names than the Bengal and China ships. Pierre Belanger, a Frenchman, stood out among her seamen. The minutes did not record where she had come from. Her muster on the same day as the *Earl of Elgin* suggests she reached the island in the same week.
43	36	30th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th day of May 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 30 May 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor

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		Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed, dated the 25th May 1768 Thursday the 26th died Richard Tollington Centinel Do. Do. Arrived a French Ship from Bengal called the Marquis de Lance Capt. Delalonde, burthen five hundred Tons, carrys fourteen Guns and one hundred and thirty Men, loaden with Bengall Goods, bound to L'Orient - Yesterday Arrived a Dutch Ship from Ceylon called the Schoonsigt Capt. Hubkert burthen Seven hundred Tons, carrys twenty two Guns and one hundred and ten Men, loaden with Coffee and Spice bound to Holland - John Martin Bombardier, & Samuel Curd Centinel this day petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honble Compy. their Contracted Times - Granted The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Earl of Elgin - Account of Stores Short received from Ship Earl of Elgin viz. 5 . 2 . 22 Rice cwt. qrs. lb - . 1 . - Paddy 1 . 3 . 19 Sugar - . - . 11 Candles Short Weight, Occasioned by Waste & drying, the Packages being in good order. - No. 1 . 1 Leaguer Arrack Gages 141 Galls. Wants to fill 3 Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. Do. 136 Do. Do. 10 Do. 277 13 13 Galls. 264 Received St. Helena 30th May 1768 Signed Jas. Bowell Storekeeper	William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 25 May 1768. Richard Tollington, a private, died on Thursday 26 May. The same day a French ship from Bengal, the *Marquis de Lanoe*, arrived under Captain Delalonde. She was of 500 tons burden, carried 14 guns and 130 men, and was laden with Bengal goods bound for Lorient. On Sunday 29 May a Dutch ship from Ceylon, the *Schoonsigt*, arrived under Captain Hubbert. She was of 700 tons burden, carried 22 guns and 110 men, and was laden with coffee and spices bound for Holland. John Martin, a bombardier, and Samuel Card, a private, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. The Council granted both requests. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Earl of Elgin* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it at St Helena on 30 May 1768. The shortfalls in weight came from wastage and drying out, and the packages themselves were in good order. Rice, short in weight by 5 cwt 2 qr 22 lb Paddy, short in weight by 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb Sugar, short in weight by 1 cwt 3 qr 19 lb Wax candles, short in weight by 0 cwt 0 qr 11 lb Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 141 gallons, lacking 3 gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 136 gallons, lacking 10 gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 277 gallons, total lacking 13 gallons Arrack received, 264 gallons **Interpretations** Powell recorded that the *Earl of Elgin*'s stores had lost weight only through wastage and drying, and that the packages were sound. That finding mattered because of Captain Cooke's protest of 21 May 1768. Cooke had sworn that the ship took water into her hold in four gales off the Cape. Had the island's rice, sugar or candles arrived wet, the Company would have had to bear the loss as damage from the sea. Powell's note showed that the storms had not touched the Company's stores. The shortfall was the ordinary loss of a long voyage and needed no claim against anyone. The French ship from Bengal belonged to the revived French East India Company, which sailed from its home port of Lorient in Brittany. At the peace of 1763 France had recovered its trading posts in India, including Chandernagore on the Hooghly. By 1768 French ships were again carrying Bengal cloth home. The St Helena Council recorded the arrival of a former enemy's ship with the same care as any other. It was only five years after the end of a war in which the island had stood ready against French attack. The Dutch ship came from Ceylon, which the Dutch had held since taking it from the Portuguese in the previous century. Cinnamon was the spice for which the island was famous, and the Dutch company kept it as a closely guarded monopoly. The coffee in her hold was probably grown in Ceylon or Java.
44	37	1768 Pursuant to the Order of last Monday for the Proprietors of the Goat Ranges to attend this day, which they accordingly did, and were told to keep People after their Goats, or to take them away that Trespass upon the Honorable Company's - Plantations in Sandy Bay, which they promised they would - Mr. Jonathan Doveton junr. having acquainted Us that Patna	The owners of the goats on the ranges attended the Council that day, as they had been ordered at the previous consultation. They were told either to keep herders with their goats or to take them away, so that the animals no longer trespassed on the Company's plantations at Sandy Bay. They promised to do so. Jonathan Doveton junior told the Council that Patna, a slave belonging to his mother, Mrs Mary Doveton, was on board the *Earl of Elgin*. Patna had run away from her about three years earlier. Doveton asked the Council to have him brought ashore and examined, and this was done. Several planters were ready to swear

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		a Man Slave belonging to his Mother Mrs. Mary Doveton and has deserted from her about three Years ago, was on board of the Ship Earl of Elgin, and desired we would Order him on Shore to be examined which was accordingly done, and several Planters as well as his Master and his own Brother appearing and being ready to make Oath that he was the Property of the said Mary Doveton, he then Confessed that he had run off the Island in his Majesty's Ship Medway and was the Slave of Mrs. - Doveton. Upon which we sent for Capt. Cooke who heard the said Man Confess that he was Mrs. Dovetons Property, we therefore gave Capt. Cooke the following Order viz. - To Capt. Thomas Cooke, Commander of Ship Earl of Elgin Sir Francis Neptune a Black Man who you shipped on board the Earl of Elgin as a Seaman at Bengal being Claimed by Mrs. Mary Doveton as her Slave and born upon this Island and known by the name of Patna, the said Man having Confessed before Us in your Presence that he was the very identical Slave Patna of the said Mary Dovetons from whom he acknowledges to have deserted about three Years ago, We therefore require that you deliver the said Man up to Us in Order that he may be returned to the said Mary Doveton as her property - We are Sir Your humble Servants St. Helena Signed 30th May 1768 John Skottowe Dan Corneille Mattw. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	that Patna was Mary Doveton's property, among them his former master and his own brother. Patna then admitted that he had escaped from the island in His Majesty's ship *Medway* and that he was Mrs Doveton's slave. The Council sent for Captain Cooke, who heard him admit it. The Council then gave Captain Cooke a written order, dated at St Helena on 30 May 1768. Cooke had taken on a black man named Francis Neptune as a seaman at Bengal. Mrs Mary Doveton now claimed him as her slave. He had been born on the island, where he was known as Patna, and he had admitted before the Council and in Cooke's presence that he was that same slave who had run away from her about three years before. The Council required Cooke to hand him over, so that he could be returned to Mary Doveton as her property. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the order. **Interpretations** The case shows one of the few real routes off the island for a slave. Four Madagascar men had tried a fishing boat in April and been driven back onto the beach. Patna had done better. He slipped aboard a King's ship, the *Medway*, which called at St Helena. A naval vessel did not come under the Council's authority and was not mustered for deserters as the Company's ships were. Once at sea, he reached India and changed his name. He was then hired in Bengal as a free seaman under the name Francis Neptune. Ships there took on any able hand to replace men lost on the voyage out. The roll of the *Earl of Elgin* listed him among her seamen, with nothing to show his past. His recapture came about by chance, when the ship that employed him called at the island he had fled. The Council acted with care. He was brought ashore, the evidence of planters and family was gathered, and he made his admission in front of the captain who employed him. Only then was Cooke ordered in writing to give him up. The written order protected Cooke against any claim by his owners for the loss of a crewman. It also left a record of the Company's grounds for taking a man out of a ship's company. Patna's own brother was among those ready to swear to his identity. The minutes did not say whether the brother was free or a slave himself, or what pressure he was under. Jonathan Doveton junior, who raised the claim, was probably the Jonathan Doveton who served as factor and assistant storekeeper on the civil list. The Dovetons were among the island's established planting families, and the Council moved readily to restore a leading household's property.
45	38	30th May Since our dispatching of the Ship Tilbury the Capt. of Artillery laid before Us the following Indent which we have transmitted with the Subsequent Letter in a separate Packet to the Supra Cargoes at China to be forwarded to the Presidency of Bombay viz. To the Honorable Thos. Hodges Esqr. President & Governor &ca Council of Bombay - Honorable Sir & Sirs Since our address to you of the 25th Instant we received an Indent from the Capt. of Artillery for Gun carriages and beds for Mortars wanted for the Service of this Island enclosed you will receive the said - Indent, and request you will accordingly comply with it, and forward the same to us by the first opportunity - We are Honorable Sir & Sirs Your most Obedt., humble Servants Signed St. Helena John Skottowe	After the *Tilbury* had sailed, the captain of artillery laid an indent before the Council. The Council sent it with the following letter, in a separate packet, to the supercargoes in China, to be passed on to the presidency of Bombay. The letter was addressed to Thomas Hodges, President and Governor, and the Council of Bombay. Since writing to them on 25 May 1768, the St Helena Council had received an indent from the captain of artillery for gun carriages and beds for mortars needed for the island's defence. The indent was enclosed. The Council asked Bombay to supply the items and send them by the first opportunity. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 30 May 1768. The indent, dated 30 May 1768, listed the carriages needed for the guns already mounted and still to be mounted on the island's fortifications. Beds for 13-inch brass mortars, 2 Carriages for 24-pounder guns, 24 Carriages for 12-pounder guns, 6 Carriages for 6-pounder guns, 21 Archibald Mitchell signed the indent as engineer and commander of the artillery.

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		30th May 1768 Dan Corneille Mattw. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick Indent for Carriages wanted for the Ordnance now mounted, & to be mounted on the several Fortifications of this Island St. Helena 30th May 1768 Beds for 13 Inch Brass Mortars 2 Carriages for 24 Pounder Guns 24 Do. for 18 Do. Do. 6 Do. for 6 Do. Do. 21 Signed Archd. Mitchell Engineer & Commander of Artillery	**Interpretations** The Council sent its order for gun carriages to Bombay rather than to England, and the choice was deliberate. Carriages had to be built of heavy, sound timber that would stand the shock of firing and resist rot in a damp, salty climate. St Helena had almost no such timber. Bombay had the Company's main dockyard in the East and a ready supply of teak from the Malabar coast. Teak was hard, heavy and full of natural oil, so it resisted rot, insects and salt water far better than English oak. A carriage built in Bombay would last much longer on an exposed battery than one shipped out from England. The scale of the order shows how far the fortification programme had come. Twenty-four carriages for 24-pounders were needed for the heavy guns that commanded the anchorage, including those tested at Munden's Point in December 1767. Twenty-one carriages for 6-pounders served the lighter guns at the smaller posts. The two beds for 13-inch brass mortars were for the mortars the Council had agreed on 14 December 1767 to place in front of Munden's Point. A mortar bed was a heavy wooden or iron platform on which the mortar sat. A 13-inch mortar threw a shell over a high arc and was meant to drop it onto the decks of ships anchored in the bay. The order had to go round through China because no ship was then bound directly for Bombay. Between the voyage out, the building and the voyage back, the carriages would probably not reach St Helena for well over a year. The guns would have to sit on their old or temporary carriages until then.
46	39	1768 Bought of Captns. Cooke and Hoare the following Salt Provision &c. as pr. their Bills viz. - The Honble East India Company Dr. To the Owners of the Earl of Elgin 8 Puncheons Europe Beef of 654 Pieces 6 Hhds. Europe Pork of 474 1128 Pieces @ 2/ £ 112 . 16 Island St. Helena Recd. the Contents in full for 30th May 1768 The Owners of the Earl of Elgin Signed G. Tuff The Honble Compy. Dr. To Owners of the Ship British King To 60 Bushels of Coals £ 6 . 13 . 4 To 6 Tierces & 1 Puncheon Beef contg. 333 Pcs. To 3 Puncheons Pork contg. 245 578 @ 2/ 57 . 16 £ 64 . 9 . 4 St. Helena 1 June 1768 Recd. the Contents in full for the Owners of the British King - Signed Robt. Pridie Captn. Archibald Mitchell applied to Us to pay £ 400 - 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 Alexander Hume Esqr. (or Order) ninety days after sight dated this day - John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The Council bought the following salt provisions and other stores from Captain Cooke and Captain Hoare, according to their bills. The Company, debit, to the owners of the *Earl of Elgin*: 8 puncheons of European beef, containing 654 pieces 6 hogsheads of European pork, containing 474 pieces Total, 1,128 pieces at 2s each, £112 16s 0d George Tuff signed for the full amount on behalf of the owners at St Helena on 30 May 1768. The Company, debit, to the owners of the *British King*: 60 bushels of coal, £6 13s 4d 6 tierces and 1 puncheon of beef, containing 333 pieces 3 puncheons of pork, containing 245 pieces Total for beef and pork, 578 pieces at 2s each, £57 16s 0d Total, £64 9s 4d Robert Prudie signed for the full amount on behalf of the owners at St Helena on 1 June 1768. Captain Archibald Mitchell asked to pay £400 into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Alexander Hume or his nominee 90 days after presentation and dated that day. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** On 14 March 1768 the Council had turned down Captain Sandys's offer of 20 casks of salt meat, because the stores were full. Now it bought more than 1,700 pieces from two ships within two days. The change had a clear cause. Much of the Bengal salt meat had gone bad, and the Council had thrown it into the sea. Its letter of 25 May 1768 told Fort William to send no more. The European meat from the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King* refilled the stores with better-cured provisions. The Council paid the flat 2s a piece that the warehouse charged its own employees for beef and pork, so it could sell the meat on without loss. Both

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			bills were signed by the ships' pursers, George Tuff and Robert Prudie. A purser kept the ship's stores and accounts for her owners. The 60 bushels of coal restocked the engineer's store. On 31 March the Council had given ten of its last 20 bushels to the *Triton* for her galley, expecting fresh coal to arrive soon. The smiths at the batteries and in the armourer's shop needed coal for their forges. The *British King* could spare it as she neared the end of her voyage. At about 2s 2½d a bushel, it cost slightly more than the 1s 9d a bushel that the warehouse had charged the *Triton*. Mitchell, the engineer, paid in £400, more than five quarters of his combined pay as engineer and captain of artillery. Like the Governor, Purling, Corneille and the chaplain, he used the last weeks of the shipping season to send his savings home before the treasury had to pay the garrison at the end of June.
47	40	1 June At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 1 day of June 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 30th May 1768 We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Cooke viz. To The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govern. & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen The People belonging to the Ship Earl of Elgin having been very sickly for some time past, & still continue in a Weak Condition, & being informed by the Clerk of the Market, we have nearly had the Quantity of Bullocks allowed Us at this Island, I shall be glad if you will grant me leave to stop at the Island of Ascension for a few hours to endeavour to get a Quantity of Turtle, for the better recovery of the Ships Company, as without which, I have great reason to Imagine the Major part of them will be rendered utterly incapable of doing any duty long before we can possibly Arrive at any port in Great Britain I am Gentlemen St. Helena 1 June 1768 Your most humble Servant Signed Thos. Cooke To which we returned him the subsequent Answer viz.	1 June At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 1 day of June 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 30th May 1768 We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Cooke viz. To The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govern. & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen The People belonging to the Ship Earl of Elgin having been very sickly for some time past, & still continue in a Weak Condition, & being informed by the Clerk of the Market, we have nearly had the Quantity of Bullocks allowed Us at this Island, I shall be glad if you will grant me leave to stop at the Island of Ascension for a few hours to endeavour to get a Quantity of Turtle, for the better recovery of the Ships Company, as without which, I have great reason to Imagine the Major part of them will be rendered utterly incapable of doing any duty long before we can possibly Arrive at any port in Great Britain I am Gentlemen St. Helena 1 June 1768 Your most humble Servant Signed Thos. Cooke To which we returned him the subsequent Answer viz.
48	41	1768 To Capt. Thomas Cooke Commander of Ship Earl of Elgin Sir Having supplied you with all the Cattle that the Stock of the Island can possibly afford, we are sorry to find by your Letter of this days date that it has not been sufficient for the recovery of your People, and as you apprehend your touching at Ascension to Get Turtle will be of great service to your Ships Company on their Passage to England, You have our permission to call at that Island, for the above purpose - We are Sir St. Helena Your humble Servants 1 June 1768 Signed John Skottowe	The Council replied to Captain Thomas Cooke, commander of the *Earl of Elgin*, in a letter dated at St Helena on 1 June 1768. It had supplied him with all the cattle the island's stock could spare. It regretted to learn from his letter that this had not been enough for his men to recover. Cooke believed that calling at Ascension for turtle would greatly help his crew on their passage to England, so the Council gave him leave to stop at that island for the purpose. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the letter. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council did not give Cooke more cattle. It held to the limit the clerk of the market had applied. It said plainly that the ship had already received all the island could spare. It met his need another way, by allowing a short stop at Ascension, which cost the

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		Dan Corneille Matt Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	island nothing. The choice protected St Helena's small herds at the end of a very busy season while still answering the needs of a sick crew. The written permission also covered Cooke against any later charge from his owners or the Court that he had strayed from his direct course home. Ascension had no settlers or garrison in 1768. Homeward ships called there freely to take turtle, and some left letters in a bottle at a known spot on the shore for later ships to collect. A stop of a few hours was enough to turn a dozen or more turtles on the beach and haul them aboard.
49	42	6th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of June 1768 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 1 June 1768 - Thursday the 2d Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Earl of Elgin & British King for England - Saturday the 4th Sailed the Dutch Ships Burgh & Schoonsight for Holland - Yesterday Arrived the Northington's Boat at Banks's at four o'Clock in the afternoon Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Northington from Bengal Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Duke of Richmond from England by which opportunity we received a Packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors, which we opened & read This day Arrived the Vansittart's Boat at Banks's at Eleven o'Clock in the morning Do. Do. the Honorable Company's Ship Vansittart from China - The Northington and Vansittart brought Us the following supply viz. Invoice of Ship Northington Rice fine 60 Bags Wt. 120 B. Mds. @ 25 . 8 Pr. Ar. 218 5 6 Sugar fine 10 Bags Wt. 20 F. Mds. @ 8 . 10 Pr. Md. 172 8 Paddy 15 Bags of 22 . 20 @ 1 . 15 Pr. Cr. 16 5 9 Wax Candles 4 Chests of 8 @ 72 Pr. Md. 576 Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers 235 Ar. @ 507 9 6 Pork 20 Casks Wt. 25946½ @ 13 Ar. Pr. 100 lb 3642 14 3 Beef 5 Casks Wt. 7037½ @ 16 Pr. 112 lb 1085 12 6 6219 7 6 Carried Over 6219 7 6	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 6 June 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent through sickness The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 1 June 1768. The movements of shipping since then were recorded as follows. Thursday 2 June, the Company's ships *Earl of Elgin* and *British King* sailed for England. Saturday 4 June, the Dutch ships *Bergh* and *Schoonsigt* sailed for Holland. Sunday 5 June, a boat from the *Northington* landed at Banks's at four in the afternoon, and the Company's ship *Northington* arrived from Bengal the same day. Sunday 5 June, the Company's ship *Duke of Richmond* arrived from England. She brought a packet from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. Monday 6 June, a boat from the *Vansittart* landed at Banks's at eleven in the morning, and the Company's ship *Vansittart* arrived from China the same day. The *Northington* and the *Vansittart* brought the following supplies. The *Northington*'s invoice came first, 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 20 seers at 1 rupee 15 annas per [...], 16 rupees 5 annas 9 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 235 Arcot rupees each, 507 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Pork, 20 casks weighing 25,446½ lb at 13 Arcot rupees per 100 lb, 3,642 rupees 14 annas 3 pies Beef, 5 casks weighing 7,037½ lb at 16 [...] per 112 lb, 1,055 rupees 12 annas 6 pies Total cost of goods, 6,219 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Carried forward, 6,219 rupees 7 annas 6 pies **Interpretations** The *Northington* brought exactly the same consignment as the *Earl of Elgin*, item for item and price for price. That included another 20 casks of Bengal pork and five of beef, costing more than 4,600 rupees. The Council had written to Fort William on 25 May 1768 asking it to stop sending salt meat, which had arrived so bad that much of it went into the sea. Its letter was still on its way by way of China. Bengal had loaded both ships under its standing orders before any word could reach it. The island would receive a second year's supply of meat it no longer wanted, at a cost of almost £500 to the Company. The *Duke of Richmond* was the second ship from England that season, after the *Tilbury* on 12 May. Her packet from the Court came only a month after the

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			first, perhaps with replies to letters written later in 1767 or with the orders on the island's fortifications and appointments. Kirkpatrick's absence through sickness was the first time a member had missed a consultation that year. He held three heavy posts at once, as councillor, captain of the First Company and paymaster. The quarter's pay would fall due at the end of June, so his illness came at an awkward moment.
50	43	1768 Brought Over 6219 7 6 Charges Merchandize 25 Casks @ 9 Ar. @ 243 Coopers 23 3 6 155 Gunny Bags @ 12 . 8 Pr. % 20 14 9 2 . 8 Twine 4 6 4 Chests & Packages 15 6 3 Reed matts 2 13 Diet 1 6 Boathire 10 12 6 Sloop hire 216 Pions 2 5 3 Masters 42 1 Weighmen 9 Packers 1 1 579 12 9 Current Rupees 6799 4 3 Richd. Wills Sub Accompt. Invoice of Ship Van Sittart Bohea No. 1 to 6 Chests No. 7 . 8 . 9 . 10 . 11 . 12 Tare 39 . 41 . 40 . 39 . 38 . 38 Gross 182 . 182 . 181 . 181 . 185 . 187 Gross Wt. 1098 Tare 235 863 Nt. Pecl. 6 . 51 @ Ta. 16 104 . 1 . 6 Congo No. 1 to 12 6 Chests No. 7 . 8 . 9 . 10 . 11 . 12 Gross 180 . 180 . 173 Gross Wt. 533 Tare @ 13½ 111 422 Nt. Pecl. 3 . 20 @ Ta. 25 80 Singlo No. 1 to 3 3 Chests No. 5 . 6 . 7 194 . 97 Gross Wt. 291 Tare 19½ 58½ 232½ Nt. Pecl. 1 . 74 @ Ta. 24 41 . 7 . 6 Ta. 225 . 9 . 2 . 0 E. Excepted Signed Wm. Harrison Mattw. Raper Junr. John Bradley Blake Mann Horner Willm. Rous Thos. Bevan Henry Revell Stepn. De Visme Benj. Torin	The *Northington*'s invoice continued with the charges on the goods. Brought forward, 6,219 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods 25 casks at 9 [...] each, 243 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Coopers, 23 rupees 3 annas 6 pies 155 gunny bags at 12 rupees 8 annas per hundred, 20 rupees 14 annas 9 pies 2 seers of twine, 0 rupees 4 annas 6 pies 4 chests with packing, 15 rupees 6 annas 3 pies Reed mats, 2 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Food, 1 rupee 6 annas 0 pies Boatmen, 10 rupees 12 annas 6 pies Sloop hire, 216 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Peons, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Porters, 42 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Packers, 1 rupee 1 anna 0 pies Total for charges, 579 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Total in current rupees, 6,799 rupees 4 annas 3 pies Richard Wells signed the invoice as sub-accountant. The *Vansittart*'s invoice listed the tea she brought from China. Bohea tea, 6 chests numbered 7 to 12 Tare of the chests, 39 lb, 41 lb, 40 lb, 39 lb, 38 lb, 38 lb Gross weight of the chests, 182 lb, 182 lb, 181 lb, 169 lb, 165 lb, 157 lb Gross weight, 1,004 lb Tare, 235 lb Net weight, 769 lb, or [...] piculs [...] catties, at 16 taels per picul, 104 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 3 chests Gross weight of the chests, 180 lb, 180 lb, 173 lb Gross weight, 533 lb Tare at 13½ lb a chest, [...] lb Net weight, 427 lb, or 3 piculs 20 catties, at 25 taels per picul, 80 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, 3 chests numbered 5 to 7 Gross weight of the chests, 194 lb, 97 lb, [...] Gross weight, 291 lb Tare at 19½ lb a chest, 58½ lb Net weight, 232½ lb, or 1 picul 74 catties, at 24 taels per picul, 41 taels 7 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Total, 225 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 0 cash The invoice reserved the right to correct any errors. It was signed by Henry Revell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Torin, Mann Horne, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake. **Interpretations** This was the first tea sent to St Helena that season. The earlier China ships had brought only sugar, sugar candy and porcelain for the island. The warehouse had run low on tea through the first quarter of 1768. Sales to employees fell from 219½ lb of Bohea in the last quarter of 1767 to 101 lb. The *Vansittart*'s three grades restocked it for the coming year. Bohea, the cheapest at 16 taels a picul, was meant for the soldiers' and slaves' rations and for general sale. Congou, at 25 taels, and Singlo, a green tea at 24 taels, served the officers and the Castle. Thomas Fitzhugh and Thomas Smith no longer signed the Canton invoice. They had left Canton in the

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			Latham and the *Houghton*, and those two ships had passed through St Helena in early May. The *Vansittart*'s invoice was evidently drawn up after they sailed, so only the supercargoes still at Canton signed it. The *Northington*'s charges repeated the *Earl of Elgin*'s almost exactly. Sloop hire was again 216 rupees, because heavy casks of salt meat had to be carried down the Hooghly. Bengal's charges alone came to nearly 580 rupees, about £65, all added to the cost of meat the island had asked not to receive.
51	44	6th June The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Tilbury viz. - Account of Stores short received from Ship Tilbury viz. 7 Milk Pans 13 Scythe Stones 7 Sqrs. Glass 8 by 10 3 Sqrs. Do. 11 by 17 2 Sqrs. Do. 11¼ by 18½ 10 Sqrs. Do. 10 by 13 1 Wine Glass found broke upon opening the Packages which were in good Order - - . 2 . 24 Sope, short weight Occasioned by drying, as the Packages were in good qrs. lb 1 . 2 . 24 Cordage, short weight Occasioned by drying, as the Coils agreed as to Number and dimensions as pr. Invoice 4 Bushels Salt short measure by wastage, the Casks being in good Order 1 Hhd. Pork 1 Bar Iron wt. 2 . 27 qrs. lb 3 Bauths Short delivered 7 Soldiers Shirts 20 Yards Osnabrigs 6 Yds. Tickleburgs damaged by wet and good nothing, the Packages being damaged and in bad Order 12 Round Iron Shot for 24 Prs. 33 Round Do. Do. for 6 Prs. broke 1 Bed Quoin for 6 Prs. Short delivered Port wine No. 1 . 1 Hhd. Gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1¼ Galls. 2 . 1 Hhd. Do. 60 Do. Do. 2 120 3¼ 3¼ Galls. 116¾ recd. Lisbon wine viz. No. 3 . 1 Hhd. Gages 62 Galls. wants to fill 4¼ Galls. 4 . 1 Hhd. Do. 61 Do. Do. 1¼ 5 . 1 Hhd. Do. 63 Do. Do. 2 186 7½ 7½ Galls. 178½ Recd. St. Helena 6 June 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Tilbury* that came ashore short or damaged. He signed it at St Helena on 6 June 1768. Found broken when the packages were opened, although the packages were in good order 7 milk pans 13 scythe stones 7 panes of glass 8 by 10 inches 3 panes of glass 10 by 17 inches 2 panes of glass 11¼ by 18½ inches 10 panes of glass 10 by 15 inches 1 wine glass Short in weight through drying, the packages being sound Soap, 0 cwt 2 qr 24 lb Cordage, 1 cwt 2 qr 24 lb, the coils agreeing in number and size with the invoice Short in measure through wastage, the casks being in good order Salt, 4 bushels Short delivered 1 hogshead of pork 1 bar of iron weighing 0 cwt 2 qr 27 lb 3 [...] Damaged by wet and worthless, the packages being damaged and in bad order 7 soldiers' shirts 20 yards of osnaburg 6 yards of [...] Broken 12 round iron shot for 24-pounders 33 round iron shot for 6-pounders Short delivered 1 bed [...] for a 6-pounder Port wine Cask number 1, 1 hogshead gauged at 60 gallons, lacking 1¼ gallons to fill it Cask number 2, 1 hogshead gauged at 60 gallons, lacking 2 gallons to fill it Total gauged 120 gallons, total lacking 3¼ gallons Port wine received, 116¾ gallons Lisbon wine Cask number 3, 1 hogshead gauged at 62 gallons, lacking 4¼ gallons to fill it Cask number 4, 1 hogshead gauged at 61 gallons, lacking 1¼ gallons to fill it Cask number 5, 1 hogshead gauged at 63 gallons, lacking 2 gallons to fill it Total gauged 186 gallons, total lacking 7½ gallons Lisbon wine received, 178½ gallons **Interpretations** Powell sorted every loss by its cause, and the sorting decided who would pay. Glass and earthenware broken inside sound packages pointed to rough handling or poor packing in England, so the claim lay against the suppliers. Soap, cordage and salt that had lost weight or measure in good casks had dried out or wasted naturally, which was nobody's fault. Goods missing altogether, such as a hogshead of pork and a bar of iron, were the ship's responsibility, since she had signed for them. Cloth spoiled by wet in damaged packages could be charged to the ship, or to the weather if her captain had entered a protest. Each

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			heading told the Court in London where to press for payment. The broken round shot is surprising, since iron balls rarely break. Cast iron shot could crack if it had flaws from casting, or if heavy cases were dropped while being landed through the surf. Shot for the 24-pounders was precious to an island whose new batteries had been built around guns of that size. Wine was among the island's few supplies from Europe. The port and Lisbon wine would serve the Company's table, where the steward drew about 30 bottles of Lisbon a month.
52	45	1768 James Goudy Centinel this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his Contracted Time - Granted We having observed the Consequence of people digging Mortar on the side of Mundens Point Hill, with respect to the detriment it does to the Water Course in undermining the same, Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 6th June 1768 This is to give notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island, That they are hereby positively Ordered not to take any dirt for Mortar or other uses from below or above the water Course or on any part of Mundens Point Hill from the Company's Black House to the Castle, on penalty of paying forty Shillings for every Offence on being detected in so doing - Be it further made known that any loose Stones on the side of the said Hill may be taking for building but on no account whatever to dig or Quarry for them - Per Order of Council Signed M. Bazett Secy. John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of June 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 6th June 1768 - Tuesday the 7 Sailed the French Ship Marquis de Lance for France Thursday the 9th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Tilbury for China Friday the 10 Died John Cox Serjeant -	James Gouty, 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. The Council had noticed the harm done by people digging earth for mortar on the side of Munden's Point hill. The digging was undermining the watercourse. The Council therefore ordered the following notice to be published, dated 6 June 1768. All inhabitants of the island were strictly forbidden to take any earth, for mortar or any other use, from below or above the watercourse, or from any part of Munden's Point hill between the Company's slave house and the Castle. Anyone found doing so would pay a penalty of 40s for each offence. Loose stones on the side of the hill could still be taken for building. No one, however, was on any account to dig or quarry for them. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 13 June 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 6 June 1768. The French ship *Marquis de Lanoe* sailed for France on Tuesday 7 June. The Company's ship *Tilbury* sailed for China on Thursday 9 June. John Cox, a sergeant, died on Friday 10 June. **Interpretations** The watercourse on Munden's Point hill probably carried water down the slope toward the batteries and the landing place. Jamestown depended on a small number of springs and channels for its water, and so did every ship that watered in the bay. Townspeople and builders dug the hillside for earth to mix into mortar, and that loosened the ground beneath the channel until it was in danger of collapse. The Council could simply have banned all taking of material from the hill. It drew a finer line instead. Earth, which had to be dug out, was forbidden, while loose stones lying on the surface could still be gathered. The order protected the water supply and the slope above the new battery at Munden's Point. At the same time it left the inhabitants a free source of building stone. A fine of 40s was heavy, more than half a quarter's pay for a private soldier. It shows how seriously the Council took the threat to its water. The *Tilbury* had been ordered to sail for Canton on 25 May, once her ten working days for unloading ran out. She left only on 9 June, a fortnight later. Her captain may have waited to take on water and provisions, or to collect the Council's letters to the presidencies, including the order for gun carriages sent to Bombay on 30 May. John Cox was a sergeant in the Artillery Company. His death took another experienced man from the gunners, after the discharges of Adam Creighton, John Martin and four matrosses earlier in the season.

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53	46	13th June Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Northington and Van Sittart to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. - Muster Roll of Ship Northington John Sealy Commander John Hoxhall Chief Mate John May 2d Do. Thomas Beith 3d Do. Willm. Shuttleworth 4th Do. Herbert Mercer 5th Do. Thomas Stone Purser John Knight Surgeon John Roberts Do. Mate Will. Hawkins Gunner Do. John Baker Carpenter Anthy. Smith Boatswain Wm. Durrant Carpent. Mate Wm. Gibbons Boatsw. 1 Do. James Lockhart Boatsw. 2 Do. Willm. Pugh Ships Stewd. Fairfax Dear Capt. Do. John Massy Cooper James Sary Do. Mate Robert Morrinson Armourer Peter Jones Sailmaker John Fawell Caulker Will. Ravens Caulk. Mate Hugh Pugh Midshipman James Moore Do. Thomas Burbridge Do. John Lashand Do. John Gunstone Do. John Viney Do. Henry Bryant Do. George King Midshipman Paul Cass Do. Solomon Creech Quartermaster John Blackmore Do. Will. Reap Do. William Barrett Do. George Mowatt Do. Thos. Rushworth Capt. Servt. Wm. Briggs Capt. Taylor James Turner Capt. Cook Jacob Boynes Do. Mate Clark Johnson Ships Cook John Tully Seaman Robert Hill George Gardener Richd. Steward Francis Shiffe Thomas Marlow Patrick Sinclair Edward Bruce Jno. Warrens Wm. Word Edward Stedman Will. Sharp William Pearson George Tyrrell George Duncan Robert Johnson James Pube Chas. Carming Barnd. Duff Seaman Will. Goodman David Row James Mallet Will. Prothero Richd. Pepper Robt. Fenton Domg. Brugee	Purling reported that he had boarded the *Northington* and the *Vansittart* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. Their muster rolls read as follows, beginning with the *Northington*. John Sealy, Commander John Woxhall, Chief Mate John May, Second Mate Thomas Smith, Third Mate William Shuttleworth, Fourth Mate Herbert Mercer, Fifth Mate Thomas Stone, Purser John Knight, Surgeon John Roberts, Surgeon's Mate William Hawtrow, Gunner John Baker, Carpenter Anthony Smith, Boatswain William Durant, Carpenter's Mate William Gibbons, Boatswain's First Mate James Lockhart, Boatswain's Second Mate William Pugh, Ship's Steward Ferdinand Dear, Captain's Steward John Massey, Cooper James Terry, Cooper's Mate Robert Morrisson, Armourer Peter Jones, Sailmaker John Jewell, Caulker William Ravens, Caulker's Mate Hugh Pugh, Midshipman James Moore, Midshipman Thomas Coleridge, Midshipman John Seaford, Midshipman John Gunstone, Midshipman John Nevey, Midshipman Henry Bryant, Midshipman George Thorng, Midshipman Paul Cass, Midshipman Solomon French, Quartermaster John Blackmore, Quartermaster William Reaf, Quartermaster William Barrett, Quartermaster George Mowett, Quartermaster Thomas Bushworth, Captain's Servant William Briggs, Captain's Tailor James Turner, Captain's Cook Jacob Boynes, Cook's Mate Black Johnson, Ship's Cook John Tully, Seaman Robert Hill, Seaman George Gardener, Seaman Richard Steward, Seaman Francis Shipe, Seaman Thomas Marlow, Seaman Patrick Sinclair, Seaman Edward Bruce, Seaman John Warren, Seaman William Ward, Seaman Edward Stedman, Seaman William Sharp, Seaman William Pearson, Seaman George Tyrrell, Seaman George Duncan, Seaman Robert Johnson, Seaman James Rule, Seaman Charles Canning, Seaman Bernard Duff, Seaman William Goreman, Seaman David Row, Seaman James Mallet, Seaman William Brothers, Seaman Richard Pepper, Seaman Robert Tenton, Seaman Domingo Bourgee, Seaman John Jacobs, Seaman James Donelson, Seaman Joseph Shelton, Seaman

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		John Jacobs James Donelson Joseph Shelton Chas. Tobin William Ross David Forbes Jno. West James Flint Thomas Williamson Hugh Pudley Chas. Kentham Henry Dean Jno. Darke John Richmond Robt. Archdeacon Wm. Pratt Humphy. Dorne Will. Frear James Simmondon Jno. Smith Andrew Burge Peter Merton	Charles Tobin, Seaman William Ross, Seaman David Forbes, Seaman John West, Seaman James Flint, Seaman Thomas Williamson, Seaman Hugh Ridley, Seaman Charles Kentan, Seaman Henry Dean, Seaman Thomas Darke, Seaman John Richmond, Seaman Robert Archdeacon, Seaman William Pratt, Seaman Humphrey Dorne, Seaman William Frear, Seaman James Simmonden, Seaman John Smith, Seaman Andrew Burge, Seaman Peter Marston, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Northington* carried nine midshipmen, far more than the four or five in most of the season's ships. Midshipmen were young gentlemen learning to become officers. A commander could take many of them aboard because their families paid for the privilege, or because he was obliging patrons and friends in Leadenhall Street. A large number of midshipmen shows a well-connected captain whose ship was sought after as a training berth. The ship's cook was entered simply as Black Johnson. The clerk used the man's colour as his first name, much as other rolls named Indian seamen by their place of origin. Black cooks were common in East Indiamen and in the Royal Navy. Many were free men who had found work at sea in English and colonial ports, and some had escaped slavery that way. Like the captain's tailor, he was part of a crew in which men of many origins worked side by side.
54	47	1768 Jno. Lawrence Seaman Peter Gievers Chas. Andrews Jno. Baxter Steal Seaman Stepn. Vigeon Lawrence Franchson Wm. Girling Seaman Richd. Glazer 8 Moor Men Passengers Major Stibbert Mrs. Stibbert Mr. Hare Miss Hare Miss Nancy Hare Mr. Williamson Mr. Thwaite Mr. Gladman Signed John Sealy Muster Roll of Ship Van Sittart Roger Fish Palmer Commander Will. Brown Chief Mate William Rowland 2d Do. William Roberts 3d Do. John Wordie 4th Do. John Buxton 5th Do. Allen Chatfield 6th Do. Thomas Armitstead Purser David Buffour Surgeon Thos. Fenders Do. Mate Thos. Taylor Midshipman John Hope Do. Wm. Cloughston Do. Wm. Madgwick Do. Danl. Wourdy Do.	The *Northington*'s muster roll ended with the following men and her passengers. John Lawrence, Seaman Peter Gowers, Seaman Charles Andrews, Seaman John Baxter Teal, Seaman Stephen Vigeon, Seaman Lawrence Frankson, Seaman William Gilroy, Seaman Richard Glazier, Seaman 3 Moors Passengers Major Tibbert Mrs Tibbert Mr Hare Miss Hare Miss Nancy Hare Mr Williamson Mr Thwaite Mr Gladman Captain John Sealy signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Vansittart* followed. Roger Fish Palmer, Commander William Brown, Chief Mate William Gowland, Second Mate William Roberts, Third Mate John Wordie, Fourth Mate John Buxton, Fifth Mate Allen Chatfield, Sixth Mate Thomas Armitstead, Purser David Buffon, Surgeon Thomas Fenders, Surgeon's Mate Thomas Taylor, Midshipman John Hope, Midshipman William Cloughton, Midshipman William Madgwick, Midshipman Donald Wourdy, Midshipman

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		Robert Bolace Do. Anthony Owen Do. Aaron Peters Carpenter Henry Hankey Boatswain Henry Jones Gunner Joseph Dawson Ships Stewd. Joseph Hoskins Cooper James Seager Armourer Thomas Wilkins James Mills Benj. Patrick Wilkinson Hugh Aleow Gunners Mate Will. Barlow Caulkers Do. John Blenkinson Coopers Do. Thos. Gosling Sailmaker Wm. Dandage Capt. Cook Walter Hilliard Ships Do. Chas. Crochet Baker Will. Webster Captains Taylor Mackey Lawrence Quartermaster John Welch Do. Will. Haynes Do. Will. Moore Do. Will. Jamson Boatsw. Mate Thos. Wallace Do. Thos. Tiddele Seaman Henry Palmer Wm. Evans John Hangroom John Cobb George Dent Thos. Hopkins Will. Godley Will. Merchant Wm. Goff Saml. Waters	Robert Bolden, Midshipman Anthony Owen, Midshipman Aaron Peters, Carpenter Henry Hankey, Boatswain Henry Jones, Gunner Joseph Dawson, Ship's Steward Joseph Hoskins, Cooper James Seager, Armourer Thomas Wilkins, [...] James Mills, [...] Benjamin Patrick Wilkinson, [...] Hugh Alcow, Gunner's Mate William Barlow, Caulker's Mate John Blankensen, Cooper's Mate Thomas Gosling, Sailmaker William Dandridge, Captain's Cook Walter Hilliard, Ship's Cook Charles Crochet, Baker William Webster, Captain's Tailor Mackey Lawrence, Quartermaster John Welch, Quartermaster William Haynes, Quartermaster William Moore, Quartermaster William Jamison, Boatswain's Mate Thomas Wallace, Boatswain's Mate Thomas Tiddale, Seaman Henry Palmer, Seaman William Evans, Seaman John Hargroom, Seaman John Cobb, Seaman George Dent, Seaman Thomas Hopkins, Seaman William Golley, Seaman William Merchant, Seaman William Goff, Seaman Samuel Waters, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Northington*'s roll ended with three men entered only as Moors. In the eighteenth-century East the English used the word for Muslims, especially Indian Muslims, whatever their origin. The clerk did not record their names, just as passengers' black servants went unnamed. Muslim seamen, often from Bengal or the Malabar coast, were hired in Indian ports to fill out the crews of homeward ships. In English records they were usually lumped together under the general heading of lascars or Moors. The Hare family travelled home together. Mr Hare had two daughters, Miss Hare and Miss Nancy Hare. Major Tibbert and his wife were probably returning from the Company's army in Bengal. Families sailing together were common on the homeward voyage. Officials who had made their fortunes in India brought wives and children back to England, often after years of separation from friends and relations at home. The *Vansittart* was named after Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal from 1760 to 1764. Her six mates, baker and captain's tailor mark her as one of the large, well-found China ships of the season.
55	48	13th June John Bolton Seaman Robert Wilson Jas. McPherson Richd. Hills Danl. Leech George Matthews John Benson John Baxter John Archer John Knowles Richd. Haller Danl. Campbell David Johnson James Herring Adam Rutherford	The *Vansittart*'s muster roll ended with the following seamen and her passengers. John Bolton, Seaman Robert Wilson, Seaman John McPherson, Seaman Richard Hilts, Seaman Daniel Leech, Seaman George Matthews, Seaman John Benson, Seaman John Baxter, Seaman John Archer, Seaman John Knowles, Seaman Richard Haller, Seaman Daniel Campbell, Seaman David Johnson, Seaman James Herring, Seaman

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		James Baxter James Tall James Powell Seaman Geo. Walker Henry Ross John Ray Alex. Winchester Saml. McIntosh Anthy. Gilder William Castley Miles German James Primrose Wm. Ferguson Samuel Leghorn John Moore William Potty John Anderson John Jamieson James Dixon Edward Monk Seaman Francis Bettey Danl. Brothers Thos. Brothers James Christie John Rait John Martin John Palmer Chas. West John Benson Henry Sheppard John French John Handiman Passengers Matt Raper Esqr. J. B. Blake Esqr. Supra Cargoes John Haines Servant Caesar Do. Signed Roger Fish Palmer The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of May last, were this day brought in which were examined, and approved and are as follows viz.	Adam Rutherford, Seaman James Baxter, Seaman James Tall, Seaman James Powell, Seaman George Walker, Seaman Henry Ross, Seaman John Ray, Seaman Alexander Winchester, Seaman Samuel McIntosh, Seaman Anthony Gilder, Seaman William Castley, Seaman Miles Gurman, Seaman James Primrose, Seaman William Ferguson, Seaman Samuel Leghorn, Seaman John Moore, Seaman William Potty, Seaman John Anderson, Seaman John Jameson, Seaman James Dixon, Seaman Edward Monk, Seaman Francis Pottley, Seaman Daniel Brothers, Seaman Thomas Brothers, Seaman James Christie, Seaman John Rait, Seaman John Martin, Seaman John Palmer, Seaman Charles West, Seaman John Benson, Seaman Henry Sheppard, Seaman John French, Seaman John Hardiman, Seaman Passengers Matthew Raper, supercargo J B Blake, supercargo John Haines, servant Caesar, servant Captain Roger Fish Palmer signed the roll. The gunner's and steward's accounts for May were presented, examined and approved. **Interpretations** Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake were the last of the Canton supercargoes to come through St Helena that season. Their names stood on every Canton invoice for the island, including the *Vansittart*'s own. Fitzhugh, Todd and Smith had sailed in the *Latham* and the *Houghton* in May. By June most of the season's council at Canton had passed through the island on their way home. They spread themselves across several ships, carrying their private fortunes, and left only a few colleagues to keep the Company's affairs at Canton until the next season. One servant was named John Haines and the other only Caesar. Classical names such as Caesar, Pompey and Cato were often given to black servants and slaves by their masters. The Company's own slave Cato had died in the last quarter of 1767. The single name points to a black servant, probably bought in the East and brought home to England.
56	49	1768 Artillery Stores Expended in May 1768 Guns fired, Shot fired, 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 4th Powder for the Works at Banks's and Mundens Point: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 133, Powder Expended oz 0 Do. for the Works at the Quarry: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 0 Do. to Shoot Goats at different Times: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 5, Powder Expended oz 4	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in May 1768 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 9-pounders, 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 4 May, powder for the works at Banks's and Munden's Point: guns fired 0, shot 0; powder 133 lb 0 oz 4 May, powder for the works at the quarry: guns fired 0, shot 0; powder 13 lb 0 oz 4 May, powder for shooting goats at different times: guns fired 0, shot 0; powder 5 lb 4 oz 5 May, departure of the *Worcester*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz

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		Departed the Worcester: 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 for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 8 6th 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 7 An Alarm for a Ship that passed by: 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 9 Powder to the Men in the Long Boats: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 3, Powder Expended oz 0 Do. to repair the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 8 11 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 12th Arrived the Tilbury: 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 for priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 8 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 13 Arrived a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 12 Fired at the said Ship from Banks's: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 1, 9 Pr 1, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 8 Powder for priming for the said Ships Arrival: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended oz 4 14th Departed the Latham & Houghton: Guns fired 18, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 15, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 16, Powder Expended oz 12 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 3, Powder Expended oz 0 16th An Alarm for a Ship that Passed by: 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 Do. at Banks's for the same Ship: Guns fired 2, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 2, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 18 Powder for the Funeral of Roger Witman Soldier: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended oz 4 19 A Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 3, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 3, Powder Expended lb 18, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the British King & Earl of Elgin: Guns fired 18, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 18, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 13, Powder Expended oz 8 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 3, Powder Expended oz 0 23 An Alarm for a Ship that passed by: 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 Guns fired for a Salute to the said Ship: 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 for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 3, Powder Expended oz 8 26 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	5 May, powder for priming: powder 1 lb 3 oz 6 May, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 7 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 9 May, powder for the men in the longboat: powder 3 lb 0 oz 9 May, powder to repair the cartridges at the main guard: powder 9 lb 8 oz 11 May, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 12 May, arrival of the *Tilbury*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 12 May, powder for priming: powder 1 lb 3 oz 12 May, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 13 May, arrival of a Dutch ship: guns fired 13, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 12 oz 13 May, fired at the same ship from Banks's: guns fired 1, shot 1, 9-pounders 1, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 4 lb 8 oz 13 May, powder for priming on the same ship's arrival: powder 2 lb 4 oz 14 May, departure of the *Latham* and the *Houghton*: guns fired 18, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 15, 1-pounders 0; powder 16 lb 12 oz 14 May, powder for priming: powder 3 lb 0 oz 16 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 16 May, an alarm at Banks's for the same ship: guns fired 2, shot 0, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 0 oz 18 May, powder for the funeral of Roger Watson, soldier: powder 2 lb 4 oz 19 May, a double alarm: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 3; powder 18 lb 0 oz 19 May, arrival of the *British King* and the *Earl of Elgin*: guns fired 18, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 18, 1-pounders 0; powder 13 lb 8 oz 19 May, powder for priming: powder 3 lb 0 oz 23 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 23 May, guns fired in salute to the same ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 23 May, powder for priming: powder 3 lb 8 oz 26 May, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 26 May, arrival of a French ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 26 May, priming: powder 1 lb 3 oz 28 May, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 29 May, arrival of a Dutch ship: guns fired 11, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 11, 1-pounders 0; powder 8 lb 4 oz 29 May, powder for priming: powder 2 lb 0 oz 31 May, powder for signals at different times: powder 5 lb 0 oz

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		27th Arrived a French Ship: 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 Priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 8 28 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 29th Arrived a Dutch Ship: 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 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended oz 0 31 Do. for Signals at different Times: Guns fired 0, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 5, Powder Expended oz 0 Total: Guns fired 150, Shot fired 1, 9 Pr 3, 4 Pr 21, 3 Pr 20, 2 Pr 93, 1 Pr 19, Powder Expended lb 445, Powder Expended oz 0	Total: guns fired 156, shot 1, 9-pounders 3, 4-pounders 21, 3-pounders 20, 2-pounders 93, 1-pounders 19; powder 445 lb 0 oz **Interpretations** For the first time the return showed where the powder for sundry services went, instead of giving a single total. The largest share, 133 lb, went to blasting rock at the works at Banks's and Munden's Point. Another 13 lb went to the quarry, where stone for the masonry was cut. Together they took about a third of the month's powder. The figure confirms what earlier returns only suggested: the new batteries were being cut out of the cliffs with gunpowder as well as picks and wedges. The Dutch ship *Bergh* was brought to with a shot from Banks's on 13 May, as two Dutch ships had been in April. After answering, she was saluted with 13 guns. Dutch captains who seldom called at the island evidently did not know its rule that ships must heave to off Banks's, and the battery enforced it each time. Roger Watson's funeral used 2 lb 4 oz of powder. A soldier was buried with a volley fired over his grave by his comrades. Powder was also issued to repair the cartridges at the main guard, where damp could spoil made-up charges. A further supply went for signals, the flashes and reports by which the lookout posts passed messages to the Castle.
57	50	13th June Tallow Expended for different uses 46 lb Lead Balls Do. for Do. 5 lb Handspikes Do. for Do. 14 Spunge Staves 1 Tompions Expended 2 . 2 lb 1 . 4 Pr. 3 Trunk Nails delivered to the Lieut. Governor 100 Signed R. Mitchell Sundries Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in May 1768 4 Bottles Port Wine £ 6 38 Do. Lisbon 2 17 12 Do. Mountain 18 24 Do. Beer 6 200 lb Beef 4 3 4 300 lb Mutton 6 5 4 Lambs 2 2 Turkeys 10 24 Fowles 1 16 30 lb Butter 1 10 90 lb Candy 1 16 3 336 lb Flour 2 15 30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 £ 32 12 The Executor to the last Will and Testament of John Cox Deceased this day presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved which was	The gunner also accounted for other stores used during May. Tallow used for different purposes, 46 lb Lead balls for different purposes, 5 lb Handspikes for different purposes, 14 Sponge staves, 1 Tompions, 2 for 2-pounders and 1 for 4-pounders, 3 Trunk nails delivered to the Lieutenant Governor, 100 Archibald Mitchell signed the return. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in May 1768. 4 bottles of port wine, £0 6s 0d 38 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 17s 0d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 6s 0d 200 lb of beef, £4 3s 4d 300 lb of mutton, £6 5s 0d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 24 fowls, £1 16s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 90 lb of sugar candy, £1 16s 3d 336 lb of flour, £2 15s 0d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d Total, £32 12s 0d The executor of the will of John [...], deceased, presented the will that day and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved it on the oaths of the witnesses. The will read as follows. **Interpretations** The price of fresh meat fell back in May after the April peak. Beef cost 5d a pound against more than 8d in April, and mutton 5d against 7d. Fewer ships lay in the road at once, so demand from captains and pursers eased, and the island's planters lowered their prices. The table still bought more meat than in any month of the summer, 500 lb in all, besides 24 fowls. It was entertaining the officers and passengers of the *Tilbury*, the *Latham*, the *Houghton*, the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King*, all of which lay at the island during the month. Lisbon wine reached 38 bottles, the most of the year. The Council acted as the island's court of probate. In England a will was proved before a church court. On St Helena the Governor and Council heard the witnesses swear that they had seen the dead man sign

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		accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto. The Will is as follows viz. -	it, and they then registered it. Proving a will gave the executor legal authority to collect debts, sell property and pay the legacies. The deceased was probably Sergeant John Cox of the Artillery Company, who had died on 10 June 1768.
58	51	1768 In the Name of God Amen I John Cox being of sound mind and memory blessed be God tho' Weak of body, do make this my last Will and Testament, In manner & form following viz. In the first I recommend my Soul unto Almighty God who gave it hoping for mercy through the Merrits of Jesus Christ his only Son my Redeemer, and my Body to the Earth, to be Buried at the discretion of those appointed for that purpose, as touching my Worldly Effects, I will and bequeath them unto my trusty and well beloved Friend Nicholas Houghton whom I appoint my sole Executor, hereby revoking all Former Wills, and Legacys made by or for me. Signed Sealed and delivered In the presence of us, who have hereunto Subscribed our Names, as Witnesses this six day of June In the Year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and Sixty eight And in the Eighth year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third - Witness Signed Signed Thos. Ferris John Cox Geo. Roe The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ship Northington viz. Account of Stores Short received from Ship Northington viz. 5 . 2 . 12 Rice cwt. qrs. lb - . 3 . 17 Paddy 1 . 1 . 9 Sugar - . - . 3 Candles Short weight. Occasioned by Waste &c. the Packages being in good order - No. 1 . 1 Leagr. Arrack Gages 150 Galls. wants to fill 7 Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. 143 Do. Do. 4 293 11 11 Recd. 282 Galls. St. Helena 13 June 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	John Cox made his will on 6 June 1768, in the eighth year of the reign of King George III. He was weak in body but of sound mind and memory. He commended his soul to Almighty God, in hope of mercy through Jesus Christ, and left his body to be buried as those responsible thought fit. He left all his worldly goods to his trusted friend Nicholas Houghton, whom he named as his sole executor, and he cancelled all earlier wills and legacies. Cox signed the will with his mark in the presence of two witnesses, Thomas Ferris and George Roe. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Northington* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it at St Helena on 13 June 1768. The shortfalls in weight came from wastage, and the packages were in good order. Rice, short in weight by 5 cwt 2 qr 12 lb Paddy, short in weight by 0 cwt 3 qr 17 lb Sugar, short in weight by 1 cwt 1 qr 9 lb Wax candles, short in weight by 0 cwt 0 qr 3 lb Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 150 gallons, lacking 7 gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 143 gallons, lacking 4 gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 293 gallons, total lacking 11 gallons Arrack received, 282 gallons **Interpretations** Cox made his will four days before he died, on 10 June 1768. He left everything to Nicholas Houghton, a corporal in the same Artillery Company. He named no wife, child or relative, which suggests he had no family on the island, or none he wished to remember. Soldiers far from home commonly left their few possessions and their arrears of pay to a comrade. The friend who inherited them also undertook to settle the dead man's debts and see him buried. The witnesses were Thomas Ferris and George Roe, fellow soldiers. Ferris was probably the Fourth Company sergeant whose pay had ended in March. Cox's estate would have amounted to little more than his clothing, a few belongings and the pay owed him for the days of June he had served. Cox signed with his mark, a cross, which shows he could not write his name. Even a sergeant of artillery, a skilled and trusted rank, might be unable to read and write in 1768. The Company relied on its officers and a few literate men to keep the garrison's records.
59	52	13th June We this day Ordered an Advertisement to be published relative to the selling of the Goods belonging to the Capt. and Officers of the Ship Duke of Richmond, as was done with respect to the Gentlemen of the Tilbury Bought of Captain Sealy the following Salt Provision &ca as pr. his Bill viz. - The Honble Company Dr. To Owners of Ship Northington For 3 Casks of Pork contg. 130 Ps. at 2/ 13 7 Casks of Beef 280 Ps. 2/ 28 1 Shear Mast Cost 13 One Barrell Tar Cost 1 . 1 Advance £ 30 Pr. Cent 10 . 6 1 11 6 £ 55 11 6 St. Helena 13 June 1768 E. E. & Contents recd.	The Council ordered a notice to be published about the sale of goods belonging to the captain and officers of the *Duke of Richmond*, on the same terms as for the officers of the *Tilbury*. The Council bought the following salt provisions and other stores from Captain Sealy, according to his bill. The Company, debit, to the owners of the *Northington*: 3 casks of pork, containing 130 pieces at 2s each, £13 0s 0d 7 casks of beef, containing 280 pieces at 2s each, £28 0s 0d 1 sheer mast, cost £13 0s 0d 1 barrel of tar, cost £1 1s 0d Advance on £30 at [...] per cent, £0 10s 6d Total for tar and advance, £1 11s 6d Total, £65 11s 6d Thomas Stone signed for the full amount on behalf of the owners at St Helena on 13 June 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors.

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		for Owners of Ship Northington Signed Thos. Stone The Lieut. Governor this day laid before Us the following Letter To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council &ca - Gentlemen Having received pr. Store Ship undoubted information from Friends, that the treatment I met with from the Governor the 6 of October 66 and represented Home in the subsequent Consultation of the 13th of same Month to all which you were present. Has been represented by the Governor in a private Letter to the Honble the Court of Directors, in manner and Words totally Different from the real Circumstances of that transaction. Mr. Skottowe exculpating himself to their Honors through the necessity he was under from Words arising between the Engineer	Corneille laid the following letter before the Council, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Corneille wrote that the store ship had brought him firm information from friends in England. On 6 October 1766 the Governor had treated him in a certain way, and the Council had recorded the matter at its consultation of 13 October 1766, with every member present. The Governor had since described that affair to the Court of Directors in a private letter, in terms entirely different from what had really happened. In that letter Skottowe excused himself to the Court by pleading that he had been forced to act because of words that arose between the engineer and **Interpretations** Corneille's letter opened a serious quarrel between the island's two senior officers. Under the Company's rules the Governor and Council reported to the Court in the general letter, signed by all members and based on the minutes they had approved together. A governor who also wrote privately to the Court could tell his own side of a dispute without his colleagues seeing it. Corneille's friends in London had seen or heard of such a letter and sent word in the *Tilbury*. He now raised the matter openly before the whole Council. That way the minutes, which went to the Court, would carry his answer alongside the Governor's account. The events of October 1766 came before the earliest consultations recorded in this volume, so their nature is known only from Corneille's letter. His mention of words with the engineer suggests the dispute grew out of a clash involving Captain Mitchell. A sheer mast was a long, strong spar used to make sheers, a lifting frame of two or three spars lashed together at the top with tackle hung from it. Sheers raised heavy loads such as cannon onto their carriages or into batteries. At £13 the mast was costly, but the island had no trees long or strong enough for the purpose. It was probably meant for mounting the 24-pounders at Munden's Point and Banks's. The advance of £30 was probably cash the ship's purser had paid out on the Company's behalf, with a small charge added for the use of the money.
60	53	1768 and, in which I expressed myself with more warmth than he thought was proper at that Board; And alledges his reprimand in Consequence of such a Conduct, thinking it his Duty to inform me in the following Words - That I had an unquestionable liberty to always freely speak my Sentiments, and Opinion in him in Consultation to whatsoever subject or business that occurred but that he did not Conceive that I had any right to dictate to the Board. - Such Gentlemen is the unfair manner in which he has Stated his reprimand to the Honble the Court of Directors, and that in an underhand Method, knowing too well that the truth of my whole Assertion would bear the Test of the Strictest Scrutiny, and could only be rendered void by such unfair and false Representations, so contrary to the real State and matter of Fact. I must further inform you Gentlemen that Mr. Skottowe has not confined himself to the above misrepresentation of that charge alone; having further alledged to my Honorable Masters, as having taken upon me both in his opinion as well as many others, more than in Justice the Governor ought to have submitted to. As well as endeavouring by every means to render him of no Consequence, and also insinuating that the Government of this Island was invested only in the	The Governor's private letter, Corneille continued, claimed that the words between the engineer and Corneille had led Corneille to speak with more heat than was proper at the Board. Skottowe said he had reprimanded Corneille for that conduct. He described the reprimand as a duty, delivered in these terms: Corneille had an unquestioned right always to speak his views and opinions freely in Council on any subject that arose, but the Governor did not consider that he had any right to dictate to the Board. Corneille called this an unfair account of the reprimand, sent to the Court in an underhand way. He said Skottowe knew well that the truth of Corneille's whole conduct would bear the strictest scrutiny and could be discredited only by unfair and false reports that contradicted the facts. Skottowe had not stopped at that one misrepresentation. He had also told the Court that Corneille took more upon himself than the Governor ought in fairness to allow, in his own opinion and that of many others. He claimed Corneille tried in every way to make him of no consequence. He even suggested that Corneille often said the government of the island lay in the Council alone, and called that Corneille's usual saying. Corneille regarded these charges as the gravest attack on his character and conduct, which every man of honour valued. He did not know how far such hints might harm him in the minds of the Court. He hoped the Court in its fairness would treat private accusations as the true mark of disloyalty, since no man's conduct could be safe against such a practice. He therefore

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		Council, which he is pleased to say is, My usual Expression - As such a charge I cannot but consider as the highest reflection on my Character, and Conduct, so Valuable to every Man of Honor; And not knowing how far such Insinuations may prejudice me in the minds of my Honble Employers, (tho' I have reason to hope from their justice that they will always consider private Accusations as the true Stamp of unfaithfulness, as no mans Conduct and actions can be safe from such a practice) I therefore beg leave to call upon you Gentlemen of Council, as well as the Secretary, and Engineer to declare in what manner, and Words the Governor made his reprimand, and Whether I had merited by any warmth of Temper, or dispute between the Engineer and me, (more than the Interrogatory Question that for my own satisfaction I was at that time wanting to be cleared up by Capt. Mitchell) such Treatment. Or if Mr. Purling, and Capt. Kirkpatrick have known me at any time take more upon me than my Station and Duty to my Honble Employers required, or that I ever said that the Government of this Island was Invested only in the Council (my Usual Expression) to Confute which I could safely appeal not only to this Board, but to the whole Settlement were it necessary. Yet not fully Satisfied with the Honour and Integrity of you Gentlemen who are more immediately connected with me in station, Consequently best judges of my whole Conduct and actions since upon this Island; And as such for my own Honour, as well as the satisfaction of my Honble Employers, call upon you Gentlemen to clear up the imputation laid to my Charge. Wishing only to stand, or fall in the opinion of the Honble the Court of Directors, according to the Event of this Scrutiny into my Conduct, and Actions, both with regard to the Honble Company	called on the members of the Council, as well as the secretary and the engineer, to declare several things. How and in what words had the Governor reprimanded him? Had he deserved it by any heat of temper or quarrel with the engineer? Or had he simply asked questions that he wanted Captain Mitchell to clear up at the time? He asked Purling and Kirkpatrick whether they had ever known him take more upon himself than his post and his duty to the Company required. He also asked whether he had ever said that the government of the island lay in the Council alone, or whether that was his usual saying. To disprove it he could safely appeal not only to the Board but to the whole settlement, if needed. He was fully satisfied of the honour and integrity of his fellow councillors, who worked most closely with him and so were the best judges of his conduct on the island. For the sake of his own honour and to satisfy the Court, he called on them to clear him of the charge. He wished only to stand or fall in the Court's opinion according to the result of this inquiry into his conduct, both towards the Company **Interpretations** Corneille did not answer the Governor with a private letter of his own. He could have written to his friends at the Court as Skottowe had done, and that would have been the easy course. He chose instead to lay the charges before the Council and to call the other members, the secretary and the engineer as witnesses. The minutes went to London as the Council's official record, so their answers would reach the Court with the authority of the whole Board. Corneille's own words show his reasoning. He called private accusations the true mark of disloyalty, because no one could answer them. By bringing the dispute into the open, he set the accepted procedure of the general letter against what he called an underhand one. The quarrel turned on a real question of power on the island. The Governor was the Company's chief officer. Decisions, however, were taken by majority in the Council, where the Governor had only one vote. Skottowe accused Corneille of saying that the government lay in the Council alone. That was a charge of claiming the Governor's authority for the Board. Corneille denied ever saying it. The issue had been raised already, and would arise again, in the Council's voting on the Castle repairs in 1767 and on James Black's sentence in May 1768, where members recorded different opinions.
61	54	13th June Company, their Governor, and this Settlement And am Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedient & most humble Servant 13th June 1768 Signed Dan Corneille The following are the Gentlemens Answers to what the Lieut. Governor requested of them viz. - The Circumstances of the Affair which passed in Consultation of the 6th of October 1766 which produced a Complaint from the Lieut. Governor against the Governor on the subsequent Consultation, were as near as we can recollect as follow A difference of opinion arose between the Lieut. Governor & Engineer relative to a Ditch to the Flanking Line of the Defences then carrying on at Sandy Bay, The Lt. Govr. Arguing for the Ditch, and the Engineer opposing it, upon which the Governor told the Lt. Governor he was not to dictate to the Board, nor give his opinion there until it was asked, the whole passing as well as	Corneille's letter ended with his wish to stand or fall according to his conduct towards the Company, its Governor and the settlement. He signed it at St Helena on 13 June 1768. The members whom Corneille had called on then gave their answers. Purling and Kirkpatrick set out the circumstances of the consultation of 6 October 1766, which had led to Corneille's complaint against the Governor at the next meeting, as nearly as they could remember them. The Lieutenant Governor and the engineer had disagreed about a ditch for the flanking line of the defences then being built at Sandy Bay. Corneille argued for the ditch, and the engineer opposed it. The Governor then told Corneille that he was not to dictate to the Board and was not to give his opinion until it was asked for. As far as they could recall, nobody on either side spoke in anger. On the point Corneille had asked them to answer separately from the other gentlemen, they could say only this. It had never appeared to them in Council that he had acted in any way inconsistent with his duty to the Company or with his position in its service. Nor had they ever heard him say that the government of the island lay in the Council alone. Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the statement.

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		we can remember without any warmth of Passion on either side - In reply to that part which the Lt. Governor has called upon Us to clear up separate from the other Gentlemen, we can only say, That it has not appeared to us in Consultation that he has acted at any Time inconsistent with his duty to the Company or the Station he holds in the Service, nor have we ever heard Mr. Corneille say, that the Government of the Island was vested only in the Council - Signed M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick Captn. Mitchell being called upon by the Lieut. Governor to relate the Substance of what he recollects to have passed in Council, in his presence towards the latter end of the Year 1766 in Relation to a reprimand given to Mr. Corneille	Corneille then called on Captain Mitchell to state what he remembered of what passed in Council towards the end of 1766 concerning a reprimand given to Corneille. **Interpretations** Purling and Kirkpatrick's answer supported Corneille on every point that mattered. They confirmed that the dispute arose from an ordinary disagreement over the design of the Sandy Bay works. Corneille wanted a ditch before the flanking line and Mitchell did not. They found no heat on either side. That contradicted the Governor's claim that Corneille had spoken too warmly to the engineer. They also recorded that the Governor's rebuke had been sharper than he told the Court. According to them, he forbade Corneille to give his opinion at all until asked. In the Governor's own account, he had freely granted Corneille the right to speak and objected only to dictating. The councillors were careful in how they answered. They described what they remembered of the meeting without passing judgement on the Governor's conduct or his private letter. They confirmed only what lay within their own knowledge, that Corneille had done his duty and had never been heard to make the claim attributed to him. Both men served under Skottowe and would go on sitting with him at the Board, so they had good reason to keep their statement exact. Even so, their answer went to London in the minutes, signed by both, and it undercut the Governor's account to the Court.
62	55	1768 Corneille by the Governor, does remember, that having at that time laid before the Board a Plan of the Defences of Sandy Bay, then about to be carried into Execution Mr. Corneille did object to some part of it; and not being at that time satisfied (tho' afterwards fully so) with the reasons offered in favour of it by Capt. Mitchell, mentioned his Intentions of laying his objections before the Honble the Court of Directors, upon which Mr. Skottowe told him he was not to dictate to that Board, and was only to give his opinion when asked, or Words to that Effect, which is all that Capt. Mitchell recollects to have passed of consequence on that occasion - Signed 13 June 1768 R. Mitchell The Lieut. Governor calling upon me to declare in what manner and Words the Governor made his reprimand &ca in Consultation of the 6th October 1766. As it is sometime since that dispute happened, and not imagining then, that I should be called upon as an Evidence, did not give that Attention to what passed at that time, as I should otherwise have done, but to the best of my knowledge, what the Lieut. Governor sets forth in the subsequent Consultation was the truth, as near as I can recollect - Signed St. Helena 13th June 1768 - M. Bazett We this day granted the two following sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz. - One Set to Daniel Corneille Esqr. for £ 41 . 16 - payable to Mr. Robert Carr (or Order) - And one Set to Capt. Henry Bazett for £ 60 - payable to John Purling Esqr. (or Order) both drawn at ninety days sight - Mr. Corneilles Letter excepted John Skottowe Dan Corneille	Mitchell remembered that he had laid before the Board a plan of the defences at Sandy Bay, which was then about to be put into effect. Corneille objected to part of it. He was not then satisfied with the reasons Mitchell gave in its favour, though he was fully satisfied later, and he said he meant to put his objections to the Court of Directors. Skottowe then told him that he was not to dictate to the Board and was only to give his opinion when asked, or words to that effect. Mitchell recalled nothing else of importance from that occasion. He signed his statement on 13 June 1768. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, gave his answer at St Helena on 13 June 1768. Corneille had called on him to state how and in what words the Governor had reprimanded him at the consultation of 6 October 1766. A long time had passed since the dispute. Bazett had not expected then to be called as a witness, so he had paid less attention to what passed than he otherwise would have. To the best of his knowledge and recollection, however, the account Corneille gave at the following consultation was true. The Council granted two further sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, both payable 90 days after presentation. 1 set to Daniel Corneille for £41 16s 0d, payable to Robert Cam or his nominee 1 set to Captain Henry Bazett for £60 0s 0d, payable to John Purling or his nominee Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. The Governor signed them with the exception of Corneille's letter. **Interpretations** Mitchell's account came from the very man Skottowe had named as the other party to the quarrel. The Governor had told the Court that Corneille had words with the engineer and spoke too warmly. Mitchell made no mention of any heat. He described Corneille's objection as an ordinary difference of view about the plan, and he said Corneille had later come round to his reasons. He also confirmed the detail that had most likely provoked the Governor's rebuke. Corneille had said he would take his objections to the Court, appealing over the Council's head. Skottowe's

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		M. Purling	order that he speak only when asked was evidently a response to that threat, not to any outburst. All four witnesses agreed on the substance. Purling, Kirkpatrick, Mitchell and Bazett each recorded the Governor's words as an order not to dictate to the Board and to give his opinion only when asked. That was harsher than the version in Skottowe's private letter, which had granted Corneille a full right to speak freely. Bazett was the most cautious, which suited a secretary who served the Governor directly, but even he confirmed Corneille's account. Skottowe signed the minutes but excepted Corneille's letter. Every member signed the record of each consultation to show it was correct. By leaving the letter out of his signature, the Governor refused to accept its contents as part of a record he endorsed, while not blocking its entry in the minutes. The letter, the four answers and the Governor's reservation would all reach the Court together. Henry Bazett's bill was payable to John Purling, the same London payee as William Matthew Purling's bill of 2 May 1768. John Purling evidently acted as agent in London for more than one of the island's officers.
63	56	17th June At a Consultation held on Friday the 17th day of June 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 13 June 1768 Wednesday the 15th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Northington and Vansittart for England - The ten Working days allowed by Charter Party for unloading the Ship Duke of Richmond being expired, We gave Capt. Thos. Wordman Sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of the Island Sumatra according to the Orders which he has received from the Honorable the Court of Directors. We likewise gave him the - following Letter to the President & Council of Fort Marlborough together with the duplicates of those we sent by the Ship Tilbury to the several Presidencys in India viz. - To the Honorable Richard Wyatt Esqr. President & Governor &ca Council of Fort Marlborough - Gentlemen Your favour by the Earl of Middlesex we duly received by the Ship Duke of Richmond take the opportunity of writing to you - Agreeable to our Honorable Masters Permission for sending you what Cash we could spare, have therefore Consigned to your Presidency by the Ship Duke of Richmond two Chests amounting to two Thousand pounds, as pr. Invoice and Bill of Lading Enclosed You will likewise receive by this Conveyance Copy of the Duke of Richmond's Charter Party, Victualling Bill and Manifest of Goods	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Friday 17 June 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 13 June 1768. The Company's ships *Northington* and *Vansittart* sailed for England on Wednesday 15 June. The charter party allowed ten working days for unloading the *Duke of Richmond*, and that time had now run out. The Council gave Captain Thomas Woodman written orders to sail without delay for Fort Marlborough, on the west coast of Sumatra, in line with the orders he had received from the Court of Directors. It also gave him a letter for the President and Council of Fort Marlborough, together with copies of the letters it had sent to the presidencies in India by the *Tilbury*. The letter was addressed to Richard Wyatt, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort Marlborough. The St Helena Council had received their letter by the *Earl of Middlesex*, and it now took the chance of the *Duke of Richmond* to reply. The Court had given the island permission to send Fort Marlborough whatever cash it could spare. The Council had therefore shipped two chests in the *Duke of Richmond*, containing £2,000, as shown in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. It also sent copies of the *Duke of Richmond*'s charter party, victualling bill and manifest of goods. **Interpretations** The Council sent £2,000 in coin out of its treasury to Fort Marlborough, the Company's pepper settlement at Bencoolen. That seems at odds with its careful hoarding of specie all year. The explanation is the trade in bills. Since January it had taken in well over £5,000 from captains and officers in exchange for bills on London, more than enough to meet the island's quarterly pay. Fort Marlborough was even shorter of coin than St Helena. It needed silver to buy pepper from the Sumatran chiefs and to pay its own garrison, and few ships called there from England. The Court had authorised the island to pass on its surplus. St Helena's position on the homeward route made it a collecting point for coin that the Company could then redirect to its poorest settlement in the East. The *Duke of Richmond* followed the same routine as the *Tilbury*. She unloaded the island's stores within the

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			ten days her charter party allowed and was then sent on. Her outward voyage would take her to Sumatra rather than China, so she carried copies of the island's letters to India by a second route. If either ship was lost, the presidencies would still receive the island's orders for candles, cloth, rice and gun carriages.
64	57	1768 Enclosed we transmit you several Letters, directed to the Presidencys in India which we request you will forward by the first opportunity - We are Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedient & most humble Servants 17th June 1768 Signed John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 20 day of June 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 17 of June 1768 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ship Duke of Richmond viz.	The Council also enclosed several letters addressed to the presidencies in India and asked Fort Marlborough to forward them by the first opportunity. Governor Skottowe, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 17 June 1768. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 20 June 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 17 June 1768. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Duke of Richmond* that came ashore short. **Interpretations** Fort Marlborough was the third route by which the island sent its letters to India that season, after the *Tilbury* to China and the separate packet for Bombay. Bencoolen traded regularly with Madras and Bengal, since its pepper and its supplies moved through those presidencies. Letters left there would reach India in the country ships that worked the Bay of Bengal. Sending copies by several ships was the Company's usual safeguard against loss at sea. A single letter could take a year to arrive, and any ship might be wrecked or taken. The 20 June consultation was the last before the end of the quarter. The shipping season was almost over. The *Duke of Richmond* was the only Company ship still in the road, and the Council's attention would soon turn to the quarter's accounts, the garrison's pay and the plantation's winter work.
65	58	20th June Account of Stores short received from Ship Duke of Richmond viz. 4¼ Bushels Salt, short measure - 3 . 3 Sope, short weight qrs. lb Occasioned by Drying, as the Packages were in good Order - 1 Chest Sope Weight 2 . 20 qrs. lb 1 Half Back Sole Leat. Wt. - 1 . 23 1 Hhd. Pork 2 Elm Boards 14 Iron Shot for 24 Prs. 17 Do. Do. 6 Do. 6 Beds for 6 Do. 3 Coins for 6 Do. 3 Do. for 24 Do. Short Delivered - 1 Dozn. Lines No. 2 1 Do. No. 3 - . 2 . fine twine - . 2 . Coarse Do. Short Delivered, the Packages being broke to pieces on board the Ship & the twine said by the Captain to have got damaged by wet & good for nothing Wine viz. Port No. 1 . 1 Hhd. Gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 3 Galls. 2 . 1 Do. Do. 60 Do. Do. 3 120 6 6 Recd. 114 Galls.	The storekeeper's account of the stores short received from the *Duke of Richmond* read as follows. Short through drying, the packages being in good order Salt, short in measure by 4¼ bushels Soap, short in weight by 0 cwt 3 qr 3 lb Short delivered 1 chest of soap, weighing 0 cwt 2 qr 20 lb 1 half hide of sole leather, weighing 0 cwt 1 qr 25 lb 1 hogshead of pork 2 elm boards 14 iron shot for 24-pounders 1 iron shot for 6-pounders 6 beds for 6-pounders 3 quoins for 6-pounders 3 quoins for 24-pounders Short delivered, the packages having been broken open on board, and the contents said by the captain to have been damaged by wet and worthless 1 [...] of linen, number 2 1 [...] of linen, number 3 2 [...] of fine linen 2 [...] of coarse linen Port wine Cask number 1, 1 hogshead gauged at 60 gallons, lacking 3 gallons to fill it Cask number 2, 1 hogshead gauged at 60 gallons, lacking 3 gallons to fill it Total gauged 120 gallons, total lacking 6 gallons Port wine received, 114 gallons Lisbon wine

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		Lisbon No. 3 . 1 Hhd. Gages 61 Galls. Wants to fill 3 Galls. 4 . 1 Hhd. Do. 62 Do. Do. 3 5 . 1 Hhd. Do. 62 Do. Do. 3 185 9 9 176 Galls. Mountain 6 . 1 Hhd. Gages 61 Galls. wants to fill 2 Galls. Recd. 59 Galls. St. Helena June 20 1768 Signed James Bowell Storekeeper	Cask number 3, 1 hogshead gauged at 61 gallons, lacking 3 gallons to fill it Cask number 4, 1 hogshead gauged at 62 gallons, lacking 3 gallons to fill it Cask number 5, 1 hogshead gauged at 62 gallons, lacking 3 gallons to fill it Total gauged 185 gallons, total lacking 9 gallons Lisbon wine received, 176 gallons Mountain wine Cask number 6, 1 hogshead gauged at 61 gallons, lacking 2 gallons to fill it Mountain wine received, 59 gallons James Powell signed the account at St Helena on 20 June 1768. **Interpretations** The linen was the one loss that pointed at the ship. Its packages had been broken open on board, and the captain's only explanation was that the cloth had got wet and was worthless. Powell recorded his words exactly. He did not accept or reject them, and the entry left the Court free to press the owners for the loss. Packages opened at sea were a familiar sign of pilfering by the crew. Cloth was easy to sell or trade in the next port. A claim of water damage, made without a protest such as Captain Cooke had entered for the *Earl of Elgin*, carried little weight. Much of what went missing was artillery stores: shot for the 24-pounders, beds and quoins for the guns. Together with the shot found broken in the *Tilbury*, these losses fell on the very items the island needed for its new batteries. The Council had already ordered carriages and mortar beds from Bombay on 30 May. Gun beds and quoins could be cut on the island from imported timber, but the 24-pounder shot could only be replaced from England.
66	59	1768 Captain Hindman knowing our want of Pitch and Tar has been so kind as to spare us a Barrel of each, we likewise bought a Barrel of the latter of Captain Sealy, and shall endeavour to supply ourselves with that Article out of the returning Ships - 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. Robt. Wigram for £ 200 - payable to Mr. William Cowden (or Order) And One Set to Capt. Thos. Hindman for £ 150 - payable to Andrew Moffat Esqr. (or Order) both drawn at ninety Days sight Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of May last, which is as follows viz.	Captain Hindman of the *Duke of Richmond*, knowing the island was short of pitch and tar, kindly let the Council have a barrel of each. The Council also bought a barrel of tar from Captain Sealy of the *Northington*. It intended to supply itself with tar from the ships expected later in the year. The Council granted two further sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, both payable 90 days after presentation. 1 set to Robert Wigram for £200 0s 0d, payable to William Coyden or his nominee 1 set to Captain Thomas Hindman for £150 0s 0d, payable to Andrew Moffat or his nominee The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for May 1768. **Interpretations** Pitch and tar were essential on the island and could not be made there. The Company's boats, the longboats and the fishing boat needed them constantly to seal seams, protect rigging and coat timber against the salt water. The storekeeper's accounts for the first quarter of 1768 showed a barrel of pitch and quantities of tar going to the boats alone. With the main shipping season over, the next English ships might not arrive for months. The Council therefore took what passing captains would spare. It was planning ahead for the gap between seasons, when no outward ship was likely to call. Captain Hindman's bill was payable to Andrew Moffat. He was probably a kinsman or agent of James Moffatt, commander of the *Latham*, which had passed through the island in May. The commanders of the Company's ships formed a close network of families and partners, and they handled each other's money in London. Robert Wigram was probably a passenger or officer of the *Duke of Richmond*. The Wigram family later became one of the leading shipowning houses in the East India trade.

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67	60	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image, affecting the shillings and pence columns.] 20th June Cash Dr. 1768 May 1st To Balance remaining £ 9678 15 2 To Exchange for 2 Sets Bills drawn upon the Honorable Court of Directors payable as follow viz. One Set to Robt. Wood Esqr. £ 400 One Do. to John Purling Esqr. 250 650 5 To Ship Worcester 6 6 12 To Ship Latham 6 6 To Ship Houghton 5 15 16 To Exchange for a Set Bills drawn upon the Honorable Court of Directors payable to Mr. John Parslow 427 2 23 To Do. for 2 Sets Do. drawn as above payable as follows viz. One Set to Luke Scrafton Esqr. £ 1034 . 15 One Do. to Mr. Peter Irwin 100 1134 15 30 To Do. for one Set Do. drawn as above payable to Alexander Hume Esqr. 400 31 To Ship Earl of Elgin 12 10 To Ship British King 251 [...] £ 12572 [...]	The Council's cash account for May 1768 opened on the debit side. Cash, debit 1 May 1768, balance remaining, £9,678 15s 2d 2 May 1768, received in exchange for 2 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to Robert Wood, £400 0s 0d 1 set payable to John Purling, £250 0s 0d Total for the 2 sets of bills, £650 0s 0d 5 May 1768, received from the ship *Worcester*, £6 6s [...] 12 May 1768, received from the ship *Latham*, £6 6s [...] 12 May 1768, received from the ship *Houghton*, £5 15s [...] 16 May 1768, received in exchange for 1 set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to John Paslow, £427 2s 9d 23 May 1768, received in exchange for 2 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to Luke Scrafton, £1,034 15s 0d 1 set payable to Robert Irwin, £100 0s 0d Total for the 2 sets of bills, £1,134 15s 0d 30 May 1768, received in exchange for 1 set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Alexander Hume, £400 0s 0d 31 May 1768, received from the ship *Earl of Elgin*, £12 10s [...] 31 May 1768, received from the ship *British King*, £251 [...] Total, £12,572 1[...] **Interpretations** May brought £2,611 15s 9d into the treasury from bills alone. That was more than in any other month of the season, including March. The Governor, Purling, Corneille, Mitchell and the estate of Captain Inglis all drew bills in the space of four weeks. The senior officers had waited until the end of the season to send their savings home. That way they used the last ships, and the Council received the coin just before the garrison's pay fell due at the end of June. The *British King* paid in more than £251, far more than the £5 to £13 the other Company ships usually paid for water and fresh provisions. The minutes of the season do not explain the sum. It was probably payment for stores sold to her from the Company's warehouse, or for bullocks and other provisions bought on the island, perhaps for a ship that had run short after a long passage.
68	61	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 May 31st By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 12032 19 4 In Cash Notes of no use 539 15 12572 14 4 £ 12572 14 4 John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	The credit side of the Council's cash account for May 1768 read as follows. Cash, credit 31 May 1768, balance remaining in coin, £12,032 19s 4d 31 May 1768, balance remaining in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total, £12,572 14s 4d Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the account. **Interpretations** For the first time the account described the cash notes as being of no use. The same £539 15s 0d had appeared unchanged in every month's balance since at least the autumn of 1767. The notes were paper the Company had issued on the island at some earlier time to make up for a lack of coin. Nobody would take them in payment any more, so they had stopped circulating. The treasury still counted them at face value, because they remained a debt on its books until they were formally written off. The plain description told the Court that only the coin, just over £12,000, was money the Council could actually spend. The coin in hand stood at its highest point of the year, about £3,000 more than at the end of March. It was enough to pay the quarter's salaries and wages of

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			about £3,700 at the end of June. After that, the Council could still ship the £2,000 to Fort Marlborough in the *Duke of Richmond* and keep a reserve of more than £6,000 for the quiet months before the next season.
69	62	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] 27th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of June 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lt. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Co[...] The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 20 June 17[...] This day Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Duke of Richmond for Bencoolen - Mr. John Goodwin this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &[...] Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of John Goodwin Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for five [...] of Land, lying in the West Division of this Island, humbly requests that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Renewal [...] the same - And your Petitioner will ever pray - Signed 27th June 1768 John Goodwin Granted	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 27 June 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 20 June 1768. The Company's ship *Duke of Richmond* sailed for Bencoolen that day. John Goodwin presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 27 June 1768. His lease of five acres of land in the West Division of the island had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. The Council granted his request. **Interpretations** The *Duke of Richmond* stayed until 27 June, ten days after the Council ordered her to sail on 17 June. She carried the £2,000 in coin for Fort Marlborough and the duplicate letters for India. Her departure ended the shipping season of 1767 to 1768. No Company ship would be left in the road through the southern winter. The next arrivals from England and the East would not be expected until the spring. John Goodwin was probably the writer on the Company's civil list, who drew £15 a quarter in salary and table allowance. Like Samuel Alexander and the Bazett family, he combined Company employment with a lease of land. A writer's pay was small, and five acres in the West Division gave him a second income from crops or livestock. The Council renewed such leases as a matter of routine for settlers in good standing. Its approval kept the land in cultivation and the rent coming in.
70	63	1768 The Governor and Lieut. Governor this day laid before the Board the following Minutes viz. The Governor this day observes to the Gentlemen in Council, that he apprehends, no time is to be lost, in complying with the Orders of our Honorable Masters, in putting a Stop, to the Abuses, at present so prevalent and so destructive in retailing of spirituous Liquors, by such regulations, as shall be approved of by this Board; He therefore begs leave to lay the following proposals before you, which he apprehends, will be highly conducive to this purpose - That agreeable to the Company's Orders, the number of licenced Punch Houses, be immediately diminished, the Governor is of opinion, that six Punch Houses, is fully sufficient, for the retail of this Island, and to prevent all occasions of murmering, in regard to the persons, from whom the Licences are to be taken away, He propose that the four last issued Licences be immediately recalled. - That in farther Compliance with the Orders received, relative to the prevention of Liquors being retailed to the Slaves of this Island, an additional Clause be added to all the Licences, expressly prohibiting the Punch House keepers, from selling spirituous Liquors to the Slaves,	The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor each laid a minute before the Board. The Governor told the Council that, in his view, no time should be lost in carrying out the Court's orders to stop the abuses in the sale of spirits, which were then widespread and very harmful. He wanted to do this through regulations approved by the Board, and he put forward the following proposals as the best means. First, the Court had ordered that the number of licensed punch houses be reduced at once. The Governor considered six punch houses quite enough to serve the island. To avoid any complaint about whose licences should be withdrawn, he proposed that the four most recently issued licences be recalled immediately. Second, the Court had also ordered that spirits must not be sold to the island's slaves. The Governor proposed adding a clause to every licence that expressly forbade punch house keepers to sell spirits to any slave belonging to an inhabitant of the island. The penalty would be £5, half to go to the informer and half to the Company's treasury. Third, the Governor had good reason to believe that one great cause of the heavy drinking on the island was a custom, in his view too common, of selling arrack in small quantities to anyone who had money to buy it, whether soldiers or slaves. The Court had ordered that the sale of spirits be confined to the licensed punch houses. The Governor therefore proposed that the Governor and Council issue a proclamation at once, strictly forbidding anyone at all from selling any spirits or malt liquor, either **Interpretations** The Court's orders on drink had come in the *Tilbury* or the *Duke of Richmond*, and the Governor acted

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		belonging to any of the Inhabitants of the Island, under penalty of five pounds, one half of which, to be paid to the Informer, the other to the Company's Cash That the Governor has great reason to apprehend, that one great cause of the excess of Drunkenness of this place, arises, from a Custom, he believes, too prevalent on the Island, of retailing of Arrack by small quantitys at a time, to any persons that has money to - purchase it, whether Soldiers, or Blacks; That therefore agreeable to our Honble Masters orders of confining the retailing of Spirituous Liquors, to the Licenced Punch Houses only, a proclamation be immediately issued, from the Governor and Council, strictly prohibiting all Persons, whatsoever, from selling any spirituous Liquors, or Malt Liquor, either	on them within weeks. The island had ten licensed punch houses before this, which was a great many for a garrison town of a few hundred households. The licence fees had brought in £18 10s 0d in the last quarter of 1767 and £13 10s 0d in the first quarter of 1768, so cutting the number to six would cost the Company some revenue. The Court evidently judged that the cost of drunkenness among the garrison and the slaves outweighed that income. The Governor could have chosen which four houses to close on the grounds of their conduct. He proposed instead to recall the four most recent licences, and he gave his reason: it would avoid complaints from those who lost them. A rule based on the date of issue could not be accused of favour or spite in a small community where the punch house keepers were known to every councillor. The newest licensees had also had the least time to build their trade, so they lost the least. Selling arrack in small quantities by the glass or the dram, outside the punch houses, had been the Council's worry on 16 May 1768, when it refused to let the Dutch captain land his 28 leaguers. The Governor's proposal now aimed to stamp out that trade completely. Giving half of each fine to the informer encouraged neighbours, rival keepers and even soldiers to report offenders. The Company had too few officers to watch every house itself.
71	64	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] 27th June either to the Military, or the Blacks of this Island, under any pre[...] whatever, and in order more effectually to put a Stop to this pernic[...] practice, a penalty of ten pounds, be annexed to the breach of this proclamation, one half payable to the Informer, the other to the - Company's Cash. - This Restriction not to extend to the Regulation, at present - subsisting, in regard to those employed at the Honble Company's Works as the Governor remains fully convinced that the method which has be[...] pursued since the said Works began, of serving them with a moderate quantity of Arrack, at stated Hours, has been attended with many good Consequences, by preserving sobriety among them, by keeping the[...] to their Work, and by preventing those Excesses and Irregularities which would unavoidably happened, from their resorting to Punc[...] Houses, which could not have been prevented without such Regula[...] Signed John Skottowe Minute of the Lieut. Governor As the Honble the Court of Directors have thought prope[...] Order a Reduction of the Punch Houses upon this Island, which in [...] opinion is a measure that may greatly tend to discourage Drunkenes[...] prevalent among the Soldiers, and I fear the Lower Inhabitants of [...] Place; I think it my Duty to lay before the Board some Observation[...] the Execution of their Orders, to make it fully answer theirs, as well [...] our Intentions in the desired Reform. - And first, I must beg leave to observe in order to Illustrate [...]	The proclamation would forbid anyone to sell spirits or malt liquor to the soldiers or the slaves under any pretext. To put a firmer stop to the harmful practice, the Governor proposed a penalty of £10 for each breach, half to go to the informer and half to the Company's treasury. The ban was not to apply to the existing arrangement for the men employed on the Company's works. The Governor remained fully convinced that the method used since the works began had brought many benefits. Under it, the workmen were served a moderate quantity of arrack at fixed hours. It kept them sober, kept them at their work, and prevented the excesses and disorders that would otherwise have followed if they had gone off to the punch houses. Without such a rule those disorders could not have been prevented. The Governor signed his minute. Corneille's minute followed. The Court of Directors had seen fit to order a reduction in the number of punch houses on the island. In his opinion that was a measure likely to do much to discourage the drunkenness common among the soldiers and the poorer inhabitants. He felt it his duty to put some observations before the Board on carrying out the Court's orders, so that the reform would fully serve its purpose. First, to explain the main abuse in the sale of spirits by the punch houses, Corneille pointed out that four of the ten houses licensed by the Council carried on their trade by deputy. By this he meant that the licence holder either let the house out to someone else for a yearly rent, or supplied the person who ran it with arrack at 8s or 8s 6d a gallon. Two of the four were run in the first way and two in the second. He would go on to **Interpretations** The Governor's exception for the Company's works shows the logic behind the whole reform. The aim was not to stop men drinking but to control where and how they drank. The labourers on the batteries were soldiers and slaves earning extra wages. The paymaster's accounts showed them receiving regular issues of arrack charged to the works. A fixed measure, given at set hours under the eye of an overseer, kept them content without making them drunk. The Governor argued that if they had been sent to the punch houses with money in their pockets, the work

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		principle Abuse in the Vending of spirituous Liquors by the Punch Houses; That in the Ten now established by authority, there is four [...] that number who have Licences that carry it on by Deputation, [...] mean by that? Farming it out to others at a Yearly Rent, or supply[...] those to whom they are Farmed, with the Arrack at Eight Shillings [...] Eight and sixpence pr. Gallon, two of the four, are under the first Predicament, and the two others under the latter, Howell pays [...]	would have suffered and order would have broken down. The Company's own ration was, in his view, the safe alternative to the tavern. Corneille's first point exposed a hidden trade inside the licensed system. A licence was granted to a named person whom the Council trusted. Four of the ten holders did not run their houses themselves. Two let them to others for a rent, and two sold arrack wholesale to the people who did run them, at 8s or 8s 6d a gallon. The men actually serving the drink had never been approved by the Council. They paid for their stock or their rent and had to recover it by selling as much as they could. The licence holders, meanwhile, profited without bearing any responsibility for the conduct of the house.
72	65	1768 fifty Pounds pr. Ann. to Mr. Kennedy, & Burnham Forty Pounds to Mrs. Burnham his Mother to whom the Licence belongs, and George Young & Parfett who are Deputys to Mr. Beale & Mr. Tobett settle it by the Gallon to the Owners of said Licences at the price as above mentioned, therefore the inference to be drawn from such measures are obvious, As punch House keepers who are under such Yearly Rents, or high price pr. Gallon, must be under a necessity of Incouraging Customers, transgressing the Hours and Seasons of vending as specifyed by their Licences, to make a Livelihood of it to themselves and Family's infinitely more than the others, who are at no other Charges for their Licences than six pounds a Year to the Honble Company, and pay no more than six & six pence pr. Gallon to those who supply them with Arrack as Established by former Orders - Another Observation which I have to take Notice of, and which I have so often mentioned as appearing to me (and I believe may venture to say must to every Man who has the least notion of Military Discipline and Regularity) as highly Irregular, and I think very possibly tending to the Incouragment of Drunkenness amongst the Military, is that of allowing the Non-Commissioned Officers to keep punch Houses, as Serjt. Howel and Bombardier Parfett are at present two of the Number, and that by - Deputation, and tho' I believe they may be both good Men in their - Sphere, yet I am sure, nay may venture to affirm from my own - Observations, in the Military Line, as well as the opinions of Officers whose Abilitys & Experience no doubt would have more weight were it necessary to name them, That the Vending of Liquors in any Shape whatever, either for themselves or others, is an Indulgence that ought never to be allowed to any Non-Commissioned Officer or Soldier, as there are so few (if any) that can Resist the Temptation of abuse, either in themselves, or the Incouragment that their own Interest will tempt them to afford to others, for the sake of their own Emolument	Corneille went on to name the houses run by deputy. One keeper paid a yearly rent of £50 to Mr Kennedy. Burnham paid £40 a year to his mother, Mrs Burnham, who held the licence. George Young and Bayfell acted as deputies for Mr Beale and Mr [...], buying their arrack by the gallon from the licence holders at the prices already stated. The consequences of such arrangements were obvious, Corneille argued. Keepers who paid yearly rents or high prices for their arrack were forced to draw in customers by breaking the hours and times of sale set out in their licences, simply to make a living for themselves and their families. They had far more reason to do so than the other keepers. Those paid only £6 a year to the Company for their licences and no more than 6s 6d a gallon to the suppliers of their arrack, as fixed by an earlier order. Corneille raised a second point, which he had mentioned many times before. He believed any man with the least idea of military discipline and order would agree that it was highly irregular and likely to encourage drunkenness among the soldiers. It was the practice of allowing non-commissioned officers to keep punch houses. Sergeant Howell and Bombardier Bayfell were then among the licensees, and they ran their houses by deputy. Corneille believed both might be good men in their own sphere. Yet from what he had seen in military life, and from the opinions of officers whose experience would carry more weight if he could name them, he was sure of one thing. Selling liquor in any form, whether by a man himself or through others, should never be allowed to any non-commissioned officer or soldier. Few, if any, could resist the temptation to abuse it, whether by drinking themselves or by pressing drink on others for their own gain. Corneille thought these points deserved the Board's consideration in drawing up the regulations needed to reform the present abuses, together with constant watchfulness **Interpretations** Corneille's figures show why the deputy system bred drunkenness. A keeper who paid £50 a year in rent to the licence holder carried a charge more than eight times the £6 fee the Company asked. A keeper who bought arrack at 8s or more a gallon paid at least a fifth more than the 6s 6d fixed for other houses. Both had to sell far more drink, or sell outside the permitted hours, just to cover their costs. The licence holders, among them a widow and two men of standing, drew a steady income without serving a glass. The Governor proposed to recall the four most recent licences, which was a simple rule. Corneille's analysis pointed to a different target: the four houses run by deputy, whatever their date of issue. Sergeant Henry Howell of the First Company and Bombardier James Bayfell of the Artillery Company both held licences. A sergeant in charge of men who were also customers of his house had every reason to excuse their drinking and to steer pay day toward his

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		& Profit. - These considerations I think Gentlemen Merit our deliberation in forming such Regulations as may be thought Expedient in Reforming the present Abuses, together with a constant watchfullness that	own bar. Corneille had raised the point before without result. Raising it again alongside the Court's order gave it new force. He took care not to accuse either man personally and kept the question to one of military discipline.
73	66	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] 27th June that our Orders at all times are neither transgressed, Abused, or Evade[...] Signed 27th June 1768 - Danl. Corneille St. Helena 27th June 1768 - The Governor this day mentions to the Gentlemen in Coun[...] that he received the enclosed Minute last Monday, from Capt. Kirkp[...] and now delivers it to the Secretary, in order to have it read, and entere[...] this days Consultation - The Lieutenant Governor having sometime ago laid a Paper before the Board, containing a charge upon the Governor, for having falsely and privately represented his Conduct to the Honble the Court of Directo[...] in refutation, of which alledged charge, he called upon the Engineer & Secretary, but more particularly upon Mr. Purling and me for our opini[...] as more closely connected with him in Station, in consequence hereof, I began to prepare my opinion in writing relative to that matter; but happened to be sent for by Mr. Purling before I had finished it, (late in the Evening before the dispatch of the Northington & Vansittart) not thinking it materially necessary to have it entered in the preceding days Consultation, but that another opportunity might be waited for, [...] Mr. Purling told me it was to be entered and go by those Ships, & [...] thereon read to me a Paper which he desired me to sign, I at first decli[...] it, and told him I was much hurried and desired him to let it alone till we met at the Castle, but he urged me to sign it then in his House a[...] alledged time would be saved thereby, Being then in some fluctuation [...] mind, occasioned by a Variety of business, in Accounts and other works I complied, and put my name to the said Paper, Having afterwards reflected	Corneille ended his minute by urging constant watchfulness, so that the Council's orders would never be broken, abused or evaded. He signed it on 27 June 1768. The Governor told the Council that the previous Monday he had received the following minute from Captain Kirkpatrick. He handed it to the secretary to be read and entered in that day's consultation. Kirkpatrick's minute was dated at St Helena on 27 June 1768. Some time earlier, Kirkpatrick wrote, the Lieutenant Governor had laid a paper before the Board. It charged the Governor with having privately and falsely represented Corneille's conduct to the Court of Directors. Corneille had called on the Governor, the secretary, and especially Purling and Kirkpatrick, as the men most closely linked with him in office, to answer the charge. Kirkpatrick then began to write out his own opinion on the matter. Before he had finished, late in the evening before the *Northington* and the *Vansittart* sailed, Purling sent for him. Kirkpatrick did not think it necessary for his answer to go into the minutes of the previous consultation, and he believed it could wait for a later opportunity. Purling told him it was to be entered and sent in those ships. Purling then read him a paper and asked him to sign it. At first Kirkpatrick declined. He said he was very busy and asked Purling to leave it until they met at the Castle. Purling pressed him to sign it there in his house, saying it would save time. Kirkpatrick's mind was then in some confusion from a mass of business with accounts and other work, so he gave way and put his name to the paper. Having later thought about it **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick now began to withdraw from the joint statement that he and Purling had signed on 13 June 1768. That statement had supported Corneille on every point. It recorded that the Governor had forbidden Corneille to give his opinion until asked, that no heat was shown on either side, and that Corneille had always done his duty. Kirkpatrick now said he had signed it in haste, at Purling's house, late in the evening, while weighed down by his accounts. As paymaster he had the quarter's pay to prepare, and he had been ill in early June. His account suggests that Purling drafted the answer and pressed him to sign before he had finished his own. Kirkpatrick did not send his new minute to the Council or the secretary. He gave it privately to the Governor, who then laid it before the Board. The route matters. The dispute was itself about private communications that bypassed the Council. Kirkpatrick's second thoughts reached the record through the very person whose conduct was in question. Whatever Kirkpatrick went on to say, the Governor had secured a statement that weakened the support Corneille had gathered, and it would travel to London with the same weight as the first.
74	67	1768 reflected on its contents, which I had at first overlooked by precipitation and finding that part thereof which (as near as I can recollect) clears, in opinion, Mr. Corneille of having assumed more authority than one	Having thought again about the contents of the paper, Kirkpatrick continued, he found something he had missed in his haste. As near as he could recall, one part of it cleared Corneille of having taken more authority than his post allowed. That was not his real opinion. To satisfy his conscience and ease his mind, out of respect for the truth as he saw it, and because he had signed an opinion that was not fully his own

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		in his Station ought, different from my farming Sentiments and opinion hereon, I therefore, as well in satisfaction to my Conscience and ease of mind, as out of regard to truth according to my natural Sentiments, and also for having incautiously signed an opinion not fully my own, hereby retract, and revoke my Attestation of the said Paper, as far as it disagrees with the following declaration, - Upon a debate one Day in Council between Mr. Corneille & the Engineer, which the former supported against the general opinion, I own to have heard the Governor, provoked by his perseverance, tell him he was not to dictate, but to give his opinion when asked, I also own I never heard Mr. Corneille say that the Government of this Island was Vested in the Council, but cant join in opinion that he always Confined himself to the bounds prescribed by the nature of his office, subbordinate tho' not explicitly, to the Governor - This is my Candid opinion of the matter and am sorry for the occasion which obliges me to declare it, as debates of this kind are a heavy misfortune. - Given under my Hand the 20th day of June 1768 Signed Thos. Kirkpatrick We this day Executed a Lease to Lieut. Solomon St. Maurice for a piece of Land containing four Acres and three Quarters lying in the West Division of this Island at 5/ Pr. Acre - In signing the above Consultation I enter this as my protest against the latter part of Capt. Kirkpatrick's Retraction relative to myself as not founded on truth & tainting from Malice and Design John Skottowe Dan Corneille I sign this Consultation with an Exception to Capt. Kirkpatrick's Paper of retraction as far as it relates to me M. Purling	without due thought, he withdrew his signature to the paper wherever it differed from the following declaration. During a debate in Council between Corneille and the engineer, Corneille had held to his view against the general opinion. Kirkpatrick admitted hearing the Governor, provoked by Corneille's persistence, tell him that he was not to dictate but to give his opinion when asked. He also admitted that he had never heard Corneille say that the government of the island lay in the Council. He could not, however, agree that Corneille had always kept within the limits of his office, which was subordinate to the Governor, though not absolutely so. This was his honest opinion of the matter. He regretted being obliged to declare it, since disputes of this kind were a serious misfortune. He signed the declaration on 20 June 1768. The Council granted a lease to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice of four acres and three roods of land in the West Division of the island, at 5s an acre. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. Corneille added a note to his signature. He asked that it be entered as his protest against the last part of Kirkpatrick's retraction concerning himself, which he said was not founded on truth but came from malice and design. Purling also added a note. He signed the consultation with an exception for Kirkpatrick's paper of retraction, as far as it related to him. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's retraction was narrow but pointed. He kept to the facts that the joint statement had recorded. He confirmed the Governor's rebuke, in its harsher form, and that Corneille had never claimed the government lay in the Council. He withdrew only one thing, the general clearance of Corneille's conduct. In its place he gave his own view that Corneille had at times gone beyond the authority of a subordinate officer. That was the heart of the Governor's private complaint to the Court. The retraction gave Skottowe a councillor's support on the point that mattered most, without denying anything Corneille could prove. Kirkpatrick's explanation also cast doubt on Purling. He said Purling had drafted the paper, read it to him late at night and pressed him to sign it at once. Purling's note on his signature refused to accept the retraction so far as it touched him. He was defending his own conduct in obtaining Kirkpatrick's signature, not only Corneille's case. Corneille's protest went further. It accused Kirkpatrick of malice and design, a charge of bad faith against a fellow councillor entered in the official record. The Council was now openly divided. The Governor and Kirkpatrick stood on one side, Corneille and Purling on the other. Every one of these papers would reach the Court together, which would have to judge between them from London. The lease to St Maurice, a routine grant entered amid the quarrel, shows that the Council's ordinary business went on despite the bitterness.
75	68	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] 4th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th day of July 1768 at the Cas[...] Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Co[...] The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 27th June 17[...] Lieutenant Solomon St. Maurice and Mr. George - Alexander this day presented the following Petitions viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Council of St. Helena -	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 4 July 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 27 June 1768. Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice and George Alexander each presented a petition. St Maurice's petition, dated 4 July 1768, stated that he wished to give up his right and title to ten and three-quarter acres of land in the West Division of the island.

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		The humble Petition of Solomon St. Maurice - Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of disposing of his [...] & title to ten Acres & three Quarters of Land lying in the West Divis[...] of the said Island, and to accept of Mr. Gabl. Harper as tenant [...] the same - And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed 4th July 1768 Soln. St. Maurice Granted To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca Coun[...] of St. Helena The humble Petition of George Alexander Executor to t[...] last Will and Testament of Thos. Colgrave Decd. Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease belonging [...]	He asked the Council to accept Gabriel Harper as tenant of the land. The Council granted his request. George Alexander presented a petition as executor of the will of Thomas Cadgrove, deceased. He stated that he held a lease belonging **Interpretations** St Maurice disposed of his land only a week after the Council granted him a lease on 27 June 1768. A lieutenant and master at arms with a full round of military duties had little time to farm. He probably took up the lease in order to pass it on at once to Gabriel Harper, perhaps for a payment, in what amounted to a sale of his right to the holding. As with Mary Swaits's land at Hyams in May, the incoming tenant was named in the petition, so the Council could approve him as it granted the transfer. Gabriel Harper was probably of the Harper family whose orphans held land at Sandy Bay, and an established settler household could take on more ground. The Council's approval was needed because a lease was a grant from the Company, not a freehold. No holder could pass it on without leave. The rule let the Council watch who held land on the island and refuse a transfer to anyone it judged unfit.
76	69	1768 the Orphans of the said Thos. Colgrave decd. expired for fourteen Acres of Land lying in the East Division of the said Island, humbly requests - that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Renewal of the same - And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed 4th July 1768 Geo. Alexander Granted - We having weighed and maturely considered the Honble - Company's Orders, relative to the reducing the Publick Houses of this Island, for retailing Liquors, as also the Governors and Lieut. Governors Minutes laid before the Board on Monday last we this day came to a Resolution to make the following Regulations viz. - To reduce the number of Punch Houses to five only, being fully convinced that five is sufficient for the Retail of this Place, and in Order to prevent the scandalous abuse of retailing Spirituous Liquors without a Licence, both in Town and Country, which we have reason to believe have been practiced in both Places, to the great encouragement of Drunkenness among the Soldiers & Blacks, That strict orders be immediately issued forbiding all such practices under the Penalty of £ 10 - prescribed by the Governor - That all Publicans who may be licenced in future, be - restrained by a Clause in their Licence from selling any Liquor to Slaves, as a measure that will conduce to the good of the Island in general and	George Alexander's petition, dated 4 July 1768, concerned a lease held for the orphans of Thomas Cadgrove of fourteen acres of land in the East Division of the island. The lease had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. The Council granted his request. The Council had weighed and fully considered the Court's orders on reducing the number of public houses on the island that sold liquor. It had also considered the minutes laid before the Board by the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor the previous Monday. It now resolved to make the following regulations. The number of punch houses was to be cut to five. The Council was fully convinced that five were enough to serve the island. Spirits had been sold without licence both in Jamestown and in the country, and the Council believed this had greatly encouraged drunkenness among the soldiers and the slaves. To stop that scandalous abuse, strict orders were to be issued at once forbidding all such sales, under the penalty of £10 that the Governor had proposed. Every publican licensed in future was to be bound by a clause in his licence forbidding him to sell any liquor to slaves. The Council considered this a measure that would benefit the island in general and **Interpretations** The Council went further than the Governor had proposed. Skottowe had suggested six punch houses, chosen by recalling the four newest licences. The Council settled on five, closing half of the ten then licensed. The minutes record that it weighed both the Governor's and Corneille's papers before deciding. Corneille had shown that four houses were run by deputy and that two licences were held by non-commissioned officers. A fifth closure gave the Council room to remove more of the houses Corneille had criticised than the Governor's rule by date of issue would have allowed. The minutes did not yet say which houses would lose their licences. The Council also adopted the Governor's £10 fine for unlicensed selling and his clause against selling to slaves. Despite the bitter quarrel recorded only a week before, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor's proposals were joined in a single set of regulations. On the business of governing the island, the Council could still act together. Thomas Cadgrove's orphans held their land through an executor, as the Harper orphans at Sandy Bay did. George Alexander renewed the lease in his

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			own name on the children's behalf. He kept the family's holding secure until they came of age, and the rent continued to be paid to the Company.
77	70	4th July and be subject to the penalty of £ 5 - for the transgression of the same - That no Publican do presume under forfeiture of their Licence to farm out the same, or do presume to sell under any pretence whatever the Liquor they Vend, for less than the price fixed in their Licence, a practice they have fallen into, and which tends to promote - Drunkenness, for the dearer the Soldiers pay for their Liquor, the fewer opportunitys they have to get Drunk - That no Non-Commissioned Officer or Military Man, as has been too much practiced, be hereafter allowed, either in their own name or in the name of others, to hold keep or Occupy, any Punch House, as they for their own Interest will undoubtedly connive at, and encourage Drunkenness among the Soldiery, whom by the nature of their Office, they ought to discourage and suppress the same - That for the future, no Publican do serve any Drams of raw Arrack to the Soldiers, but all the Liquor they shall vend in their Houses be diluted with Water, with wholesome and proper - quantity of Spirit - That no Publick House be opened on a Sunday before four o'Clock in the Afternoon, and that on all other Days in the Week, not before nine o'Clock in the Morning, and to be shut at Nine at Night That the Vocation of Publicans be confined entirely to Men, Women being very improper to keep that due Order and decorum, - necessary to be observed in Punch Houses; and also rather an indecent Occupation for one of their sex, five out of the ten being now in the Hands of Women, we for the above reasons intend to revoke their Licences, and to Continue the Licences to the five Men only, but as the Widows of Captns. Beale and Kennedy, have each of them been indulged with Licences in order to enable them to support their familys (being both in indifferent and poor Circumstances,) we have agreed to recommend them to the Honble Company, to put them on a Yearly allowance, equal at least, to the Widows Fund of - £ 20 - pr. Ann. established for the benefit of all Company's Servants Widows, the said Mr. Beale and Mr. Kennedy's late Husbands	The Council resolved that any publican who broke this clause would pay a penalty of £5. No publican was to let out his licence to another person, on pain of losing it. Nor was any publican to sell his liquor under any pretext for less than the price fixed in his licence. Keepers had fallen into this practice, and it encouraged drunkenness, since the cheaper the soldiers' drink, the more chances they had to get drunk. No non-commissioned officer or soldier was in future to hold, keep or occupy a punch house, whether in his own name or another's, as had too often been allowed. Such men would certainly look the other way for their own profit and encourage drunkenness among the soldiers, when their duty was to discourage and suppress it. In future no publican was to serve the soldiers drams of neat arrack. All the liquor sold in the houses was to be mixed with water, keeping a wholesome and proper strength of spirit. No public house was to open on a Sunday before four in the afternoon. On every other day of the week none was to open before nine in the morning, and all were to close at nine at night. The trade of publican was to be limited entirely to men. Women were thought unfit to keep the order and decency needed in punch houses, and the work was considered unbecoming for women. Five of the ten licences were then held by women. For these reasons the Council intended to recall their licences and keep the licences of the five men only. The widows of Captain Beale and of Kennedy, however, had each been granted a licence to support their families, since both lived in poor and difficult circumstances. The Council agreed to recommend to the Court that each of them be given a yearly allowance of at least £20, the same as that paid from the fund established for the widows of all the Company's servants, in place of the licences held by their late husbands. **Interpretations** The Council's choice of which five houses to close was set by the rule on sex, not by the Governor's rule of the newest licences. Five of the ten were held by women, so removing women from the trade fixed the number at five. It also swept away much of the deputy system Corneille had exposed. Mrs Burnham let her house to her son for £40 a year, and Mr Kennedy's house paid a yearly rent of £50. Both were women's licences, or licences held by a widow's family, and both disappeared under the new rule. The ban on letting out licences and on soldiers keeping houses dealt with the remaining cases. These covered Sergeant Howell and Bombardier Bayfell, who ran their houses by deputy. The Council could simply have withdrawn the widows' licences. It saw that the punch house had been their only means of support. The two widows of Captain Beale and Kennedy had been given licences precisely so that their families would not fall on the parish. Taking that income away without replacing it would have left them destitute. The Council therefore asked the Court to pay them a yearly allowance instead. It set the amount by reference to the Company's widows' fund, which paid fixed pensions to the widows of its servants. The Council was moving these women from a trade it now judged harmful to the fund that existed to support widows like them. The rule that every drink be mixed with water followed naval practice. Since 1740 the Royal Navy had issued rum only as grog, diluted with water, to curb drunkenness among seamen. The opening hours imposed on the houses also marked a clear break from the free trade of the past. The punch houses were kept

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			shut on Sunday until late afternoon, so that soldiers could not drink before church.
78	71	1768 Husbands being dead before this Fund was set a foot, they - cannot be entitled to any allowance from that Fund - All the above Regulations to be inserted in the new Licences to be granted to the five Men we have continued as Publicans, and that the same be sent home with a Copy of an old Licence, that the Company may see that we have taken every measure we could suggest to prevent the abominable practice of retailing spirituous Liquors without Licences, and to keep those in due Order we have Licenced, to the end that Drunkenness may be discouraged among the lower set of People - We this day Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. - Island St. Helena 4 July 1768 Whereas we have great Reason to suspect that Spirituous Liquors are Retailed both in this Valley and in the Country by Persons not Licenced for so doing - This is therefore positively to forbid all the Inhabitants of the said Island to Retail any spirituous Liquor to any - Inhabitant Soldier Black or others upon any Account whatever under Penalty of paying £ 10 - for every Offence £ 5 - of which to be given to the Informer and the remainder to be forfeited to the Honble Company's Cash, That any quantity of Liquors - under two Gallons as by act of Parliament specified is to be Considered as Retail, and all above it deemed Wholesale, but at the	The widows of Mr Beale and Mr Kennedy could not draw an allowance from the widows' fund itself, because their husbands had died before the fund was set up. All the regulations were to be written into the new licences granted to the five men kept on as publicans. Copies were to be sent home with a copy of an old licence, so that the Court could see that the Council had taken every measure it could think of. These measures were meant to stop the shameful practice of selling spirits without licence and to keep the licensed houses in proper order, so that drunkenness would be discouraged among the poorer people. The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated 4 July 1768. The Council had strong reason to suspect that people without licences were selling spirits both in Jamestown valley and in the country. All inhabitants of the island were therefore strictly forbidden to sell spirits by retail to any inhabitant, soldier, slave or anyone else, for any reason, under a penalty of £10 for each offence. Of that sum, £5 was to go to the informer and the rest to the Company's treasury. Following the Act of Parliament, any quantity of liquor under two gallons was to count as a retail sale, and any quantity above that as wholesale. However, at the **Interpretations** The two widows fell outside the widows' fund for a reason of timing alone. The fund paid pensions only to the widows of servants who had subscribed to it during their lifetimes. Mr Beale and Mr Kennedy died before it existed, so they had never paid in. This is why the Council asked the Court for a separate allowance, equal to the fund's rate, rather than a pension from the fund. It was asking the Company to treat two older widows as if their husbands had subscribed. The punch house licences had been the Council's earlier way of supporting such widows before a fund existed. Removing women from the trade now exposed the gap the fund had been created to fill. The rule that sales under two gallons counted as retail came from the English excise laws, which drew the same line between retail and wholesale in spirits. Any inhabitant could still buy arrack in bulk from the Company's warehouse or from a passing ship for household use. Only the retail trade by the glass, dram or bottle was confined to the licensed houses. The Council sent home copies of the old and new licences side by side. That was meant to show the Court that it had carried out its orders in full, at a time when its own members were trading charges of disloyalty in the same minutes.
79	72	4th July the same time, not Sold even as such, to any Non Commissd. Officer Soldier or Slave - And be it farther known to all whom it may Concern, that the number of ten Publick Houses are from this day Reduced to five viz. John Price, Roderick Merchant, Stephen Young, William Hayes & John Seale, and that said Publicans are - enjoined on forfeiture of their Licence not to Retail Spirituous or any other Liquor to the Slaves upon the Island upon any Account whatever - Pr. Order of Council - Signed Mattw. Bazett Secy.	At the same time, liquor was not to be sold even wholesale to any non-commissioned officer, soldier or slave. The notice also declared that from that day the public houses were reduced to five, kept by John Price, Roderick Merchant, Stephen Young, William Hayes and John Seale. These publicans were forbidden, on pain of losing their licences, to sell spirits or any other liquor to the slaves on the island for any reason at all. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. The Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell, the engineer, addressed to the Governor and Council. Mitchell reminded them that his last quarterly letter, of 4 April 1768, had reported several things. The foundations of the two batteries to be built at Banks's and Munden's Point were ready. A large quantity of building materials had been gathered at both sites. The materials at Munden's Point had been used to lay part

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		We this day received the following Letter from the Engineer viz. - To the Worshipfull the Governor &c. & Council of the - Island St. Helena Gentlemen My last Quarterly Letter of Date the 4th of April, contained an Account that the Foundations of the two Batteries to be constructed at Banks's and Mundens Point had been got ready: - That a Considerable Quantity of Materials for Building had been amassed at both these Places: - That those collected at the latter had been wrought up in laying Part of the Foundation, and in extending one of its Flanks, in order to make Room for amassing a second and larger Collection: - And finally, that the Employment of the Workmen During the ensuing Quarter would principally consist in - preparing	of the foundation and raise its flanks, to make room for a second and larger stock. He had also reported that during the coming quarter the masons would be employed mainly in preparing **Interpretations** Two of the five men kept on as publicans had been fined by the Council only two months earlier. On 9 May 1768 John Price, the Company's marshal and gaoler, and Roderick Merchant were found to have taken produce from James Black, the dishonest gardener, without reporting it. Merchant was fined £1 and Price 10s. The Council now chose both men to keep their licences when five others were closed. The record suggests that the Council's choice turned on the new rules rather than on past conduct. Price and Merchant were men, they did not hold commissions in the garrison, and they ran their houses themselves. The licences that went were those held by women, and the houses let out or run by deputy. The earlier fines were evidently not judged to make them unfit to serve drink. The ban on selling even wholesale to soldiers and slaves closed the last gap in the rules. Without it, a soldier could buy two gallons at a time from any inhabitant as a wholesale purchase and sell it on to his comrades by the glass in the barracks. The Council meant all drink for the garrison and the slaves to pass through the five licensed houses. There it could be watered, sold within set hours and watched.
80	73	1768 preparing the Materials for the Construction of Mundens Point Battery, and in employing those already collected at Banks's in erecting that Battery, in the Execution of which I then - acquainted you, a very considerable Progress might be expected to be made, against the Expiration of the Quarter - It is now expired, and I have the satisfaction of being able to inform you, agreeable to my promise, that a very Large Collection of Materials has been prepared at Mundens Point, nearly as much as the Platform there will contain, which has also been considerably enlarged, by blowing away the Rocks, in order to Answer the double purpose of procuring Stone & of making Room for the intended Prolongation of the Right Flank of that Battery: - And that the Progress made in the Construction of Banks's - Battery has been so great, that the whole of that Work is nearly compleated: Nothing now remaining to be done, but to raise the Merlons, which is in hand, and to lay the Platforms: both which will be compleated long before the Expiration of this Quarter In the mean time Preparations for Building at Mundens Point will be continued, and the Masons will be set to Work there, as soon as the Finishings already mentioned as wanting at Banks's, together with a proposed Enlargement of the Powder Magazine there, are finally accomplished - As the confined situation of Mundens Point, and the want of Room there, will not admit of all the Company's Workmen -	During the quarter the masons were to prepare materials for the battery at Munden's Point and use the stock already gathered at Banks's to build the battery there. Mitchell had told the Council that he expected very good progress by the end of the quarter. The quarter had now ended, and Mitchell was glad to report that he had kept his promise. A very large stock of materials had been prepared at Munden's Point, almost as much as the platform there could hold. The platform itself had been greatly enlarged by blasting away the rock. That served two purposes at once: it produced stone, and it made room for the planned extension of the right flank of the battery. The work at Banks's had gone so well that the whole battery was almost finished. Only the merlons remained to be raised, which was in hand, and the platforms to be laid. Both would be done long before the end of the coming quarter. In the meantime the preparations for building at Munden's Point would go on. The masons would be set to work there as soon as the remaining work at Banks's was finished, along with a planned enlargement of the powder magazine there. The site at Munden's Point was cramped and short of space. It could not hold all the Company's workmen without crowding them. Mitchell therefore proposed to lay before the Governor and Council, within a few weeks, a plan for altering the existing defences of Lemon Valley. That work could go on alongside Munden's Point and would help finish both more quickly, for the same reasons he had already given in the case of Banks's. **Interpretations** Merlons were the solid sections of a battery's parapet between the embrasures, the openings through which the guns fired. They shielded the gun crews from enemy fire while the guns pointed out through the gaps. Raising the merlons and laying the gun platforms were the last stages of building a battery. Banks's was therefore all but ready to receive its guns, three months after its foundations were laid. That was the speed the Council had hoped for when it decided to build both batteries at once and keep the masons constantly employed. Mitchell's proposal for Lemon Valley grew out of the same reasoning that had served him at Banks's. Munden's Point was too cramped for the whole

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		being employed there, without being too much crowded, I therefore propose in a few Weeks to lay before the Governor & Council a Plan of the Alteration intended to take place in the present Defences of Lemon-Valley, which can be carried on in - Conjunction with Mundens Point; and will tend to expedite the Completion of both, for the Reasons already Assigned in Regard to Banks's -	workforce. Rather than let men stand idle or crowd them onto the narrow headland, he would open a third site nearby and move labour between the two. The record of the season shows how much was involved. The 26 recruits from the *Tilbury*, given to Mitchell on 23 May, were added to the soldiers and slaves already at work. Lemon Valley was one of the leeward landing places, already defended by a ditch whose grass the Company's slaves cut in 1767. The new work would carry the fortification programme along the whole north-west coast.
81	74	4th July I cannot conclude this Letter without taking Notice of the great Obstruction which the Progress of the Works will meet with this Year, from the large Deficiencies and, (... in some Articles) the Total Want of many of the most essential Articles indented for last Year, (for the use of the Fortifications. - As the Governor and Council are already apprized of these Deficiencies, and the Inconveniencies which will arise from them, it is therefore unnecessary to add any thing more on this Subject I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect Gentlemen St. Helena 4th July 1768 Your most Obet. & most humble Servant Signed R. Mitchell We acquainted Capt. Mitchell that we think he has done as he possibly could to the Fortifications the last Quarter, and that we Acquiesce with his proposal of carrying on the intended Works of Lemon Valley as soon as those at Banks's are finished - The Lieut. Governor presented the following Minute to the Board viz. - Minute of the Lieutenant Governor's - The Governor having laid before the Board at last Monday's Consultation a Minute, or rather as I apprehend a Protest of Capt. - Kirkpatrick against Mr. Purling and Mr. Corneille; have only to observe with	Mitchell ended his letter by noting the serious obstacle the works would meet that year. Many of the most essential items ordered the year before for the fortifications had arrived in short supply, and some had not come at all. The Governor and Council already knew of these shortfalls and the problems they would cause, so he would say nothing more about them. He signed the letter at St Helena on 4 July 1768. The Council told Captain Mitchell that it believed he had done everything possible on the fortifications in the last quarter. It agreed to his proposal to begin the planned works at Lemon Valley as soon as those at Banks's were finished. Corneille then presented a minute to the Board. At the previous Monday's consultation, he wrote, the Governor had laid before the Board a minute from Captain Kirkpatrick, or rather, as Corneille understood it, a protest by Kirkpatrick against Purling and Corneille himself. He had only to observe **Interpretations** Mitchell's closing complaint helps explain the losses recorded in the storekeeper's accounts that season. The *Tilbury* had landed broken shot for the 24-pounders and lacked items such as the bed for a 6-pounder. The *Duke of Richmond* was short of 14 shot for the 24-pounders, six gun beds and six quoins. Those stores, together with tools, iron and timber, had been ordered from England for the batteries. What arrived fell well short of the indent. The Council had already turned to Bombay for gun carriages and mortar beds on 30 May 1768, partly to make good what London failed to send. Corneille now answered Kirkpatrick's retraction in a fresh minute. He described the retraction as a protest against Purling and himself. That framed it as an attack on two councillors rather than a correction of Kirkpatrick's own signature. The quarrel that had begun with the Governor's private letter to the Court now set member against member in the open minutes.
82	75	1768 with respect to the former so far as it may exculpate Mr. Purling in Urging Capt. Kirkpatrick to Sign the Minute, so contrary to Mr. Purlings Conduct in Council thereupon; That when I called upon these two Gentlemen as appear by my letter Addressed to the Board dated the 13 June, that Mr. Purling at that time expressed his concern, and addressing himself to the Governor, Related Verbaly the substance of said Minute as his - opinion of that transaction of 6 of Octobr. 1766, as well as acquiting me of taking more upon me than was consistant with my Duty, and Respect due Mr. Skottowe as Governor, Upon which Capt. Kirkpatrick observed that what Mr. Purling had said was his Sentiments, and that if Mr. -	Corneille wished to clear Purling of the charge that he had pressed Kirkpatrick to sign the minute, since Purling's conduct in Council had been the opposite. When Corneille called on the two councillors in his letter to the Board of 13 June 1768, Purling at once spoke up. Turning to the Governor, he gave aloud the substance of the later minute as his own view of what had happened on 6 October 1766. He also cleared Corneille of taking more upon himself than was consistent with his duty and with the respect owed to Skottowe as Governor. Kirkpatrick then said that what Purling had said was his own view too. He suggested that if Purling put it in writing, they might sign it together and hand it in on the Wednesday, with the secretary's and the engineer's statements, as was agreed. The Governor and the secretary could both confirm this. What passed privately between the two councillors afterwards was for Purling to explain. Corneille would confine his remarks to the part that concerned himself. Having studied the protest, Corneille found that Kirkpatrick had tried to gloss over, with false arguments, his having joined Purling in the joint

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		Purling would commit them to Paper, they might jointly sign it, and deliver it in on Wednesday, together with the Secretarys & Engineers Minute as agreed upon, The truth of this both the Governor and Secretary can Attest. As to what passed in private between these Gentlemen rests with Mr. Purling to clear up, and Confine my subsequent Observations only to that part which concerns myself. To which purpose having considered the Contents of said Protest, find that Capt. Kirkpatrick - endeavours to Gloss over by falacious Arguments Joining in opinion with Mr. Purling in their Joint Minute, and tho' he had three Days to consider of it - (from the Monday to Wednesday) as well as two publick readings of same in Council, during which time he surely had it in his power to Retract and ease his tender Conscience and peace of mind tho' surely it would have served as an inward monitor to dictate to his understanding, that when we sign to a Paper it serves as a Stamp to the truth & veracity of the Contents, and ought well to be Considered before hand by every Man of Honour, & Honesty, otherwise there is an end to Security and Faith in the Intercourse of Society; And must own that tis the first Instance that has come within my knowledge of Revoking an Attestation, as expressed in his own Words. "I hereby Retract and Revoke my Attestation of said Paper, so far as it disagrees with the following Declaration - After which follows his Genuine sentiments upon the whole of that Transaction, agreeing in substance and words to the facts I called upon him to Relate, with this difference only, that he has asserted that the Debate between the Engineer and me, I supported against the General Opinion, which proves the unhappy Deficiency of Mr. Kirkpatrick's Memory, as he must	minute. Kirkpatrick had three days to consider it, from the Monday to the Wednesday, and had heard it read twice in Council. In that time he could easily have withdrawn and eased his tender conscience and peace of mind, if his own inner voice had guided him. When a man signed a paper, his signature stood as a seal on the truth of its contents. Every man of honour and honesty ought to weigh it beforehand. Otherwise there was an end to security and trust between people. Corneille said this was the first case he had ever known of a man revoking his own attestation, as Kirkpatrick had put it in his own words. After that, Corneille continued, Kirkpatrick set out his real views on the whole affair. These agreed in substance and wording with the facts Corneille had asked him to state, with one exception. Kirkpatrick claimed that in the dispute between the engineer and Corneille, Corneille had held out against the general opinion. That, Corneille said, showed an unfortunate failure in Kirkpatrick's memory, as he must **Interpretations** Corneille's account changed the story of how the joint statement came about. Kirkpatrick had said that Purling drew up the paper and pressed him to sign it late at night. According to Corneille, the substance was settled openly at the Board on 13 June. Purling stated it aloud before the Governor, Kirkpatrick declared that it was his view too, and Kirkpatrick himself proposed that the two sign it jointly. Corneille named the Governor and the secretary as witnesses to this. If his account was correct, Kirkpatrick's signature was no hurried mistake but the written form of what he had said in Council. Corneille's argument rested on the point that the Governor, whom Kirkpatrick now supported, had heard him agree. Corneille pressed the point about signatures because the whole system of the Company's government rested on it. Councillors signed the minutes, the accounts and the letters to the Court, and London relied on those signatures as true. A councillor who could sign a statement and then revoke it a week later undermined the value of every signed record. Corneille's argument was aimed past Kirkpatrick at the Court. He was asking the Directors to judge which of the two statements bearing Kirkpatrick's name deserved belief. Corneille also contested the one fact Kirkpatrick had added, that he had held out against the general opinion in the debate with the engineer. Mitchell himself had said only that Corneille objected to part of the plan and was later satisfied. Purling's and Kirkpatrick's own joint statement had recorded no general opinion against him. Corneille treated Kirkpatrick's new claim as a lapse of memory, a courteous way of calling it untrue.
83	76	4th July must certainly know if he was not so precipitate in advancing before he gives himself time for Recollection, that the opinion of the Council was not taken untill the 13 of Octobr. and that the Affair between the Governor and me happened the 6 of said Month: and has also charged the Governor as being provoked by my perseverance, which I can safely say what ever was his inward sentiments, His outward Carriage proved the Contrary, as in justice to Mr. Skottowe I must at all times acquit him of any such - Malicious Insinuation - I come now to the latter part of Capt. Kirkpatricks Declaration, wherein he says, That, "He cant join in opinion that I always confined	Corneille argued that Kirkpatrick must have known, had he been less hasty and given himself time to remember, that the Council's opinion was not taken until 13 October 1766, while the clash between the Governor and Corneille had happened on 6 October. Kirkpatrick had also said that the Governor was provoked by Corneille's persistence. Corneille could safely say that this did not reflect the Governor's true feelings, since his outward behaviour at the time showed the opposite. In fairness to Skottowe, Corneille would always clear him of any such ill-natured suggestion. Corneille then turned to the last part of Kirkpatrick's declaration. Kirkpatrick had said he could not agree that Corneille had always kept within the limits set by his office, which was subordinate, though not absolutely so, to the Governor. That charge flatly contradicted what Kirkpatrick had stated in the joint minute, for which he had since tried so eagerly to apologise. The Governor and the members of the

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		myself to the Bounds prescribed by the Nature of my Office, subbordinate tho' not implicitly to the Governor; As this charge immediately Contradicts what he has before asserted in his Joint Minute, (for which indeed he has so speciously endeavoured to Apologize) And as the Governor as well as the Gentlemen of the Board must well Recollect my repeated Desires (as already gone home to the Honble the Court of Directors) That if they had any thing to Alledge against my Conduct and Actions, by all means to do it, that my Honorable Employers thereby may come to the true knowledge of my Character; and as no doubt Capt. Kirkpatrick must be acquainted with some Transactions wherein I have exceeded the bounds prescribed by the nature of my office, I now take this opportunity of thanking that Gentleman for the occasion he has afforded me, and here call upon him fully to explain himself upon that head, and give his reasons from what part of my Conduct and Actions he has founded said opinion on, all which I desire he may lay before the Governor and Council by next Monday in order to be transmitted to the Honble the Court of Directors and here Gentlemen I rest untill I have seen his Charge in proof of what he has alledged against me - Signed 4th July 1768 Danl. Corneille	Board would remember that Corneille had often asked, and had already written to the Court, that if anyone had anything to say against his conduct, they should say it. That way the Company would come to know his true character. Kirkpatrick must know of some occasions when Corneille had gone beyond the limits of his office. Corneille therefore thanked him for the chance this gave him. He called on Kirkpatrick to explain himself fully and to give the reasons, and the particular actions, on which he based his opinion. He asked Kirkpatrick to lay them before the Governor and Council by the following Monday, so that they could be sent to the Court. Until he saw the charge set out properly, he would say no more. Corneille signed the minute on 4 July 1768. **Interpretations** Corneille's point about dates went to the heart of Kirkpatrick's added claim. Kirkpatrick had said Corneille held out against the general opinion of the Council during the debate with the engineer. Corneille replied that no general opinion had yet been taken when the Governor rebuked him on 6 October 1766. The Council only gave its view on the Sandy Bay plan a week later, on 13 October. On the day of the quarrel Corneille could not have defied a Council opinion that did not yet exist. Corneille also defended the Governor against Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick had written that Skottowe was provoked by Corneille's persistence, a phrase meant to excuse the rebuke. Corneille rejected it. If the Governor had been angered, the rebuke was a matter of temper. If he had acted calmly, as Corneille insisted, the rebuke was a considered decision, and the question of its fairness stood on its own. By clearing the Governor of anger, Corneille kept the issue to what Skottowe had said, not why. Corneille then put Kirkpatrick to the test. A councillor who said Corneille had exceeded his authority ought to be able to name the occasions. Corneille demanded specific charges within a week, in writing and for the Court. If Kirkpatrick could produce them, the Court would judge them. If he could not, his declaration would stand as an opinion without proof.
84	77	1768 Mr. Purling likewise this Day presented the following Minute in Answer to that part of Captain Kirkpatrick's Paper laid before the Board last Consultation Day as far as relates to himself - Captn. Kirkpatrick in a Paper laid before the Board last Consultation Day having thought proper to represent; That his Signing an Answer with me to what the Lieut. Governor called on us for in Consultation of the 13th of June last, was owing to my desiring and urging him to it, and not from a free and Voluntary Motive and opinion of his own, I now in order to set this Affair in its true light state the whole circumstance of what passed on that Occasion - When Mr. Corneilles Letter was read in Council finding he had called on Capt. Kirkpatrick and me separate from Mr. Bazett and Capt. Mitchell relative to some Circumstances; I then mentioned in Council how far I could speak in Answer thereto, and was going to write it down at the Board, but business intervening, and Mr. Corneille saying you had better do it afterwards, I deferred it at that Time,	Purling also presented a minute that day, answering the part of Kirkpatrick's paper laid before the Board at the previous consultation that concerned him. In that paper Kirkpatrick had claimed that he signed the joint answer to the Lieutenant Governor's questions of 13 June 1768 because Purling had asked and urged him to. He said it had not been his own free and willing choice or opinion. To show the matter in its true light, Purling set out everything that had happened on that occasion. When Corneille's letter was read in Council, it called on Kirkpatrick and Purling, separately from Mr Bazett and Captain Mitchell, to state certain facts. Purling then told the Council how far he could answer and began to write it down at the Board. Other business came up, and Corneille suggested he would do better to write it afterwards, so Purling stopped. Kirkpatrick agreed with what Purling had said and added that they might put their answers together, or words to that effect. Mr Bazett, the secretary, had no stake in the affair, and Purling asked him to declare whether this was true. Purling had also understood that the answers of all the gentlemen called upon were to be entered in the same consultation as Corneille's letter. That was why he drew up what he had to say on the subject before the ships sailed. When he had done so, since Kirkpatrick had said in Council that he wished to join in the answer, Purling sent for him and read it to him. Kirkpatrick thought it over and said that they might now sign it, and that if Purling would sign, so would

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		Capt. Kirkpatrick agreeing to what I said Added we may join what we have to say together, or words to that Effect, Mr. Bazett the Secretary being quite unconcerned in this Affair I desire he will declare whether my Assertion is not fact. I also understood that the answers of the several Gentlemen called upon should be entered in the same Consultation with Mr. Corneilles Letter, and was the reason why I drew up what could be said on the subject before the Ships Sailed and after I had done so, as Capt. Kirkpatrick had expressed a desire in Council to join in theirs, I sent for him and read it to him and after considering the same to his own mind, He observed; That we might now sign it, and if I would sign he would; accordingly I did so and he immediately after me without the least hesitation or proposing any further Alterations His readiness in subscribing thereto entirely destroys the Assertion that I desired or Urged him to that Act, How weak must it appear for any Gentleman Member of a Board to plead in excuse for his - subscribing	he. Purling signed, and Kirkpatrick signed immediately after him, without the least hesitation and without proposing any further change. That readiness to sign entirely disproved the claim that Purling had pressed or urged him. Purling thought it a weak excuse indeed for any member of a Board to plead, for having signed **Interpretations** Purling's account matched Corneille's on the central point. Both placed the origin of the joint answer in open Council on 13 June 1768, when Kirkpatrick himself proposed that he and Purling answer together. Purling added what happened afterwards. He drew up the paper and sent for Kirkpatrick because he believed all the answers were to be entered with Corneille's letter before the *Northington* and the *Vansittart* sailed. That explains the late-evening meeting Kirkpatrick described. It was not a device to catch him unready but a race to get the paper into the minutes before the ships left. Purling called on the secretary as an impartial witness. Bazett had already confirmed Corneille's version of the 1766 rebuke on 13 June. Purling now asked him to confirm what Kirkpatrick had said at the Board. If Bazett supported him, Kirkpatrick's claim of being pressed into signing would fall on two independent witnesses. The detail that Kirkpatrick signed straight after Purling, without proposing any change, was Purling's strongest point. A man who had been hurried into agreeing to something he did not believe would have been expected to ask for corrections, or at least to read the paper again. Kirkpatrick did neither. His retraction came a week later, after he had given the paper privately to the Governor.
85	78	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] 4th July subscribing to an opinion not fully his own, that he was Urged to [...] by another, and how far such opinion can be depended upon in any [...] is a matter to be determined by Our Masters who are the Ultimate Judg[...] of all our transactions, and in order to prevent as far as in me lies Capt. Kirkpatrick's Assertion making an impression to my disadvantage, hereby utterly deny that I ever made use of any Argument or Persuasion [...] influence him in the least: in which I could have no inducement from Interest or any other Motive, It was between seven and eight o'Clock [...] Night when we were together, and he appeared to me at the time neither hurried or confused but perfectly sensible of what he was about; and its very remarkable that he never once objected to his joining sentiments with me on the Occasion, or hinted in the least that he was preparing an Answer by himself, as he has set forth; I was drawn in to Concern my self with him in this transaction entirely from his declaration in Council as beforementioned and not from any desire wish or inclina[...] of my own. The next morning I sent the Paper we had signed to the Secretary, and we met that day the 15 of June about Eleven o'Clock when it was read together with Mr. Bazetts and Captn. Mitchells and [...] Capt. Kirkpatrick being present did not make the least Objection, [...]	Purling went on to say that it was a poor excuse to plead, for signing an opinion not fully one's own, that someone else had urged it. How far such an opinion could be relied on in any matter was for the Court, the final judges of all the Council's actions, to decide. To stop Kirkpatrick's claim from harming him, Purling flatly denied ever using any argument or persuasion to influence him in the least. He had nothing to gain from doing so, whether in money or any other way. They had met between seven and eight in the evening. Kirkpatrick did not seem to him hurried or confused at the time, but fully aware of what he was doing. It was very striking, Purling added, that Kirkpatrick never once objected to joining him in a common answer. Nor did he give the slightest hint that he was preparing an answer of his own, as he now claimed. Purling had become involved with him in the matter only because of what Kirkpatrick had said in Council, not from any wish of his own. The next morning Purling sent the signed paper to the secretary. The Council met that day, 15 June 1768, at about eleven o'clock. The paper was read together with Mr Bazett's and Captain Mitchell's statements. Kirkpatrick was present and made no objection at all, and all the papers were ordered to be entered in the consultation. When the Council met again that afternoon to send off the ships, the consultation containing the papers was read, and Kirkpatrick signed it without any exception or reserve. Enough time had passed between his signing the answer with Purling and the final closing of the consultation for him to reflect and to alter or withdraw it, if he had wished to. On the whole, Purling felt bound to regard Kirkpatrick's charges against him as wholly invented. He believed they were designed to cause division in the Council, and especially between the Governor and Purling, probably to serve some private aim of Kirkpatrick's. Purling assured him publicly that, as far as he was concerned, Kirkpatrick would be greatly disappointed. Purling had always wished to keep harmony, not only in the Council but in the whole

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		were all Ordered to be entered upon Consultation, and when we met again that afternoon to dispatch the Ships, the Consultation where these Papers are inserted was read in Council, and he signed that Consultation without the least Exception or reserve, Time enough had Elapsed between his Subscribing the Answer with me and finally closing the Consultation for reflection Alteration or retraction, if he had, had [...] Inclination for that purpose. Upon the whole I am under the necessity [...] look on Capt. Kirkpatricks Allegations in respect to myself (to which [...] I entirely confine this reply) as calculated to make divisions in the Council and particularly between the Governor and me probably to serve some private views of his own, but I here assure him on [...] disappointed, being always desirous of promoting Harmony not only [...] the Council but in the Community declaring my self free from all Party Party matters, And further look upon it as incumbent on Us to avoid	community, and declared himself free of all party quarrels. He further considered it the Council's duty to **Interpretations** Purling added a detail that weighed heavily against Kirkpatrick's story. The joint answer was not signed in haste and then sent home unseen. It was read to the full Council the next morning, 15 June 1768, with Kirkpatrick present, and entered in the minutes on his silent agreement. That afternoon the consultation was read again before the *Northington* and the *Vansittart* sailed, and Kirkpatrick signed it without reservation. He had three separate chances to object and took none of them. His claim that he signed in confusion late at night could not explain why he endorsed the same paper twice more the next day. Purling read Kirkpatrick's motive as an attempt to split the Council. Kirkpatrick had given his retraction privately to the Governor. It cast Purling as the man who had manipulated a colleague on Corneille's behalf. If it had worked, it would have set the Governor against Purling and isolated Corneille. Purling met it by refusing to take sides openly. He declared himself free of all party, and he put his own conduct before the Court in full. Purling was the Council's accountant and a young member whose standing depended on the Governor's goodwill. He had good reason to show that he had acted from no personal interest.
86	79	1768 avoid the latter as the greatest Evil, and prefer the former as most Essential in Government; to the end that we may discharge Our several Dutys in the important trust reposed in Us to the - satisfaction and Approbation of our Honble Employers - Signed St. Helena M. Purling 4th July 1768 Mr. Bazett being duly Sworn Deposeth that to the best of his knowledge the Circumstance Mr. Purling mentions with respect to Captain Kirkpatricks offering to join their Opinions together in the Answer intended to be given by them to the Lieut. Governors Letter relative to the Dispute between the Governor and him is the truth as near as he can recollect or words to that Effect Sworn before me this 4th day of July in Consultation Signed John Skottowe The Lieut. Governor also delivered the following Letter Enclosing one which he had received from Captain Kirkpatrick viz. To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council &ca Gentlemen Having received the enclosed Letter from Capt. Kirkpatrick	Purling ended by saying that the Council ought to avoid party quarrels as the greatest evil and to value harmony as the most essential thing in government. Only then could its members carry out their duties in the important trust placed in them to the satisfaction and approval of the Company. He signed his minute at St Helena on 4 July 1768. Mr Bazett was then put on oath. He declared that, to the best of his knowledge, Purling's account was true as nearly as he could remember, or in words to that effect. This concerned Kirkpatrick's offer to join with Purling in a common answer to the Lieutenant Governor's letter about the dispute between the Governor and Corneille. Bazett was sworn before Governor Skottowe in Council on 4 July 1768. Corneille also handed in a letter enclosing one he had received from Captain Kirkpatrick. It was addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Corneille wrote that, having received the enclosed letter from Captain Kirkpatrick, **Interpretations** Bazett's evidence was given on oath before the Governor, not simply written down as the earlier statements had been. Putting the secretary under oath raised the dispute to the level of sworn testimony. It made his account harder to set aside. Bazett had no part in the quarrel, worked daily with every member of the Board and was the officer responsible for keeping the minutes accurate. He now confirmed that Kirkpatrick himself had offered in Council to join Purling in a common answer. That left Kirkpatrick's claim of being pressed into signing without support. The Governor swore him personally, so even the man at the centre of the dispute could not later question the form of the evidence. Kirkpatrick had now written directly to Corneille, outside the Council, and Corneille laid that letter before the Board. Corneille took the opposite course from the one he had criticised. Instead of answering a private letter privately, he made it part of the public record, where the Court could read both sides.
87	80	4th July Kirkpatrick dated the 21st June last Saturday Evening, which I now	Kirkpatrick's letter to Corneille was dated 21 June 1768, and Corneille received it on a Saturday evening. He now laid it before the Council so that it could be sent home with the other papers in an affair in which

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		present you in order to be transmitted Home along with the other Papers that may offer in this affair, which his Conduct has involved Us in, And as I made no answer to it but what I now offer in Consultation, have only to observe how very contradictory his opinion is in his Letter to me to that of his Protest laid before us last Monday by the Governor, - Exculpating himself in the former, in fearing much worse Consequences than I apprehend could possibly have attended the Step I was obliged to take in support of truth and my own Veracity, And Yet in the latter pleading being Urged to the measure by unfair and precipitate means, & not having time for recollection from a fluctuation of mind occasioned by variety of Accts. &c. &c. I should not have troubled you Gentlemen with this, had it not being for the latter part of his Letter, wherein he asserts, "That he can and will if put to it carry his Speculations a little farther than bare Mistake with regard to me;" (Appealing to my own Breast in this tender Point) I can with pleasure inform Captain Kirkpatrick before you Gentlemen, That I have long since made that appeal to myself, and as such, can only repeat what I have already mentioned in my preceding Minute; That 'tis with pleasure I put him to the test, expecting neither favour nor Affection in the Scrutiny he means to make, requesting only that whatever he offers to assert he will fully prove - I ask no More - I have the Honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient Servant Signed July 4th 1768 Dan Corneille	Kirkpatrick's conduct had involved them all. He had made no answer to it beyond what he now offered at the Board. Corneille pointed out how far the views in Kirkpatrick's letter contradicted his protest, which the Governor had laid before the Council the previous Monday. In the letter Kirkpatrick excused himself by saying that he foresaw far worse consequences than Corneille could ever have expected to follow from the step Corneille had been obliged to take in defence of the truth and his own honesty. In the protest, by contrast, he claimed he had been pushed into signing by unfair and hasty means, without time to think, because his mind was unsettled by a mass of accounts and other business. Corneille would not have troubled the Council with the letter at all but for its last part. There Kirkpatrick wrote that he could and would, if pressed, take his conjectures about Corneille a little further than a mere mistake, and he appealed to Corneille's own conscience on this delicate point. Corneille told him before the Council that he had long since made that appeal to his own conscience. He could only repeat what he had said in his previous minute. He gladly invited Kirkpatrick to make the trial and asked only one thing: that in the inquiry Kirkpatrick meant to make, he should act without fear or favour, and fully prove whatever he chose to assert. Corneille asked no more. He signed the letter on 4 July 1768. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's private letter to Corneille, dated 21 June 1768, was written only a day after the retraction he gave to the Governor. The two papers did not tell the same story. To the Governor and the Board, Kirkpatrick said he had signed in haste and confusion. To Corneille privately, he wrote of the serious consequences Corneille's challenge might bring and hinted he could say worse than he had. Corneille set the two side by side so that the Court could see Kirkpatrick explaining his conduct differently to different people. The hint that Kirkpatrick could carry his conjectures further than a mere mistake was a veiled threat. It suggested he knew of something in Corneille's conduct graver than an error of judgement, and he invited Corneille to search his own conscience. Corneille answered it in the way that most protected him. He brought the private threat into the open minutes, declared his conscience clear and demanded proof. He had already called for specific charges by the following Monday. A councillor who made dark hints in private but produced nothing at the Board would lose credit with the Court. Corneille was confident enough of his record to dare Kirkpatrick to try.
88	81	1768 To Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Sir When you laid before the Board a Paper containing a - recrimination of Charges upon the Governor, in which you called, among others, upon me for my opinion relative to that matter, I then foresaw the ill Consequence likely to result from such a paper, as it seemed calculated to compleat a misunderstanding already too much and too unhappily established between the Govr. and you, by fatally involving the other members in a - Participation of your disagreement, and thought then to move that the Question be put, whether such a Paper was admissible or not, as well on Account of the Asperity of Expression that constituted its Style	Kirkpatrick's letter to Corneille read as follows. Corneille had laid before the Board a paper of counter-charges against the Governor, and in it he called on Kirkpatrick, among others, for his opinion. Kirkpatrick wrote that he foresaw then the harm such a paper was likely to cause. It seemed designed to complete a quarrel between the Governor and Corneille that was already too deep and too unhappy, by dragging the other members fatally into their disagreement. He had thought of moving that the Board vote on whether such a paper could be accepted at all, both because of its harsh language and because of its harmful aim. A strong wish to avoid conflict made him drop the motion, in the hope that things would improve. He did not need to repeat to Corneille the steps taken since then, or his own part in them. Efforts had been made, through the secretary, to show that the opinion Kirkpatrick later gave was inconsistent with the instructions he had first given Purling for drawing it up. Even so, he said, he could defend his conduct as

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		as its evil Tendency; but a strong inclination to avoid Contest made me wave the motion, hoping still for the better: I need not repeat to you the steps that have been since taken, and my manner of acting therein, which notwithstanding the Efforts made to prove by the Secretary that my Opinion, as afterwards given, was inconsistent with Instructions I had previously given to Mr. Purling for drawing it up, I shall be able to support with a Clearness equal to the Candour of my - Sentiments as expressed in my opinion on that Case; in drawing up which, I maintained a due regard to the persons whom it concerned, and strictly adhered to the dictates of my Conscience and Impartiality. - When I gave it in, You launched out into such a Latitude of Expression as even to threaten me with some former Misconduct; forgetting the Decorum which ever ought to be kept at that Board, of which I have the Honr. to be a Member as well as you. You were not long among us, before you gave me a specimen of your Abilities in point of reproof, when on my asking the opinions of yourself and the other Justices, on the Subject of my having committed a prisoner who had Confessed the Charge, You turning to the Govr. said, That was an extorted Confession, Words, that, had they been true, were beneath the Dignity of your Station, but which, as you afterwards amply attoned for, I only hint now, as they were a prelude	firmly as he had honestly stated his views in his opinion on the case. In writing it he had shown proper respect to the people concerned and kept strictly to his conscience and to fairness. When he handed in his opinion, Kirkpatrick went on, Corneille spoke so freely as even to threaten him with some past misconduct. In doing so Corneille forgot the decorum that should always be kept at the Board, of which Kirkpatrick had the honour to be a member as much as Corneille. Corneille had not long been among them before he gave a sample of his talents in that line. Kirkpatrick had once asked the opinions of Corneille and the other justices about his having committed to prison a man who had confessed to the charge. Corneille turned to the Governor and said it was a forced confession. Kirkpatrick held that such words, even if they had been true, were beneath the dignity of Corneille's office, though Corneille had later made full amends for them. Kirkpatrick mentioned this now only because those words were a prelude **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's letter recast the whole dispute. Corneille presented himself as a wronged officer defending his honour against a secret charge. Kirkpatrick presented him as the man who had dragged the Council into a private quarrel with the Governor. He claimed he had seen the danger at once. He said he had nearly moved to have Corneille's paper refused as unfit for the Board, and held back only to keep the peace. That argument looked past the facts of October 1766 to a question of conduct: whether a Lieutenant Governor should air his grievances against the Governor in the official minutes at all. Kirkpatrick also answered the charge of past misconduct by raising an old grievance of his own. The incident of the forced confession showed Corneille, early in his time on the island, questioning another magistrate's handling of a prisoner in front of the Governor. The Council members sat as justices, so Kirkpatrick had evidently been criticised in his judicial role. That had rankled. The episode suggested that bad feeling between the two men went back well before the present quarrel. The Council's rare open divisions in 1768 grew out of a long history of personal friction among a handful of officers on a small island.
89	82	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] 4th July prelude to your subsequent Treatment of Me, - Dont think, Si[...] that either your threatenings or Invectives give me any Apprehension of Suffering in the least by what you suggest against my Conduct, I say, suggest because nothing (but suggestion) can be raised to attem[...] prejudicing me in the Eyes of my Honble Employers! However I [...] inform you in a preparatory manner, That I can and will, if put to [...] carry my speculations a little farther than bare Mistake with regard to you: I appeal to your own breast in this tender Point and make no Doubt but I shall be able to prove demonstratively my Assertion in that, as well as my Opinion on the Case between the Govr. & you. As I am, and always have been for peace and Unity, I beg you'll weigh this matter well and be assured I shall concur with whatever may promote so conciliating a System -	Kirkpatrick wrote that those words had been a prelude to Corneille's later treatment of him. Corneille was not to think that his threats or attacks gave Kirkpatrick the least fear of suffering from anything Corneille might suggest against his conduct. Kirkpatrick used the word suggest deliberately, since nothing but suggestion could be used to damage him in the eyes of the Company. He would, however, warn Corneille in advance that he could and would, if pressed, take his conjectures about him a little further than a mere mistake. He appealed to Corneille's own conscience on this delicate point. He had no doubt that he could prove his claim on that matter beyond question, as well as his opinion on the case between the Governor and Corneille. He said he was, and always had been, in favour of peace and unity. He asked Corneille to weigh the matter carefully, and assured him that he would support anything that promoted such a spirit of reconciliation. Kirkpatrick signed the letter on 21 June 1768. The Council received £100 from the Reverend William Bearcroft in full repayment of his bond to the Company, and returned the bond to him. Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's letter ended in two different voices. He threatened Corneille with something worse than a mistake and claimed he could prove it. In the same

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		I am with Respect Sir 21st June 1768 - Your most Obedient huml. Ser[...] Signed Thos. Kirkpatri[...] We this day received £ 100 - of the Revd. Mr. Wm. Bearcroft in discharge of his Bond to the Honble Company which we gave him up John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Purling	breath he offered peace and support for reconciliation. The offer amounted to a bargain: if Corneille dropped his challenge, Kirkpatrick would keep his hints to himself. Corneille refused the bargain by laying the whole letter before the Council. By doing so he made the threat public, and Kirkpatrick would now either have to produce his proof before the Court or let the hint stand as empty. Kirkpatrick had insisted on the word suggest, claiming that only suggestion, not fact, could harm him with the Company. That was the very charge Corneille brought against the Governor's private letter, which described Corneille's conduct by insinuation rather than fact. Both men accused the other of using hints to damage reputations in London. Each tried to show the Court that his own side relied on facts that could be tested. Bearcroft's bond was a loan from the Company, secured by his written promise to repay. Officers on the island sometimes borrowed from the treasury against their salaries. The chaplain had sent £100 home by bill on 22 February 1768. His repayment of a further £100 now shows that his finances were sound. With his new allowance of 30 lb of candles a quarter, granted on 23 May, his position on the island was improving.
90	83	11th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th day of July 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 4 July 1768 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 following Sundrys Expended at the Honble Compy's Table in June 1768 2 Bottles Port Wine £ 3 12 Do. Lisbon 18 6 Do. Mountain 9 12 Do. Beer 2 6 30 Galls. Arrack 7 10 234 lb Beef 4 13 301 lb Mutton 6 9 2 12 Fowles 18 90 lb Candy 1 17 30 lb Butter 1 10 310 lb Flour 2 10 £ 26 19 8	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 11 July 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 July 1768. The plantation account for the quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for June were presented, examined and approved. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in June 1768. 2 bottles of port wine, £0 3s 0d 12 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 18s 0d 6 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 9s 0d 12 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d 224 lb of beef, £4 13s 0d 3[...] lb of mutton, £6 9s 2d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 90 lb of sugar candy, £1 17s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 300 lb of flour, £2 10s 0d Total, £26 19s 8d **Interpretations** The Company's table cost £26 19s 8d in June, well below the £33 7s 3d of April and £32 12s 0d of May. The fall came mostly from wine. Lisbon wine dropped from 38 bottles in May to 12, and no lambs or turkeys were bought. The shipping season was ending. After the *Northington* and the *Vansittart* sailed on 15 June, only the *Duke of Richmond* remained in the road, and the Castle had few visiting officers or passengers to entertain. The Governor's household returned to its ordinary consumption. Arrack held steady at 30 gallons, as it had every month of the year. The punch bowl at the Castle was fixed by custom, not by the number of guests. The 30 gallons stand out beside the new rules on drink that the Council adopted on 4 July. Those rules cut the punch houses to five, banned sales to soldiers and slaves, and ordered every dram watered. They did not apply to the Governor's own table.
91	84	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image, affecting the Powder Expended ounces column.] 11th July Artillery Stores expended in June 1768	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in June 1768 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 9-pounders, 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-

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		Guns fired, Shot fired, 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 2 Departed the Earl of Elgin & British King: Guns fired 18, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 15, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 17, Powder Expended oz [...] 4 Guns fired to Celebrate his Majesty's Birth day: Guns fired 21, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 21, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 16, Powder Expended oz [...] Departed two Dutch Ships: Guns fired 22, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 22, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 16, Powder Expended oz [...] 5 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 [...] Arrived the Duke of Richmond: 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 [...] 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 [...] Arrived the Northington: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 6, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz [...] Fired at Do. from Banks: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 1, 9 Pr 1, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz [...] 6 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 [...] Arrived the Vansittart: Guns fired 13, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz [...] 8 Departed the French Ship: 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 [...] 9 Do. the Tilbury: Guns fired 9, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 5, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 11, Powder Expended oz [...] 15 Do. the Northington & Vansittart: Guns fired 18, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 1, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 16, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 15, Powder Expended oz [...] 23 Guns fired to Salute the Duke of Richmond: 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 [...] 27 Fired for a Signal to ye said Ship: Guns fired 1, Shot fired 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 1, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expended lb 0, Powder Expended oz [...] Powder Expended for 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 223, Powder Expended oz [...] Total: Guns fired 157, Shot fired 1, 9 Pr 1, 4 Pr 15, 3 Pr 9, 2 Pr 126, 1 Pr 6, Powder Expended lb 381, Powder Expended oz [...] Lead Balls to Shoot Goats 7 . 9 lb oz Tallow for Sundry Services 39 . 8 Handspikes for Do. 6 Kitt for Long Boats Sails 1 . 8 Paper for Sundry Services 1 Quire	pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 2 June, departure of the *Earl of Elgin* and the *British King*: guns fired 18, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 15, 1-pounders 0; powder 17 lb [...] oz 4 June, guns fired to celebrate His Majesty's birthday: guns fired 21, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 21, 1-pounders 0; powder 16 lb [...] oz 4 June, departure of two Dutch ships: guns fired 22, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 22, 1-pounders 0; powder 16 lb [...] oz 5 June, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb [...] oz 5 June, arrival of the *Duke of Richmond*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb [...] oz 5 June, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb [...] oz 5 June, arrival of the *Northington*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 6, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb [...] oz 5 June, fired at the *Northington* from Banks's: guns fired 1, shot 1, 9-pounders 1, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 4 lb [...] oz 6 June, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb [...] oz 6 June, arrival of the *Vansittart*: guns fired 13, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb [...] oz 8 June, departure of the French ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb [...] oz 9 June, departure of the *Tilbury*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 5, 1-pounders 0; powder 11 lb [...] oz 15 June, departure of the *Northington* and the *Vansittart*: guns fired 18, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 1, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 16, 1-pounders 0; powder 15 lb [...] oz 23 June, guns fired in salute to the *Duke of Richmond*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb [...] oz 27 June, fired as a signal to the same ship: guns fired 1, shot 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 1, 1-pounders 0; powder [...] Powder used on sundry services, 225 lb [...] oz Total: guns fired 157, shot 1, 9-pounders 1, 4-pounders 15, 3-pounders 9, 2-pounders 126, 1-pounders 6; powder 381 lb [...] oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during June. Lead balls for shooting goats, 7 lb 9 oz Tallow for sundry services, 39 lb 8 oz Handspikes for sundry services, 6 [...] for the longboats' sails, 1 lb 8 oz Paper for sundry services, 1 quire **Interpretations** The island fired a royal salute of 21 guns on 4 June for the birthday of George III, who turned 30 in 1768. The King's birthday was the chief public holiday of the British world, kept with salutes and toasts in every garrison and colony. St Helena belonged to the Company rather than the Crown, but its garrison honoured the sovereign in the same way. Twenty-one guns was the full royal salute, more than the nine given to an Indiaman or the 13 given to a King's ship. The *Northington* was brought to with a shot from Banks's on 5 June, as several Dutch ships had been that season. She was a Company ship and her captain should have known the rule. Her boat had landed at

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			Banks's at four in the afternoon. The ship herself probably stood on toward the anchorage in fading light before the battery had confirmed who she was. The rule applied to friend and stranger alike. The two Dutch ships that sailed on 4 June were the *Bergh* and the *Schoonsigt*. The *Bergh*'s captain had been refused leave to land his arrack on 16 May. Even so, the island saluted both ships on departure with 11 guns each, the courtesy it gave every friendly foreign ship.
92	85	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. from 1st of April to 30th June 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. Ass, Asses S. Ass, Asses Total, Poultry Fowles, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining the 1st of April: 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 180, Goats Wethers 66, Goats Kids 39, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 294, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 5, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 8, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Ass 1, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowles 70, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 7 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 37, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 37, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 55, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 55, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 59, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 59, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Ass 0, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowles 16, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 4, Poultry Geese 0 Recd. the 19 April: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 9, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 9, 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 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Ass 0, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowles 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 97, Neat Cattle Calves 103, Neat Cattle Yearlings 29, Neat Cattle Heifers 37, Neat Cattle Steers 92, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 382, Sheep Ewes 436, Sheep Wethers 197, Sheep Lambs 181, Sheep Rams 16, Sheep Total 830, Goats Ewes 180, Goats Wethers 66, Goats Kids 98, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 353, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 5, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 13, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Ass 1, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowles 86, Poultry Ducks 31, Poultry Turkeys 18, Poultry Geese 7 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 10, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 12, Sheep Ewes 55, Sheep Wethers 20, Sheep Lambs 18, Sheep Rams 2, Sheep Total 95, Goats Ewes 10, Goats Wethers 18, Goats Kids 8, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 36, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs	The Company's livestock account for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1768 was presented with the plantation account. Daniel Corneille signed it, reserving the right to correct any errors. Cattle Remaining 1 April: bulls 5, cows 97, calves 66, yearlings 29, heifers 37, steers 83, oxen 19, total 336 Increase: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 37, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 0, oxen 0, total 37 Received 19 April: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 9, oxen 0, total 9 Total: bulls 5, cows 97, calves 103, yearlings 29, heifers 37, steers 92, oxen 19, total 382 Killed: bulls 0, cows 1, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 10, oxen 1, total 12 Died: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 3, steers 8, oxen 0, total 11 Remaining 30 June: bulls 5, cows 96, calves 103, yearlings 29, heifers 34, steers 74, oxen 18, total 359 Sheep Remaining 1 April: ewes 436, wethers 197, lambs 126, rams 16, total 775 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, lambs 55, rams 0, total 55 Total: ewes 436, wethers 197, lambs 181, rams 16, total 830 Killed: ewes 55, wethers 20, lambs 18, rams 2, total 95 Sold to Mr Wrangham: ewes 2, wethers 0, lambs 0, rams 0, total 2 Died: ewes 3, wethers 0, lambs 32, rams 0, total 35 Remaining 30 June: ewes 376, wethers 177, lambs 131, rams 14, total 698 Goats Remaining 1 April: ewes 180, wethers 66, kids 39, rams 9, total 294 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, kids 59, rams 0, total 59 Total: ewes 180, wethers 66, kids 98, rams 9, total 353 Killed: ewes 10, wethers 18, kids 8, rams 0, total 36 Died: ewes 1, wethers 0, kids 1, rams 0, total 2 Remaining 30 June: ewes 169, wethers 48, kids 89, rams 9, total 315 Hogs Remaining 1 April: sows 2, young hogs 5, pigs 0, boars 1, total 8 Increase: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 5, boars 0, total 5 Total: sows 2, young hogs 5, pigs 5, boars 1, total 13 Killed: 0 Died: 1 Remaining 30 June: sows 2, young hogs 4, pigs 5, boars 1, total 12 Horses Remaining 1 April: horses 4, mares 6, total 10 Remaining 30 June: horses 4, mares 6, total 10 Asses Remaining 1 April: male asses 1, female asses 0, total 1 Remaining 30 June: male asses 1, female asses 0, total 1 Poultry

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		Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Ass 0, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowles 24, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 5, Poultry Geese 0 Sold to Mr. Wrangham: 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 2, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 2, 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. Ass 0, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowles 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 3, Neat Cattle Steers 8, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 11, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 32, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 35, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 2, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses J. Ass 0, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowles 0, Poultry Ducks 1, Poultry Turkeys 1, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining 30 June: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 96, Neat Cattle Calves 103, Neat Cattle Yearlings 29, Neat Cattle Heifers 34, Neat Cattle Steers 74, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 359, Sheep Ewes 376, Sheep Wethers 177, Sheep Lambs 131, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 698, Goats Ewes 169, Goats Wethers 48, Goats Kids 89, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 315, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 12, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses J. Ass 1, Asses S. Ass 0, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowles 62, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 12, Poultry Geese 7 Slaves Born 1 Boy named Charles Plato 1 Do. Do. Simon Deceased Slaves 1 Man Named Silah 1 Boy Do. Guinia Yams Expended for the Slaves 89,835 Yams Do. for the Stock 13,650 103,485 E. Excepted Signed Dan Corneille	Remaining 1 April: fowls 70, ducks 25, turkeys 14, geese 7 Increase: fowls 16, ducks 6, turkeys 4, geese 0 Total: fowls 86, ducks 31, turkeys 18, geese 7 Killed: fowls 24, ducks 12, turkeys 5, geese 0 Died: fowls 0, ducks 1, turkeys 1, geese 0 Remaining 30 June: fowls 62, ducks 18, turkeys 12, geese 7 Two boys were born to the Company's slaves during the quarter, and a man and a boy died. 1 boy born, named Charles Plato 1 boy born, named Simon 1 man died, named Selah 1 boy died, named Guinea During the quarter 89,835 lb of yams were issued to the slaves and 13,650 lb to the stock, a total of 103,485 lb. **Interpretations** The nine steers received on 19 April were the bullocks Captain Hasell brought from the Cape in the *Earl of Middlesex*. The Council paid £55 15s 0d for them by bill on 25 April. Hasell had charged for 12 animals, including three that died on board, and all nine survivors reached the Company's herd. Thirty-seven calves were born in the southern autumn. With the Cape cattle, the herd grew from 336 to 359 despite 23 losses. The Company's patient building of its herd was paying off. The sheep and goats bore the cost of the busy season. Ninety-five sheep and 36 goats were killed in three months, far more than in the previous quarter. The Company's table took 500 lb of mutton in May alone. Thirty-two lambs died, probably young animals born late in the season that could not survive the onset of the cooler, wetter weather. The flock fell from 775 to 698. The yams issued to the slaves rose almost threefold, from 32,060 lb in the first quarter to 89,835 lb. The harvest of the island's staple root crop came in the southern autumn, and the Company fed its slaves on fresh yams while they lasted. The larger issue also suggests that Bengal salt meat, much of which had been thrown into the sea as unfit, was being replaced in the slaves' diet by the plantation's own produce. Charles Plato was named like many of the island's slaves after a figure from classical antiquity. Guinea was named after the West African coast, the region from which he or his family had probably been taken.
93	86	11th July In Consequence of our having prohibited the Punch House keepers to sell Arrack to Slaves we came to a Resolution of serving the Honble Company's Slaves with a Reasonable Allowance of Arrack Pr. Week in order to keep them hearty and enable them to do their Work, The Men at three Drams each Women and Working Boys at two Drams Pr. Week which consumption amounts to about Nineteen Gallons Weekly - The Governor this day laid before the Board the following Minute viz. - St. Helena 11th July 1768 The Governor begs leave to observe with regard to Mr. Corneilles - ungrounded charge against him, and also with respect to the Minutes, which Capt. Kirkpatricks retracting, what he had before signed, have occasioned, that he believes Capt. Kirkpatrick had no other motive in view, for his Conduct in that particular, than a Conscientious regard to what he believed to	Since the Council had now forbidden the punch house keepers to sell arrack to slaves, it resolved to issue the Company's slaves a reasonable allowance of arrack each week. The aim was to keep them in good heart and able to do their work. The men were to receive three drams each, and the women and working boys two drams each, every week. This would use about 19 gallons a week. The Governor laid before the Board the following minute, dated at St Helena on 11 July 1768. The Governor wished to comment on Corneille's unfounded charge against him, and on the minutes that Kirkpatrick's withdrawal of what he had signed had caused. He believed that Kirkpatrick had acted from no motive other than a conscientious regard for what he believed to be true. The Governor also recalled what happened when Corneille asked the members of Council for their views on his conduct at the Board. Purling then said, in answer to Corneille, that he had heard the Governor tell Corneille during a debate between them that he was not to dictate to the Board, but should freely give his views in turn, when asked. Kirkpatrick then said that he could only say the same, and that they might sign it together. Purling, however, wrote something different, which the Governor considered must have been the whole of what Kirkpatrick would then have signed.

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		be true, The Governor likewise thinks that when the Lieut. Governor made application to the Members of Council, for their opinions relative to his own Conduct at the Board, that Mr. Purling then said in answer to Mr. Corneille that he would say he heard the Governor tell Mr. Corneille in a debate between him and the Engineer, that he was not to dictate to the Board, but freely speak his sentiments in turn, when asked, at which time Capt. Kirkpatrick said he could only declare the same, and that they might sign together, - which if Mr. Purling had then wrote, as he was going to do, The Governor must think would have been the whole of what they would have then signed, As the Governor imagines that Mr. Purling did not mean to exculpate Mr. Corneille; altho' he has represented Mr. Purlings Paper, as containing an acquital of having ever assumed more upon him, than was consistant with his duty, and respect due to Mr. Skottowe, for which reason, the Governor requests ... Mr. Purling will please to answer the two following Questions Whether he meant to countenance Mr. Corneille in all his behaviour	The Governor believed that Purling had no grounds to clear Corneille, although Purling's paper had stated that Corneille was free of taking more upon himself than was consistent with his duty and the respect owed to the Governor. For that reason the Governor asked Purling to answer the following two questions. First, whether he meant to approve Corneille in all his conduct **Interpretations** Once the slaves were cut off from the punch houses, the Company stepped in to give them arrack itself. The Council could have left them with no spirit at all. It chose a weekly ration instead, three drams for men and two for women and boys, and it gave its reason: to keep them in good heart and fit for work. The ban on sales to slaves was meant to stop drinking that was uncontrolled and paid for with stolen goods or money from outside the plantation. A fixed ration, issued by the overseers, kept arrack as a reward the Company controlled. It also meant no slave had any reason to steal in order to buy drink. The same reasoning underlay the Governor's defence of the measured arrack served to the workmen on the batteries. The Governor now joined the dispute openly. He defended Kirkpatrick's sincerity and turned on Purling. In the Governor's account, what was agreed in Council on 13 June went no further than confirming his words to Corneille. The wider clearance of Corneille's conduct, he argued, had been added by Purling when he wrote the paper. Kirkpatrick had said in his retraction that he withdrew precisely that part. By putting formal questions to Purling, the Governor was demanding that a junior councillor say on the record whether he sided with Corneille. The quarrel that began as a dispute between the Governor and his deputy had now drawn in every member of the Board.
94	87	1768 since his arrival as Lieut. Governor - Whether he meant to Exculpate Mr. Corneille from having ever - assumed more in Council, than in Consideration of his being second at that Board, should have been admitted off. - To which Answers the Governor will confine every thing he chuses to say, or reply to Mr. Corneilles Accusation; - And shall only add that as it has been suggested, that some of the late proceedings in Council, have been Calculated, with a view to create Divisions between the Governor and some of the Members of this Board, he therefore takes this opportunity of declaring, that all attempts for this purpose, which nevertheless he has no reason to suspect will be found ineffectual, as the whole Tenour of his Conduct, since being on this Island, must he thinks, convince every one of his utter Aversion to all parties and disputes whatsoever, which so far as he has been - concerned, he has always endeavoured to avoid, by every Condescention and Decorum consistent with his Station and Character: and cannot avoid - observing in this Place, That had the same desire of Concord and unanimity been equally prevalent with every Member of this Board, he believes that all the disagreements which have subsisted for some time past: and - particularly the late disagreeable disputes which must be highly	The Governor's first question asked whether Purling meant to approve Corneille's conduct in everything since he arrived as Lieutenant Governor. The second asked whether Purling meant to clear Corneille of ever having taken more upon himself in Council than should have been allowed him as second at the Board. The Governor said he would confine everything he chose to say in reply to Corneille's charge to Purling's answers. He added one further point. It had been suggested that some of the recent proceedings in Council were designed to create division between the Governor and some members of the Board. He therefore took the opportunity to declare that any such attempts would fail, although he had no reason to suspect any were being made. The whole course of his conduct since he came to the island must, he thought, have convinced everyone of his complete dislike of all parties and disputes. As far as he was concerned, he had always tried to avoid them by every concession and allowance consistent with his position and character. He could not help remarking that, if every member of the Board had shared the same wish for harmony and agreement, he believed all the disagreements of recent times could have been avoided. That applied especially to the latest unpleasant dispute, which must greatly displease the Company. The Governor's whole conduct had no other aim than to carry on the Company's business together with the Council, with the agreement, decorum and proper order of rank so necessary in any well-ordered government. Nor had he any greater ambition than to promote, by every means in his power, the spirit of harmony and friendly society so essential to the well-being and happiness of the settlement. The Governor signed the minute. Purling's reply to the Governor's two questions followed.

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		disgusting to our Honorable Employers, might have been avoided, The Governors whole Conduct has no other tendency, than to carry on the Company's business, in concurrence with the Council, with that unanimity Decorum and proper subordination, so necessary in all well regulated Governments; nor has he any greater Ambition than to promote by every method in his power, that spirit of Concord and friendly society, so essential to the well being and happiness of the Settlement Signed John Skottowe Mr. Purling's reply to the Governor's two Questions To the first	**Interpretations** The Governor's two questions were framed so that any answer helped him. If Purling said he approved all of Corneille's conduct since his arrival, he would appear to take Corneille's side in every past quarrel, which no cautious councillor would claim. If he said he did not, he would weaken the clearance he had written on 13 June. The second question narrowed the test to the precise charge in the Governor's private letter: whether Corneille had taken more than his due as second at the Board. The Governor said he would rest his whole reply to Corneille on Purling's answers. That shifted the burden of proof from his own private letter onto a junior councillor's words. The phrase proper order of rank carried the Governor's view of the dispute. He saw the Council as a body in which each member knew his place, the Lieutenant Governor below the Governor. Corneille had insisted on his right to speak freely and to take his objections to the Court. The Governor's closing declaration of peace placed the blame for the quarrel on members who had not shared his wish for harmony, without naming them.
95	88	11th July That he never meant to vindicate Mr. Corneille in any part of his Conduct more than was relating to his Station in Council and to what appeared there, as he could not possibly presume to Judge of Circumstances that probably have happened between the Governor and Lieut. Governor in their stations independent of what passed in the current and public course of business, and to what appeared there his exculpation extends and no further To the Second With regard to this Question he can only Answer, That if the Governor had thought Mr. Corneille had at any time assumed more at the Board than should have been admitted of, in his Station as Second, it was his (the Governors) business, as president, and not Mr. Purling's, to have taken notice thereof and checked it: Had any such thing appeared and his opinion been asked, he should, according to reason and the nature of the Circumstances, have readily concurred with the Governor in any proper measure for that purpose - Signed M. Purling Mr. Purling begs leave to put one Question to the Governor - requesting he will be pleased to Answer it - Whether upon Debates which have happened in Council, it ever appeared to him, that Mr. Purling in the least sided or joined in opinion with Mr. Corneille more than was reasonable upon the state of the Question, & whether upon such Debates he has not frequently differed in Opinion from Mr. Corneille & always shewed a readiness of being free & independent of any Bias whatsoever - The Governor cheerfully embraces the opportunity afforded him by	To the first question, Purling replied that he had never meant to defend Corneille in any part of his conduct beyond what related to his place in Council and what had happened there. He could not presume to judge matters that might have passed between the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor in their offices outside the ordinary public course of business. His clearance of Corneille covered only what had happened in Council, and nothing more. To the second question, Purling could only answer this. If the Governor had thought that Corneille at any time took more upon himself at the Board than should have been allowed him as second, it was the Governor's business, as President, to notice it and check it, not Purling's. Had any such thing happened and had Purling's opinion been asked, he would readily have joined the Governor in any proper measure for that purpose, as reason and the circumstances required. Purling signed his answer. Purling then asked leave to put one question to the Governor and asked him to answer it. During the debates that had taken place in Council, had it ever seemed to the Governor that Purling sided or agreed with Corneille in the least, beyond what was reasonable on the facts of the question? Or had Purling not often differed in opinion from Corneille and always shown himself ready to act freely and without any bias at all? The Governor gladly took the opportunity offered him **Interpretations** Purling's answers avoided both of the Governor's traps. He limited his clearance of Corneille to what he had personally seen at the Board. That was exactly what a councillor could honestly vouch for, and it left the Governor free to hold a different view of conduct outside the Council. On the second question, he turned the charge back on the Governor. If Corneille had overstepped his place, it had been the Governor's duty as President of the Council to check him there and then. Purling, in effect, observed that the minutes recorded no such check. The Governor's grievance had appeared only in his private letter, not in the Council's proceedings. Purling then put his own question, and it brought the Governor face to face with the charge that Purling was Corneille's ally. The minutes of the past year bore Purling out. In the vote on James Black's imprisonment on 9 May 1768, Purling had voted with the Governor and Kirkpatrick to remit the sentence, while Corneille voted against. By inviting the Governor to answer, Purling forced him to confirm on the record that

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			Purling was independent, or to accuse him without proof.
96	89	1768 by the Question to which Mr. Purling requests his Answer, of doing Justice to that Impartiality and unbiassed regard to the Company's Interest which he has uniformly shewn on all Debates that have at any time arose in Council - Captain Kirkpatrick's Answer to the Lieut. Governor's Paper of last Monday &c. In Answer to the Lieut. Governors Paper (for I know not - what name to give it) given in on Monday the 4th Instant, I have only to remark that the Indecency of the Language and the many Invectives it contains will be I hope considered by our Honble Masters as a full refutation of his own Contents, Nor do I deem myself much injured by the Word fallacious, as he has treated the Governor in a preceeding Paper with the same spirit of Invectives, I leave the Honble the Court of Directors to Judge between him and me, and when both our Characters are put into the Scale, it will appear to them, who is Incendiary and which of us has fomented this Contest. In support of some part of my Letter - wherein I mentioned, I would, if obliged, carry my speculations further - about him, I beg leave to call some Evidence to assist me in carrying on the Charge - Signed 11th July 1768 Thos. Kirkpatrick In Answer to Mr. Purlings Paper of recrimination given into the Board the 4th Inst. I apply to the Governor for his Candid - Opinion	The Governor gladly took the chance Purling's question gave him to do justice to Purling. Purling had always shown fairness and an unbiased regard for the Company's interest in every debate that had arisen in Council. Captain Kirkpatrick then gave his answer to the paper Corneille had laid before the Board on Monday 4 July 1768. He said he did not know what to call it. He would remark only that the improper language and the many insults it contained would, he hoped, be seen by the Court as a full answer to its contents. He did not consider himself much injured by being called fallacious, since Corneille had treated the Governor with the same spirit of abuse in an earlier paper. He left the Court of Directors to judge between them. When both their characters were weighed, it would be clear which of them was the firebrand who had stirred up the quarrel. In support of the part of his letter in which he said that, if obliged, he would take his conjectures further, he asked leave to call some witnesses to help him bring the charge. Kirkpatrick signed his answer on 11 July 1768. In answer to the paper of counter-charges that Purling had given in to the Board on 4 July, Kirkpatrick appealed to the Governor for his honest opinion **Interpretations** The Governor's reply to Purling's question was a full clearance. He confirmed on the record that Purling had shown no bias in any debate. That undercut Kirkpatrick's suggestion that Purling had acted as Corneille's partisan. It also left the Governor's own charge against Corneille resting on Kirkpatrick alone. Of the four members, Purling had now been cleared by both sides of the dispute, and Kirkpatrick stood as Corneille's only accuser at the Board. Kirkpatrick did not answer Corneille's demand for specific charges with specifics. He dismissed the paper as abuse and left judgement to the Court. He did, however, take up Corneille's challenge to the extent of asking leave to call witnesses. If he did so, the Council would move from an exchange of papers to something close to a hearing, with evidence given against its own Lieutenant Governor. Corneille had dared him to prove his hints. Kirkpatrick now signalled that he would try.
97	90	11th July opinion thereof, I confess that had Mr. Purling Limited his Opinion to that part which refers to the dispute between Mr. Corneille and the Engineer, when the Governor told the former that he was not to dictate to the Board but give his opinion when asked I should have invariably Concurred therewith, and acquiesced with the measure then taken as to that: But when he carried his opinion, still farther, I declare that, altho' I had, as I said before, signed that Paper, Yet upon a due Examination of myself I was in conscience obliged to retract my part in it, as I could not answer to my self for having done so, I call God to Witness the Sincerity of my Intentions, and as I had no other method to remedy my inadvertency, I have done so without any other View but that of Justice - Signed 11th July 1768 Thos. Kirkpatrick - The Lieut. Governor begs leave to offer as the latter part of	Kirkpatrick appealed to the Governor for his honest opinion of Purling's paper. He admitted that, had Purling confined his opinion to the part concerning the dispute between Corneille and the engineer, he would have agreed with it without hesitation. That covered the moment when the Governor told Corneille he was not to dictate to the Board but to give his opinion when asked, and the measure then taken. Purling, however, had carried his opinion further. Kirkpatrick declared that, although he had signed the paper as he said before, on proper reflection his conscience obliged him to withdraw his part in it, because he could not justify it to himself. He called God to witness the sincerity of his intentions. Since he had no other way to correct his oversight, he had done so with no aim but justice. Kirkpatrick signed his answer on 11 July 1768. Corneille then spoke to the last part of Kirkpatrick's minute. There Kirkpatrick offered himself as an accuser to bring a charge against the Lieutenant Governor, of a kind Corneille still did not know, and asked leave to call witnesses on what he meant to prove. Corneille asked the Governor and Council to allow Kirkpatrick to call any witnesses he thought fit, on this or any other matter he had to allege against the Lieutenant Governor.

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		Captain Kirkpatricks Minute he offers himself as a prosecutor to carry on a charge against the Lieut. Governor (of what nature he is yet unacquainted) and begs leave to call upon some Evidences in regard to what he means to prove, the Lieut. Governor requests of the Governor and Council that Capt. Kirkpatrick may be allowed to call upon whatever Evidences he thinks proper in the above or in any other thing that he has to alledge against the Lieut. Governor - Upon which Capt. Kirkpatrick called upon Mr. John Duffountain as an Evidence - Mr. Purling Observes that Captain Kirkpatrick called upon Mr. John Duffountain as an Evidence against	Kirkpatrick then called Mr John Desfountain as a witness. Purling observed that Kirkpatrick had called Mr John Desfountain as a witness **Interpretations** Corneille could have objected to Kirkpatrick's request, since no formal charge had been laid and Kirkpatrick had refused to name one. He did the opposite. He asked the Council to let Kirkpatrick call any witnesses he pleased, on any matter at all. The choice fitted his whole approach to the dispute. He had demanded proof rather than hints. Opening the door to witnesses was the surest way to force Kirkpatrick to show his hand in the open minutes. If the evidence proved weak, the failure would be on record for the Court to see. Kirkpatrick's explanation now rested on his conscience and an oath before God. He conceded that the facts in the joint paper were true and objected only to Purling's wider clearance of Corneille. On the facts themselves, all four witnesses and both councillors had now agreed. The quarrel had narrowed to a single question of judgement: whether Corneille had ever overstepped his place. Kirkpatrick proposed to settle that question by calling a witness. The Desfountain family were island settlers. Samuel Desfountain was a lieutenant in the First Company, Kirkpatrick's own company, so the witness had close ties to the man who called him.
98	91	1768 against the Lieut. Governor before any Charge was exhibited to the Board The Lieut. Governor begs leave that the Board may demand a Charge from Capt. Kirkpatrick before any Witnesses are called, that he may know what to say in his Defence - Captn. Kirkpatricks Charge - Captn. Kirkpatrick says that he has been informed by Mr. Duffountain the Lieut. Governor has appropriated the Honble Company's property to his own use and profit and begs that Mr. Jno. Duffountain may be called & asked upon oath whether he did not give him such information - Mr. John Duffountain being duly sworn Deposeth that one day about a twelve Month ago Capt. Kirkpatrick and he were riding in the Long Wood together, when they saw some Hogs in Horse point Captain Kirkpatrick then asked him if he knew whose Hogs they were he told him that they were Capt. Corneilles Hogs. Capt. Kirkpatrick then said to him it would take a good deal of Yams to feed those Hogs, he told him he believed they were pretty well fed, Capt. Kirkpatrick asked him then, where Capt. Corneille got the Yams from, he answered he believed out of the Company's Plantations as he was told by the Company's Overseer that there were some thousands sent to Capt. Corneilles Hogs pr. Month from the Company's Plantations -	Purling observed that Kirkpatrick had called Mr John Desfountain as a witness against the Lieutenant Governor before any charge had been laid before the Board. Corneille asked the Board to demand a charge from Captain Kirkpatrick before any witnesses were called, so that he would know what he had to answer in his defence. Kirkpatrick then stated his charge. He said Mr Desfountain had told him that the Lieutenant Governor had taken the Company's property for his own use and profit. He asked that Mr John Desfountain be called and asked on oath whether he had not given him that information. Mr John Desfountain was sworn and gave evidence. About 12 months earlier, he and Kirkpatrick were riding together in the Long Wood when they saw some hogs in the horse pound. Kirkpatrick asked him whose hogs they were, and he said they were Captain Corneille's. Kirkpatrick remarked that it must take a great many yams to feed those hogs. Desfountain replied that he believed they were well fed. Kirkpatrick asked where Captain Corneille got the yams. Desfountain answered that he believed they came from the Company's plantations, since the Company's overseer had told him that several thousand pounds of yams were sent from the Company's plantations to Captain Corneille's hogs every month. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's charge, once stated, was the gravest that could be made against a Company officer: that Corneille had used the Company's property for his own profit. It was the matter hinted at in his private letter, when he wrote that he could take his conjectures further than a mere mistake. The evidence, however, rested on a chain of hearsay. Desfountain had not seen the yams delivered. He repeated what an unnamed overseer had told him, and he had passed it on to Kirkpatrick in casual talk while riding a year earlier. Kirkpatrick had sat on this story through months of Council business and produced it only once Corneille challenged him to prove his hints. Purling's objection that the witness was called before any charge was laid, and Corneille's demand to know the charge first, were both points of ordinary fairness. An accused man had a right to know what he

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			faced before evidence was heard against him. The Board's agreement to state the charge first shows the Council acting, for this occasion, almost as a court. The charge touched a real point of weakness in the Company's accounts. Corneille, as Lieutenant Governor, had charge of the Company's plantation and signed its quarterly livestock account. Those accounts recorded tens of thousands of pounds of yams issued each quarter, 13,650 lb to the stock in the quarter just ended. They gave no separate line for the Lieutenant Governor's own animals. If any of the yams went to private hogs, they would have disappeared into the issue to the stock with no one able to tell the difference.
99	92	11th July Captn. Kirkpatrick puts the following Question to Mr. Duffountain whether or no he can inform the Governor and Council with regard to twelve Sheep of the Honble Company's that was sent on board the Lord Camden in May 1767 Mr. Jno. Duffountain says that in a privately Conversation he did mention something with regard to the twelve Sheep; he imagined he spoke it with safety at that time, He told Capt. Kirkpatrick that he was informed that there were twelve of the Company's Sheep that the Governor had ordered to be brought down to the Valley to be sent on board of Ship a present to Governor Bath, he was - likewise told that Capt. Corneille had sent for George Bazett & told him to make a Bill for those twelve Sheep, & carry it & get the Money for them, George - Bazett made the Bill and got the Money and paid it to Capt. Corneille - The Lieut. Governor desires to ask Mr. John Duffountain, as he lives contiguous to the Wood whether he has any thing further to alledge with respect to any misconduct in the management of the Company's Stock or Plantations - He replies none at all - Captn. Kirkpatrick calls upon Mr. George Bazett the Company's Steward and asked him to declare whether or no he was sent by the Lieut. Governor to Capt. Smith of the Lord Camden to present him a Bill for twelve Wethers of the Honble Company's sent on board his Ship, whether Mr. Bazett did not receive the Money for those twelve Wethers of Capt. Smith, and paid to the Lieut. Governor - Mr. George Bazett being duly Sworn Deposeth that there were twelve Sheep Sold to the Lord Camden which Money he received from Mr. Snow the Purser and paid to Capt. Corneille on the 11 May 1767 - The Governor asks Capt. Kirkpatrick whether he has any thing further	Kirkpatrick then asked Mr Desfountain whether he could tell the Governor and Council anything about 12 of the Company's sheep sent aboard the *Lord Camden* in May 1767. Mr John Desfountain said that he had mentioned something about the 12 sheep in a private conversation, believing at the time that he could safely do so. He had told Kirkpatrick what he had heard: that the Governor had ordered 12 of the Company's sheep to be brought down to the valley and sent on board ship as a present to Governor Palk. He had also been told that Captain Corneille sent for George Bazett and told him to make out a bill for the 12 sheep, take it to the ship and collect the money. George Bazett made out the bill, collected the money and paid it to Captain Corneille. Corneille asked Mr John Desfountain, who lived next to the Long Wood, whether he had anything further to allege about any misconduct in the running of the Company's stock or plantations. He replied that he had nothing at all. Kirkpatrick then called on Mr George Bazett, the Company's steward. He asked him to declare whether he had been sent by the Lieutenant Governor to Captain Smith of the *Lord Camden* with a bill for 12 of the Company's wethers sent on board that ship, and whether he had received the money for those 12 wethers from Captain Smith and paid it to the Lieutenant Governor. Mr George Bazett was sworn and declared that 12 sheep had been sold to the *Lord Camden*. He received the money from Mr Shaw, the purser, and paid it to Captain Corneille on 11 May 1767. The Governor asked Captain Kirkpatrick whether he had anything further **Interpretations** The second charge turned on the difference between a gift and a sale. Desfountain had heard that the Governor ordered 12 of the Company's sheep sent to Governor Palk as a present. Palk was the retiring Governor of Madras, going home in the *Lord Camden*. If the sheep were a gift from the Company, nobody should have been paid for them. Yet Bazett confirmed on oath that a bill was made out, the purser paid it, and the money went to Corneille on 11 May 1767. The question was whether Corneille had then paid that money into the Company's treasury, as the proceeds of the Company's stock, or kept it. The evidence so far proved only that he received it, not what he did with it. Corneille's question to Desfountain was a careful piece of defence. Desfountain lived beside the Long Wood, where the Company's stock grazed. If he knew of any wrongdoing in the running of the herds, he was the man to know it. His answer that he had nothing at all to allege limited his evidence to two pieces of hearsay. One was the overseer's remark about yams. The other was a story about the sheep that Bazett's evidence partly confirmed and partly altered, since it showed the sheep were sold rather than given.

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100	93	1768 further to offer in support of his Charge produced the following Paper viz. On the 3 of October 1766 which was soon after the Governors Marriage, & the day before the Lieut. Governor made an entertainment for the Governor and his Wedding Guests, as I was coming from the Briars in the Afternoon, I observed five or six of the Honble Company's Slaves driving Goats into the Pursling - Wood Pound, it being an unusual time to do so, had the Curiosity to follow them to the Pound, where seeing Frank Butcher take up a very fine Kid, asked if it was for the Governor; he answered No - it was for the Deputy: Saying then the same Kid given, alive, to one Toby, who used to drive the Cart, I asked where he was going to Carry it, and was answered that he Toby - was ordered from the Wood to come there and carry a Kid, which Frank Butcher was to give him, into the Wood, for Jack Butcher to kill, and send down in the Morning to the Deputy's: And next morning happening to be at the Door or Window of my House, saw some thing of that sort carried in to Mr. Corneilles - The Governor at the Lieutenant Governors Request put the [...] Question to Capt. Kirkpatrick whether he knows the Lieut. Governor gave the Honble Company Credit for the same - He Replies he does not know - The Lieut. Governor does not sign this Consultation as he Considers himself upon his Tryal before the Board John Skottowe I except to Capt. Kirkpatricks rejoinder to my reply, and disregard Allegations I have given no Answer to it M. Purling	When the Governor asked whether he had anything further to offer in support of his charge, Kirkpatrick produced the following paper. On 3 October 1766, soon after the Governor's marriage and the day before the Lieutenant Governor gave an entertainment for the Governor and his wedding guests, Kirkpatrick was coming from the Briars in the afternoon. He saw five or six of the Company's slaves driving goats into the [...] Bed pound. It was an unusual time for this, so out of curiosity he followed them to the pound. There he saw Frank, the butcher, pick out a very fine kid. He asked whether it was for the Governor, and was told no, it was for the Deputy. He then saw the same kid handed over alive to Toby, who drove the cart, and asked Toby where he was taking it. Toby answered that he had been sent from the Wood to collect a kid that Frank the butcher was to give him, and take it to the Wood for Jack the butcher to kill and send down to the Deputy's house in the morning. The next morning, happening to be at the door or window of his house, Kirkpatrick saw something of that kind being carried to Mr Corneille's. At Corneille's request, the Governor asked Captain Kirkpatrick whether he knew if the Lieutenant Governor had credited the Company with the value of the kid. He replied that he did not know. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. Corneille did not sign this consultation, since he was to defend himself at his trial before the Board. Purling added a note to his signature. He took exception to Kirkpatrick's rejoinder to his reply, and he had given it no answer because it was irregular. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's third piece of evidence was his own account of a single kid, seen nearly two years earlier and taken from the Company's goats for a dinner Corneille gave for the Governor's wedding guests. It was the strongest of his charges in one respect, since he had seen the kid himself. In another it was the weakest. The animal was killed to feed the Governor's own guests, at an entertainment held in the Governor's honour. Officers on the island regularly drew meat for official hospitality from the Company's stock, and Corneille, who ran the plantation, was responsible for accounting for it. The question Corneille had the Governor put was the decisive one: had the Company been credited with the kid? Kirkpatrick could not say. On all three charges, his evidence showed Corneille handling Company property, but none showed that he had failed to account for it. Corneille's refusal to sign the minutes followed from the new position he was in. The consultation had become a hearing on charges against him. In his view, a man on trial could not sign the record of the proceedings as one of the judges. The phrase his trial before the Board marked how far the dispute had gone. It began with the Governor's private letter about a debate on a ditch at Sandy Bay, and it had now become a formal accusation that the Lieutenant Governor had taken the Company's property. The Briars was an estate in the valley above Jamestown. A generation later it became famous as Napoleon's first home on the island in 1815. The detail places Kirkpatrick riding down into the town from the country on the afternoon he described.
101	94	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image, affecting the totals column.] 18th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 18 day of July 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Dan Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 18 July 1768, with Governor John Skottowe in the chair. 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 July 1768.

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		The last Consultation was read approved & signed dated the 11 July 1768 The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections and the - Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st day of April and ending the 30th day of June 1768 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 1st April to the 30th June 1768 Sugar & Candy viz. 3185 Sugar 45 10 9 300 lb Candy 6 17 6 52 [...] Flour viz. 3396 lb 31 16 8 322 . 2 . 12 301 2 332 18 Sope 199 7 [...] Candles 158 lb 18 [...] Pepper 16 lb 9 Challow 8 Pieces 3 13 Starch 7½ 3 Rice & Paddy viz. 208 lb Rice 18 10 162 lb Paddy 10 1 1 [...] Carried over£ 417 [...]	James Powell, the storekeeper, brought in his record of sales, and Kirkpatrick, as paymaster, brought in his accounts, both for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1768. The Council examined and approved them. The storekeeper's record listed the goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses during the quarter. Sugar and sugar candy [...] lb of sugar, £45 10s 9d 300 lb of sugar candy, £6 17s 6d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £52 [...] Flour [...] of flour, £31 16s 8d [...] of flour baked into bread, £301 2s 0d Total for flour, £332 18s [...] 199 lb of soap, £7 4s [...] 158 lb of candles, £18 1s [...] 16 lb of pepper, £0 9s [...] 8 pieces of chelloes, £3 13s [...] 7½ lb of starch, £0 3s [...] Rice and paddy 208 lb of rice, £0 18s 10d 162 lb of paddy, £0 10s 1d Total for rice and paddy, £1 8s [...] Carried forward, £417 [...] **Interpretations** Bread sales came to almost exactly the same as in the first quarter of 1768, £301 2s 0d against £301 2s 8d. Thirty soldiers took their discharge between March and May, so a fall might have been expected. The 26 recruits who landed from the *Tilbury* in May made up most of that loss. The new men drew their bread from the Company's bakehouse in the same way, and the soldiers' bread remained the warehouse's largest sale. Sugar sales were about half those of the previous quarter, £52 against £103. By April and May most households had already bought their supply from the large Bengal and China cargoes landed between January and March. Sugar candy, of which the island had just received more than 13,500 lb in the *Latham* and the *Houghton*, sold only 300 lb. Most of that candy was kept for the Company's table and the hospital rather than sold.
102	95	1768 Brought Over£ 417 3 11 Tea viz. 48 lb Bohea 2 8 16 lb Congo 1 2 6 Singlo 8 3 3 18 3 Long Cloth viz. 2 Ps. L 10 15 8 12½ Ps. K 17 . 2 1 Ps. C 3 12 3 1 Ps. W 3 10 5 36 18 6 Books 2 Common Prayer Books 5 10 Paint viz. 6 lb Indico 11 6 28 Whiting 2 4 ½ lb Blue Smalts 11 1½ Stone Colour 3 3	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £417 3s 11d. Brought forward, £417 3s 11d Tea 40 lb of Bohea tea, £2 3s 0d 16 lb of Congou tea, £1 2s 0d 6 lb of Singlo tea, £0 8s 3d Total for tea, £3 13s 3d Longcloth 2 pieces marked C, £10 15s 8d 12½ pieces marked X, £17 0s 2d 1 piece marked &, £3 12s 3d 1 piece marked Y, £3 10s 5d Total for longcloth, £36 18s 6d Books, 2 Books of Common Prayer, £0 5s 10d Paint 6 lb of indigo, £0 11s 6d 28 lb of whiting, £0 2s 4d 1 lb of blue smalt, £0 0s 11d 1½ lb of stone colour, £0 3s 3d Total for paint, £1 0s 0d Twine 7 skeins of twine, £0 4s 4d 7 lb of cotton wick, £1 3s 5d Total for twine, £1 7s 9d Ironware 3 splinter locks, £0 1s 7½d 2 small frying pans, £0 4s 5d 3 blank keys, £0 2s 1½d 2 two-foot rules, £0 2s 2½d 2 pairs of wool cards, £0 4s 9d

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		1 Twine viz. 7 Skains Twine 4 4 9½ Cotton Wick 1 3 5 1 7 9 Iron Ware viz. 3 Splinter Locks 1 7½ 2 Small Frying Pans 4 5 3 Blank Keys 2 1½ 2 Two foot Rules 2 2½ 2 Pr. Wool Cards 4 9 2 Pr. H L hinges 4 3 1 Jack Chain 1 11½ 1 Stock Lock 3 2 1 Brass Closet Do. 4 9 1 Iron rimd Lock wt. Brass Knobs 6 9 4 Mouse Traps 2 6 1 18 6 Carried over£ 462 7 9	2 pairs of H hinges, £0 4s 3d 1 jack chain, £0 1s 11½d 1 stock lock, £0 3s 2d 1 brass closet lock, £0 4s 9d 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs, £0 6s 9d 4 mousetraps, £0 2s 6d Total for ironware, £1 18s 6d Carried forward, £462 7s 9d **Interpretations** Tea sales were far lower than in the previous quarter. Employees bought only 40 lb of Bohea, against 101 lb from January to March and 219½ lb at the end of 1767. The warehouse had evidently run short of tea. The *Vansittart* brought the first China tea of the season for the island in June, and it reached the warehouse only at the very end of the quarter. Wool cards were pairs of flat wooden boards set with rows of fine wire teeth. Wool was drawn between them to comb out the fibres before spinning. Their sale shows that some households on the island spun yarn from their own sheep's wool, though most cloth was still imported from England and India. A jack chain was a light chain made of figure-of-eight links, used to hang lamps and to turn a roasting spit before the fire. Mousetraps were sold because rats and mice were a constant pest on the island. They had come ashore from ships long before and did great damage to grain and stored food.
103	96	18th July Brought over£ 462 7 9 Nails viz. ½ . 2 10½ 1 . 3 3 4 4 . 3 2 8 4 . 4 10 16 . 6 1 ½ 2 . 10 1 3½ 3 . 20 6 8 2 Glazing Brads 1 3½ ½ Round Headed Tacks 1 10½ ½ Tin'd Do. 1 6 1 China Ware viz. 91 Saucers 1 17 11 33 Bowls 1 18 6 3 Guglets & Basons 15 1 Octagon Sett China 1 6 5 6 Soop Plates 6 2 3 Tureens & Dishes 1 4 1 Tea Pot 11 3 Sallet Dishes 2 7 7 11 8 Turners Ware viz. 1 Mop	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £462 7s 9d. Brought forward, £462 7s 9d Nails 1 [...] of twopenny nails, £0 0s 10¼d 4 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 3s 4d 4 [...] of fourpenny nails, £0 2s 8d 16 [...] of sixpenny nails, £0 10s 0d 2 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 1s 0½d 5 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 1s 3¾d 2 [...] of glaziers' brads, £0 0s 8d 3½ [...] of round-headed tacks, £0 1s 3½d ¾ [...] of round tacks, £0 1s 10½d Total for nails, £1 6s 1d China 91 sneakers, £1 17s 11d 33 bowls, £1 18s 6d 5 guglets and basins, £0 15s 0d 1 octagonal set of china, £1 6s 5d 6 soup plates, £0 6s 2d 3 tureens with dishes, £1 4s 0d 1 teapot, £0 0s 11d 3 salad dishes, £0 2s 9d Total for china, £7 11s 8d Wooden ware 1 mop, £0 1s 5d 1 labourer's basket, £0 1s 5d 2 plasterers' brushes, £0 2s 5d Total for wooden ware, £0 5s 3d Hooks and lines 225 hooks of size 1, £0 12s 9d 100 hooks of size 9, £0 3s 1d 50 hooks of size 14, £0 0s 6¼d 50 hooks of size 16, £0 0s 3½d 25 hooks of size 11, £0 0s 5¼d Hooks and lines carried forward, £0 17s 1d Carried forward, £471 10s 9d **Interpretations** The china sales came from the cargoes landed by the *Northumberland* and the *Osterley* in March. Those ships brought blue and white table sets, tureens, guglets, bowls and more than 250 sneakers from Canton. Employees bought 91 sneakers in the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 5 1 Labourers Basket 1 5 2 Plaisterers Brushes 2 5 5 3 Hooks & Lines viz. 225 No. 1 Hooks 12 9 100 . 9 Do. 3 1 50 . 14 Do. 6½ 50 . 16 Do. 3½ 25 . 11 Do. 3¼ Hooks & Lines Carried over£ 17 1 Carried Over£ 471 10 7	quarter, along with a complete octagonal table set. The low prices at Canton made Chinese porcelain cheap enough for ordinary households on the island. A set of china cost £1 6s 5d, less than half a private soldier's pay for the quarter. Fishing tackle again sold well, but less than in the first quarter of 1768, when more than 1,600 hooks went out. The southern winter was setting in by June. Rougher seas and shorter days cut down the fishing from the rocks and small boats that the garrison relied on to stretch its rations in the summer months.
104	97	1768 Brought over£ 471 10 9 Hooks & Lines brought over£ 17 1 72 No. 2 Lines 1 3 36 . 3 Do. 13 3 6 . 4 Do. 2 5 2 Hambro Do. 3 6 2 19 3 Cutlery Ware viz. 11 Pr. Leathr. Garters 6 10½ 4 Butchers Knives 1 8 6 Buckling Combs 1 10½ 1 Chopping Knife 1 5½ 5 Horn Combs 11½ 12 10 Hosiers Ware viz. 12 Pr. Ordy. Thread Stockings 1 18 6 1 Pr. Buff Breeches 13 10 18 Pr. India Cotton Stockings 8 6 6 10 18 10 Tin Ware viz. 3 Half Gallon Sauce Pans 2 3½ 1 Lamp 9½ 1 Kettle wt. Cover 3 8 6 9 Shoes viz. 16 Pr. Mens fine Shoes 4 17 4 18 Pr. Do. Do. Pumps 4 19 16 Pr. Womens Calimanco 3 8 1 Pr. Chanl. Pumps 6 7 13 10 11 Thread viz. 2 Whited Brown 14 8 2 Coloured 7 1 oz. Nuns	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £471 10s 9d. Brought forward, £471 10s 9d Hooks and lines Hooks and lines brought forward, £0 17s 1d 72 lines of size 2, £1 3s 0d 36 lines of size 3, £0 13s 3d 6 lines of size 4, £0 2s 5d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 3s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £2 19s 3d Cutlery 11 pairs of leather garters, £0 6s 10½d 4 butcher's knives, £0 1s 8d 6 tucking combs, £0 1s 10½d 1 chopping knife, £0 1s 5½d 5 horn combs, £0 0s 11½d Total for cutlery, £0 12s 10d Hosiery 12 pairs of ordinary thread stockings, £1 18s 6d 1 pair of buff breeches, £0 13s 10d 18 pairs of Indian cotton stockings, £8 6s 6d Total for hosiery, £10 18s 10d Tinware 3 half-gallon saucepans, £0 2s 3½d 1 lamp, £0 0s 9½d 1 kettle with lid, £0 3s 8d Total for tinware, £0 6s 9d Shoes 16 pairs of men's fine shoes, £4 17s 4d 18 pairs of men's fine pumps, £4 19s 0d 16 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £3 8s 0d 1 pair of channel pumps, £0 6s 7d Total for shoes, £13 10s 11d Thread 2 lb of whited-brown thread, £0 14s 8d 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 7s 0d 1 [...] of nuns' thread, £0 2s 3d Total for thread, £1 3s 11d Carried forward, £501 3s 3d **Interpretations** The 18 pairs of Indian cotton stockings were the last of the 50 pairs landed from the *Hector* in February. They sold at more than 9s a pair, about three times the price of English thread stockings. On 25 May 1768 the Council had asked Madras to send 50 more pairs in a larger size, because those from the *Hector* had proved too small. Despite that, employees bought every pair, which shows how much they valued the finer cotton. Sixteen pairs of women's calamanco shoes were sold in a single quarter. Only one pair had been sold in the last quarter of 1767. The shoes probably came out in the *Tilbury* or the *Duke of Richmond*, the first English ships of the year. They show a real demand from the soldiers' wives and the island's women for footwear the eastern ships never carried. Buff

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		2 3 1 3 11 Carried Over£ 501 3 3	breeches were made of thick ox hide dressed with oil to a soft yellow finish. They were worn by officers and for riding, and they lasted far longer than cloth.
105	98	The 18 July Brought over£ 501 3 3 Coffee 10 lb. " 9 2 Shirts viz. 10 Chequd. Shirts 3 3 11 2½ Yds. Brown Holland " 5 1 1 Do. Irish Linen 1 15 7 5 4 7 Broad Cloth viz. 4 Yds. Dark Brown 3 16 - 2½ Do. Black 2 9 1 4 3/8 Do. Blue 4 4 7 4 3/4 Do. Light Brown 4 11 5 3 3/4 Do. Scarlet 4 5 - 19 6 1 Haberdashery viz. 1 Gro. Horn Moulds " 2 5½ 1 Cockade " " 1½ 18 Sk. Silk " 10 6 9 Do. Mohair " 4 6 5 Yds. White Buckram " 6 ½ 1 Whale Bone " 6 7½ ½ Gro. Shirt Buttons " 1 3 1 Dozn. Metl. C[...] Buttons " " 9 20 Ps. Tape " 1 3 1 18 9 Cordage 28 lb. 5 7 9 Rozin 6 lb. 1 - Rice 1½ Bushel 11 8 Beef and Pork viz. 1208 lb. Beef 120 16 - 2219 Do. Pork 221 18 - 342 14 - Leather 59 Soles 2 14 1 Carried over£ 879 5 4	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees continued from a total of £501 3s 3d. Brought forward, £501 3s 3d 10 lb of coffee, £0 9s 2d Shirts 13 check shirts, £3 3s 11d 2½ yards of brown holland, £0 5s 1d 1 piece of Irish linen, £1 15s 7d Total for shirts, £5 4s 7d Broadcloth 4 yards of dark brown broadcloth, £3 16s 0d 2½ yards of black broadcloth, £2 9s 1d 4⅜ yards of blue broadcloth, £4 4s 7d 4¾ yards of light brown broadcloth, £4 11s 5d 3¾ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £4 5s 0d Total for broadcloth, £19 6s 1d Haberdashery 1 gross of horn button moulds, £0 2s 5½d 1 cockade, £0 0s 4½d 18 skeins of silk, £0 10s 6d 9 skeins of mohair, £0 4s 6d 5 yards of white buckram, £0 6s 0½d 1 [...] of whalebone, £0 6s 7½d ½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 1s 3d 1 dozen metal coat buttons, £0 0s 9d 2 pieces of tape, £0 1s 3d Total for haberdashery, £1 13s 9d 287 lb of cordage, £5 7s 9d 6 lb of rosin, £0 1s 0d 1⅜ bushels of pease, £0 11s 8d Beef and pork 1,208 pieces of beef, £120 16s 0d 2,219 pieces of pork, £221 18s 0d Total for beef and pork, £342 14s 0d 59 lb of sole leather, £2 14s 1d Carried forward, £879 5s 4d **Interpretations** Broadcloth sales rose sharply. Employees bought nearly 20 yards in five colours for £19 6s 1d, more than in any recent quarter. The cloth came out in the *Tilbury* and the *Duke of Richmond*, the first English ships of the year, and officers and better-off settlers bought it as soon as it was landed. Dark brown, light brown and black were colours for civilian coats. Blue and scarlet were for military dress. The silk, mohair, buttons, buckram and whalebone sold alongside them show tailors on the island making up the cloth into finished garments. Beef and pork sales held steady at about £340, all at the fixed price of 2s a piece. The salt meat bought from the *Earl of Elgin*, the *British King* and the *Northington* in May and June went straight into this trade at the price the Council had paid for it. The Company neither lost nor gained on the meat. It existed to feed the garrison, whose pay was largely recovered through the stoppages for bread and salt provisions.
106	99	1768 Brought Over£ 879 5 4 Canvas viz. 6 Yds. Eng. Canvas " 7 9 6 Yds. Oznabrigs " 5 3 " 13 Kersey 1½ Yds. " 6 1 Salt 1½ Bushel " 5 7	The record of goods sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost ended with the following items. Brought forward, £879 5s 4d Canvas 6 yards of English canvas, £0 7s 9d 6 yards of osnaburg, £0 5s 3d Total for canvas, £0 13s 0d 4 yards of kersey, £0 6s 1d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 5s 7d 1½ yards of ticking, £0 6s 0d 2 boys' hats, £0 13s 6d

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		Ticking 1½ Yds. " 6 Hatts 2 Boys " 13 6 Arrack 5½ Gall. 1 6 3 Flannel 2 Yds. " 3 7 Shalloon viz. 3 Yds. Scarlet " 8 ½ 7 Do. Cold. " 14 3½ 1 2 4 Glass Ware viz. 30 Wine Glasses " 14 ½ 2 Tumblers " 1 4 6 Sq. Glass 6 by 8 " 2 3 4 Sq. Do. 8 by 10 " 2 6 2 Sq. Do. 10 by 12 " 2 5½ 1 2 11 Deals viz. 1 Single Deal " 2 6 1½ Wainst. Board " 10 6 " 13 Long Ells 7 Yds. Blue " 12 6 Serge 4 Yds. Scarlet Sagathy " 13 2 £ 887 3 3	5¼ gallons of arrack, £1 6s 3d 2 yards of flannel, £0 3s 7d Shalloon 3 yards of scarlet shalloon, £0 8s 0½d 7 yards of coloured shalloon, £0 14s 3½d Total for shalloon, £1 2s 4d Glassware 30 wine glasses, £0 14s 11½d 2 tumblers, £0 1s 4d 6 panes of glass 6 by 8 inches, £0 2s 3d 4 panes of glass 8 by 10 inches, £0 2s 6d 2 panes of glass 10 by 12 inches, £0 2s 5½d Total for glassware, £1 2s 11d Deals 1 single deal, £0 2s 6d 1½ wainscot boards, £0 10s 6d Total for deals, £0 13s 0d 7 yards of blue long ells, £0 12s 6d 4 yards of scarlet serge, £0 13s 2d Total sold to employees at 10 per cent, £887 3s 3d **Interpretations** Arrack sales to employees fell to 5¼ gallons, from 34 gallons in the first quarter of 1768. The fall followed the Court's orders on drink and the Council's new rules. Employees had used to buy arrack cheaply from the warehouse and sell it on by the glass. The Council's notice of 4 July forbade that retail trade, and the warehouse now sold only small quantities for household use. The figure shows the reform taking effect in the Company's own accounts even before the new licences were issued. Thirty wine glasses were sold in one quarter, most of them probably from the English store ships. Glassware broke easily on the voyage. The *Tilbury* had lost a wine glass and several panes on the way out, and the warehouse sold its stock quickly whenever a fresh supply arrived. Total sales to employees came to £887 3s 3d for the quarter, against £1,008 3s 11d in the first quarter. Most of the fall came from sugar, tea and arrack. Bread and salt meat, the garrison's staples, held almost exactly level.
107	100	The 18 July Sold to the Planters at 25 P Cent viz. Shoes viz. 4 Pr. Mens fine Shoes 1 7 6 4 Do. Do. Do. Pumps 1 5 - 2 12 6 Hatts viz. 2 Mens Hatts 2 4 - 1 Boys Do. " 7 9 2 11 7 Broad Cloth 5¼ Yds. Light Brown 5 14 10 Haberdashery 3 Sk. Silk " 1 9 Shalloon 1 Yd. " 10 5 Sold at 40 Pr. Cent Sugar & Candy viz. 445 lb. Sugar 9 5 5 115 lb. Candy 3 7 1 12 12 6 Flour 34 lb. 4 12 9 Tea viz. 3 lb. Bohea " 5 10	The record then turned to goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost. Shoes 4 pairs of men's fine shoes, £1 7s 6d 4 pairs of men's fine pumps, £1 5s 0d Total for shoes, £2 12s 6d Hats 2 men's hats, £2 4s 0d 1 boy's hat, £0 7s 7d Total for hats, £2 11s 7d 5¼ yards of light brown broadcloth, £5 14s 10d Haberdashery, 3 skeins of silk, £0 1s 9d 1 piece of chelloes, £0 10s 5d The record next listed goods sold at 40 per cent above cost. Sugar and sugar candy 445 lb of sugar, £9 5s 5d 115 lb of sugar candy, £3 7s 1d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £12 12s 6d 348 lb of flour, £4 12s 9d Tea 3 lb of Bohea tea, £0 5s 10d 3 lb of Congou tea, £0 6s 9d Total for tea, £0 12s 7d 1 gross of corks, £0 3s 6d 2 lb of rosin, £0 0s 5d Nails 2 [...] of fourpenny nails, 5 [...] of sixpenny nails and 6 [...] of tenpenny nails, £0 10s 0d 141¼ lb of cordage, £3 12s 1d Hooks and lines 50 hooks of size 1, £0 3s 7d

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		3 Do. Congo " 6 9 " 12 7 Corks 1 Gross " 3 6 Rozin 2 lb. " " 5 Nails viz. 2 lb. 4d. 5 .. 6 6 .. 10 " 10 - Cordage 14 1/4 lb. 3 12 1 Hooks & Lines 50 No. 1 Hooks " 3 7 25 .. 11 Do. " " 6¾ 100 .. 16 Do. " " 9 Hooks & Lines " 4 10¾ Carried over£ 83 14 10	25 hooks of size 11, £0 0s 6¾d 100 hooks of size 16, £0 0s 9d Hooks and lines carried forward, £0 4s 10¾d Carried forward, £33 14s 11d **Interpretations** The planters spent most of their money on clothing, as they had in earlier quarters. Light brown broadcloth, hats and shoes made up nearly all of their purchases. The broadcloth came out in the English ships of May and June. A planter paid about 21s 10d a yard for it at 25 per cent above cost, against roughly 19s 3d a yard for the same cloth sold to employees on the previous page. The difference reflected the two tiers of mark-up. Sugar was again the largest item sold at 40 per cent, at more than £12. Most of the buyers at that rate were the officers and passengers of visiting ships, who stocked up on cheap Chinese and Bengal sugar for the voyage home. With the shipping season ending in June, this trade fell from the £14 13s 10d of the first quarter. Tea sold at 40 per cent shows the effect of the mark-up clearly. Congou cost an outside buyer 2s 3d a pound. An employee paid about 1s 4½d a pound for the same tea on the first page of this quarter's account.
108	101	1768 Brought over£ 33 14 11 Hooks & Lines brought over£ " 4 10¾ 2 Large Hooks " " 9 30 No. 2 Lines " 12 3¼ 6 .. 3 Do. " 2 10 2 Hambro Do. " 4 6 1 5 3 China Ware viz. 2 Quarts & Basons " 10 - 2 Chamber Pots " 5 8 3 Saucers " 1 6 2 Bowls " 3 8 1 " 10 Lead 8½ lb. Shot " 2 4 Candles 7 lb. 1 2 2 Coffee 8 lb. " 4 8 Soap 12 lb. " 12 6 Paint viz. 45 lb. White Lead dry 1 2 6 15 lb. Red Lead " 4 - 1 lb. Copperas " 1 4 1 7 10 Glass Ware, 6 Sq. 10 by 12 " 9 3 Rice 2 Bushel 1 6 6 Twine 20 Skains " 15 - Pepper 1 lb. " " 9 Iron Ware viz. 1 Stock Lock " 4 1	The record of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from a total of £33 14s 11d. Brought forward, £33 14s 11d Hooks and lines Hooks and lines brought forward, £0 4s 10¾d 2 large hooks, £0 0s 9d 30 lines of size 2, £0 12s 3¼d 6 lines of size 3, £0 2s 10d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £1 5s 3d China 2 guglets and basins, £0 10s 0d 2 chamber pots, £0 5s 8d 3 sneakers, £0 1s 6d 2 bowls, £0 3s 8d Total for china, £1 0s 10d 8½ lb of shot lead, £0 2s 4d 7 lb of candles, £1 2s 2d 8 lb of coffee, £0 4s 8d 12 lb of soap, £0 12s 6d Paint 45 lb of dry white lead, £1 2s 6d 15 lb of red lead, £0 4s 0d 1 lb of copperas, £0 1s 4d Total for paint, £1 7s 10d Glassware, 6 panes of glass 10 by 12 inches, £0 9s 3d 2 bushels of pease, £1 6s 6d 30 skeins of twine, £0 15s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 0s 9d Ironware 1 stock lock, £0 4s 1d 1 [...] bolt lock, £0 10s 4d Total for ironware, £0 14s 5d 4 yards of osnaburg, £0 5s 10d Tinware, 2 quart funnels, £0 1s 2d Total sold at 40 per cent, £43 3s 5d **Interpretations** Sales at 40 per cent came to £43 3s 5d for the quarter, below the £53 10s 10d of the first quarter of 1768. The buyers at this rate were mainly visiting ships' officers and passengers and islanders who had no claim on the Company. The fall followed the shipping season. Ships kept calling until mid-June, but fewer passengers came ashore, and those who did had less need of the household goods sold at the warehouse. Guglets and basins cost the outside buyer 5s a set. The *Northumberland*'s invoice from Canton priced

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		1 S. Bolt Do. " 10 4 " 14 5 Canvas 4 Yds. Oznbrigs " 5 10 Tin Ware 2 Quart Funnels " 1 2 £ 43 3 5	the same sets at 4 mace 5 candareens each, roughly 3s. The Company's charges for freight, breakage and its 40 per cent mark-up came close to doubling the original price. Even so, porcelain at that price was cheap by English standards, and the island's householders and passing travellers bought it freely.
109	102	The 18 July Sold to the Hon.ble Company's Shipps from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Deals 1 Four Inch Plank 1 17 6 Nails viz. 10 .. 4d. 23 .. 6 17 .. 10 40 .. 20 20 Carpr. Rivets 10 Scuppers 18 Spikes 4 12 - Turners Ware viz. 1 Brush Box " 5 3 8 Paint Brushes " 7 4 " 12 7 Paint viz. 2½ lb. Verdr. " 11 1 65 White Lead dry 1 12 6 26 Pound. Blacking " 19 6 19 Red Lead " 5 8 ½ lb. Copperas " " 8 3 9 5 Glass Ware, 18 Sq. 10 by 12 1 7 9 Canvas, 2 Ps. English 6 " 2 Lines viz. 6 Log Lines " 8 6 12 No. 4 Do. " 6 4 " 14 10 Twine 40 Skains 1 15 - Tin Ware 36 Lanthn. Leaves " 19 - Cables 1 Wt. 3 qrs. 22 lb. 165 14 4 Anchors 1 Wt. 3 qrs. 22 lb. 77 12 3 Kersey 1 Yd. Bays " 12 - Cordage 31 lb. 7 17 - £ 273 4 [...]	The storekeeper then listed the goods sold to the Company's ships from 1 April to 30 June 1768. Deals, 1 four-inch plank, £1 17s 6d Nails 10 [...] of fourpenny nails, 23 [...] of sixpenny nails, 17 [...] of tenpenny nails, 40 [...] of twentypenny nails, 20 [...] of coopers' rivets, 10 [...] of scupper nails and 18 [...] of spikes, £4 12s 0d Wooden ware 1 pump box, £0 5s 3d 8 paint brushes, £0 7s 4d Total for wooden ware, £0 12s 7d Paint 2½ [...] of Venetian red, £0 11s 1d 65 lb of dry white lead, £1 12s 6d 26 barrels of blacking, £0 19s 6d 19 lb of red lead, £0 5s 8d ½ lb of copperas, £0 0s 8d Total for paint, £3 9s 5d Glassware, 18 panes of glass 10 by 12 inches, £1 7s 9d Canvas, 2 pieces of English canvas, £6 [...] Lines 6 log lines, £0 8s 6d 12 lines of size 4, £0 6s 4d Total for lines, £0 14s 10d 40 skeins of twine, £1 15s 0d Tinware, 36 lantern leaves, £0 19s [...] 1 cable weighing [...] cwt [...] qr 22 lb, £165 14s [...] 1 anchor weighing [...] cwt [...] qr 22 lb, £77 12s [...] [...] yards of kersey, £0 12s [...] 311 lb of cordage, £7 17s [...] Total sold to the Company's ships, £273 4s [...] **Interpretations** A cable and an anchor made up almost nine-tenths of the quarter's sales to ships, at more than £243 between them. A ship lost or damaged her ground tackle in only one way: by parting a cable or dragging an anchor in a gale. The *Earl of Elgin* had met four gales off the Cape in April. Other ships of the season had likely suffered the same. James Bay was an open roadstead with a rocky bottom that chafed cables through, and an Indiaman could not safely sail on without spare ground tackle. The Company kept a reserve of heavy anchors and cables at St Helena for exactly this purpose, and sold them to its ships at the full 40 per cent mark-up. Log lines were the lines used with the sandglass to measure a ship's speed. They were knotted at fixed intervals and paid out over the stern. Lantern leaves were thin sheets of horn or tin set in the sides of a lantern to let light through while keeping out wind and spray. A pump box was the wooden casing of a ship's pump valve. It wore out constantly on a leaking ship, such as the *Earl of Elgin* after her gales.
110	103	1768 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores issued from 1st of April to the 30th June 1768 viz. Cordage 312 for Crane Ropes & Fish. 8 10 8 Candles viz. 100 lb. Castle 30 Lieut. Govr. 30 Mr. Pinking	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued from 1 April to 30 June 1768 and charged to the Company's general expenses. 512 lb of cordage for the crane ropes and fishing, £8 10s 8d Candles 100 lb for the Castle 50 lb for the Lieutenant Governor 50 lb for Mr Purling

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		30 Captn. Kirkpatrick 6 ¾ Deck Shop & Secrs. Office 1 for the Baker House 10 lb. Mr. Beancroft 29 " 2 Tea 6 lb. Bohea for the Gover. & Garden " 5 - Candy 80 lb. Do. & Deck Shop 1 13 4 Arrack 252 Gallons for Sundry Men Employed Carrying Plank to Munden's Point & Men employed unloading the two Store Shipps 31 " 8 Sope 52 lb. for Linen 1 16 10 Canvas viz. 17½ Yds. Oznbs. Carpts. Castle & Armrs. Shop " 14 - 10 Yds. Do. Eng. Canvas " 11 11 1 5 11 Coals 88 Bushels Armrs. Shop 4 15 4 Hooks & Lines viz. 30 No. 2 Lines 24 .. 4 Do. 2 Hambro Do. for the Governor & Lieut. Govern. Fish. 1 " 16 125 No. 1 Hooks 25 .. 9 Do. 125 .. 11 Do. 125 .. 16 Do. " 9 9 1 10 7 Carried over£ 79 18 6	50 lb for Captain Kirkpatrick 6¾ lb for the doctor's shop and the Secretary's office 1 lb for the bakehouse 10 lb for Mr Bearcroft Total for candles, £29 0s 2d [...] lb of Bohea tea for the groom and the gardener, £0 5s 0d 80 lb of sugar candy for the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop, £1 13s 4d 232½ gallons of arrack for sundry men employed carrying stores to Munden's Point and men employed unloading the two store ships, £31 0s 8d 52 lb of soap for linen, £1 16s 10d Canvas 17½ yards of osnaburg for bags for the Castle and the armourer's shop, £0 14s 0d 10 yards of English canvas for the same, £0 11s 11d Total for canvas, £1 5s 11d 88 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop, £4 15s 4d Hooks and lines for the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's fishermen 30 lines of size 2, 24 lines of size 4 and 2 Hamburg lines, £1 0s 10d 125 hooks of size 1, 25 of size 9, 125 of size 11 and 125 of size 16, £0 9s 9d Total for hooks and lines, £1 10s 7d Carried forward, £79 18s 6d **Interpretations** Arrack was by far the largest charge, at £31 0s 8d for more than 230 gallons. That was more than twice the 135½ gallons issued in the first quarter. It was the measured dram the Governor had defended on 27 June, given at fixed hours to the men carrying stores to Munden's Point and to those unloading the *Tilbury* and the *Duke of Richmond*. The heavy work of the season, landing two ships' cargoes through the surf and hauling materials up to the battery, was rewarded in spirit rather than cash. It was the same measured allowance the Council kept for its own labourers while it shut down the retail trade. Mr Bearcroft's candles appeared in the issues for the first time, at 10 lb. On 23 May 1768 the Council granted the chaplain 30 lb a quarter, and this first issue covered the weeks from that date to the end of June. The 88 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop came from the 60 bushels bought from the *British King* and other supplies landed that season. The forge had run almost dry in March, when the Council gave the *Triton* half its last 20 bushels. Fresh coal let the smiths return to full work on ironwork for the batteries.
111	104	The 18 July Brought over£ 79 18 6 Twine 2 Skains Castle " 1 - Corks 7 Gro. Do. " 16 10 Starch 13 lb. for Linen " 5 7 Shallows 4 Pr. for the Castle 1 13 4 Nails viz. 1 .. 3d. 7 .. 6 2 .. 4 1 Glazrs. Brads for the Coopers use and Pacquets " 7 7 Iron Ware viz. 18 Hamrd. Helves Armrs. Shop " 3 9	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £79 18s 6d. Brought forward, £79 18s 6d 2 skeins of twine for the Castle, £0 1s 0d 7 gross of corks for the Castle, £0 16s 10d 13½ lb of starch for linen, £0 5s 7d 4 pieces of chelloes for the Castle, £1 13s 4d Nails for the coopers' use and the packets 1 [...] of threepenny nails, 7 [...] of sixpenny nails, 2 [...] of fourpenny nails and 1 [...] of glaziers' brads, £0 7s 7d Ironware 18 hammer helves for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 9d 5 coopers' vices for the coopers' use, £0 2s 10d 2 coopers' drivers for the coopers' use, £0 3s 4d 2 sheets of emery paper for the armourer's use, £0 0s 3d 14 blank keys for the armourer's use, £0 8s 9d

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		5 Carpt. Vices Coopers Use " 2 10 2 Do. Drivers " 3 4 2 Sheets Emery Paper Armrs. use " " 3 14 Blank Keys Do. " 8 9 4 Two foot Rules, Carpentrs. use " 4 - 1 Plaistr. Trowel for a Stone Layer " 1 8½ 24 Files, Armrs. use " 10 6 3 Wire Rat Traps Store use 1 1 8 2 Curry Combs & Brushes Horse Stables " 3 7 6 Bastd. Rubbers 1 6 6 3 Hand Saws 1 3 3 2 Tenon Do. " 15 ½ 3 Try. g. Planes " 10 6 3 Jack Do. " 7 6 3 Smooth Do. " 6 " 6 Claw Hamrs. " 8 3 3 Carpentr. Hand Mallets " 15 - 12 Socket Chizels " 9 - 12 Formers Do. " 3 9 36 Hand Saw files " 15 9 24 Spike Gimblets 1 Ml. Caking Irons Carpts. use " 9 3 6 Pr. Steel Compasses " 3 6 10 18 [...] Carried over£ 94 1 2	4 two-foot rules for the carpenters' use, £0 4s 0d 1 plasterer's trowel for a stone layer, £0 1s 8½d 24 files for the armourer's use, £0 10s 6d 3 wire rat traps for the stores, £1 1s 3d 2 curry combs and brushes for the horse stable, £0 3s 7d 6 bastard rubbers, £1 6s 6d 3 handsaws, £1 3s 3d 2 tenon saws, £0 15s 0½d 3 trying planes, £0 10s 6d 3 jack planes, £0 7s 6d 3 smoothing planes, £0 6s 0d 6 claw hammers, £0 8s 3d 3 carpenters' hand mallets, £0 15s 0d 12 socket chisels, £0 9s 0d 12 firmers, £0 3s 9d 36 handsaw files, £0 15s 9d 24 spike gimlets, £0 7s 3d 1 set of caulking irons, £0 3s 4d 6 pairs of steel compasses, £0 3s 6d Total for ironware, £10 18s [...] Carried forward, £94 1s [...] **Interpretations** The tools issued in this quarter fitted out a carpenters' shop almost from scratch. Saws, planes of three kinds, mallets, socket chisels, firmers and compasses went out together. They had probably come out in the *Tilbury* or the *Duke of Richmond*. The Company's carpenters had been working hard on sentry boxes, the crane, the longboats and the slaves' square, and their old tools were worn out. Firmers were stout bench chisels for paring and shaping wood. The trying plane was a long plane for truing the edges of boards. The jack plane took off rough wood, and the smoothing plane gave the final finish. A set of caulking irons was used to drive oakum into the seams of the boats. The three wire rat traps for the stores cost more than £1. Rats had plagued the island since the first ships landed, and they did great damage to the grain, flour and rice in the Company's warehouses. A well-made wire trap was a sound investment beside the value of the stores it protected.
112	105	1768 Brought over£ 94 1 2 Paint viz. ½ lb. Blue Smalt for Linen " 7 - ½ lb. White Lead dry " " 7½ 1 lb. Whiting " " ½ ¼ lb. Oaker made up " " 1½ 1 Pound. Blacking " " 6½ to Paint a Flagg Staff for the Alarm House " 8 4 Thread 1 lb. Whd. Brown Castle " 6 8 China Ware viz. 12 China Bowls " 11 - 2 Ewers " 8 - 6 Guglets & Basons 1 2 4 Castle 2 1 4 Oil viz.	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a total of £94 1s 2d. Brought forward, £94 1s 2d Paint 2 lb of blue smalt for linen, £0 7s 0d 2 lb of dry white lead, to paint the flagstaff for the alarm house, £0 0s 7½d 1 lb of whiting, for the same, £0 0s 0½d ½ [...] of yellow ochre mixed, for the same, £0 0s 1½d 1 barrel of blacking, for the same, £0 0s 6½d Total for paint, £0 8s 4d 1 lb of whited-brown thread for the Castle, £0 6s 8d China for the Castle 12 china bowls, £0 11s 0d 2 sneakers, £0 0s 8d 6 guglets and basins, £1 2s 4d Total for china, £2 1s 4d Oil 1 gallon of linseed oil, to paint the flagstaff, £0 4s 0d ¼ gallon of oil of turpentine, for the same, £0 0s 10d 1 bottle of Florence oil for the carpenters' shop, £0 3s 6d Total for oil, £0 8s 4d

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		1 Gallon Lins. " 4 - ¼ Do. Oil of Turpentine " " 10 to Paint the Flagg Staff 1 Bottle Sw. Oil, Carpentrs. Shop " 3 6 " 8 4 Broad Cloth 2 Yds. Green to Cover the Consultn. Tables 1 12 10 Deals, 1 Plank for a Flagg Staff for the Alarm House " 8 10 Tin Ware viz. 8 lb. Solder " 7 4 ½ Salamoniac " 1 6 To Iron Castle Furniture " 8 10 Rozin 1½ lb. Castle " 2 - Haberdashery 1 Gro. Horn Moulds Do. " 2 3 Cutlery Ware viz. 2 Cork Screws Castle " 4 7 1 Horse Comb for the Horses " " 3 " 4 10 Carried over£ 100 5 5	2 yards of green broadcloth to cover the Council table, £1 12s 10d Deals, 1 plank for a flagstaff for the alarm house, £0 8s 10d Tinware for the Castle furniture 8 lb of solder, £0 7s 4d 1 lb of sal ammoniac, £0 1s 6d Total for tinware, £0 8s 10d 1½ lb of rosin for the Castle, £0 0s 2d Haberdashery, 1 gross of horn button moulds for the Castle, £0 2s 3d Cutlery 2 [...] knives for the Castle, £0 4s 7d 1 horse comb for the horses, £0 0s 3d Total for cutlery, £0 4s 10d Carried forward, £100 5s 5d **Interpretations** The Council table received a fresh covering of green broadcloth, 2 yards for £1 12s 10d. Green baize or broadcloth was the usual covering for a council or committee table in the period. It is where the expression "green table" for a board of governors comes from. The new cloth was laid on the table where, in the same weeks, the Governor, Corneille, Purling and Kirkpatrick were exchanging charges of malice and disloyalty. A new flagstaff was made and painted for the alarm house, the signal station that passed warnings of approaching ships across the island to the Castle. The plank was cut to shape, and the staff was painted white with lead, whiting, ochre and blacking against the damp. Every alarm and signal recorded in the gunner's monthly returns depended on these lookout posts and their flags. They had to be kept in good order through the southern winter, when wind and rain were hardest on them.
113	106	The 18 July Brought over£ 100 5 5 Iron & Steel viz. 58 lb. Iron for Sandy Bay L. Hulse " 12 1 2 lb. German Steel " 11 3 3 lb. Blist. Do. Armour. Shop " 12 8 1 16 - Glass Ware 3 doz. Wine Glasses Castle " 15 8 Brooms Wardsbooks 2 for the Groom " 9 6 Braziers Ware 2 Bottle Corks Castle " 6 10 Turners Ware viz. 8 Mops Castle " 10 2 2 Lawn Sives 1 6 5 6 Spare Bottoms for the Artillery 1 19 6 3 16 1 £ 107 9 6 Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th June 1768 viz. Deals viz. ½ Wainst. Board for ye. Black House " 3 3 1 Plank " 8 10 ½ Elm Board for the Company's Houses " 1 9 " 13 10 Iron Ware viz. 4 Blank Keys	The account of stores charged to the Company's general expenses ended with the following items. Brought forward, £100 5s 5d Iron and steel 58 lb of iron for the Sandy Bay [...] wheels, £0 12s 1d 2 lb of German steel for the armourer's shop, £0 11s 3d 3 lb of blister steel for the armourer's shop, £0 12s 8d Total for iron and steel, £1 16s 0d 3 dozen wine glasses for the Castle, £0 15s 8d Brooms and waistcoats, 2 for the groom, £0 9s 6d Braziery, 2 bottle cooks for the Castle, £0 6s 10d Wooden ware 8 mops for the Castle, £0 10s 2d 2 lawn sieves for the artillery, £1 6s 5d 6 spare bottoms for the sieves for the artillery, £1 19s 6d Total for wooden ware, £3 16s 1d Total charged to general expenses, £107 9s 6d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for repairs from 1 April to 30 June 1768. Deals ½ wainscot board for the Black House, £0 3s 3d 1 balk for the Company's houses, £0 8s 10d ½ elm board for the Company's houses, £0 1s 9d Total for deals, £0 13s 10d Ironware for the Castle, the Lieutenant Governor's house and Mr Bearcroft's 4 blank keys, £0 2s 6d 2 splinter locks, £0 0s 11d 1 lathing hammer, £0 1s 8d 2 pairs of H L hinges, £0 3s 10d Total for ironware, £0 8s 11d Pitch and tar for the Lieutenant Governor's house 6 lb of rosin, £0 0s 10½d

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		" 2 6 2 Splint. Locks " " 11 1 Latching Ferrule " 1 8 2 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 3 10 for the Castle Lieut. Govrs. House & Mr. Beancroft " 8 11 Pitch & Tar viz. 6 lb. Rozin " " 10½ 6 lb. Pitch Repg. Lt. Govr. House " " 6½ " 1 5 Carried over£ 1 4 2	6 lb of pitch, £0 0s 6½d Total for pitch and tar, £0 1s 5d Carried forward, £1 4s 2d **Interpretations** The lawn sieves and their six spare bottoms were for the artillery, at more than £3 together. Lawn was a fine, close-woven linen. Stretched across a sieve, it let the gunners sift gunpowder to separate the fine dust from the grains. Powder kept in the island's damp air clumped and broke down, and it had to be sifted before it could be made into cartridges. The large number of spare bottoms shows how quickly the fine linen wore out. The new batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point would need a good supply of sound powder once their guns were mounted. German steel and blister steel were two grades of steel made in different ways. Blister steel was made in England by heating bars of iron packed in charcoal for days, until the surface took up carbon and rose in blisters. German steel was made by refining cast iron in a hearth. Both were used by the armourer for tools and edges that had to hold a hard point. The Black House appears to have been the Company's slave house on Munden's Point hill, named in the notice of 6 June 1768 forbidding the digging of earth between it and the Castle.
114	107	1768 Brought over£ 1 4 2 Nails viz. 10 lb. .. 6d. 11 .. 10 6 .. 4 1 .. 3 4 .. 20 1 .. ? 2 .. 40 4 Scuppers for the Castle and Compy's. Houses 1 2 - Lead 956 lb. Sheet for ye. Castle & Lieut. G. House 8 19 3 Cordage 7 lb. for the Lieut. Govr. and Blacks House 1 6 2 Tin Ware 2 lb. Solder for ye. L. Govr. House " 19 3 Turners Ware viz. 1 Plaistr. Brush " 1 1 1 Paint Do. Do. " " 6 " 1 7 Paint viz. 1 lb. Whiting " " 6 6 lb. Brimstone for ye. Compy's. Houses " 1 3 " 1 9 £ 13 14 2 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Flour 954 lb. 8 18 10 Arrack 54 Gall. 7 4 - Sugar & Candy viz. 16 lb. Sugar " 4 - 313 lb. Candy 6 10 5 6 14 5 Carried over£ 22 17 3	The account of stores issued for repairs continued from a total of £1 4s 2d. Brought forward, £1 4s 2d Nails for the Castle and the Company's houses 10 [...] of sixpenny nails, 11 [...] of tenpenny nails, 6 [...] of fourpenny nails, 1 [...] of threepenny nails, 4 [...] of twentypenny nails, 1 [...] of [...] nails, 2 [...] of fortypenny nails and 4 [...] of scupper nails, £1 2s 0d 956 lb of sheet lead for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £8 19s 3d 78 lb of cordage for the Lieutenant Governor's house and the Black House, £1 6s 2d Tinware, 2 lb of solder for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 19s 3d Wooden ware 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 1d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 6d Total for wooden ware, £0 1s 7d Paint for the Company's houses 12 lb of whiting, £0 0s 6d 6 lb of brimstone, £0 1s 3d Total for paint, £0 1s 9d Total charged to repairs, £13 14s 2d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued from 1 April to 30 June 1768 and charged to the cost of the Company's table. 954 lb of flour, £8 18s 10d 54 gallons of arrack, £7 4s 0d Sugar and sugar candy 16 lb of sugar, £0 4s 0d 310 lb of sugar candy, £6 10s 5d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £6 14s 5d Carried forward, £22 17s 3d **Interpretations** Sheet lead was the largest repair cost of the quarter. Nearly 1,000 lb went to the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, at almost £9. Lead was laid on flat roofs, gutters and the joints between roofs and walls to keep out the rain. The southern winter brought the island its heaviest rainfall from June onwards. Re-leading the roofs before the wet season protected the Castle's offices and stores, and the deputy governor's household, from water damage. The repairs account rose to £13 14s 2d from £5 2s 5d in the first quarter, almost entirely because of the lead. The table's sugar candy came to 310 lb, close to the 410 lb of the previous quarter. Arrack for the table fell to 54 gallons from 76. The busy months of

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			April and May had brought many guests to the Castle. By June the season was over, and the Governor's table had fewer visiting officers to entertain.
115	108	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 22 17 3 Beef & Pork viz. 42 lb. Pork 6 5 1½ 6 Do. Beef 1 " 10½ 7 6 - Rice 258 lb. 1 1 6 Salt 1 Bushel " 3 5 Tea viz. 2 lb. Singlo " 2 5 1 lb. Bohea " " 10 " 3 3 £ 31 11 5 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Tea 48 lb. Bohea for the several Guards 3 17 6 Candles 63½ for the Officers of Main Guard 8 9 4 Lines 24 No. 2 for Whips " 6 11 Oil 4 Gall. Train " 13 4 Hatts viz. 20 Serjeants Hatts 12 1 8 1 Marshals Do. " 11 7 375 Centinels Do. 52 10 8 65 3 11 Nails viz. 2 .. 3d. 3 .. 6 for Coffins " 3 [...] Pork 93 lb. given to Recruits 14 3 [...] Rice 6 lb. Do. " " [...] Flour 399 lb. Do. 3 14 [...] Blankets 87 24 9 [...] Carried over£ 121 1 [...]	The account of stores charged to the cost of the Company's table ended with the following items. Brought forward, £22 17s 3d Beef and pork 42 pieces of pork, £6 5s 1½d 6 pieces of beef, £1 0s 10½d Total for beef and pork, £7 6s 0d 258 lb of rice, £1 1s 6d 1 bushel of salt, £0 3s 5d Tea 2 lb of Singlo tea, £0 2s 5d 1 lb of Bohea tea, £0 0s 10d Total for tea, £0 3s 3d Total charged to the table, £31 11s 5d A further account listed the stores issued to the garrison from 1 April to 30 June 1768. 48 lb of Bohea tea for the several guards, £[...] 17s 6d 63½ lb of candles for the officers and the main guard, £[...] 9s 4d 24 lines of size 2 for whips, £0 6s 11d 4 gallons of train oil, £0 13s 4d Hats 20 sergeants' hats, £12 1s 8d 1 marshal's hat, £0 11s 7d 375 sentinels' hats, £52 10s 8d Total for hats, £65 3s 11d Nails, 2 [...] of threepenny nails and 3 [...] of sixpenny nails for coffins, £0 3s 2d 95 pieces of pork given to recruits, £14 3s [...] [...] of rice given to recruits, £0 [...] 399 lb of flour given to recruits, £3 14s [...] 87 blankets, £24 9s [...] Carried forward, £121 1s [...] **Interpretations** The garrison received 375 new sentinels' hats and 20 sergeants' hats in a single quarter, at more than £65. That was enough to re-hat the whole garrison of foot and artillery. The hats came out in the *Tilbury* or the *Duke of Richmond*. The Company issued its soldiers a new hat at regular intervals as part of their clothing. A full issue to every man at once meant the old hats had been worn for a long time in the island's wind and rain, and the Court had sent out a complete replacement. The 26 recruits who landed from the *Tilbury* in May received pork, rice and flour from the Company's stores as their first rations, before their pay and stoppages were set up. The 87 blankets were far more than the recruits alone needed. They probably also replaced worn bedding in the barracks and guardhouses as the southern winter began.
116	109	1768 Brought over£ 121 1 10 Soldiers Cloaths viz. 285 Centinels Coats & Breeches 418 9 8 16 Serjeants Do. & Do. 83 12 - 16 Corporals Do. & Do. 24 16 - 14 Drummers Do. & Do. 47 12 - 42 Matrosses Do. & Do. 89 5 - 4 Bombdrs. Do. & Do. 11 16 - 8 Gunners Do. & Do. 18 8 - 4 Artly. Serjts. Do. & Do. 20 4 -	The garrison account continued from a total of £121 1s 10d. Brought forward, £121 1s 10d Soldiers' clothing 285 sentinels' coats and breeches, £418 9s 8d 16 sergeants' coats and breeches, £83 12s 0d 16 corporals' coats and breeches, £24 16s 0d 14 drummers' coats and breeches, £47 12s 0d 42 matrosses' coats and breeches, £89 5s 0d 4 bombardiers' coats and breeches, £11 16s 0d 8 gunners' coats and breeches, £18 8s 0d 4 artillery sergeants' coats and breeches, £20 4s 0d 4 artillery corporals' coats and breeches, £8 16s 0d 1 marshal's coat and breeches, £2 11s 6d Total for soldiers' clothing, £725 10s 2d Haberdashery

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		4 Do. Corpls. Do. & Do. 8 16 - 1 Marshals Do. & Do. 2 11 6 725 10 2 Haberdashery viz. 1½ Gro. Broad Worstd. Lace for Hats 1 3 2½ 19 yds. Narrow Do. Do. Waist " 11 9½ 392 Hair Stocks 13 9 6 15 4 6 Hosiers Ware 395 Pr. Ordy. Thd. Stockgs. 87 12 1 Shirts viz. 20 Serjts. Shirts 6 15 8 374 Centl. Do. 84 18 7 91 14 3 Shoes 397 Pr. Mens Ordy. 89 14 9 Arrack 7½ Gall. for Musket Drawers 1 " " Thread viz. 15 lb. Cold. 2 7 6 4 lb. Whd. Brown 1 6 8 3 14 2 Twine 2 Skains for Cots " 1 " £ 1105 12 9	1½ gross of broad worsted lace for hats, £1 3s 2½d 1 gross of narrow worsted lace for waistcoats, £0 11s 9½d 392 hair stocks, £13 9s 6d Total for haberdashery, £15 4s 6d 395 pairs of ordinary thread stockings, £57 12s 1d Shirts 20 sergeants' shirts, £6 15s 8d 374 sentinels' shirts, £84 18s 7d Total for shirts, £91 14s 3d 397 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £89 14s 9d 7½ gallons of arrack for drams at muster, £1 0s 0d Thread 15 lb of coloured thread, £2 7s 6d 4 lb of whited-brown thread, £1 6s 8d Total for thread, £3 14s 2d 2 skeins of twine for the cots, £0 1s 0d Total charged to the garrison, £1,105 12s 9d **Interpretations** The whole garrison received a complete new suit of clothing this quarter. Coats and breeches went to every rank of foot and artillery, together with shirts, stockings, shoes, hats and stocks, almost 400 of each. The issue cost the Company more than £1,100, nearly a third of a full quarter's pay for the whole island. Soldiers in the Company's service, as in the King's army, were clothed annually or every two years at the employer's cost. The clothing for the St Helena garrison had come out in the store ships *Tilbury* and *Duke of Richmond*, which explains why so many of the season's arrivals were described as store ships. The prices show the gap between ranks. A sergeant's coat and breeches cost over £5 4s, against under £1 10s for a sentinel's. Sergeants wore finer cloth with lace and better trimmings, which marked their authority. The drummers' suits were also costly, more than £3 each, because drummers traditionally wore elaborate livery with heavy lace. A hair stock was a stiff band of horsehair cloth worn tightly round the neck in place of a cravat. It kept a soldier's head up on parade and was part of the regulation dress of the period. Cots were hanging canvas beds of the kind used at sea, which some of the guardhouses evidently used instead of fixed bunks.
117	110	The 18 July Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Beef and Pork viz. 1009 lb. Bengall Beef 188 8 4 670 lb. Pork 99 16 - 480 lb. Beef 83 10 371 14 4 Rice 7891 lb. 32 17 7 Flour 4 for the Sick " " 9 Oil 1 Gall. Train " 3 4 Sugar 258 lb. 3 4 6 Tea 185 lb. Bohea 4 15 10 Shallows 59 lb. 24 11 8 Arrack 131 Gall. for Blacks at Fortifican. & Plantation 17 9 4 Pepper 4 lb. for Sick Blacks " 3 -	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's slaves from 1 April to 30 June 1768. Beef and pork 10,049 lb of Bengal beef, £188 8s 4d 670 pieces of pork, £99 16s 0d 480 pieces of beef, £83 10s 0d Total for beef and pork, £371 14s 4d 7,891 lb of rice, £32 17s 7d 4 lb of flour for the sick, £0 0s 9d 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 4d 258 lb of sugar, £3 4s 6d 185 lb of Bohea tea, £4 15s 10d 59 pieces of chelloes, £24 11s 8d 131 gallons of arrack for the slaves at the fortifications and plantations, £17 9s 4d 6 lb of pepper for sick slaves, £0 3s 0d 5 lb of soap, £0 3s 6d 6 lines of size 4 for the fishermen, £0 2s 3d Shalloon, 1 piece of scarlet shalloon for the Governor's servants, £3 13s 0d Haberdashery 8 skeins of mohair for the same, £0 3s 6d 10 pieces of tape for the same, £0 5s 8d Total for haberdashery, £0 9s 2d Thread 6 lb of coloured thread, £1 0s 7d 6 lb of whited-brown thread, £2 0s 0d

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		Sope 5 lb. " 3 6 Lines 6 No. 4 for Fish. " 2 3 Shalloon viz. 1 lb. Sewg. Shalloon for ye. Govr. Servants 3 13 - Haberdashery viz. 8 Skains Silk " 3 6 10 Ps. Tape Do. Do. " 5 8 " 9 2 Thread viz. 6 lb. Coloured 1 " 7 6 lb. Whd. Brown 2 " " 3 " 7 Long Cloths 2¼ Ps. for Lying in Women 17 10 3 Kersey 3 lb. 6 16 - Salt ¼ for Sick Blacks " " 10 Shirts viz. 259 Mens Shirts 34 16 - 46 Boys Do. 6 3 7 40 19 7 Carried over£ 527 15 8	Total for thread, £3 0s 7d ½ piece of longcloth marked Y for women lying in, £0 [...] 3 pieces of kersey, £17 10s 5d 1½ bushels of salt for the sick slaves, £0 6s 16d Shirts 259 men's shirts, £34 16s 0d 46 boys' shirts, £6 3s 7d Total for shirts, £40 19s 7d Carried forward, £527 15s 8d **Interpretations** The slaves' stores this quarter rose well above the £303 of the first quarter of 1768. The largest single item was over 10,000 lb of Bengal beef, the same salt meat the Council had told Fort William on 25 May was so bad that much of it went into the sea. The stores still held casks that were fit to issue, and the Company used them up on its slaves instead of buying fresh meat. At the same time it issued European pork and beef bought from the ships in May and June. The slaves also received a complete new issue of clothing, matching the garrison's issue that quarter. There were 259 shirts for the men and 46 for the boys, with 59 pieces of chelloes and three pieces of kersey to be made into garments. Clothing the Company's slaves was a regular charge on its stores, and the new cloth came in the same store ships as the soldiers' uniforms. The figures also give a count of the workforce: about 260 adult male slaves and nearly 50 boys working for the Company, besides the women. The arrack for the slaves at the fortifications and plantations, 131 gallons in the quarter, was the weekly allowance the Council had confirmed on 11 July. Men received three drams a week and women and working boys two. The 19 gallons a week the Council estimated would come to about 250 gallons a quarter. This first quarter's issue was lower because the allowance began only once the punch houses were barred from selling to slaves.
118	111	1768 Brought over£ 527 15 8 Sailors Cloaths viz. 95 Mens Jackets 95 Do. Breeches 38 - - 23 Boys Jackets 23 Do. Do. Breeches 9 4 - 175 Dutch Caps 13 9 10 60 13 10 Serge 1 Pr. Green Sagathy, to the Govr. Servants 3 16 1 £ 592 5 7 Malley Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th June 1768 viz. Sugar 30 lb. " 7 6 Arrack 5 Gall. " 13 4 Rice 14 lb. " 12 - Flour 6 lb. " 1 1 Tea 3 lb. Bohea " 2 6 Sope 6 lb. " 4 3 Oil viz. ¾ Gall. Linseed " 3 - ¼ Do. Train " " 10	The account of stores issued to the Company's slaves ended with the following items. Brought forward, £527 15s 8d Sailors' clothing 95 men's jackets and 95 pairs of men's breeches, £38 0s 0d 23 boys' jackets and 23 pairs of boys' breeches, £9 4s 0d 175 Dutch caps, £13 9s 10d Total for sailors' clothing, £60 13s 10d 1 piece of green serge for the Governor's servants, £3 16s 1d Total charged to the slaves, £592 5s 7d The storekeeper next listed the stores issued to the Malays from 1 April to 30 June 1768. 30 lb of sugar, £0 7s 6d 5 gallons of arrack, £0 13s 4d 1[...] lb of rice, £0 12s 0d 6 lb of flour, £0 1s 1d 3 lb of Bohea tea, £0 2s 6d 6 lb of soap, £0 4s 3d Oil ¾ gallon of linseed oil, £0 3s 0d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 0s 10d Total for oil, £0 3s 10d 2 pieces of beef, £0 6s 11d Total charged to the Malays, £2 11s 5d **Interpretations** The slaves' account came to £592 5s 7d for the quarter, almost double the £303 of the first quarter of 1768. The whole increase came from clothing. Shirts, jackets, breeches, caps, chelloes and kersey cost well over £100, on top of the usual food. The Company clothed its slaves at the same time as its soldiers, from

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		" 3 10 Beef 2 Pr. " 6 11 £ 2 11 5	the same store ships. Sailors' clothing was the cheap, hard-wearing jacket and breeches made for seamen, sold in bulk in English ports. The Company bought it ready-made for its slaves as the simplest way to clothe a large workforce. Dutch caps were knitted woollen caps of the kind worn by seamen and labourers. The Malays' account was again small, at £2 11s 5d. They received only food, oil and soap this quarter, and no clothing. Their last issue of cloth had come in the last quarter of 1767. The Governor's servants were Company slaves serving in the Castle household. They received scarlet shalloon, green serge, mohair and tape, materials for a livery far finer than the working slaves' sailors' clothing. The Governor's household was dressed in colours that marked its status as the island's first establishment.
119	112	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th June 1768 viz. Rice 522 lb. for Overseer & Poultry 2 3 6 Paddy 3328 lb. for Horses & Do. 11 15 - 13 18 6 Iron Ware viz. 1 Blank Key " " 7½ 1 Pad Lock for Long Wood " 1 6 3 Scythe Stones " " 6 2 Spades Fruit Garden " 7 6 6 Pickaxes " 19 9 2 Iron Shovels " 9 1 4 Broad Hoes for ye. Plantation " 2 2 6 A.S. Helves " 3 7½ 2 4 9 Cordage 28 lb. Long Wood " 9 4 Arrack 3 Gall. for Thatch. " 8 - Deals 1 Plank for the Wood Cart " 8 10 Nails 3 lb. 6d. for repairg. Gates " 1 8 Paint viz. 3 lb. Span. Red mixd. " 2 4½ 4 lb. Whiting for Paintg. Do. " " ½ 4 lb. Red Lead " " 2 " 2 7 Oil ½ Gall. Lind. for Do. " 2 - Cutlery Ware 18 Butch. Knives for Plantation " 6 9 Cart Wheels viz. 1 Axle Tree for the Wood Cart " 8 10 Turners Ware 2 Ox Bows " 2 [...] £ 18 13 [...]	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's plantation from 1 April to 30 June 1768. 5 cwt 2 qr [...] of rice for the overseers and poultry, £2 3s 6d [...] cwt of paddy for the horses and poultry, £11 15s 0d Total for rice and paddy, £13 18s 6d Ironware 1 blank key for the Long Wood, £0 0s 7½d 1 padlock for the Long Wood, £0 1s 6d 3 scythe stones for the Plantation garden, £0 0s 6d 2 spades for the Plantation garden, £0 7s 6d 6 pickaxes for the plantations, £0 19s 9d 2 iron shovels for the plantations, £0 9s 1d 1 broad hoe for the plantations, £0 2s 2d 6 axe helves for the plantations, £0 3s 7½d Total for ironware, £2 4s 9d 28 lb of cordage for the Long Wood, £0 9s 4d 3 gallons of arrack for the thatchers, £0 8s 0d Deals, 1 balk for the wood cart, £0 8s 10d 3 [...] of nails for repairing the gates, £0 1s 8d Paint for painting the gates 3 lb of red ochre mixed, £0 0s 2½d 1 lb of whiting, £0 0s 0½d 1 lb of red lead, £0 0s 2d Total for paint, £0 2s 7d ½ gallon of linseed oil for the same, £0 2s 0d 18 butcher's knives for the plantations, £0 6s 7d Cart wheels, 1 axletree for the wood cart, £0 8s 10d Wooden ware, 2 ox bows, £0 2s 2d Total charged to the plantation, £18 13s 11d **Interpretations** The plantation's stores fell to £18 13s 11d this quarter, less than half the £39 6s 11d of the first quarter of 1768. That earlier quarter had paid for eight wheelbarrows, two pairs of cart wheels and new yokes for the oxen. This quarter needed only routine replacements: tools, nails and paint for the gates, and a new axletree and balk for the wood cart. The wood cart again took a share of the repairs. Its constant work hauling firewood from the Long Wood over the island's steep roads wore out its axles and timbers. The arrack for the thatchers was the reward for repairing the roofs of the slaves' quarters and outbuildings before the winter rains. The issue matches the work recorded elsewhere that quarter: sheet lead for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, and a new flagstaff for the alarm house. The Company was making its buildings weather-tight for the southern winter.

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120	113	1768 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Sugar 403 lb. 5 " 9 Rice 403 lb. 1 13 7 Flour 403 lb. 3 15 7 Tea 21 lb. Bohea " 17 6 Oil 10¾ Gall. Linsd. 2 3 - Salt 1/8 Bushel " 3 - China Ware 36 Saucrs. " 12 - Cotton Wick ¾ " 2 2 Nails 2 lb. 3d. " 1 6 Pewter 2 Close Stool Pans " 9 " Iron Ware 1 Blank Key " " 8 Glass 12 Sq. 10 by 12 for Windows " 13 3 Paint 3 lb. Whiting " " 1 Starch 1 lb. " " 5 £ 15 12 6 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Pitch & Tar viz. 43 lb. Turpentine " 10 4 1½ Barl. Pitch 1 7 11 1¼ Do. Tar 1 2 1 12 lb. Rozin " 1 9 for the Boats in General 3 2 1 Arrack 9½ Gall. for Men emp. hauling up & Launching the Ld. Boats 1 4 - Lines 1 Deep Sea " 4 8 Twine viz. 21 Sk. Twine " 10 6 11½ Fine Twine " 12 8 for making L.J. Boat Sails 1 3 2 Carried over£ 5 13 11	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the hospital from 1 April to 30 June 1768. 403 lb of sugar, £5 0s 9d 403 lb of rice, £1 13s 7d 403 lb of flour, £3 15s 7d 21 lb of Bohea tea, £0 17s 6d 10¾ gallons of linseed oil, £2 3s 0d ⅝ bushel of salt, £0 3s 0d China, 36 sneakers, £0 12s 0d ¾ [...] of cotton wick, £0 2s 2d 2 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 1s 6d Pewter, 2 close-stool pans, £0 9s 0d Ironware, 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d Glass, 12 panes of glass 10 by 12 inches for the windows, £0 13s 3d Paint, 3 lb of whiting for the windows, £0 0s 1d 1 lb of starch, £0 0s 5d Total charged to the hospital, £15 12s 6d The storekeeper next listed the stores issued to the Company's boats over the same period. Pitch and tar for the boats in general 4 [...] of turpentine, £0 10s 4d 1½ barrels of pitch, £1 7s 11d 1¾ barrels of tar, £1 2s 1d 12 lb of rosin, £0 1s 9d Total for pitch and tar, £3 2s 1d 9½ gallons of arrack for the men employed hauling up and launching the longboats, £1 4s 0d 1 deep-sea line, £0 4s 8d Twine for making the longboats' sails 21 skeins of twine, £0 10s 6d 11½ [...] of flax twine, £0 12s 8d Total for twine, £1 3s 2d Carried forward, £5 13s 11d **Interpretations** The hospital again drew sugar, rice and flour in equal weights. This quarter it was 403 lb of each, against 269 lb in the first quarter of 1768. The rise of half as much again points to more patients in the autumn months. Several soldiers died between April and June, among them William Hayes, Roger Watson, Richard Tollington and Sergeant John Cox. The 26 recruits from the *Tilbury* also arrived after five months at sea, and many newcomers fell ill in their first weeks on the island. The 36 sneakers gave the patients bowls for their tea and broth, and the close-stool pans served the sick who could not leave their beds. The pitch and tar for the boats came partly from the barrels Captain Hindman of the *Duke of Richmond* and Captain Sealy of the *Northington* had spared the island in June, when the Council recorded that it was short of both. The new longboats bought from Captain Pelly and Captain Moffatt needed their seams sealed and their sails made up. The twine and flax twine were for sewing the longboats' sails, a task the Company's own men carried out on the beach.
121	114	The 18 July Brought over£ 5 13 11 Cordage 629 lb. for the use of the Boats £ 10 9 8 Nails viz. 4 lb. 6d. 11 .. 6 71 .. 10 5 .. 3 2 .. 4 5 .. 2 10 Spikes Boats in General 2 11 1 Lead 4 lb. Sheet Long Boat " 8 1	The account of stores issued to the Company's boats continued from a total of £5 13s 11d. Brought forward, £5 13s 11d 629 lb of cordage for the boats, £10 9s 8d Nails for the boats in general 11 [...] of sixpenny nails, 71 [...] of tenpenny nails, 5 [...] of threepenny nails, 2 [...] of fourpenny nails, 5 [...] of twopenny nails and 10 [...] of spikes, £2 11s 1d 43 lb of sheet lead for the longboat, £0 8s 1d 6 pieces of English canvas for sails for the longboat, £13 0s 0d 8 lb of sole leather for the longboat, £0 7s 4d Deals, 3 elm boards for the longboat, £0 10s 9d Tinware, 4 double sheets of tin for the longboat, £0 2s 8d Ironware for the longboats

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		Canvas 6 Ps. Engs. Sails for Do. 13 " " Leather 8 lb. Sole for Do. " 7 4 Deals 3 Elm Boards for Do. " 10 9 Tin Ware 4 double Sheets Tin for Do. " 2 8 Iron Ware viz. 48 Sail Needles " 3 - 10 lb. Bolt Rope Do. " 1 - 12 lb. Plate Iron " 5 3 1 Iron Chain 2 6 3 for L.J. Boats 2 15 6 £ 35 19 8 Bankses Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Turners Ware 24 Labourers Baskets " 4 7 Tin Ware 1 Water Pot " 3 - Cordage 358 5 17 4 Iron Ware viz. 4 Brick Layers Trowels " 6 9 1 Maul " 8 10½ 4 Helves " 2 5 14 Stone Masons Mallets 1 3 4 48 Masons Tools 3 19 4 Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 6 00 8½ Carried Over£ 6 6 [...]	48 sail needles, £0 3s 0d 10 [...] of bolt rope, £0 1s 0d 12 [...] of plate iron, £0 5s 3d 1 iron chain, £2 6s 3d Total for ironware, £2 15s 6d Total charged to the boats, £35 19s 3d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for the fortification at Banks's from 1 April to 30 June 1768. Wooden ware, 24 labourers' baskets, £[...] 4s 7d Tinware, 1 water pot, £0 3s 0d 358 lb of cordage, £5 19s 4d Ironware 4 bricklayers' trowels, £0 6s 9d 1 maul, £0 8s 10½d 4 helves, £0 2s 5d 14 stonemasons' mallets, £1 3s 4d 48 masons' tools, £3 19s 4d Ironware carried forward, £6 0s 8½d Carried forward, £6 6s [...] **Interpretations** The six pieces of English canvas made a new suit of sails for the longboat, at £13. They were the twine and flax twine issued on the previous page put to use. The Company's own men cut and sewed the sails on the island rather than buying them made up. Along with the elm boards, the sheet lead and the iron chain, the canvas completed the refitting of the longboats that had begun after the *Hector* damaged one beyond repair in February. With the two boats bought from Captain Pelly and Captain Moffatt, the Company now had a working fleet in James Bay again before the winter. The tools issued to Banks's show the battery at its final stage. Forty-eight masons' tools, 14 mallets and four trowels were for dressing stone and laying the merlons and gun platforms. Mitchell had reported on 4 July that these were the last work remaining there. The cordage made up the tackle for hoisting finished stone into place and for lifting the guns onto their platforms.
122	115	1768 Brought Over£ 6 6 11 Iron Ware brought over£ 6 " 8½ 1 Two feet Rule " 1 - 1 File " " 5 1 Wood Ax " 2 10 6 Lastr. Drill Strings " 3 1½ 15 Pick Axes 2 10 - 4 Plaistr. Sieves " 18 4 9 16 5 Iron 329 lb. 3 8 6 Deals viz. 1 Coffer " 3 1 1 D. Deal " 3 5 1 Wainst. Board " 6 7 " 13 1 Lines 30 No. 4 " 11 3 Candles 12 lb. for ye. Officer 1 6 - Nails viz. 3½ lb. 3d. 4 .. 6	The account of stores issued for the fortification at Banks's continued from a total of £6 6s 11d. Brought forward, £6 6s 11d Ironware Ironware brought forward, £6 0s 8½d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 0d 1 file, £0 0s 5d 1 wood axe, £0 2s 10d 6 leather drill strings, £0 3s 1½d 15 pickaxes, £2 10s 0d 4 plasterers' sieves, £0 18s 4d Total for ironware, £9 16s 5d 329 lb of iron, £3 8s 6d Deals 1 rafter, £0 3s 1d 1 double deal, £0 3s 5d 1 wainscot board, £0 6s 7d Total for deals, £0 13s 1d 30 lines of size 4, £0 11s 3d 12 lb of candles for the office, £1 6s 0d Nails 3½ [...] of threepenny nails, 4 [...] of sixpenny nails, 2 [...] of tenpenny nails, 4 [...] of twentypenny nails and 6 [...] of fortypenny nails, £0 7s 7d Blocks, 1 single block, £0 13s 1d Pitch, 6 lb of rosin, £0 0s 11d Paint, 6 lb of brimstone, £0 1s 3d Total charged to the fortification at Banks's, £23 7s 0d **Interpretations** Banks's drew £23 7s 0d in stores this quarter, against only £11 11s 4d in the first quarter of 1768. The rise matched the stage the work had reached. In

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		2 .. 10 4 .. 20 6 .. 40 " 7 7 Blocks 1 Single " 13 1 Pitch 6 lb. Rozin " " 11 Paint 6 lb. Brimstone " 1 3 £ 23 7 -	January the site was being cleared and its foundations laid. By June, Mitchell reported the battery almost finished, with only the merlons and gun platforms still to complete. Masons' tools, mallets, pickaxes and over 300 lb of iron were the materials of finished masonry rather than preparation. The brimstone was melted to fix iron cramps and bolts into the stone. The 12 lb of candles lit the office at the works, where the engineer's clerks kept the accounts of labour and materials. Drill strings were the cords of a bow drill. They were wrapped round the drill shaft and pulled back and forth to spin it when boring holes in stone or wood. Plasterers' sieves were used to sift lime and sand for fine plaster. They show the guardhouse or magazine at Banks's being plastered inside as the work drew to a close.
123	116	The 18 July Mundens Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Cordage 2418 40 6 - Lead 179 lb. Sheet 1 13 7 Wheel Barrows 1 " 15 6 Leather 5 lb. Sole " 4 7 Nails viz. 9 lb. 6d. 6 .. 10 11 .. 40 3 Spikes 2½ lb. Barrd. Nails " 13 8 Iron 977 lb. 9 13 1 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pad Lock " 6 6 12 Sail Needles " " 9 1 Stone Saw " 5 2 1 Plaistr. Sieve " 4 7 " 12 - Deals 3 Planks 1 6 6 Oil 1/8 Gall. Linsd. " " 6 Blocks 2 Single of 8 Inch 1 6 2 Tin Ware 1 D. Sheet Tin " " 8 Paint 1½ lb. Black Lead " 1 8 Thread 2 lb. Cold. " 6 4 Candles 1½ lb. " 3 3 Twine 6 Fine Twine " 6 7 Pitch 2 lb. " 1 11 £ 57 12 -	The storekeeper next listed the stores issued for the fortification at Munden's Point from 1 April to 30 June 1768. 2,418 lb of cordage, £40 6s 0d 179 lb of sheet lead, £1 13s 7d 1 wheelbarrow, £0 15s 6d 5 lb of sole leather, £0 4s 7d Nails 9 [...] of sixpenny nails, 6 [...] of tenpenny nails, 11 [...] of fortypenny nails, 3 [...] of spikes and 2½ [...] of barrel nails, £0 13s 8d 927 lb of iron, £9 13s 1d Ironware 1 padlock, £0 1s 6d 12 sail needles, £0 0s 9d 1 stone saw, £0 5s 2d 1 plasterer's sieve, £0 4s 7d Total for ironware, £0 12s 0d 3 deals and balks, £1 6s 6d ⅛ gallon of linseed oil, £0 0s 6d Blocks, 2 single blocks of 8 inches, £1 6s 2d Tinware, 1 double sheet of tin, £0 0s 8d 1½ lb of black lead, £0 1s 8d 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 6s 4d 1½ lb of candles, £0 3s 3d 6 [...] of flax twine, £0 6s 7d 2 [...] of pitch, £0 1s 11d Total charged to the fortification at Munden's Point, £57 12s 0d **Interpretations** Munden's Point drew £57 12s 0d in stores this quarter, three times the £18 19s 2d of the first quarter. Cordage made up two-thirds of the total, at more than 2,400 lb. Mitchell had reported on 4 July that a very large stock of materials had been prepared at the site and the platform enlarged by blasting away the rock. Every block of stone had to be hauled up the steep face of the headland by rope tackle, and the rough rock wore the ropes out quickly. The 927 lb of iron went into cramps, bolts and tools for the masons who would start building there once Banks's was finished. Black lead was graphite. It was rubbed onto the iron guns and their fittings to give a protective black finish against rust in the salt air. Its issue here suggests that guns already mounted on the old battery at Munden's Point were being prepared while the new work went on around them.
124	117	1768 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1768 viz. Cordage 60 lb. for the Cullis at the Main Fort 1 " " Iron Ware, 20 lb. Rolld Iron for Do. Cullis " 7 1	The storekeeper finally listed the stores issued for the fortifications in general from 1 April to 30 June 1768. 60 lb of cordage for the portcullis at the main fort, £1 0s 0d Ironware, 20 [...] of rolled iron for Rupert's portcullis, £0 7s 1d

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		£ 1 7 1 Excepted (Signed) James Powell Storekeepr. St. Helena the 30 June 1768 List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter commencing the 1st of April & ending the 30th Day of June 1768 John Skottowe Esq. Govr. Salary 125 " " Do. Allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esq. Lieut. Govr. Self 62 10 - Do. Diet Money 25 " " 87 10 - Carried over£ 244 4 9	Total charged to the fortifications, £1 7s 1d James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 June 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 April to 30 June 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 Carried forward, £244 4s 9d **Interpretations** A portcullis was a heavy grating of timber or iron that dropped in grooves to close a gateway. The main fort was the Castle at Jamestown, whose sea gate faced the landing place. Rupert's guarded the valley east of the town. Both gateways could be shut quickly if an enemy landed. The portcullis at the Castle hung on ropes that wore with use and had to be replaced. The rolled iron for Rupert's was for strengthening or repairing its gate. Small as the sums were, they show the Company keeping its older defences in order while its main effort went into the new batteries. Corneille's salary and table allowance were unchanged, even as he faced Kirkpatrick's charges before the Board. Pay on St Helena was fixed by the Court and did not depend on the Council's disputes. Only the Court could suspend or dismiss its Lieutenant Governor. Until it had read the papers sent home in the season's ships, Corneille's place and pay stood as before.
125	118	The 18 July Brought over£ 244 4 9 Mr. Pinking of Council Salary 15 " " Do. Allowance 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 " - Do. Gratuity 15 " " 62 10 - Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council Salary 7 10 - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 10 " - Archd. Mitchell Engineer Salary 50 " " Do. Diet Money 25 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 77 10 - William Beancroft Chaplin Saly. 40 " " Do. Diet Money 15 " " 55 " " Matthew Bazett Secrety. Salary 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 " - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 " - James Powell Storekeeper Saly. 17 10 - Do. Diet Money	The list of the Company's officers and employees continued from a total of £244 4s 9d. Brought forward, £244 4s 9d 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

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		15 " - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 " - William Vaughan Factor Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Assist. to ye. Governor 10 " " 30 " " Jonathan Darton Factor Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 " " 22 10 - Bartholomew Wright Factor Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 " - John Goodwin Writers Saly. 5 " " Do. Diet Money 10 " " 15 " - Robert Barclay Surgeons Saly. 9 15 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 22 5 - Carried over£ 628 19 9	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 Carried forward, £628 19s 9d **Interpretations** Every salary and allowance on the civil list was exactly as it had been in the two previous quarters. The bitter quarrel of June and July touched none of the figures. Purling, whose conduct Kirkpatrick had attacked, kept his accountant's pay and gratuity. Kirkpatrick, who brought the charges against Corneille, drew the same small councillor's salary and house rent. Corneille, the accused, was paid in full. The Court in London fixed these sums, and the Council had no power to vary them to punish or reward its own members. Wrangham was now sheriff as well as factor and assistant to the Governor. The Council had appointed him sheriff on 4 April 1768. Yet he drew no extra pay for the office, which was an honour carried out by a leading inhabitant rather than a salaried Company post.
126	119	1768 Brought Over£ 628 19 9 John Pritchard Surgeons Mate Saly. 6 5 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 18 15 - Richd. Bealey Judge Advocate Saly. 12 10 - Do. School Master 7 10 - 20 " - Thomas Bazett Superintendt. Saly. 13 15 - Samuel Alexander 7 10 - John Worrall Overseers 15 " - William Holbrook Master Mason 30 " " John Preston Masons Mate 5 13 11½ John Robinson Carpenter 25 " " Peter Marot Do. Mate 3 11 2¾ Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 16 16 5 Thomas Yates Do. of ye. Church 5 " " Jno. Bazett Superint. of ye. Compys. Blacks 10 " "	The list of the Company's officers and employees continued from a total of £628 19s 9d. Brought forward, £628 19s 9d 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 Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Total for Richard Beale, £20 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, superintendent, salary, £13 13s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Worrall, overseer, £15 0s 0d William Holbrooke, master mason, £30 0s 0d John Preston, mason's mate, £5 13s 11½d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Peter Mariot, carpenter's mate, £3 11s 2¾d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £16 16s 5d Thomas Yates, clerk of the church, £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, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d John Drawwater, cooper, £8 15s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Black Gardiner 10 " " Geo. Bazett Steward 7 10 - Saml. Terry Clerk and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 - Thos. Payne Overseer of the Marine Watermen 6 16 10½ Robt. Allen Groom 2 " " Jno. Roberts Armourer 15 " - Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 - Jno. Cogswell Boatswain 7 10 - Jno. Price Marshall & Gaoler 7 10 - Jas. Drawwater Cooper 8 15 - To the Drum Major for instructg. the young Drummers 1 " - To John Lenmon an Invalid 91 Days @ 9d. Day 3 8 3 209 4 8¾ First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Capt. Saly. 43 12 6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carried over£ 950 7 10¼	The drum major, for teaching the young drummers, £1 0s 0d John Simmons, an invalid, for 91 days at 9d a day, £3 8s 3d Total from Thomas Bazett to John Simmons, £209 4s 8¾d 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 Carried forward, £950 [...] 10½d **Interpretations** James Black, the gardener, still drew his full quarter's salary of £10. On 9 May 1768 the Council had found him guilty of selling the Company's produce, ordered him to repay £9 10s 0d and resolved to dismiss him and send him home in one of the last ships. His pay ran to the end of the quarter, so he was evidently kept on until a passage could be found. In effect, his salary for those weeks covered most of what he had been ordered to repay. Two new posts appeared on the list: a mason's mate, John Preston, and a carpenter's mate, Peter Mariot. Both were paid for part of the quarter only. The Company was adding skilled hands to work under the master mason and the carpenter as the batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point reached their busiest stage. Phillip Mahoney's pay as clerk of the peace rose to £16 16s 5d from £10. The Court's packet in the *Tilbury* had settled his appointment, and the minutes of 12 May recorded that he was told of its orders. The higher figure suggests the Court confirmed him and raised his pay, perhaps with arrears.
127	120	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought Over£ 950 3 10¼ Samuel Desfountain Salary 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjut. Saly. 29 13 1½ Serjeants Phillip Mahoney Disch. 11th May 1768 3 8 4 Thomas Payne 7 11 8 William Bannister 7 11 8 Henry Howell 7 11 8 William Rawlands as Serjt. 50 days 4 3 4 30 6 8 Corporals Do. Corporal 41 Days 2 7 10 John Moran 5 6 2 Thomas Townsend 5 6 2 George Rose 48 Do. 2 10 2 Do. Centinel 43 Do. 2 " - George Seale 50 Do. 2 18 4 Do. Centinel 41 Do.	The list of the First Company continued from a total of £950 3s 10½d. Brought forward, £950 3s 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, adjutant, salary, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Phillip Mahoney, discharged 11 May 1768, £3 8s 4d Thomas Byne, £7 11s 8d William Bannister, £7 11s 8d Henry Howell, £7 11s 8d William Rowlands, as sergeant for 50 days, £4 3s 4d Total for sergeants, £30 6s 8d Corporals William Rowlands, as corporal for 41 days, £2 7s 10d John Allum, £5 6s 2d Thomas Townsend, £5 6s 2d George Roe, as corporal for 43 days, £2 10s 2d George Roe, as private for 48 days, £2 0s 0d George Seale, as corporal for 50 days, £2 18s 4d George Seale, as private for 41 days, £1 14s 2d Total for corporals, £22 [...] 10d Drummers John Martin, £5 6s 2d Richard Halfoot, £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

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 14 2 22 12 10 Drummers John Martin 5 6 2 Richd. Pleffert 5 6 2 Joseph Peerham 5 6 2 15 18 6 Centinels James Greentree Cadet 7 11 8 James Avery 3 15 10 James Armstrong 3 15 10 John Buchanan 3 15 10 Thomas Blake 3 15 10 Moses Boffey 3 15 10 Centl. Carrd. over£ 18 19 2 Carrd. over£ 1083 8 6[...]	Thomas Blake, £3 15s 10d Moses Biffin, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £18 19s 2d Carried forward, £1,083 8s 6½d **Interpretations** Phillip Mahoney left the ranks on 11 May 1768, the day before the *Tilbury* brought the Court's orders on his appointment as clerk of the peace. His pay as clerk of the peace rose on the civil list in the same quarter. The Court evidently confirmed him in the civil post and expected him to give up his sergeant's stripes. A man serving as clerk to the island's magistrates could not also be a sergeant answering to his military officers. William Rowlands, a corporal, was raised to sergeant in Mahoney's place, and the chain of promotion went on down the ranks. George Roe and George Seale exchanged places at the same rank on almost the same day. Roe was a corporal for the first 43 days and then a private. Seale was a private for the first 41 days and then a corporal. Roe had witnessed Sergeant John Cox's will on 6 June 1768. Whatever led to his reduction came shortly after. George Seale was the island-born soldier who had enlisted on 4 January 1768 for a bounty of £5. His promotion to corporal within six months shows how quickly a reliable local recruit could rise, when experienced men were leaving the garrison in such numbers.
128	121	1768 Brought over£ 1083 8 6¼ Centinels brought Over£ 18 19 2 John Bell 3 15 10 John Barns 3 15 10 Timothy Brown 3 15 10 Emanuel Bunner 3 15 10 William Benson 3 15 10 Benjamin Barclay 3 15 10 Samuel Bingrove 3 15 10 Richard Brown 3 15 10 William Bunn 3 15 10 John Blaven Entd. 5th June 1768 1 1 8 Edward Caker 3 15 10 William Clifford 3 15 10 Patrick Conner 3 15 10 Andrew Conner 3 15 10 John Charlton 3 15 10 William Coppin Entd. 5th June 1768 1 1 8 David Daves Disch. 4 April Do. " 3 4 John Dobson Transf. 20 May Do. 2 1 8 John Davis 3 15 10 John Dove 3 15 10 James Drake 3 15 10 Thomas Durham 3 15 10	The list of privates in the First Company continued from a total of £18 19s 2d. Brought forward, £1,083 8s 6½d Privates brought forward, £18 19s 2d 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 William Burn, £3 15s 10d John Blaven, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d 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 William Coppin, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d David Davis, discharged 4 April 1768, £0 3s 4d John Dobson, transferred 20 May 1768, £2 1s 8d John Davis, £3 15s 10d John Dare, £3 15s 10d James Drake, £3 15s 10d Thomas Durham, £3 15s 10d James Dunn, £3 15s 10d George Joyce, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Adam Evans, £3 15s 10d Henry Enslear, £3 15s 10d Cornelius Finn, £3 15s 10d William French, £3 15s 10d William Fisher, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 3d William Greenwood, £3 15s 10d John Granger, £3 15s 10d James Hodge, discharged 16 May 1768, £1 18s 4d Privates carried forward, £124 5s 0d Carried forward, £1,083 8s 6½d **Interpretations** The dates of enlistment and discharge match the minutes exactly. David Davis claimed his discharge on 4 April 1768 and was paid for just those four days. James Hodge was discharged on 16 May, the day the Council granted his petition with five others. George Joyce and William Fisher enlisted on 12 May, the day the *Tilbury* arrived. They were among the 26 recruits

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Dunn 3 15 10 George Dyce Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 Adam Evans 3 15 10 Henry Everton 3 15 10 Cornelius Fish 3 15 10 William French 3 15 10 William Foster Entd. 12th May 2 1 3 William Greenwood 3 15 10 John Granger 3 15 10 James Hodge Disch. 16th May 1 13 4 Centl. Carrd. over£ 124 5 - Carrd. over£ 1083 8 6¼	she brought from England. The Council had at once given those recruits to Mitchell for labour on the batteries, but they were also placed on the companies' rolls and paid as soldiers from the day they landed. John Blaven and William Coppin enlisted on 5 June 1768, the day the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Northington* arrived. The minutes recorded no recruits in either ship. These two men were probably seamen who left the ships and were enlisted directly, as Samuel Willson the Dane had been in January. John Dobson was transferred out of the First Company on 20 May 1768. With the artillery short of men after several discharges, he was probably moved into it, as William Halsall had been in January.
129	122	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 1083 8 6¼ Centinels brought over£ 124 5 - William Henderson 3 15 10 John Hourston 3 15 10 Edward Haddock 3 15 10 William Holmes 3 15 10 Evan Howard Entd. 12th May 1768 2 1 8 Phillip Hayes Do. Do. 2 1 8 John Hammond Do. 5th June Do. 1 1 8 Thomas Ibswick 3 15 10 Sutton Isaac 3 15 10 William Jones Entd. 12th May Do. 2 1 8 Duncan McLaren 3 15 10 William Mumford 3 15 10 John McAllister 3 15 10 Thomas Mears 3 15 10 William Mudge Entd. 5th June 1 1 8 John Miller 3 15 10 Mathew Oalmen 3 15 10 John Pickering disch. 18th April " 15 - William Page Entd. 5th June 1 1 8 Thomas Ransom Disch. 4th April " 3 4 Thomas Roberts 3 15 10 William Robinson 3 15 10 Silvanus Rolf 3 15 10 Thomas Rogers 3 15 10 Anthony Reynolds	The list of privates in the First Company continued from a total of £124 5s 0d. Brought forward, £1,083 8s 6½d Privates brought forward, £124 5s 0d William Henderson, £3 15s 10d John Hourston, £3 15s 10d Edward Haddock, £3 15s 10d William Holmes, £3 15s 10d Evan Howard, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Phillip Hayes, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d John Hammond, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Thomas Berwick, £3 15s 10d Sutton Isaacke, £3 15s 10d William Jones, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Duncan McLaren, £3 15s 10d William Mumford, £3 15s 10d John McAllister, £3 15s 10d Thomas Meares, £3 15s 10d William Mudge, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d John Miller, £3 15s 10d Matthew Palmer, £3 15s 10d John Pickering, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 15s 0d William Page, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Thomas Ransom, discharged 4 April 1768, £0 3s 4d Thomas Roberts, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, £3 15s 10d Erasmus Relf, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rogers, £3 15s 10d Anthony Reynolds, £3 15s 10d William Swaby, £3 15s 10d Robert Saunders, discharged 4 April 1768, £0 3s 4d John Springthorpe, £3 15s 10d John Shinn, £3 15s 10d John Steward, £3 15s 10d Edward Stevenson, £3 15s 10d William Snell, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £222 0s 10d Carried forward, £1,083 8s 6½d **Interpretations** The First Company's rolls now showed the turnover of the spring in full. Five men left between 4 April and 16 May: David Davis, Thomas Ransom, Robert Saunders, John Pickering and James Hodge. Eight new men had joined by the end of this page alone, five from the *Tilbury* on 12 May and four on 5 June. The company was being filled from two sources at once: recruits shipped out from England, and seamen or settlers taken on at the island as the ships came and went.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 William Swaby 3 15 10 Robert Saunders Disch. 4th April 1768 " 3 4 John Springthorpe 3 15 10 John Skeans 3 15 10 John Steward 3 15 10 Edward Silverton 3 15 10 William Smitt 3 15 10 Cent. Carrd. over£ 222 " 10 Carrd. over£ 1083 8 [...]	John Pickering was paid to 18 April 1768. The minutes recorded his petition for discharge among the nine men whose requests were granted at the consultation of 25 April. His pay ran only to the day he was actually released, a week before the Council formally entered the grant.
130	123	1768 Brought Over£ 1083 8 6¼ Centl. brought Over£ 222 " 10 Joseph Tracy as Corpl. 43 days 2 16 - Do. Centl. 43 Do. 1 15 10 James Swanson Entd. 5th June 1768 1 1 8 Richard Tollington Disch. 26 May Do. 2 6 8 William Tapper 3 15 10 Lucky Turner Disch. 13 April " 15 - Joseph Valentine Entd. 12 May 2 1 8 John Wittingdale 3 16 10 Benjamin Wise 3 15 10 Thomas Windall 3 15 10 John Weston 3 15 10 George Wall 3 15 10 Richard Yarras Disch. 10th May 1768 1 13 4 257 6 - Second Company Henry Bazett Capt. Salary 45 12 6 Michael Groot 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 Disch. 16th May 1768 3 16 8 Stephen Payor 7 11 8 John Fish as Serjt. 45 Days 3 15 -	The list of privates in the First Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,083 8s 6½d Privates brought forward, £222 0s 10d Joseph Stacey, as corporal for 48 days, £2 16s 0d Joseph Stacey, as private for 43 days, £1 15s 10d James Watson, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Richard Tollington, died 26 May 1768, £2 6s 8d William Tipper, £3 15s 10d Luke Vernon, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 15s 0d Joseph Valentine, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d 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, discharged 10 May 1768, £1 13s 4d Total for privates, £257 6s [...] The list continued with the officers and men of the Second Company. 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, discharged 16 May 1768, £3 16s 8d Stephen Prior, £7 11s 8d John Fish, as sergeant for 45 days, £3 15s 0d John Fish, as corporal for 46 days, £2 13s 8d Total for sergeants, £33 0s 4d Carried forward, £1,474 11s 1½d **Interpretations** Joseph Stacey was reduced from corporal to private after 48 days, at about the time George Seale was promoted to corporal. Corporal George Roe was reduced in the same weeks. The First Company lost two corporals and replaced them from its own ranks within the quarter. Richard Tollington's pay stopped on 26 May 1768, the day the minutes of 30 May recorded his death. In the Second Company, Corporal John Fish was promoted to sergeant on 16 May 1768, the very day Sergeant Edmund Lock was discharged. The Second Company filled the vacancy in its non-commissioned officers on the day it opened, as the Fourth Company had done in October 1767 and March 1768. However many men left that spring, every company kept its full number of sergeants by promoting from below.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. as Corpl. 46 Do. 2 13 8 33 " 4 Carrd. Over£ 1474 11 1½	
131	124	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought Over£ 1474 11 1½ Corporals John Sabourin 5 6 2 Robert Hopkinson 5 6 2 Jonathan Burden 5 6 2 John Salsbury as Corpl. 45 Days 2 12 6 Do. as Centl. 46 Do. 1 18 4 20 9 4 Drummers Francis Seaney Disch. 4 April 1768 " 4 8 John Brown 5 6 2 Patrick Edwington Entd. 12 May Do. 2 18 4 8 9 2 Centinels Robt. Allum 3 15 10 Joseph Banks 3 15 10 Thomas Bewley 3 15 10 William Buck 3 15 10 William Brooks 3 15 10 Jacob Brown 3 15 10 Robert Brown 3 15 10 Nicholas Bushell 3 15 10 Daniel Burge 3 15 10 James Byrne 3 15 10 Thomas Cheverley Disch. 4 April 1768 " 3 4 William Conquest 3 15 10 John Crawley 3 15 10 William Carfre 3 15 10 Saml. Card Disch. 30 May Do. 2 10 . William Carter 3 15 10 John Cunningham 3 15 10 Robert Dickens 3 15 10 William Drummond 3 15 10 Carrd. over£ 67 2 6 Carrd. over£ 1503 9 [...] **Margin Notes:** 100	The list of the Second Company continued from a total of £1,474 11s 1½d. Brought forward, £1,474 11s 1½d Corporals John Sabourin, £5 6s 2d Robert Stephenson, £5 6s 2d Jonathan Burden, £5 6s 2d John Salisbury, as corporal for 45 days, £2 12s 6d John Salisbury, as private for 46 days, £1 18s 4d Total for corporals, £20 9s 4d Drummers Francis Swane, discharged 4 April 1768, £0 4s 8d John Brown, £5 6s 2d Patrick Coddington, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 18s 4d Total for drummers, £8 9s 2d Privates Robert Allum, £3 15s 10d Joseph Banks, £3 15s 10d Thomas Bowley, £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, discharged 4 April 1768, £0 3s 4d William Conquest, £3 15s 10d John Crawley, £3 15s 10d William Carfree, £3 15s 10d Samuel Card, discharged 30 May 1768, £2 10s 0d William Carter, £3 15s 10d John Cunningham, £3 15s 10d Robert Dickens, £3 15s 10d William Dunnan, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £61 2s 6d Carried forward, £1,503 9s [...] **Interpretations** John Salisbury was raised from private to corporal on 16 May 1768, the same day John Fish moved up from corporal to sergeant. One discharge, Sergeant Edmund Lock's, therefore produced two promotions in the Second Company on a single day. Jonathan Burden, who had been reduced from corporal to private at the end of February, was now back among the corporals for the full quarter. The rank changes from one quarter to the next show how freely the officers moved men up and down, judging each by his conduct over a matter of weeks. Patrick Coddington joined as a drummer on 12 May, one of the *Tilbury*'s recruits. He replaced Francis Swane, who had taken his discharge on 4 April. Drummers were among the youngest men in the garrison, and the drum major was paid £1 a quarter to train them. A recruit from England who already knew the drum was valuable to a company that had lost its drummer.
132	125	1768 Brought over£ 1503 9 7¼ Centinels brought over£ 67 2 6 John Daily	The list of privates in the Second Company continued from a total of £61 2s 6d. Brought forward, £1,503 9s 7¼d Privates brought forward, £61 2s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Peter Ellis Entd. 5th June 1768 1 1 8 John Forbes 3 15 10 William Fullwood 3 15 10 John Goodsell 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 Disch. 6th May 1768 1 18 4 James Goody Do. 6 June Do. 2 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 Holbrook 3 15 10 James Hudson 3 15 10 Thomas Haylis 3 15 10 William Hayes Decd. 14th April 1768 " 11 8 James Hogg 3 15 10 John Ham 3 15 10 William Harper 3 15 10 William Hunt 3 15 10 Samuel Instone 3 15 10 William Johnson Disch. 4th April Centinel the 23d. 1768 3 " 10 Jeremiah Jordan Disch. 16 May 1768 1 13 4 John Jacks 3 15 10 Thomas James 3 15 10 John James 3 15 10 Francis Jackson Entd. 12th May 1768 2 1 8 Samuel Kirkham 3 15 10 Carrd. over£ 171 10 10 Carrd. over£ 1503 9 7¼	John Daily, £3 15s 10d Peter Ellis, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d 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, discharged 16 May 1768, £1 18s 4d James Gouty, discharged 6 June 1768, £2 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 Hayles, £3 15s 10d William Hayes, died 14 April 1768, £0 11s 8d James Hogg, £3 15s 10d John Ham, £3 15s 10d William Harper, £3 15s 10d William Hunt, £3 15s 10d Samuel Instone, £3 15s 10d William Johnson, discharged 4 April and re-enlisted 23 April 1768, £3 0s 10d Jeremiah Gordon, discharged 16 May 1768, £1 18s 4d John Jacks, £3 15s 10d Thomas James, £3 15s 10d John James, £3 15s 10d Francis Jackson, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Samuel Ibson, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £171 10s 10d Carried forward, £1,503 9s 7¼d **Interpretations** William Johnson took his discharge on 4 April 1768, when his five-year engagement ended, and re-enlisted on 23 April. He was paid for the four days before his discharge and for the 69 days after he rejoined. The three weeks between were unpaid. A discharged soldier on St Helena had few choices. He could find a passage home, settle as a labourer or planter, or rejoin. Johnson evidently found life outside the garrison harder than he expected, or failed to get a passage, and came back to the ranks. The minutes did not record a re-enlistment bounty for him. He may have rejoined on ordinary terms. William Hayes died on 14 April 1768 and was paid for 14 days, which confirms him as the soldier whose death the minutes of 18 April recorded. William Hunt, raised to corporal for the last weeks of the first quarter, appeared here as a private again. He was evidently reduced when Jonathan Burden was restored as corporal.
133	126	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 1503 9 7¼ Centls. brought over£ 171 10 10 Henry Ketcham 3 15 10 John Kemp Entd. 12th May 1768 2 1 8 Henry Miller 3 15 10 James Mannington	The list of privates in the Second Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,503 9s 7¼d Privates brought forward, £171 10s 10d Henry Lockham, £3 15s 10d John Perry, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d 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 John Morris 3 15 10 John McCullen 3 15 10 William Merrick 3 15 10 William Mackbeth 1 1 8 Abraham Miller 1 1 8 Joseph McCartney 1 1 8 Thomas Mathews 1 1 8 Thomas Morgan 1 1 8 Entd. 5th June Rees Oborn 3 15 10 George Oliver Entd. 5th June 1 1 8 Samuel Perry 3 15 10 John Perry 3 15 10 Thomas Richards 3 15 10 William Richardson Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 John Christr. Rufe 3 15 10 Benjamin Stinger Disch. 24th May 2 5 - Thomas Stower 3 15 10 Gregory Southernwood 3 15 10 Francis Seale 3 15 10 Frederick Shaffer Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 George Street Do. 5th June 1 1 8 John Tucker 3 15 10 John Vaughan 3 15 10 John Whyatt 3 15 10 Joseph Whaley 3 15 10 255 17 [...] Carrd. over£ 1759 7 [...]	William Macbeth, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Abraham Miller, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Joseph McCartney, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Thomas Matthews, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Thomas Morgan, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Reeves Osborne, £3 15s 10d George Oliver, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Samuel Povey, £3 15s 10d John Povey, £3 15s 10d Thomas Richards, £3 15s 10d William Richardson, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d John Christian Shiff, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Springer, discharged 24 May 1768, £2 5s 0d Thomas Bowers, £3 15s 10d Gregory Southerwood, £3 15s 10d Francis Seale, £3 15s 10d Frederick Shaffer, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d George Street, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d John Tucker, £3 15s 10d John Vaughan, £3 15s 10d John Wyrill, £3 15s 10d Joseph Whaley, £3 15s 10d Total for privates, £255 17s [...] Carried forward, £1,759 7s [...] **Interpretations** Seven men joined the Second Company on 5 June 1768 alone, more than in any other company on a single day. They were William Macbeth, Abraham Miller, Joseph McCartney, Thomas Matthews, Thomas Morgan, George Oliver and George Street. That day the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Northington* arrived. The *Duke of Richmond* came from England, so these men were probably a second draft of recruits she carried, though the minutes recorded only the *Tilbury*'s 26. Recruits from both store ships now filled the gaps left by the spring discharges, with the largest share going to the Second Company. Francis Seale, Joseph Whaley and John Wyrill, the three island-born men enlisted in late 1767, all served the full quarter. John Vaughan, who received a re-enlistment bounty of £10 in November 1767, was also still in the ranks. The men who had been paid to stay or to join were proving reliable, while the long-serving recruits from England were leaving as their terms ended.
134	127	1768 Brought over£ 1759 7 1¼ Third Company Richard Bealey Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 " Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly. 18 5 " Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Serjeants Bernard Hellard disch. 28th May 1768	The list continued with the officers and men of the Third Company, from a total of £1,759 7s 1¼d. Brought forward, £1,759 7s 1¼d 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 Bernard Millard, discharged 23 May 1768, £4 8s 4d William Roberts, £7 11s 8d William Clifton, £7 11s 8d Fisher Gamble, discharged 18 April 1768, £1 10s 0d Samuel Johnson, as sergeant for 73 days, £6 1s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 8 4 William Roberts 7 11 8 William Clifton 7 11 8 Fisher Gamble Discharged 18th April Do. 1 10 " Samuel Johnson as Serjt. 73 days 6 1 8 Do. as Corpl. 18 Do. 1 1 " Thomas Pearcy Serjt. 38 Do. 3 3 4 Do. Corpl. 53 Do. 3 1 10 34 9 6 Corporals John Hilliard 5 6 2 David Scott 5 6 2 John Ireland as Corpl. 73 days 4 5 2 Do. as Centl. 18 days " 15 - Richard Ashford as Corpl. 38 Do. 2 4 4 Do. Centinel 53 Do. 2 4 2 20 1 - Drummers John Francis 5 6 2 George Varney 5 6 2 10 12 4 Carrd. over£ 1925 6 2½	Samuel Johnson, as corporal for 18 days, £1 1s 0d Thomas Pearce, as sergeant for 38 days, £3 3s 4d Thomas Pearce, as corporal for 53 days, £3 1s 10d Total for sergeants, £34 9s 6d Corporals John Hilliard, £5 6s 2d David Scott, £5 6s 2d John Sherland, as corporal for 73 days, £4 5s 2d John Sherland, as private for 18 days, £0 15s 0d Richard Ashford, as corporal for 38 days, £2 4s 4d Richard Ashford, as private for 53 days, £2 4s 2d Total for corporals, £20 1s 0d Drummers John Swift, £5 6s 2d George Varney, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Carried forward, £1,923 6s [...] **Interpretations** The Third Company lost two sergeants in the quarter and filled both places from among its corporals. When Fisher Gamble left on 18 April 1768, Corporal Samuel Johnson was promoted that day and Private John Sherland took his corporal's place. When Bernard Millard left on 23 May, Corporal Thomas Pearce moved up and Private Richard Ashford was made corporal. Each discharge set off a chain of two promotions on the same day, keeping four sergeants and four corporals in the company throughout. Fisher Gamble had been raised to sergeant only in January 1768, on John Watson's reduction, and he left within three months. Bernard Millard had acted as adjutant until March and returned to the Third Company as a sergeant before his engagement ended. Both men took their discharge as soon as their terms allowed. Even promotion did not persuade an experienced soldier to stay once his five years were over.
135	128	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 1925 6 2½ Centinels James Anderson 3 15 10 Henry Brown 3 15 10 Jacob Bull 3 15 10 Mark Bolls 3 15 10 John Hewson 3 15 10 Fredk. Willm. Bird 3 15 10 Willm. Caleb Baldwin 3 15 10 Abel Wagnel Entd. 5 June 1768 1 1 8 John Cook 3 15 10 Robert Davis 3 15 10 Edward Dudley 3 15 10 James Donavan 3 15 10 William Edwards Entd. 12 May 1768 2 1 8 Charles Edgels Do. 5th June Do. 1 1 8 William Foster 3 15 10	The list continued with the privates of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,923 6s 2¼d 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 Abel Wagnel, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d John Cork, £3 15s 10d Robert Davis, £3 15s 10d Edward Dudley, £3 15s 10d James Donavan, £3 15s 10d William Edwards, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Charles Edgels, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d William Foster, £3 15s 10d John Foxen, £3 15s 10d William Ford, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d 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 Mannard Hayes, £3 15s 10d Joseph Holloway, £3 15s 10d Robert Hinkey, £3 15s 10d Peter Higgins, £3 15s 10d William Hamilton, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Foxon 3 15 10 William Ford Do. 12th May Do. 2 1 8 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 Hilbrook 3 15 10 Mannord Hayes 3 15 10 Joseph Holloway 3 15 10 Robert Hardie 3 15 10 Peter Higgins 3 15 10 William Hamilton Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 Josiah Johnson 3 15 10 Robert Johnston 3 15 10 Cent. Carrd. over£ 107 " - Carrd. Over£ 1925 6 [...]	Josiah Johnson, £3 15s 10d Robert Johnson, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £107 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,923 6s 2¼d **Interpretations** The Third Company took in five new men during the quarter on this page: William Edwards, William Ford and William Hamilton from the *Tilbury* on 12 May, and Abel Wagnel and Charles Edgels on 5 June. The company's long-serving privates, by contrast, all served the full quarter. None of the familiar names from the January list had left. The Third Company kept its experienced men while the recruits added to its numbers, which is why it lost only its two sergeants to discharge. Richard Ashford, the first private on the January list, no longer appears here. He was the man raised to corporal on 23 May 1768 when Bernard Millard left.
136	129	Brought over£ 1925 6 2½ Centinels brought over£ 107 " - Richard Johnson 3 15 10 William Johnson Entd. 12th May 1768 2 1 8 James Kemp 3 15 10 Richard Laney Disch. 18 April Do. " 15 - John Long 3 15 10 Edward Lambert 3 15 10 Brian Lynch 3 15 10 James Long 3 15 10 Thomas Little 3 15 10 Charles Montague 3 15 10 Richard Moyse 3 15 10 Thomas Moris 3 15 10 John Miller 3 16 10 Abraham Major 3 15 10 Thomas Mathews 3 15 10 Daniel Masterson 3 15 10 James Moyse 3 15 10 Joseph Martin 3 15 10 William Metcalf 3 15 10 Charles Moris	The list of privates in the Third Company continued from a total of £107 0s 0d. Brought forward, £1,923 6s 2¼d Privates brought forward, £107 0s 0d Richard Johnson, £3 15s 10d William Johnson, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d James Kemp, £3 15s 10d Richard Linney, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 15s 0d 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 Thomas Matthews, £3 15s 10d Daniel Masterson, £3 15s 10d James Moyce, £3 15s 10d Joseph Martin, £3 15s 10d William Medcalf, £3 15s 10d Charles Norris, £3 15s 10d Charles Newstead, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d 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 Arthur Still, £3 15s 10d James Smith, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £221 17s 6d Carried forward, £1,923 6s 2¼d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Charles Newstead Entd. 12th May 1768 2 1 8 Thomas Perry 3 15 10 Henry Pinston 3 15 10 William Perkins 3 15 10 David Patten 3 15 10 James Proctor 3 15 10 Samuel Rocker 3 15 10 William Robinson 3 15 10 Robert Sack 3 15 10 Adam Scott 3 15 10 Arthur Skill 3 15 10 James Smith 3 15 10 Centl. Carrd. over£ 221 17 6 Carrd. over£ 1925 6 2½	Richard Linney was the only private of the Third Company to leave in the quarter. He took his discharge on 18 April 1768, with the nine men whose petitions the Council granted on 25 April, and was paid for those 18 days. Two recruits from the *Tilbury* joined on 12 May. One of them, William Johnson, shared his name with the Second Company private who had left and rejoined in April. The garrison now had two men of that name in different companies, as it already had two named William Harris and two named Thomas Watts. James Smith appears for the first time on this list, in place of William Smith in the January roll. The clerks sometimes entered a soldier's forename differently from one quarter to the next. The muster, at which each man answered in person, was the real check on identity.
137	130	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 1925 6 2[...] Centl. brought over£ 221 17 6 John Thompson 3 15 10 Thomas Taylor 3 15 10 Richard Vincent 3 15 10 Thomas Ward 3 15 10 Edward Welch Disch. 2d Apl. 1768 " 1 8 George Washington 3 15 10 Holton Walker 3 15 10 Roger Wilson Decd. 17th May Do. 1 19 2 Thomas Wiffington 3 15 10 Samuel Word Entd. 5th June 1 1 8 James York 3 15 10 Mathew Chelton Entd. 5th June & Transf. to the Artly. Compy. 7th June " 2 6 255 9 2 Fourth Company John Hawkins Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Henry Delaval Lieut. Saly. 18 5 " Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 " 27 11 10[...] Serjeants John Fleming 7 11 8 Thomas Bailey as Serjt. 81 6 15 - Do. as Centl. 10 " 8 4 Thomas Ferris as Serjt. 39	The list of privates in the Third Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £1,923 6s 2¼d Privates brought forward, £221 17s 6d John Thompson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Taylor, £3 15s 10d Richard Vincent, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ward, £3 15s 10d Edward Welsh, discharged 2 April 1768, £0 1s 8d George Washington, £3 15s 10d Hatton Walther, £3 15s 10d Roger Watson, died 17 May 1768, £1 19s 2d Thomas Woffington, £3 15s 10d Samuel Ward, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d James York, £3 15s 10d Matthew Chalton, enlisted 5 June 1768 and transferred to the Artillery Company 7 June 1768, £0 2s 6d Total for privates, £255 9s 2d 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, as sergeant for 81 days, £6 15s 0d Thomas Bailey, as private for 10 days, £0 8s 4d Thomas Ferris, as sergeant for 39 days, £3 5s 0d Thomas Ferris, as private for 52 days, £2 3s 4d Joseph West, as sergeant for 52 days, £4 6s 8d Joseph West, as corporal for 39 days, £2 5s 6d James Ive, as sergeant for 10 days, £0 16s 8d James Ive, as corporal for 81 days, £4 14s 6d John Moore, £7 11s 8d Total for sergeants, £39 18s 4d Carried forward, £2,293 18s [...] **Interpretations** Two of the Fourth Company's four sergeants were reduced to private during the quarter. Thomas Ferris lost his stripes on about 9 May 1768, and Thomas Bailey on about 20 June. Two of its corporals, Joseph West and James Ive, were promoted in their place on the same days. Both

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 5 - Do. as Centl. 52 2 3 4 Joseph West as Serjt. 52 days 4 6 8 Do. as Corpl. 39 2 5 6 James Fox as Serjt. 10 " 16 8 Do. as Corpl. 81 4 14 6 John Moore 7 11 8 39 18 4 Carrd. over£ 2293 18 [...]	reductions came while the Council was preparing its new rules against drunkenness. Corneille had argued on 27 June that a sergeant who kept or profited from a punch house could not be trusted to keep his men sober. The minutes do not give the reasons for either reduction. Ferris had been a witness to Sergeant John Cox's will on 6 June, a month after his own reduction. Roger Watson's pay ran to 17 May 1768, a day before the minutes of 18 May recorded his death. Matthew Chalton enlisted on 5 June and was moved to the Artillery Company two days later. A newly landed man with any experience of guns was sent straight to the artillery, which had lost a sergeant, a bombardier, a gunner and several matrosses that spring.
138	131	1768 Brought over£ 2293 18 -¾ Corporals John Dale 5 6 2 James Bullet as Corporal 4 " 4 8 Do. as Centl. 87 3 12 6 Richd. Bickerstaff as Corpl. 77 4 9 10 Do. as Centl. 14 " 11 8 Thos. Hilliard as Corpl. 52 3 " 8 Do. as Centl. 39 1 12 6 Thos. Williams as Corpl. 10 " 11 8 Do. as Centl. 81 3 7 6 John Ward as Corpl. 10 " 11 8 Do. as Centl. 81 3 7 6 26 16 4 Drummers John Sampson 5 6 2 George Hill disch. 18th April 1768 Centinel 22 Do. Do. 5 2 8 10 8 10 Centinels John Allen 3 15 10 William Allen 3 15 10 Daniel Armon 3 15 10 George Bennett 3 15 10 Joseph Blackwell 3 15 10 John Beauchamp 3 15 10 John Brooks Disch. 2d Apl. " 1 8 John Bewler 3 15 10 William Blackman 3 15 10 William Blevens Entd. 5 June 1 1 8 William Corkney 3 15 10 Duncan Cameron 3 15 10 James Cubbins	The list of the Fourth Company continued from a total of £2,293 18s 7¼d. Brought forward, £2,293 18s 7¼d Corporals John Deale, £5 6s 2d James Brilliott, as corporal for 4 days, £0 4s 8d James Brilliott, as private for 87 days, £3 12s 6d Richard Bickerstaff, as corporal for 77 days, £4 9s 10d Richard Bickerstaff, as private for 14 days, £0 11s 8d Thomas Hilliard, as corporal for 52 days, £3 0s 8d Thomas Hilliard, as private for 39 days, £1 12s 6d Thomas Williams, as corporal for 10 days, £0 11s 8d Thomas Williams, as private for 81 days, £3 7s 6d John Wood, as corporal for 10 days, £0 11s 8d John Wood, as private for 81 days, £3 7s 6d Total for corporals, £26 16s 4d Drummers John Crispin, £5 6s 2d George Wills, discharged 18 April 1768 and re-enlisted 22 [...] 1768, £5 2s 8d Total for drummers, £10 8s 10d 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 Beauchamp, £3 15s 10d John Brooke, discharged 2 April 1768, £0 1s 8d John Bowler, £3 15s 10d William Blackman, £3 15s 10d William Blevens, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d William Cobury, £3 15s 10d Duncan Cameron, £3 15s 10d James Culsher, £3 15s 10d Privates carried forward, £42 17s 6d Carried forward, £2,331 3s 2¾d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company's corporals changed more than any other company's in the quarter. Five men held the rank at some point. James Brilliott was a corporal for only the first four days before he was reduced, and Richard Bickerstaff, a private in January, took his place. Thomas Hilliard, another former private, was promoted on about 9 May 1768, when Joseph West moved up to sergeant in Thomas Ferris's place. Bickerstaff and Hilliard were both reduced again before the quarter ended. On about 20 June, Thomas Williams and John Wood took their places just as James Ive was raised to sergeant in place of Thomas Bailey. Of the company's six reductions in rank in the quarter, four came within a few weeks of each other in May and June.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Centl. Carrd. over£ 42 17 6 Carrd. over£ 2331 3 2¾	George Wills, the drummer, took his discharge on 18 April 1768 and re-enlisted a few days later, like William Johnson of the Second Company. He lost only a few days' pay. Drummers had little to offer outside the garrison, and a man who had spent five years at the drum on St Helena was unlikely to find better work on the island.
139	132	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 2331 3 2¾ Centl. brought over£ 42 17 6 Richard Close 3 15 10 Josiah Cammins 3 15 10 John Gleanen Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 John Quston 3 15 10 Charles Field 3 15 10 Francis Flinn 3 15 10 Henry Friendly Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 George Green 3 15 10 John Gilmore 3 15 10 Edward German 3 15 10 John Glency Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 Henry Hevenburg 3 15 10 Roger Haydon 3 15 10 John Harper 3 15 10 James Harris Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 Stephen John 3 15 10 Christian Johnson 3 15 10 Thomas Johnson 3 15 10 John Joyce 3 15 10 James Jordan Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 Richard Kimpton 3 15 10 Thomas Kyleck 3 15 10 Thomas Lee disch. 4th April " 3 4 Thomas Lyne 3 15 10 Charles Lewellin 3 15 10 Thomas Marshall Disch. 2d April " 1 8 John Mayer 3 15 10 Murdock McLeod 3 15 10 John Newton 3 15 10 Thomas McClearman 3 15 10 Patrick Mahoney Transfd. to the Artly. Compy. 7th June 2 19 2 Centl. Carrd. over£ 123 14 2	The list of privates in the Fourth Company continued from a total of £42 17s 6d. Brought forward, £2,331 3s 2¾d Privates brought forward, £42 17s 6d Richard Cox, £3 15s 10d Josiah Cummings, £3 15s 10d John Glennon, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d John Eastone, £3 15s 10d Charles Field, £3 15s 10d Francis Glynn, £3 15s 10d Henry Friendly, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d George Greer, £3 15s 10d John Gilmore, £3 15s 10d Edward German, £3 15s 10d John Glancy, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Henry Verringbury, £3 15s 10d Roger Haydon, £3 15s 10d John Harper, £3 15s 10d James Harris, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Stephen John, £3 15s 10d Christian Johnson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Johnson, £3 15s 10d John Joyce, £3 15s 10d James Jordan, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Richard Kempster, £3 15s 10d Thomas Haylock, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lee, discharged 4 April 1768, £0 3s 4d Thomas Lyne, £3 15s 10d Charles Llewellin, £3 15s 10d Thomas Marshall, discharged 2 April 1768, £0 1s 8d John Major, £3 15s 10d Murdoch McLeod, £3 15s 10d John Newton, £3 15s 10d Thomas McNamara, £3 15s 10d Patrick Mahoney, transferred to the Artillery Company 10 June 1768, £2 19s 2d Privates carried forward, £143 14s 2d Carried forward, £2,331 3s 2¾d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company took five of the *Tilbury*'s recruits on 12 May 1768: John Glennon, Henry Friendly, John Glancy, James Harris and James Jordan. With the recruits placed in the other companies, the draft was spread evenly across all four companies of foot. Each company could then absorb the new men among experienced soldiers, who would teach them the duties of the island's guard posts. Patrick Mahoney moved to the Artillery Company on 10 June 1768, three days after Matthew Chalton was sent there from the Third Company. The artillery was building up its strength as the new batteries neared completion. It would need trained men to serve the 24-pounders at Banks's and Munden's Point. The Company drew them from the companies of foot, choosing men who had already served a term rather than sending raw recruits to the guns.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carrd. over£ 2331 3 [...]	
140	133	1768 Brought over£ 2331 3 2¾ Centl. brought over£ 143 14 2 Robert Nay 3 15 10 James Nesbitt 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 Rutherford 3 15 10 John Shaw 3 15 10 William Scotman 3 15 10 John Slade 3 15 10 William Sedman 3 15 10 John Sincop Disch. 16th May 1 18 4 William Sharpe Entd. 12th Do. 2 1 8 John Sorry 3 15 10 John Tetchell Entd. 12th May 2 1 8 Jeremiah Worrall 3 15 10 William Waite 3 15 10 Thomas Watts 3 15 10 James Willson 3 15 10 James Walter 3 15 10 Samuel Willson 3 15 10 John Words Entd. 5th June 1 1 8 John White Do. Do. 1 1 8 239 3 4 Carrd. over£ 2570 6 6¾	The list of privates in the Fourth Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £2,331 3s 2¾d Privates brought forward, £143 14s 2d Robert May, £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, discharged 16 May 1768, £1 18s 4d William Sharpe, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d John Terry, £3 15s 10d John Tidsall, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 1s 8d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 15s 10d William Waite, £3 15s 10d Thomas Watts, £3 15s 10d James Wilson, £3 15s 10d James Waller, £3 15s 10d Samuel Willson, £3 15s 10d John Woods, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d John White, enlisted 5 June 1768, £1 1s 8d Total for privates, £239 3s 4d Carried forward, £2,570 6s 6¾d **Interpretations** John Simcox left the garrison on 16 May 1768, when the Council granted his discharge with five other men. He had been reduced from sergeant to private on 7 October 1767 and served out his last seven months in the ranks. Samuel Willson, the Danish seaman enlisted on 25 January 1768, now drew a full quarter's pay as a settled member of the Fourth Company. The pay list for the four companies of foot came to £2,570 6s 6¾d to this point, before the artillery. The Fourth Company alone had taken in nine new men during the quarter and lost five. Across the garrison the recruits of May and June more than made up the men discharged since March. The new batteries would soon need gunners, and the Company had kept its establishment at full strength.
141	134	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 2570 6 6[...] Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Nathan Campbell Lieut. Saly. 18 5 " Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 -	The list continued with the officers and men of the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £2,570 6s 6¾d 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

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		27 11 10[...] Thomas Leech Lieut. Saly. 18 5 " Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10[...] Serjeants John Whitehurst 9 2 " Adam Watson 9 2 " John Shirtley 9 2 " John Cox Decd. 10th June 1768 7 2 " Thomas Collins as Serjt. 20 days 2 " " Do. as Corpl. 71 days 5 6 6 41 14 6 Corporals Nicholas Hodson 6 16 6 Robert Gibson 6 16 6 John Jack 6 16 6 John Turner as Corpl. 20 days 1 10 " Do. as Bombr. 71 days 5 6 6 27 6 " Bombardiers James Pickett 6 16 6 John Mitchin Disch. 30th May 1768 4 10 - David Dennis 6 16 6 Thomas Tyler as Bombr. 31 days 2 6 6 Do. as Gunner 60 days 4 " " Samuel Smith as Bombr. 20 days 1 10 " Do. as Gunnr. 71 days 4 14 8 30 14 [...] Carrd. over£ 2770 17 [...]	Sergeants John Whitchurch, £9 2s 0d Adam Watson, £9 2s 0d John Shirley, £9 2s 0d John Cox, died 10 June 1768, £7 2s 0d Thomas Collier, as sergeant for 20 days, £2 0s 0d Thomas Collier, as corporal for 71 days, £5 6s 6d Total for sergeants, £41 14s 6d Corporals Nicholas Houghton, £6 16s 6d Robert Gibson, £6 16s 6d John Peck, £6 16s 6d John Turner, as corporal for 20 days, £1 10s 0d John Turner, as bombardier for 71 days, £5 6s 6d Total for corporals, £27 6s 0d Bombardiers James Bayfell, £6 16s 6d John Martin, discharged 30 May 1768, £4 10s 0d David Dennis, £6 16s 6d Thomas Tyler, as bombardier for 31 days, £2 6s 6d Thomas Tyler, as gunner for 60 days, £4 0s 0d Samuel Smith, as bombardier for 20 days, £1 10s 0d Samuel Smith, as gunner for 71 days, £4 14s 8d Total for bombardiers, £30 14s [...] Carried forward, £2,770 1[...] **Interpretations** Sergeant John Cox's pay stopped on 10 June 1768, the day he died. His will of 6 June left everything to Nicholas Houghton, a corporal in the same company. The artillery filled Cox's place at once by a chain of promotions on the same day. Corporal Thomas Collier became a sergeant, Bombardier John Turner became a corporal, and Gunner Samuel Smith became a bombardier. One death brought three promotions within the company. Thomas Tyler was promoted from gunner to bombardier on 31 May 1768, the day after John Martin took his discharge. Tyler was the gunner who dived to recover a 10-inch shell lost while landing it from the store ship in January, and the Company had paid him 5s for it. His promotion came five months later. A bombardier was responsible for the mortars and the preparation of shells and fuses. A man who had already handled the island's new 10-inch shells was a natural choice. James Bayfell was the bombardier who held a punch house licence and ran it by deputy. Under the rules of 4 July 1768, no soldier could keep or profit from a public house in future, so he would lose that income while keeping his rank.
142	135	1768 Brought over£ 2770 17 5¾ Gunners John Smith 6 1 4 Thomas McFarlan 6 1 4 Adam Creighton Disch. 16th May 1768 3 1 4 Thomas Jones 6 1 4 William Stapleford 6 1 4 Sedgwick Netherol 6 1 4 John Dobson Entd. 21st May 1768 2 14 8 Charles Abraham as Gunr. 31 days 2 1 4 Do. as Matross 60 days 3 " - John Corfoot as Gunr. 20 days	The list of the Artillery Company continued from a total of £2,770 17s 5¾d. Brought forward, £2,770 17s 5¾d Gunners John Smith, £6 1s 4d Thomas McFarlan, £6 1s 4d Adam Creighton, discharged 16 May 1768, £3 1s 4d Thomas Innes, £6 1s 4d William Stapleford, £6 1s 4d Sedgwick Wetherall, £6 1s 4d John Dobson, enlisted 21 May 1768, £2 14s 8d Charles Abraham, as gunner for 31 days, £2 1s 4d Charles Abraham, as matross for 60 days, £3 0s 0d John Canfort, as gunner for 20 days, £1 6s 8d John Canfort, as matross for 71 days, £3 11s 0d Total for gunners, £46 1s 8d Drummers George Barwood, £5 6s 2d Joseph Purdey, £5 6s 2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 6 8 Do. as Matross 71 days 3 11 - 46 1 8 Drummers George Gerrard 5 6 2 Joseph Purdey 5 6 2 10 12 4 Matrosses Benjamin Burton 4 11 - William Brown 4 11 - Thomas Clark Disch. 18th April 1768 " 18 - John Cope 4 11 - John Griswold 4 11 - Robert Cunningham 4 11 - Phillip Conaway Entd. 12th May 1768 2 10 - Mathew Chelton Do. 7 June Do. 1 4 - William Durham 4 11 - Daniel Fenn 4 11 - Joseph Fellows 4 11 - Robert Fenwick 4 11 - John Fox 4 11 - Samuel Greenwald 4 11 - Matrosses Carrd. over£ 54 13 - Carrd. over£ 2827 11 5¾	Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Matrosses Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 0d William Brown, £4 11s 0d Thomas Clark, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 18s 0d John Cope, £4 11s 0d John Criswell, £4 11s 0d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 0d Phillip Conaway, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 10s 0d Matthew Chalton, enlisted 7 June 1768, £1 4s 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 Matrosses carried forward, £54 13s 0d Carried forward, £2,827 11s 5¾d **Interpretations** John Dobson left the First Company on 20 May 1768 and joined the artillery the next day, entered directly as a gunner, not a matross. He was a trained soldier of foot who evidently had some skill with guns. The Company put him straight into the rank that laid and fired them, at 1s 4d a day against the 10d he had drawn as a private. Two matrosses were raised to gunner to fill the vacancies of the season. Charles Abraham was promoted on 31 May 1768, the day Thomas Tyler moved up to bombardier. John Canfort was promoted on 10 June, when Samuel Smith moved up after Sergeant John Cox's death. Matthew Chalton, transferred from the Third Company, was entered here as enlisted on 7 June 1768, the day of his transfer. The artillery was filling its ranks from below and from the infantry at the same time, so that every gun at the new batteries would have a trained crew.
143	136	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Brought over£ 2827 11 5[...] Matrosses brought Over£ 54 13 - Thomas Gerrard 4 11 - Thomas Green 4 11 - William Hodges 4 11 " Lawrence Hall disch. 13th April " 18 - William Halbert 4 11 - Benjamin Holmes Entd. 12th May 2 10 - William Jenkins 4 11 - John Lewis 4 11 - William Luke 4 11 - Daniel Maloney 4 11 George Marshall 4 11 - Jonathan Mullet 4 11 - John Moore 4 11 - Patrick Mahoney Entd. 11 June 1768 1 " " Thomas Nimbly 4 11 -	The list of matrosses in the Artillery Company ended with the following men. Brought forward, £2,827 11s 5¾d Matrosses brought forward, £54 13s 0d Thomas Gerrall, £4 11s 0d Thomas Green, £4 11s 0d William Hodges, £4 11s 0d Lawrence Holt, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 18s 0d William Halsall, £4 11s 0d Benjamin Holmes, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 10s 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 Patrick Mahoney, enlisted 11 June 1768, £1 0s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 0d Ezra Nowland, £4 11s 0d Martin Newman, £4 11s 0d John Osborne, £4 11s 0d William Phillips, £4 11s 0d William Poulton, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 18s 0d William Robinson, enlisted 12 May 1768, £2 10s 0d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 0d William Stone, £4 11s 0d Daniel Long, discharged 18 April 1768, £0 18s 0d

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		Esau Nowland 4 11 - Martin Newman 4 11 - John Osborne 4 11 - William Phillips 4 11 - William Poulter Disch. 18th April " 18 - William Robinson Entd. 12th May 2 10 - Godfrey Smith 4 11 - William Stone 4 11 - Daniel Young Disch. 18th April " 18 - Andrew Tedrick Entd. 23d Do. 3 9 - Thomas Watts 4 11 - John Webley 4 11 - Richard Wellman 4 11 - Thomas Wyatt 4 11 - Richard Waterhouse 4 11 - John Wilson 4 11 - Thomas Yates 4 11 - 180 11 - £ 3008 2 5[...]	Andrew Sedrick, enlisted 23 April 1768, £3 9s 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, £180 11s 0d Total for the quarter, £3,008 2s 5¾d **Interpretations** The whole pay list came to £3,008 2s 5¾d for the quarter, almost the same as the £3,005 11s 10½d of the first quarter of 1768. Thirty soldiers were discharged and four died, but some 50 recruits joined in May and June, and the bill hardly moved. Because the new men were paid only from the day they landed, the quarter carried only part of their cost. The next quarter would show the full effect of a garrison stronger than it had been all year. Andrew Sedrick enlisted on 23 April 1768, between the shipping of the Danish and Dutch fleets and the arrival of the English store ships. The date suggests a seaman who left one of the foreign ships then lying in the road, as Samuel Willson the Dane had done in January. Lawrence Holt, William Poulton and Daniel Long, the three matrosses discharged on 18 April, were among the nine men whose petitions the Council granted on 25 April. Their departure cost the artillery experienced hands at the very moment its new guns were being prepared. Patrick Mahoney was transferred from the Fourth Company on 10 June and entered here as enlisted the next day. Thomas Yates, a matross, was probably the same man paid £5 a quarter on the civil list as clerk of the church.
144	137	Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 June 30th To Cash received£ 4425 3 6¼ Carrd. over£ 4425 3 6¼ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Apl. 4th By Cash paid Willm. Waite, Thos. Mathews & Willm. Harrison relistg. to serve the H. Compy. as Soldiers five Years longer from this date @ £10.. .. each 30 " - 7th By Cash paid Thos. Ward & Willm. Henderson for relistg. to serve as above £10.. .. ea 20 - - 16th By Cash paid Mr. Powell by the Lieut. Govrs. Orders for 34 days Work of a Stone Layer 4 5 - 18 By Cash paid Willm. Sedman, Jos. Blackwell Abrm. Harding, Thos. Hilliard, Thos. Perry Wm. Mumford, Rd. Ashford, Jno. Wittingdale Jno. Gilmore, Jno. Goodsole & Wm. Swaby £10.. each for relistg. to serve the H. Compy. five Years longer as Soldiers 110 - - By Cash paid James Anderson for relisting to serve the H. Compy. five Years longer as a Soldr. 5 - By Cash paid Wm. Conquest & Geo. Wells each £10.. - for relistg. to serve the H. Compy. five Years longer 20 " - Carrd. over£ 189 5 -	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account for the quarter showed the cash he received from the treasury. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit 30 June 1768, cash received, £4,425 3s 6¼d Carried forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d The credit side listed the payments he made during the quarter. 4 April 1768, William Waite, Thomas Mathews and William Harrison, bounty of £10 each for re-enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five more years from that date, £30 0s 0d 7 April 1768, Thomas Ward and William Henderson, bounty of £10 each for re-enlisting on the same terms, £20 0s 0d 16 April 1768, Mr Powell, by the Lieutenant Governor's order, for 34 days' work by a stone layer, £4 5s 0d 18 April 1768, William Stedman, John Blackwell, Abraham Harding, Thomas Hilliard, Thomas Povey, William Mumford, Richard Ashford, John Whittingdale, John Gilmore, John Goosole and William Swaby, bounty of £10 each for re-enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five more years, £110 0s 0d James Anderson, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years, £5 0s 0d William Conquest and George Wills, bounty of £10 each for re-enlisting to serve the Company for five more years, £20 0s 0d Carried forward, £189 5s 0d **Interpretations** The bounties explain why the garrison did not shrink further in the spring of 1768. Between 4 and 18 April, 19 soldiers took a bounty to serve five more years, most at £10 each, for a total of £185. These were men whose engagements had run out together with those of the 30 who took their discharge. The

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			Council could have let them all go and waited for recruits from England. It chose instead to pay a large bounty to keep trained men who knew the island, its guard posts and its guns. A raw recruit took months to become useful, and the store ships might bring too few. Paying £10 to a man already in the ranks was cheaper than losing him. The bounties settle two puzzles from the pay list. George Wills, the drummer, was recorded as discharged on 18 April and re-enlisted a few days later. He was in fact one of those paid £10 to sign on again. Richard Ashford and Thomas Hilliard, both promoted to corporal during the quarter, were also among the men paid to re-enlist. The Company rewarded the soldiers it had just chosen to keep with promotion as well as cash. James Powell, the storekeeper, was paid 2s 6d a day for 34 days' work by a stone layer, on Corneille's order. Like Henry Bazett in the previous quarter, Powell hired out a skilled man, almost certainly a slave of his own, to the Company. This was probably one of the two planters' stone layers the Council agreed on 29 February to hire to finish the gate and fence at the pasture entrance, once Mitchell had taken back the Company's own masons.
145	138	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 Brought over£ 4425 3 6[...] Carrd. over£ 4425 3 [...]	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account carried forward the cash he had received for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit Cash brought forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d Carried forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick drew £4,425 3s 6¼d for the quarter, about £750 more than the £3,675 17s 0d of the first quarter of 1768. The pay list itself was almost unchanged at about £3,008. The extra money therefore went on sundry payments. The re-enlistment bounties alone came to £185 in April. Wages for the heavier work at Banks's and Munden's Point, and for landing the cargoes of the store ships, made up most of the rest. The treasury could meet the larger draw easily. It held more than £12,000 in coin at the end of May, after a season of selling bills to captains and officers. The blank page was ruled through with a diagonal line, the standard safeguard. It carried the single debit forward while the credit side ran on across the facing leaves, and it ensured that no payment could be added after the account was closed.
146	139	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 189 5 - April 23d By Cash paid Andw. Tedrick for relistg. to serve H. Compy. five Years as a Soldier from this Date 5 - - By Cash pd. Wm. Johnson for relistg. to serve the H. Compy. five Years longer as a Soldr. from this Date 10 " - By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men for 39½ Days Work in the H. Compys. Stores getting Provisions on Shore from Ship Europa 1 19 3 25th By Cash pd. Capt. Petty for a L.J. Boat bought of him on the Honble Compys. Acct. 35 - - By Cash pd. Capt. Vasell for Bullocks brought from the Cape on the Honble Compys. Acct. 55 15 -	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account continued from a total of £189 5s 0d. Brought forward, £189 5s 0d 23 April 1768, Andrew Sedrick, bounty for enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five years from that date, £3 0s 0d 23 April 1768, William Johnson, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years from that date, £10 0s 0d 23 April 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 39½ days' work in the Company's stores landing provisions from the *Europa*, £1 19s 6d 25 April 1768, Captain Pelly, for a longboat bought from him on the Company's account, £35 0s 0d 25 April 1768, Captain Hasell, for bullocks brought from the Cape on the Company's account, £55 15s 0d 2 May 1768, James Dobson, for tinning the kitchen furniture belonging to the Castle, £1 1s 0d 10 May 1768, Captain Smith, for 44 bushels of coal, £3 13s 0d 10 May 1768, Captain Smith, for a yawl and 8 oars, £14 5s 0d

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		May 2d By Cash pd. Jas. Dobson for timing the Kitchen Furniture belongg. to the Castle 1 1 - 10th By Cash paid Captn. Smith for 44 Bushels of Coals 3 13 - By Cash paid Do. for a Yawl & 8 Oars 14 5 - 12th By Cash pd. Capt. Moffatt for a Long Boat Cable &ca. 32 10 - 16th By Cash pd. Thos. Bailey, Geo. Rose Thos. Mears, Jos. Johnson Wm. Ferris, Adam Evans & Jno. Fenton £10.. each for relistg. to serve the H. Compy. five Years longer as Soldiers 70 " - 19 By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men for 141½ days Work getting Stores from the Tilbury 7 1 6 By Cash pd. Mr. Hay Surgn. of the Tilbury for his Care of 26 Recruits in their Passage from England 6 10 - May 28th By Cash pd. Sundy. Garrison Men for 116½ days Work in the Stores getting from the Ship Tilbury 5 16 6 31 By Cash pd. Capt. Cox for 604 lb. Salt Beef & 474 lb. Salt Pork @ 5d. per lb. 112 16 - By Cash pd. Capt. Henry for 578 lb. Salt Meat @ 2/ per Do. 57 16 - By Cash pd. Do. for 60 Bushels of Coals 6 13 4 June 4th By Cash pd. Sundy. Garrison Men for 77½ days Work in the Stores unloadg. the Tilbury 3 17 6 Carrd. over£ 616 19 1	12 May 1768, Captain Moffatt, for a longboat with cable and gear, £32 10s 0d 16 May 1768, Thomas Bailey, George Roe, Thomas Meares, Joseph Johnson, William Pierce, Adam Evans and John Newton, bounty of £10 each for re-enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five more years, £70 0s 0d 19 May 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 141½ days' work landing stores from the *Tilbury*, £7 1s 6d 19 May 1768, Mr Hay, surgeon of the *Tilbury*, for his care of 26 recruits on their passage from England, £6 10s 0d 28 May 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 116½ days' work in the stores landing goods from the *Tilbury*, £5 16s 6d 31 May 1768, Captain Cooke, for 654 pieces of salt beef and 474 pieces of salt pork at 2s each, £112 16s 0d 31 May 1768, Captain Hoare, for 578 pieces of salt meat at 2s each, £57 16s 0d 31 May 1768, Captain Hoare, for 60 bushels of coal, £6 13s 4d 4 June 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 77½ days' work in the stores unloading the *Tilbury*, £3 17s 6d Carried forward, £616 19s 1d **Interpretations** William Johnson received a bounty of £10 on 23 April 1768 for re-enlisting. The pay list showed him discharged on 4 April and back in the Second Company from 23 April. The three weeks between were evidently spent deciding whether to stay or leave the island. The bounty settled the question. Seven more men took the £10 on 16 May, the same day six others, among them John Simcox and Edmund Lock, were granted their discharge. Of the men whose terms ended that spring, the Company kept about half by paying them to stay. Andrew Sedrick received £3 for enlisting, the same bounty as Samuel Willson the Dane in January. That was less than the £5 paid to island-born men such as Sutton Isaacke and George Seale. The lower rate for a foreign seaman who came ashore from a passing ship shows the Council paying more for local recruits it trusted to stay. The Company bought a yawl and eight oars from Captain Smith of the *Houghton* on 10 May, as well as the two longboats from Pelly and Moffatt. A yawl was a light ship's boat, faster and handier than a longboat. It was used to carry officers and messages between the Castle and ships in the road, and to row out to approaching ships to deliver the island's orders. Unloading the *Tilbury* took 335½ days of soldiers' labour, paid at 1s a day, spread over three weeks. That gives some idea of the size of the store ship's cargo of clothing, provisions and military supplies for the garrison.
147	140	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 Brought over£ 4426 3 6¼ Carrd. over£ 4425 3 [...]	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account again carried forward the cash he had received for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit Cash brought forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d Carried forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d **Interpretations** The single debit entry was carried across a second blank leaf, because the credit side of the account needed several facing pages to list all the quarter's payments. The figure at the head of this page appears as £4,426 3s 6¼d, a pound more than the sum carried forward at its foot and on the previous leaf. The extra pound was almost certainly a slip of the clerk's pen in copying the total, since the carried figure agrees with the original entry of cash received.

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148	141	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 616 19 1 June 8th By Cash paid Mr. Brown for 146 Bottles of Florence Oil at 3/6 per Bottle bought on the Acct. of H. Compy. there being none in the Store 25 11 - 10th By Cash paid the Doctor of the Duke of Richmond for his care of 21 Recruits on their Passage from England 5 5 - 11th By Cash pd. Sundy. Garrison Men for 114¾ Days Work in the Stores unloadg. the Duke of Richmond 5 14 9 13th By Cash pd. Capt. Petty for 3 Casks of Pork contg. 180 lb. at 2/ per lb. bought on Acct. of the Honble Company 18 - - By Cash pd. Do. for 7 Casks of Beef contg. 280 lb. at 2/ per lb. 28 - - By Cash pd. Do. for 1 Hawser 18 - By Cash pd. Do. for a Barrel of Tar 1 11 6 By Cash pd. Capt. Holmes for a L.J. Boat Bot. on Acct. of the H. Company 35 - - 26 By Cash pd. Capt. Hindman for a Barl. Pitch & a Barl. Tar 3 6 - 30 By Cash pd. Sundy. Garrn. Men for 35¼ Days Work in the Stores 2 15 3 By Cash pd. Do. Do. for 107 Do. Do. 5 7 - By Cash pd. Jno. Irvine for the following particulars bought for the use of the H. Companys Table 6 Firkins Butter @ £3.. 3.. per Firkin £18 18 - 160 lb. Cheese @ - 10d. 6 13 4 20 lb. Mustard @ - 2/6 lb. 3 " - 140 lb. Ham @ 1/ lb. 7 " - 100 lb. Currants @ 10d. 4 3 4 60 lb. Loaf Sugar @ 9d. per lb. 2 7 6 30 Gall. Vinegar @ 3/ per Gall. 4 10 - 46 17 2 By Cash paid Sundy. Garrison Men for coming express with Acct. of Ships seen to Windward the Ruat 6 5 - By Cash pd. Secrety. Pinkhullam for 13 lb. Salt Meat left in the Stores the quantity he being Ready, is The Money to buy fresh 1 6 - By Cash pd. Do. his Allowance from the Honble Compy.	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account continued from a total of £616 19s 1d. Brought forward, £616 19s 1d 8 June 1768, Mr Brown, for 146 bottles of Florence oil at 3s 6d a bottle, bought on the Company's account because there was none in the stores, £25 11s 0d 10 June 1768, the surgeon of the *Duke of Richmond*, for his care of 21 recruits on their passage from England, £5 5s 0d 11 June 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 114¾ days' work in the stores unloading the *Duke of Richmond*, £5 14s 9d 13 June 1768, Captain Sealy, for 3 casks of pork containing 180 pieces at 2s each, bought on the Company's account, £18 0s 0d 13 June 1768, Captain Sealy, for 7 casks of beef containing 280 pieces at 2s each, £28 0s 0d 13 June 1768, Captain Sealy, for 1 sheer mast, £18 0s 0d 13 June 1768, Captain Sealy, for a barrel of tar, £1 11s 6d Captain Palmer, for a longboat bought on the Company's account, £35 0s 0d 26 June 1768, Captain Hindman, for a barrel of pitch and a barrel of tar, £3 6s 0d 30 June 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for [...] days' work in the stores, £[...] 15s 6d 30 June 1768, sundry men of the garrison, for 107 days' work in the stores, £5 7s 0d 30 June 1768, John Irwin, for the following articles bought for the Company's table 6 firkins of butter at £3 3s 0d a firkin, £18 18s 0d 160 lb of cheese at 10d a pound, £6 13s 4d 20 lb of mustard at 3s a pound, £3 0s 0d 145 lb of ham at 1s a pound, £7 5s 0d 100 lb of currants at 10d a pound, £4 3s 4d 60 lb of loaf sugar at 9½d a pound, £2 7s 6d 30 gallons of vinegar at 3s a gallon, £4 10s 0d Total for John Irwin, £46 17s 2d Sundry men of the garrison, for bringing expresses reporting ships seen to windward during the quarter, £6 5s 0d 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 Nequedah Pocholam, his allowance from the Company, £1 12s 6d Nequedah Pocholam, house rent for the quarter, £1 0s 0d Carried forward, £822 10s 3d **Interpretations** The Company bought 146 bottles of Florence oil because its own stores had none. It had issued Florence oil to the Castle table and the carpenters' shop all year. No ship of the season had brought a fresh supply, so the Council bought what a private importer held, at 3s 6d a bottle. The *Duke of Richmond*'s surgeon was paid 5s a head for 21 recruits, the same fee as Mr Hay of the *Tilbury*. The figure confirms that the store ship carried a second draft of men. The 26 from the *Tilbury* and 21 from the *Duke of Richmond* made 47 recruits in all, close to the number who joined the companies on 12 May and 5 June. The table's purchases from John Irwin show what an English store ship brought that the eastern ships could not. Butter, cheese, ham, mustard, currants, loaf sugar and vinegar were the staples of an English kitchen. They came out in the English ships and were sold on by private merchants. Irwin was evidently trading on his own account. The Company bought from him instead of waiting for its own supplies, which came out irregularly. His prices were high: 10d a pound for cheese and 1s for ham, well

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		1 12 6 By Cash pd. Do. for House Rent for Do. 1 - - Carrd. over£ 822 10 3	above English market prices. That reflected the cost of carrying perishable food more than 4,000 miles.
149	142	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 Brought over£ 4425 3 6[...]	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account closed with the cash he had received for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit Cash brought forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d Total, £4,425 3s 6¼d **Interpretations** This leaf closed the debit side of the paymaster's account for the quarter ending 30 June 1768. The single sum of £4,425 3s 6¼d was the whole of the cash Kirkpatrick drew from the treasury. Against it the credit side had to show the pay list of £3,008 2s 5¾d and the sundry payments: bounties, labour on the works, ships' stores, livestock, boats and the Castle's table. The two sides had to balance to the farthing before the Council approved the account. Kirkpatrick prepared and signed this account during the very weeks in which he was bringing charges against Corneille before the Board. The Council examined it on 18 July 1768, the same day it met with Corneille present and the dispute unresolved. The routine work of paying the garrison, recording every bounty and checking every voucher went on regardless of the quarrel among the men who signed the accounts.
150	143	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 822 10 3 By Cash paid a Plummer emply. by the Engineer at the Lt. Govrs. Ho. " 10 - By Cash pd. by Order of the Governor &c. to two Men for diving & recovering one of the Guns which droptt into the Sea from the Stamp as it was hoisting up to Mundens Battery 1 " - By Cash pd. Mr. Dunl. Devlon for 13 Loads of Bamboos used in Thatchg. the H. Compys. Houses in the Country this Quart. @ 2/ per Ld. 1 12 6 By Cash paid Simon Whaley for 11 Loads of Do. Do. as 1 7 6 By Cash pd. Sund. Dutch Soldr. in this Quart. as pr. Adjut. Acct. 271 days @ 6d. per Day 6 15 6 By Cash pd. Jno. Price Gaoler for the Subsist. of 4 Garrn. Men @ 2/6 " 10 - By Cash pd. Mr. M. Bazett for 14 Bushels of Coals Bt. for ye Compy. use 1 11 6 By Cash pd. Wm. Jenkins for Bakg. 117 Batch of Bread for the use of the Garr. this Quart. @ 2/ per Batch 9 15 - By Cash paid for one Glass Lanthorn for the use of the Castle there being none in the Stores " 14 - By Cash pd. for one Do. Do. for use of the Captn. of the day " 12 - By Cash pd. for 2 Horn Lanthorns for the use of the Main Guard " 7 -	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account continued from a total of £822 10s 3d. Brought forward, £822 10s 3d A plumber employed by the engineer at the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 10s 0d Two men, by order of the Governor and Council, for diving to recover one of the guns that fell into the sea from the slings while it was being hoisted up to Munden's battery, £1 0s 0d Mr Jonathan Doveton, for 13 loads of bamboos used to thatch the Company's houses in the country during the quarter, at 2s 6d a load, £1 12s 6d Simon Whaley, for 11 loads of bamboos for the same purpose, £1 7s 6d Sundry discharged soldiers during the quarter, as shown in the adjutant's account, 271 days at 6d a day, £6 15s 6d John Price, gaoler, for the keep of 4 prisoners at 2s 6d, £0 10s 0d Mr M Bazett, for 14 bushels of coal for the Company's use, £1 11s 6d William Jenkins, for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison during the quarter at 20d a batch, £9 15s 0d 1 glass lantern for the Castle, there being none in the stores, £0 14s 0d 1 glass lantern for the use of the captain of the day, £0 12s 0d 2 horn lanterns for the use of the main guard, £0 7s 0d John Bazett, for 42 flannel shirts bought for the Company's slaves, there being too few in the stores, at 4s a shirt, £8 8s 0d John Bazett, for 2 check shirts for the same, at 5s each, £0 10s 0d John Bazett, for 32 ship's cloth jackets for the same, at 5s each, £8 0s 0d John Bazett, for 16 jackets for the same, at 8s 6d each, £6 16s 0d John Bazett, for 4 pairs of breeches for the same, at 7s 6d a pair, £1 10s 0d John Bazett, for 32 pairs of Dutch trousers for the same, £4 0s 6d John Bazett, for 29 pairs of osnaburg trousers for the same, at 2s 6d a pair, £3 12s 6d

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		By Cash paid Jno. Bazett for 42 Flannel Shirts bought for the use of the Compys. Slaves there not being sufficient in the Store to supply them at 4/ per Shirt 8 8 - By Cash pd. Do. for 2 Checkd. Shirts for Do. use @ 5/ each " 10 - By Cash pd. Do. for 32 Shipd. Cott. Jackets for Do. at 5/ each 8 " - By Cash pd. Do. for 16 Lettice Do. Do. for Do. at 8/6 6 16 - By Cash pd. Do. for 4 Pr. Breasted Do. for Do. at 7/6 1 10 - By Cash pd. Do. for 32 Dutch Trowsers for Do. 4 " 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 29 Oznabrigs Do. for Do. @ 2/6 3 12 6 By Cash pd. Do. for 36 Caps Do. @ /8 1 17 4 By Cash pd. Jno. Irvine for the following Articles bought for the use of the Compys. Table 4 Pigs £1 " " 338 lb. Beef 12 3 4 18 Doz. Eggs " 9 6 1 lb. Spice " 4 - 2 Turkeys " 10 - 4 Doz. Fowls 3 12 - 17 18 10 Carrd. over£ 899 18 [...]	John Bazett, for 56 caps for the same, at 8d each, £1 17s 4d John Irwin, for the following articles bought for the Company's table 4 pigs, £1 0s 0d 335 lb of beef, £12 3s 4d [...] dozen eggs, £0 9s 6d 1 lb of spice, £0 4s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 4 dozen fowls, £2 12s 0d Total for John Irwin, £17 18s 10d Carried forward, £894 18s 5d **Interpretations** One of the heavy guns for Munden's Point slipped from the slings while being hoisted up the cliff and fell into the sea. Two men were paid £1 to dive and recover it. That was a dangerous task in the swell off the headland, but far cheaper than losing a cannon that could only be replaced from England. It was the second such recovery of the year. Thomas Tyler had dived for a lost 10-inch shell in January. The cordage issued to Munden's Point that quarter, more than 2,400 lb, shows how much hoisting work went on, and how great the risk was each time a gun was lifted. The discharged soldiers were paid 6d a day for 271 days between them, while they waited for passages home. A man who took his discharge on St Helena lost his pay at once but could not leave until a ship would carry him. The Company kept him at half a private's rate in the meantime, as it had kept Mr Turson and Samuel Willson after they were left behind by their ships. The sum works out at roughly 30 men, each kept for a week or two before sailing in the ships of April and May. John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, supplied clothing for them when the stores ran short. The store ships' issue of sailors' clothing, entered in the storekeeper's account, was evidently not enough for the whole workforce. Bazett bought the rest privately, at prices well above those in the stores. Bamboo grew on the island and was cut in loads for thatching the Company's country houses. Planters such as Doveton and Whaley sold it from their own land at 2s 6d a load.
151	144	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 18 July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 Brought over£ 4425 3 6¼ £ 4425 3 [...]	The debit side of Kirkpatrick's paymaster account closed with the cash he had received for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debit Cash brought forward, £4,425 3s 6¼d Total, £4,425 3s 6¼d **Interpretations** This was the final leaf of the debit side, ruled off with a double line under the total and a diagonal stroke through the blank space. The earlier leaf had already shown the same closing figure. The clerk carried the debit across every page on which the credit side ran on, so that each opening of the ledger showed both sides together. Each pair of facing pages could then be checked on its own. The debit side was ruled off only when the credit side reached its own final total, so the two closing figures stood level on the same opening.
152	145	1768 Per Contra Cr. Brought Over£ 899 18 3 By Cash pd. Jno. Roberts Armourr. for 371 Files bought on Acct. of the Honble Compy. for the use of the Armourrs. Shop there being none of those Sorts in the Stores 3 14 10½ By Cash pd. for 14 Days Carpentr. Work at Banks's Fort @ 5/ per Day	The credit side of Kirkpatrick's account ended with the following payments. Brought forward, £894 18s 5d John Robins, armourer, for 31 files bought on the Company's account for the armourer's shop, there being none of those kinds in the stores, £3 14s 10½d 14 days' carpenters' work at Banks's fort at 5s a day, £3 10s 0d 22 days' carpenters' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £1 13s 0d

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		3 10 - By Cash pd. for 22 Do. Do. at Do. at 1/6 Do. 1 13 - By Cash pd. for 529¾ Do. Stone Hewers at Do. at 1/6 Do. 39 14 7½ By Cash pd. for 247¾ Do. Do. Masons at Do. at 1/6 Do. 18 11 7½ By Cash pd. for 50 days Lime Burning at Do. at 1/6 Do. 3 19 6 By Cash pd. for 5258 Do. Labour at Do. at 1/ Do. 261 18 9 By Cash pd. for 18¼ Do. Lab. makers at Mundens Point at 1/6 Do. " 19 10½ By Cash pd. for 26½ Do. Lime Burners at Do. at 1/6 Do. 1 19 9 By Cash pd. for 124 Do. Masons at Do. at 1/6 Do. 9 6 - By Cash pd. for 265 Do. Stone Hewers at Do. at 1/6 Do. 19 7 6 By Cash pd. for 2619½ Do. Labour at Do. at 1/ Do. 130 19 6 By Cash pd. for 11 Do. Carpentr. at Do. at 1/6 " 16 6 By Cash for 175¼ Do. Smiths in the Shop at 1/6 Do. 13 3 7½ By Cash pd. for 10 Do. Carpentr. for making a Frame for a Library at 1/6 " 15 - By Cash pd. for 17 Do. Do. for repairg. the Compys. Houses at 1/6 Do. 1 5 6 By Cash pd. for 20 Do. Do. for makg. a Model for Repairs Do. Cattle @ 1/6 1 10 - By Cash pd. for 36½ Do. Carpentr. Work making Plantn. Gates @ 1/6 Day 2 14 9 By Cash pd. for 4½ Do. Plastering at Do. @ 1/6 Do. " 6 9 By Cash pd. for the Clerk of the Assizes & Crier of the Court " 12 6 1417 1 -½ By the Amount of the Pay List£ 3008 2 5¾ 4425 3 6¼ Excepted (signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick Paymr. St. Helena 30 June 1768 Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of June last which is as follows viz.	529¾ days' stone blowers' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £39 14s 7½d 247¾ days' masons' work at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £18 11s 7½d 53 days' lime burning at Banks's at 1s 6d a day, £3 19s 6d 5,238¾ days' labourers' work at Banks's at 1s a day, £261 18s 9d 13¼ days' carpenters' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £0 19s 10½d 26½ days' lime burning at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £1 19s 9d 124 days' masons' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £9 6s 0d 265 days' stone blowers' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £19 17s 6d 2,619½ days' labourers' work at Munden's Point at 1s a day, £130 19s 6d 11 days' carpenters' work at Munden's Point at 1s 6d a day, £0 16s 6d 175¾ days' smiths' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £13 3s 7½d 10 days' carpenters' work making a frame for a library at 1s 6d a day, £0 15s 0d 19 days' carpenters' work repairing the Company's houses at 1s 6d a day, £1 8s 6d 20 days' carpenters' work making a mould for Rupert's lattice at 1s 6d a day, £1 10s 0d 36½ days' carpenters' work making the plantation gates at 1s 6d a day, £2 14s 9d 4½ days' painting at 1s 6d a day, £0 6s 9d The clerk of the arraigns and the crier of the court, £0 12s 6d Total of sundry payments, £1,417 1s 0½d Amount of the pay list, £3,008 2s 5¾d Total, £4,425 3s 6¼d Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster at St Helena on 30 June 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for June 1768. **Interpretations** The work at Banks's dominated the quarter's spending. More than 5,200 days of labour, over 500 days of rock blasting and nearly 250 days of masonry were paid there, at a cost of about £330. That was twice the £146 spent at Banks's in the first quarter of 1768. Munden's Point took about £180, much less than its £293 in the first quarter. Mitchell had moved most of the workforce to Banks's, where materials were ready and the battery could be finished quickly, while Munden's Point waited for its platform to be cleared and its stone gathered. The pattern matches his letter of 4 July, which reported Banks's nearly complete and Munden's Point stocked for the next stage. The sundry payments came to £1,417 1s 0½d, more than twice the £670 of the first quarter. The fortification wages made up most of it. Re-enlistment bounties, the purchase of three boats, the salt meat bought from the *Earl of Elgin*, the *British King* and the *Northington*, and the Cape bullocks accounted for much of the rest. The busy shipping season and the climax of the building work came together in the same three months. A carpenter was paid for making a frame for a library, a striking item on a garrison island. It was probably a set of bookshelves for the Castle or for the Council's records. The minutes of 1768 alone had filled many hundreds of pages, and the papers of the quarrel among the councillors were growing fast.
153	146	The 18 July Cash Dr. 1768 June 1st To Balance remaining 12572 14 4	The Council's cash account for June 1768 opened on the debit side. Cash, debit 1 June 1768, balance remaining, £12,572 14s 4d

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		13 To Exchange for 2 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble Court of Directors payable as follows viz. One Set to John Purling Esq. 60 One Do. to Mr. Robt. Carr 41 16 - 101 16 - 14th To Ship Northington 13 7 2 15th To Ship Vansittart 12 14 7 16 To Ship Tilbury 5 10 - 20th To Exchange for 2 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows viz. One Set to Andw. Moffatt Esq. 150 " " One Do. to Mr. Willm. Cawden 200 " " 350 " - 25th To Ship Duke of Richmond 5 10 - 30 To James Powell recd. of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 930 6 8 To Plantation for Provision Sold 45 5 - To Licence for Public Houses 18 10 - To Fines recd. of Sundrys 11 10 - £ 14067 3 [...]	13 June 1768, received in exchange for 2 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to John Purling, £60 0s 0d 1 set payable to Robert Cam, £41 16s 0d Total for the 2 sets of bills, £101 16s 0d 14 June 1768, received from the ship *Northington*, £13 7s 2d 14 June 1768, received from the ship *Vansittart*, £12 14s [...] 16 June 1768, received from the ship *Tilbury*, £5 10s 0d 20 June 1768, received in exchange for 2 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to Andrew Moffat, £150 0s 0d 1 set payable to William Cawden, £200 0s 0d Total for the 2 sets of bills, £350 0s 0d 25 June 1768, received from the ship *Duke of Richmond*, £5 10s 0d 30 June 1768, received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £930 6s 8d 30 June 1768, received from the plantation for provisions sold, £45 5s 0d 30 June 1768, licences for public houses, £18 10s 0d 30 June 1768, fines received from sundry persons, £11 10s 0d Total, £14,067 [...] **Interpretations** The fines of £11 10s 0d came almost entirely from the cases heard that spring. On 9 May 1768 Roderick Merchant was fined £1 and John Price 10s for taking the Company's produce from James Black. Black himself was ordered to repay £9 10s 0d for the onions and potatoes he had sold. Together these came to £11, close to the quarter's total. The Council's cases against dishonesty in the Company's garden went straight into the treasury. Powell's receipts for stores sold fell to £930 6s 8d, against £1,061 14s 9d in the first quarter and £1,311 15s 3d in the last quarter of 1767. The storekeeper's account showed why. Sales of sugar, tea and arrack to employees all fell. The Council's new rules on drink were already reducing the arrack trade, and with the shipping season over, there were fewer passengers and officers buying at the higher rate. The licences for public houses brought in £18 10s 0d, the last full quarter's revenue from ten houses. From July only five would be licensed, and the Company's income from that source would fall by about half.
154	147	1768 1768 Per Contra Cr. June 17th By Acct. Curt. London for 2 Chests Treasure consigned to Bencoolen p Ship Duke of Richmond as p Consult. this Day £ 2000 " - 30th By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c. in the Quarter ending this day 4425 3 6 6425 3 6 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie £ 7102 5 3 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 7642 " 3 £ 14067 3 9 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille Purling	The credit side of the Council's cash account for June 1768 read as follows. Cash, credit 17 June 1768, charged to the London account current, for 2 chests of treasure consigned to Bencoolen in the ship *Duke of Richmond*, as recorded in the consultation of that day, £2,000 0s 0d 30 June 1768, sums advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges for the quarter ending that day, £4,425 3s 6d Total paid out, £6,425 3s 6d 30 June 1768, balance remaining in coin, £7,102 5s 3d 30 June 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance remaining, £7,642 0s 3d Total, £14,067 3s 9d Governor Skottowe, Corneille and Purling signed the account. **Interpretations** The £2,000 sent to Bencoolen was not charged as a loss to the island. It was entered against the London account current, the running account between St Helena and the Court of Directors. The coin left the island's treasury, but the Company in

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			London would credit St Helena with it and debit Fort Marlborough. The island acted as a clearing house. It collected coin from homeward captains and officers through bills on London, then passed part of it on to a poorer settlement in the East, all within the Company's own books. The treasury's coin fell from more than £12,000 at the end of May to just over £7,100 at the end of June. The quarter's pay and the Bencoolen shipment together took more than £6,400 in a single month. The reserve was still enough to carry the island through the quiet southern winter, when few ships called and few bills could be sold. The next quarter's pay would fall due at the end of September, before the main shipping season began again. The cash notes of £539 15s 0d appeared unchanged in the balance for yet another month. A note in May had called them of no use. They remained on the books only because no order had come from the Court to write them off.
155	148	The 19 July At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19th day of July 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Daniel Corneille Esq. Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Pinking Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved & Signed dated the 18th July 1768 Mr. John Desfountain being Summoned at the Lieut. Governors request he put the following Question to him viz. The Lieut. Governor asks Mr. John Desfountain whether the preceding Week before this affair was brought on Captain Kirkpatrick was not several times at his House in the Country	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Tuesday 19 July 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 July 1768. Mr John Desfountain was summoned at the Lieutenant Governor's request, and Corneille put the following question to him. Corneille asked Mr John Desfountain whether, in the week before this affair was brought forward, Captain Kirkpatrick had not been at his house in the country several times. **Interpretations** Corneille now began his defence by questioning the chief witness against him. He had heard Desfountain's evidence on 11 July, which consisted of hearsay about yams and an account of sheep sold to the *Lord Camden*. Instead of disputing the facts directly, he turned to how the evidence had come about. He asked whether Kirkpatrick had visited Desfountain several times in the week before the charge was laid. If so, it would suggest that Kirkpatrick had gone looking for evidence after Corneille challenged him on 4 July to prove his hints, rather than acting on information he already held. Kirkpatrick's letter of 21 June had already claimed he could prove his conjectures. Visits to the witness in the following week would imply that he had made the threat first and searched for the proof afterwards. The question also bore on Desfountain's independence. He lived close to the Long Wood and the Company's stock, and he was of the family of Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain of Kirkpatrick's own company. Repeated visits from Kirkpatrick just before he gave evidence would allow the Court to judge how far his testimony had been shaped by the man who called him.
156	149	1768 and whether he did not mention to him his intention of bringing this Affair before the Governor and Council as well as tampering with him what he was to say thereupon. Mr. John Desfountain Deposeth in answer to the above Question that on Wednesday the 6th instant Capt. Kirkpatrick came to his House in the morning early and after his being there some time some conversation passed between them, he mentioned to him that Capt. Corneille	Corneille also asked whether Kirkpatrick had told him of his intention to bring the matter before the Governor and Council, and had tried to influence what he was to say about it. Mr John Desfountain answered on oath. Early on the morning of Wednesday 6 July 1768, Captain Kirkpatrick came to his house. After he had been there some time, they talked. Kirkpatrick told him that he and Captain Corneille had a serious quarrel and were completely at odds. They were writing letter after letter to each other. Kirkpatrick had written to Corneille the week before, and Corneille had not answered it but had laid it before the Governor and

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		& he had a great Dispute, that they were all to pieces then, they were constantly a writing Letter after Letter, that he had wrote a Letter to Captn. Corneille the Week before, that Capt. Corneille did not answer it, but brought it & laid it before the Governor & Council, and desired that it might be Entered in Consultation, Capt. Kirkpatrick said in short he had wrote so much, that he did not know what to say any longer in writing which obliged him to bring up the Yams Capt. Corneille had made use of from the Company's Plantations, he then asked this Deponent whether he remembered what he had told him, he replied that it was of so long standing that he had forgot, Capt. Kirkpatrick said that he had nothing more to say, this Deponent said it was a disagreeable circumstance for him to have any manner of concern, or to have his name brought in Question upon any consideration whatever, then Capt. Kirkpatrick mentioned the Slaves to him, he then told him it was a Circumstance that he did not want to have any thing to do with it. Capt. Kirkpatrick found that he did not chuse to comply with any such thing, he drawn up a piece of writing with a pencil & in that Nominated the quantity of Yams which he gave to this Deponent & asked him to Copy and sign it, and give it to him, he then told Captain Kirkpatrick that he could not write just at that time, but would Copy it some time that day, and would send it to him the next morning; The next morning Mr. Mahony came up to his House, and asked him if he had not a piece of writing for Capt. Kirkpatrick, he told him no he had not, & then told Mr. Mahony that Capt. Kirkpatrick had left a piece of writing for him to Copy, but that he had not done it, nor did not Choose to do it, but desired Mr. Mahony to give his Complements to Captain Kirkpatrick and to tell him what he had to say, he could speak it by	Council and asked for it to be entered in the minutes. Kirkpatrick said that, in short, he had written so much that he did not know what more to say in writing. That obliged him to bring up the yams Corneille had taken from the Company's plantations. He then asked Desfountain whether he remembered what he had told him. Desfountain replied that it was so long ago that he had forgotten. Kirkpatrick said he had nothing more to say. Desfountain said it was an unpleasant thing for him to have any part in the matter, or to have his name brought in question on any account. Kirkpatrick then raised the sheep with him. Desfountain told him it was something he did not want to have anything to do with. When Kirkpatrick found that he would not agree to anything of the kind, he drew up a piece of writing in pencil, naming in it the quantity of yams he said Desfountain had told him of. He asked Desfountain to copy it out, sign it and give it to him. Desfountain told Kirkpatrick he could not write it just then, but would copy it some time that day and send it to him the next morning. The next morning Mr Mahoney came to his house and asked whether he had a paper for Captain Kirkpatrick. Desfountain told him he had not. He explained that Kirkpatrick had left a paper for him to copy, but that he had not done so and did not choose to. He asked Mr Mahoney to give his compliments to Captain Kirkpatrick and tell him that whatever he had to say, he could say it by word of mouth **Interpretations** Desfountain's evidence turned the case against Kirkpatrick. On 6 July 1768, two days after Corneille demanded specific charges, Kirkpatrick rode out to Desfountain's house in the country. By his own account to Desfountain, he had run out of arguments in writing and needed a fresh charge. When Desfountain said he had forgotten what he once said about the yams, Kirkpatrick did not drop the matter. He wrote out a statement in pencil, putting in a quantity of yams himself, and asked Desfountain to copy and sign it as his own evidence. Desfountain refused. Kirkpatrick had tried to draft a witness's statement for him and have the witness put his name to it. The account explains why Desfountain's evidence on 11 July had been so thin. He repeated only what he could honestly recall, a hearsay remark by the Company's overseer, and said he had nothing more to allege about the running of the Company's stock. He had already refused to sign the fuller statement Kirkpatrick prepared. Mr Mahoney, who came to collect the paper, was almost certainly Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace and until May a sergeant in Kirkpatrick's own First Company. Kirkpatrick had used a man of his own company and an officer of the island's court as his messenger. That gave the attempt the look of an official proceeding.
157	150	The 19 July word of Mouth if he should be called upon; On Friday the 8th of this Month Captn. Kirkpatrick came to his House in the forenoon, with a Letter in his Pocket from the Governor, for him to attend the Council on the Monday following, and likewise asked him what he had done with the Pencilled piece of Paper he had left with him on the Wednesday before, he told Capt. Kirkpatrick he had burnt it; Capt. Kirkpatrick said that will do very well, the next day in the evening he sent one of his Blacks to the Fort, Capt. Kirkpatrick	Desfountain continued that Kirkpatrick could speak to him in person if he was called on. On the forenoon of Friday 8 July 1768, Kirkpatrick came to his house with a letter in his pocket from the Governor, summoning Desfountain to attend the Council the following Monday. Kirkpatrick also asked what he had done with the pencilled paper left with him on the Wednesday. Desfountain told him he had burnt it. Kirkpatrick said that would do very well. The next morning Desfountain sent one of his slaves to the fort. Kirkpatrick sent him back a letter by the slave, saying that he might as well speak of the sheep as of the yams, since the sheep had not been put down in the pencilled paper.

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		sent him a Letter by the Black where it mentioned to him that he might as well speak of the Sheep as of the Yams, for the Sheep was not put down in the Paper that was Pencilled The Lieut. Governor desires that Mr. Desfountain may be asked whether he has that Pencilled piece of Paper and the Letter he mentions This Deponent replied Yes and produced them both Which are as follows viz. Copy of the pencilled piece of Paper viz. Sir In Answer to yours, I acknowledge to have seen you in Long Wood about 5 or 6th of June 1767, and as we Rode together observing a number of Hogs, you said, of all these were fed, it must take a good deal of Yam; upon which, I told you that the Overseer had acquainted me that there was 5900 lb. of Yam sent from the Company's Plantations in one Month for the Use of the Lieut. Governors Stock this I declare to be truth 8th July 1768 and am Sir Your most humble Servant J. D. To Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick	Corneille asked that Mr Desfountain be asked whether he still had the pencilled paper and the letter he had mentioned. Desfountain replied that he had, and produced them both. They read as follows. The pencilled paper, dated 8 July 1768 and addressed to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, read: "In answer to yours, I acknowledge that I saw you in the Long Wood about 5 or 6 June 1767. As we rode together, observing a number of hogs, you said that, by the look of how well they were fed, it must take a good deal of yams. I then told you that the overseer had informed me that 5,900 lb of yams were sent from the Company's plantations in one month for the use of the Lieutenant Governor's stock. This I declare to be true." It was left for Desfountain's signature. **Interpretations** The pencilled paper was the document Kirkpatrick had drafted for Desfountain to copy and sign as his own. It was written in Desfountain's voice and addressed to Kirkpatrick as if it answered a letter from him. It gave a precise figure, 5,900 lb of yams a month, that Desfountain had never put forward himself. On 11 July Desfountain had spoken only of several thousand pounds, and earlier he had told Kirkpatrick he had forgotten the details. The figure was Kirkpatrick's, set down for the witness to adopt. Desfountain had told Kirkpatrick he had burnt the paper. In fact he kept it, together with Kirkpatrick's letter about the sheep. The paper was evidence that Kirkpatrick had tried to supply his witness with his testimony. Desfountain evidently saw that, and kept it in case he needed to protect himself. Kirkpatrick's reply, that the burning would do very well, shows he was content to have the draft destroyed once it had failed. His later letter urged Desfountain to speak of the sheep as well, since the pencilled paper had not covered them. It shows Kirkpatrick still steering the evidence by letter two days before the hearing. Kirkpatrick carried the Governor's summons to Desfountain in person. The official order to attend the Council was delivered by the accuser himself, on the same visit at which he pressed the witness about the missing paper.
158	151	1768 Copy of the Letter viz. To Mr. Jno. Desfountain Senr. Dear Sir I embrace this Opportunity of Peter's being down, to infor you, that you may, as freely as mentioning the Yams, mention the Circumstance of the 12 Sheep because G. S. D. t has owned the same to me: I still fear the quantity of Yams seems incredible and would be in appearancy the expence of a Quar. rather than a Month; because 300 a day would not Amount to that, in a Month: I shall be happy in seeing you on Monday and Am Yrs. &c. T. K. Burn this The Lieutenant Governor then delivered to the Board his Defence in Answer to what Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick had alledged against him Defence of Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Gentlemen As Capt. Kirkpatrick has now gone through with all the Evidences He desired to call upon; in support of the heavy Charge he has	Kirkpatrick's letter to Mr John Desfountain read as follows. Kirkpatrick wrote that he was taking the chance of Peter going down to tell Desfountain that he might mention the matter of the 12 sheep as freely as the yams, since G B had admitted it to him. He still feared that the quantity of yams would seem incredible. In appearance it looked more like the use of a quarter than of a month, because 300 lb a day would not come to that in a month. He would be glad to see Desfountain on Monday. He signed the letter T K and dated it on the Saturday, 9 July 1768, at ten o'clock. At the foot he added: "Burn this." Corneille then delivered his defence to the Board, in answer to what Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick had alleged against him. Corneille addressed the Council. Kirkpatrick had now called all the witnesses he wished in support of the heavy charge he had brought against Corneille's honesty and honour, against everything that was or ought to be most valuable to a man of the least sensibility and feeling. Corneille now had to consider himself on his defence. It was his duty to the Council, as well as to the Company, to show how false and base this attack was, and how groundless the whole **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick's letter sealed the case against his own conduct. He told his witness what he could safely say, citing G B, plainly George Bazett, the

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		Alledged against my Honesty, my Honour, and every thing that is, and ought to be most Valuable to a man of the least Sensibility, and Feelings; and as I am now to consider myself upon my Defence, It stands me upon to you Gentlemen, as well as to my Honble Employers to shew how false, and base this attack, as well, as the groundless foundation of the whole	steward who had confirmed the sale of the sheep. He also admitted his doubt about the figure he had himself written into the pencilled paper. The figure of 5,900 lb of yams a month seemed incredible to him and more like a quarter's use than a month's. He had put a number in the witness's mouth that he did not fully believe. He ended by telling Desfountain to burn the letter. Like the pencilled paper, it survived because the witness chose to keep it. The Company's own livestock accounts give a measure of the claim. In the quarter just ended, Corneille's plantation account recorded 13,650 lb of yams issued to all the Company's stock over three months, about 4,500 lb a month for every cow, sheep, goat, hog and horse together. A diversion of 5,900 lb a month to the Lieutenant Governor's private hogs would have been more than the whole herd's ration. Kirkpatrick saw that the number was implausible and still pressed it. Corneille opened his defence by recalling what was at stake: his honesty and honour. For an officer of the Company, a proven charge of using its property for private profit meant dismissal and disgrace. The evidence Desfountain had just produced allowed Corneille to present the charge as a fabrication, not merely a mistake.
159	152	The 19 July of it, which surely nothing but the most inveterate Malice, and evil Disposition could have Urged Him to With respect to the first part of what Capt. Kirkpatrick means to prove, my keeping Hoggs in Horse-point and feeding them with Yams from the Honble. Compys. Plantations, 'tis a truth not only known to you Gentlemen but to every one I suppose upon the Island, as the place allotted for the Lieut. Governor Stock, and as such received it from my Predecessor Mr. Skottowe, And considering it always in that light I never imagined, nor do I now Conceive it can be made any Reproach to me to raise Hoggs there for the Advantage of my Table, and living, and as my Poultry has always been kept with Rice and Paddy from the Companys Store Gratis, as well as Yams from their Plantations, also the liberty of Grazing a few Sheep on the Long Wood for which I can plead Prescription: concluded likewise with the same propriety and without any Wrong to the Honble Company that I might take an Addition of Yams for that part of my Stock (and which I shall still continue to do unless ordered by you Gentlemen to the Contrary) as I cannot conceive that my Honble. Masters ever intended that their Lieut. Governor Here, who can have no property of Land for the Advantage of Raising the common necessarys of Life, should be distressed in that respect; As His Sallary, and the Expences his Station Demands in Entertaining the number of Strangers that pass this way bear no proportion, and could not otherwise Afford were it not from that Advantage, and of Custom hitherto has been the only Plea for the above indulgences, I am happy of this opportunity offering as a means hereafter to my Successors of settling such	Corneille continued that nothing but the most deep-rooted malice and ill will could have driven Kirkpatrick to such a charge. On the first part of what Kirkpatrick meant to prove, Corneille admitted that he kept hogs in the horse pound and fed them with yams from the Company's plantations. That was well known, not only to the Council but, he supposed, to everyone on the island. The horse pound was the place set aside for the Lieutenant Governor's stock, and he had received it as such from his predecessor, Mr Skottowe. Having always regarded it in that light, he had never imagined, and did not now believe, that he could be blamed for raising hogs there for his table and household. His poultry had always been fed free with rice and paddy from the Company's stores, and with yams from its plantations. He also had leave to graze a few sheep in the Long Wood, a right he could claim by long custom. He had therefore concluded that he might, with equal propriety and no wrong to the Company, take extra yams for that part of his stock. He would continue to do so unless the Council or the Company ordered otherwise. Corneille did not believe the Company had ever intended its Lieutenant Governor to go without in this respect. He held no land of his own on which to raise the common necessities of life. His salary bore no relation to the costs his post imposed in entertaining the many strangers who passed that way, and he could not otherwise afford them without that benefit. Custom had so far been the only ground for such allowances. He was glad of this chance to put such small allowances on a surer footing for his successors. He also told the Council that he had this year sold 15 of his hogs to the ships. He was surprised this had escaped Kirkpatrick's notice. He gave the fact freely, to convince Kirkpatrick and everyone on the island of his readiness to have even the smallest part of his conduct known to the Company. Kirkpatrick's intention throughout was too obvious to need pointing out. Corneille would make only this remark: it was one of those evil designs that often disappointed their authors and more often did good, contrary to their aims. He then turned to what he had to say on the first part of the accusation **Interpretations** Corneille did not deny the facts. He admitted feeding Company yams to his hogs and openly added

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		triffling Indulgences upon a surer foundation, And take this opportunity further to inform you, that I have this Year disposed of Fifteen of my Hoggs to the Shipping, which I am surprised should have escaped Mr. Kirkpatricks Observation, and Voluntary offer this Circumstance to convince him and every Body upon the Island my Readiness to have the most minute part of my Conduct known to my Honble. Employers And altho Capt. Kirkpatricks intention in ye Whole of this, is too obvious to require being pointed out, I can only make the following reflection upon it, That it is one of those evil Designs wherein the Authors are often Disappointed and more frequently proves productive of Good, Contrary to their Intentions, And here I rest what I have to offer to the first Part of his	a fact Kirkpatrick had missed: he had sold 15 hogs to the ships. The obvious defence would have been to dispute the quantity of yams or to deny the hogs were his. He took another course and argued that the practice was a recognised perquisite of his office. He had inherited the horse pound from his predecessor, who was now Governor Skottowe himself. His poultry were fed from the Company's stores, as the plantation accounts showed every quarter. He grazed sheep in the Long Wood by custom. In that light the yams were one more allowance in kind, like the candles, the fishing tackle and the table allowance that every senior officer on the island received. The argument placed the Governor in an awkward position. If Corneille's use of the horse pound was improper, so had been Skottowe's when he held the same office. By naming his predecessor, Corneille made his defence a defence of the established practice of the island's senior officers. The Governor could hardly condemn it without condemning himself. The sale of 15 hogs to passing ships was the weakest point in Corneille's case, since animals fattened on Company yams were then sold for private profit. He met it head on. He disclosed the sales himself and asked the Council and the Court to rule on the practice for the future. In effect he asked to be judged by the customs of his office rather than by Kirkpatrick's standard. He also invited the Company to settle the Lieutenant Governor's allowances in writing, so that no successor would face the same charge.
160	153	1768 Accusation, calling upon the Overseer to inform you Gentlemen of the addition of Yams so expended on that part of my Stock, as well as the Quality of them, consisting mostly of what are called Nobbs not given to the Slaves, and which I have ordered to be appropriated to the Honble. Compy. as well as my Stock, and which more than fully answers that purpose, as I have known large Quantity's of them thrown away when not expended in the above manner Here I call upon John Worrall and John Bazett Mr. John Worrall the Company's Overseer being duly Sworn Deposeth that about a Year ago the Lieut. Governor had about 600 lb. Yams p Week during the dry Season to feed his Hogs, & Poultry, that he has at times since had only about 150 lb. p Week and at present 425 lb. p Week, that the Yams are Waste Yam, and not fit for the Blacks to Eat, or even Fowls Mr. John Bazett being duly Sworn Deposeth that the Overseers demand for Yams to be sent in the Wood are 500 lb. p Week since the Digging of the Maldavia Plantation, that the Yams are refuse Yams not Eat by the Company's Slaves, that great part of such Yams have been thrown away, there being more than sufficient for feeding of the Stock Mr. John Worrall being asked whether the whole of the Yams sent to the Wood were for the Lieutenant Governors Stock, says there is 500 lb. received but only 425 for his Stock, the remainder for the Companys Poultry	Corneille called on the overseer to tell the Council how many extra yams went to that part of his stock, and of what kind. They were mostly the small, misshapen tubers known as nubbs, which were not given to the slaves. Corneille had ordered them to be used for the Company's stock as well as his own. They more than met that need, and he had known large quantities to be thrown away when they were not used in this way. He called on John Worrall and John Bazett. Mr John Worrall, the Company's overseer, was sworn. He said that about a year earlier, in the dry season, the Lieutenant Governor had received about 600 lb of yams a week to feed his hogs and poultry. At times since then he had received only about 150 lb a week, and at present he received 425 lb a week. The yams were waste, unfit for the slaves to eat or even for fowls. Mr John Bazett was sworn. He said the overseer's order for yams to be sent to the Wood had been 500 lb a week since the digging of the Maldivia plantation began. These were refuse yams that the Company's slaves would not eat. Much of them had been thrown away, because there were more than enough to feed the stock. Mr John Worrall was asked whether all the yams sent to the Wood were for the Lieutenant Governor's stock. He said that 500 lb a week were received there, but only 425 lb went to Corneille's stock. The rest went to the Company's poultry. Corneille then turned to the second part of the charge, in which Captain Kirkpatrick called **Interpretations** The overseer's evidence cut the charge down to its true size. The pencilled paper Kirkpatrick drafted for Desfountain spoke of 5,900 lb of yams a month, close to 1,500 lb a week. Worrall swore on oath to a peak of about 600 lb a week a year earlier, falling at times to 150 lb and standing at 425 lb when he gave evidence. He was the overseer whose words Desfountain had reportedly repeated. Kirkpatrick's figure was more than twice anything he described. Kirkpatrick's own letter of 9 July had admitted that

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		I come now to the second Part, Wherein Capt. Kirkpatrick	the number looked like a quarter's use rather than a month's. The quality of the yams mattered as much as the quantity. Both Worrall and John Bazett, the superintendent of the Company's slaves, described them as refuse that the slaves would not eat and that was often thrown away. If that was right, Corneille had taken nothing the Company could otherwise have used. The yams had been surplus waste from the plantation's harvest, and his hogs consumed it instead of letting it rot. The digging of the Maldivia plantation had increased the supply of such waste. That explains why the quantity sent to the Wood rose in the months before the charge was made. Both witnesses served under Corneille in the running of the plantation, and the Court might weigh that. Their evidence was given on oath before the full Council, however, and Kirkpatrick could test it. It also matched the Company's quarterly accounts, which already recorded large issues of yams to the stock.
161	154	The 19 July calls upon Mr. Desfountain as a hearsay Evidence in regard to twelve Sheep of the Company's Ordered on board the Lord Camden in May 1767, as also George Bazett the Compys. Steward, to prove his having Received the Money for said Sheep and paid it to Me, Inferring thereby agreable to his Charge, That I had appropriated the Honble. Company's Property to my own use, and Profit. With Respect to this charge Gentlemen, my Vindication thank God is infinitely easier to me, than what ought to be that Mans Conscience who can be capable to assert such an Abominable Falsehood to the Injuring of another and in order to Justify the above harsh Expression, As You have already examined the Stewards Book in the course of this Enquiry wherein it appears that, that Money was paid to me, I have here transcribed a Copy of the Profits of Plantation Acct. of that Quarter wherein you will find those twelve Sheep Accounted for, and my Ballance paid and entered as p. Cash Book, and likewise lay before you my Book of Dr. & Cr. of Profits of Plantation for a full inspection; as I may venture to say that 'tis the first Lieutenant Governor that has kept such a one, and lucky for me that my great exactness in the management of my Trust has prompted me to that measure Copy of Profits Arising from the Honble. Companys Plantations from 1st April to 30th June 1767 April 23d To a Kid for my Use £ - 5 - 28th To a Lamb Do. - 10 - May 11th To 209 lb. over Charter party to Ships Northumberland Duke of Cumberland, Havannah, Middlesex Glatton & Lioness 4 7 1 Do. To my Use 45 lb. of Beef - 18 9 Do. To 12 Head of Sheep to Lord Camden	Corneille turned to the second charge. Kirkpatrick had called Mr Desfountain to give hearsay evidence about 12 of the Company's sheep sent aboard the *Lord Camden* in May 1767. He had also called George Bazett, the Company's steward, to prove that Bazett received the money for the sheep and paid it to Corneille. From this Kirkpatrick concluded, as his charge required, that Corneille had taken the Company's property for his own use and profit. Corneille told the Council that, thank God, clearing himself of this charge was far easier for him than it ought to be for the conscience of any man who could invent so abominable a falsehood to injure another. The Council had already examined the steward's book during the inquiry, and it showed that the money had been paid to Corneille. To justify his strong language, he had copied out the account of profits from the plantation for that quarter. The Council would find the 12 sheep accounted for in it, and his balance paid in and entered in the cash book. He also laid before the Council his own ledger of debits and credits on the plantation's profits for full inspection. He believed he was the first Lieutenant Governor to keep one, and it was fortunate for him that his care in managing his trust had led him to do so. The account of profits from the Company's plantations from 1 April to 30 June 1767 read as follows. 23 April 1767, a kid for Corneille's own use, £0 5s 0d 28 April 1767, a lamb for Corneille's own use, £0 10s 0d 11 May 1767, 209 lb of beef supplied beyond the charter party allowance to the ships *Northumberland*, *Duke of Cumberland*, *Havannah*, *Middlesex*, *Glatton* and *Lioness*, £4 7s 1d 11 May 1767, 45 lb of beef for Corneille's own use, £0 18s 9d 11 May 1767, 12 head of sheep to the *Lord Camden*, £12 0s 0d 11 May 1767, 15 lb of goat sold, £0 6s 4½d 11 May 1767, 121 lb of beef supplied beyond the charter party allowance to the ships *Britannia*, *Hawke* and *Duke of Albany*, £2 10s 5d 11 May 1767, 15 lb of beef for Corneille's own use, £0 5s 3d 11 May 1767, 18 Cape sheep to the *Duke of Albany*, £18 0s 0d Carried forward, £39 3s [...] **Interpretations** Corneille's ledger answered the sheep charge directly. The 12 sheep sold to the *Lord Camden*

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		12 - - Do. To 15 lb. of Goat Sold - 6 4½ Do. To 121 over Charter party to Ships Britannia Hawke & Duke of Albany 2 10 5 Do. To 15 lb. of Beef to my use - 5 3 Do. To 18 Cape Sheep to Duke of Albany 18 - - Carrd. over£ 39 3 - ¼	appeared at £12 in the account of plantation profits for the quarter, entered to the Company's credit. Bazett had collected the money and paid it to Corneille, as Bazett swore. Corneille, in turn, had brought the sum into the plantation account and paid the balance into the treasury. Desfountain had only heard that the sheep were a present to Governor Palk. Behind that story stood an ordinary sale recorded in the Company's books. Kirkpatrick had proved that Corneille received the money. He had never asked where it went. The same ledger also undermined Kirkpatrick's story of the kid taken in October 1766. Corneille charged himself for every animal he drew from the Company's stock for his own table, including a kid at 5s, a lamb at 10s and beef by the pound. The account showed that a Lieutenant Governor who took Company produce for his household paid for it at a fixed price. Kirkpatrick had been unable to say whether the kid of 1766 was credited. The ledger made it likely that it had been, in the same way. Beef supplied beyond the charter party allowance was fresh meat sold to Company ships in excess of the ration their hiring contracts entitled them to receive at St Helena. The island charged for the extra at about 5d a pound, and the money went to the plantation's profits. Corneille's careful private record of these sales, which he claimed no earlier Lieutenant Governor had kept, was what saved him. It turned a charge of embezzlement into a demonstration of his accuracy as the plantation's manager.
162	155	1768 Brought Over£ 39 - - ¼ To 161 lb. of Mutton in Quarter to my use from Govr. Steward 3 7 1 By Ballance paid into the Compys. Cash July the 20th£ 42 10 1¼ The above Acct. compared with the Cash Book, and my Book now before you fully clears up that most shamefull Aspersion, and as to the long Article that Capt. Kirkpatrick has given in, with respect to a Kid for my use for the Governors Wedding Dinner on the 4th of Octor. 1766 and which he has taken so much pains from his inquiry at the Pound, as well as his Watchings to observe whether it was brought to my House as his Convictions of my further Wrong to the Compy. I therefore Transcribe the whole of that Quarters Acct. wherein you will find that I have made myself Dr. for the same as well as every Article that I have ever had from the Honble. Compys. Stock, having no other recourse to for my living, and what the Govr. and Council, nay every Compys. Servant well knows has been the Constant practice of all Lieut. Govrs. paying for the same (which the Book now before you Gentlemen most more fully Evince than what I am sure any of my Predecessors could have done, had they from such Malice been obliged to have recourse to a Retrospect of Circumstances of the like nature, and thereby might have fallen an Innocent Victim to the deep laid plot and most Scandalous Aspersions of a Designing Man Copy of Profits Arising from Plantation from the 1st of Oct. to the 30 Decem. 1766 Octr. 4th To a Kid Wt. 11 lb. for my use	Corneille's account of plantation profits for the quarter ending 30 June 1767 ended as follows. Brought forward, £39 3s 0¼d 161 lb of mutton for Corneille's own use during the quarter, received from the Governor's steward, £3 7s 1d Balance paid into the Company's cash on 20 July 1767, £42 10s 1¼d Corneille told the Council that the account, checked against the cash book and his own ledger now before it, fully cleared him of that most shameful charge. He then turned to the long statement Kirkpatrick had given in about a kid taken for Corneille's use at the Governor's wedding dinner on 4 October 1766. Kirkpatrick had gone to great pains over it, making inquiries at the pound and watching to see whether the kid was carried to Corneille's house, as proof of a further wrong to the Company. Corneille therefore copied out the whole account for that quarter. The Council would find that he had charged himself for the kid, as for every item he had ever taken from the Company's stock. He had no other means of supplying his household. The Governor, the Council and every Company servant knew that paying for such things had been the constant practice of every Lieutenant Governor. His ledger proved it more fully than any of his predecessors could have done, had malice ever forced them to look back over such matters. Without it, he might have fallen an innocent victim to the deep-laid plot and scandalous charges of a scheming man. The account of profits from the Company's plantations from 1 October to 30 December 1766 read as follows. 4 October 1766, a kid weighing 11 lb for Corneille's own use, £0 4s 7d 30 November 1766, 71 lb of beef supplied beyond the charter party allowance to the ship *[...]*, £1 9s 7d 9 December 1766, [...] lb of beef sold at market from a beast killed by a fall, the rest given to the slaves, £2 1s 3d

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		£ - 4 7 Novr. 30th To 71 lb. Beef to Ship Dowbaven over Charter party 1 9 7 Decr. 9th To 120½ lb. of Beef sold at Market of a Beast killed by a fall, the Remainder given to the Blacks 2 1 3 Do. To a Kid Wt. 14 lb. for my use - 5 10 To 6 Goats 120 to the Hospital 2 10 - To 76 lb. of Mutton during the Quarter to my Use from Govr. Steward 1 11 10½ To 159 lb. of Beef sold by the Govr. Steward 3 6 3 Do. To 16 lb. Beef for my use - 6 8 By Balance paid into the Compys. Cash Jan. 19£ 11 16 - ½	9 December 1766, a kid weighing 14 lb for Corneille's own use, £0 5s 10d 9 December 1766, 6 goats weighing 120 lb to the hospital, £2 10s 0d 9 December 1766, 76½ lb of mutton for Corneille's own use during the quarter, received from the Governor's steward, £1 11s 10½d 9 December 1766, 159 lb of beef sold by the Governor's steward, £3 6s 3d 9 December 1766, 16 lb of beef for Corneille's own use, £0 6s 8d Balance paid into the Company's cash on 19 January 1767, £11 16s 0½d **Interpretations** The first line of the 1766 account answered Kirkpatrick's third charge exactly. On 3 October 1766 Kirkpatrick had watched a kid picked out at the pound and sent to the Wood to be killed for the Deputy. The next morning he saw something carried to Corneille's house. Corneille's ledger recorded a kid of 11 lb taken for his own use on 4 October 1766, the day of the dinner for the Governor's wedding guests, and charged to himself at 4s 7d. Kirkpatrick had told the Council he did not know whether the Company was credited. The ledger showed that it was, and that the money reached the treasury with the quarter's balance on 19 January 1767. The accounts show how the Lieutenant Governor's perquisites worked in practice. He did not take Company meat free. He bought it at the island's fixed price of about 5d a pound and paid the total into the treasury each quarter. That applied even to mutton drawn through the Governor's own steward. The benefit of his office lay in a guaranteed supply at a fair price, not in free goods. The yams for his hogs, which were refuse from the plantation, were the one item he took without charge, and he had openly asked the Council to rule on them. The two quarters' accounts also show how the plantation earned its keep. It sold beef to ships beyond their charter allowance and sold meat at the market from animals killed by accident. It supplied the hospital and charged the island's officers for their tables. Corneille paid every penny of these small sums into the Company's cash, which left Kirkpatrick's charges of private profit without foundation.
163	156	The 19 July I have now Gentlemen one thing further to observe in Regard to Captain Kirkpatricks Minute of the 11th July, wherein he leaves the Honble. the Court of Directors to judge between him and me, and further says that when both our Characters are put into a Scale &c. &c. Sorry I am, that not content with former Insinuations, he will still continue to Wound me in that tender point, by a Comparison that I cannot but consider as a further Aggravation to his former Malice, as I must now make an appeal to his own Conscience, in what light he can consider himself, for having imposed upon the Governor and Council an advance of one hundred and forty Pounds more than he ought to have done, (notwithstanding Money always given him for Contingent charges during the Quarter, from the Commencement of the works untill July 1767) at which time I made the discovery and informed the Govr. & Council of it, also charging Relisting Money for a Man that had no Existance, which probably would never have been discovered was it not for Mr. Purlings great exactness in business, and occasioned his	Corneille had one more point to make about Kirkpatrick's minute of 11 July 1768. In it Kirkpatrick had left the Court to judge between them and said that, when both their characters were weighed, it would be clear which of them had caused the quarrel. Corneille regretted that Kirkpatrick was not content with his earlier insinuations and went on wounding him on that sensitive point by such a comparison. Corneille regarded it as a further sign of his malice. He therefore appealed to Kirkpatrick's own conscience to say how he could regard his own conduct in three matters. First, Kirkpatrick had drawn £140 more from the Governor and Council than he ought to have done, from the start of the works until July 1767, even though he was always given money for incidental charges during each quarter. Corneille had discovered this at that time and reported it to the Governor and Council. Second, Kirkpatrick had charged a re-enlistment bounty for a man who did not exist. That would probably never have come to light but for Purling's great care in business. It had led to Purling's minute entered in the consultation of 27 July 1767, and to Corneille's own letter entered on 10 August 1767 about the payment of the troops and the issue of regular pay statements to the captains. The Court had expressed its surprise at the affair, since it could not see how any such mistake could happen to its loss.

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		Minute as entered in Consultation of 27 July 1767, likewise my Letter as entered the 10th of August 1767 in regard to the payment of the Troops and given the Captns. Regular Abstracts; at which the Honble. Directors express their Surprize, as not conceiving how any mistake can happen to their prejudice, Yet I must take this opportunity of informing their Honours that it may again be the Case, as notwithstanding the orders Capt. Kirkpatrick Received in Consequence of that Minute, to insert in his Pay Acct. against the names of every Soldier he Relists the date when his amount of service Commences, as also to given the Captains Regular Abstracts, that he has not comply'd with either of those Regulations and orders, longer than the first Quarter proceeding that order as his pay Acct. Verifys the former, and the Respective Captains can the latter, that the many other Errors he has been Guilty of in his Accts. as Paymaster have been of such a nature as to oblige the Govr. & Council to put a Stop to his receiving any Money from the Storekeeper out of the Collections, arising from a mistake of one hundred pounds fully cleared up with Regard to the Honble. Compy. (as there Cash can never be a Looser) but how far to Mr. Powell the Person obliged to make good that Money, I must leave to Capt. Kirkpatricks own Reflection, as a transaction that could never have came to the knowledge of the Govr. & Council but from the Deficiency on settling that Quarters Acct. as to this day Mr. Powell is not satisfy'd but that Capt. Kirkpatrick had two hundred and fifty pounds from him agreable to his Receipt produced in Council, and which he said was a Mistake, having given it for one hundred pounds	Corneille wished to tell the Court that the same thing might happen again. After that minute, Kirkpatrick had been ordered to enter in his pay account, against the name of every soldier he re-enlisted, the date on which the new term of service began. He had also been ordered to give the captains regular pay statements. He had kept to neither order for longer than the first quarter after it was given. The pay accounts would prove the first point, and the captains could confirm the second. Third, Kirkpatrick's many other errors as paymaster had been serious enough to oblige the Governor and Council to stop him drawing any money from the storekeeper out of the sales receipts. That arose from a mistake of £100, which had been fully cleared up as far as the Company was concerned, since it could never be the loser. How far Mr Powell, the storekeeper, had been obliged to make good that money, Corneille left to Kirkpatrick's own reflection. The matter would never have come to the Governor and Council's knowledge but for the shortfall found when that quarter's account was settled. To that day Mr Powell was not satisfied that Kirkpatrick had not received £550 from him, as shown by Kirkpatrick's receipt produced in Council. Kirkpatrick said the receipt was a mistake, having been given for £100 more **Interpretations** Corneille did not stop at answering the charges. Having shown that the yams were refuse and that the sheep and the kid were paid for, he could have rested his case. Instead he turned on his accuser's own record as paymaster, and the record gives his reason. Kirkpatrick had invited the Court to weigh both men's characters. Corneille accepted the invitation and set out Kirkpatrick's past irregularities, each already on record in the minutes of 1767, so that the Court could judge whose conduct deserved suspicion. The charges against Kirkpatrick were graver in kind than those he had brought. An overdrawn advance of £140 and a bounty claimed for a soldier who did not exist pointed to money passing through the paymaster's hands without proper account. A disputed receipt with the storekeeper suggested the same. A false re-enlistment bounty was a known method of fraud in eighteenth-century armies, where a paymaster could pocket £10 under a fictitious name. The order to note each man's re-enlistment date in the pay list was meant to stop it. Corneille's claim that the order had lapsed can be tested against the pay lists of 1768. The re-enlistment bounties of April and May appear only in the paymaster's sundry payments. Against the names of men such as John Vaughan, William Stedman or Thomas Bailey in the companies' rolls, no date of re-enlistment is entered. The captains could not tell from the pay list which of their men had signed on again, which was exactly the weakness the 1767 order was meant to remedy.
164	157	1768 more than Recd. from Mr. Powell without ever offering him any other satisfaction of producing any entry of the Money Recd. and these, and such like Errors and mistakes known to you Gentlemen as those stated are the Circumstances from which Capt. Kirkpatrick has experienced my Abilitys (As he is pleased to term it) in point of Reproof, and which I must freely own he has upon all like occasions received from me, adequate to the nature of his Error, or when they have appeared to me rather in a worse light than bare Mistakes. And tho I am conscious that a Retrospect of past	Kirkpatrick had said the receipt was given for £100 more than he received from Mr Powell, yet he had never offered Powell any other proof by producing any entry of the money received. These and similar errors and mistakes, known to the Council as Corneille had described them, were the occasions on which Kirkpatrick had felt what he called Corneille's abilities in the way of reproof. Corneille admitted freely that Kirkpatrick had on all those occasions received from him a reproof suited to the nature of his error, or to how it then appeared to him, which was in a worse light than a simple mistake. Corneille knew that looking back over past misconduct might seem like retaliation for the present injury. Kirkpatrick's charge was so grave that

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		misconduct may have the appearance of Retaliation for the present Injury I have Recd. from Capt. Kirkpatrick, of so heinous a nature as might Justify it allowing that it proceeded even from that motive, Yet I can assure the Honble. the Court of Directors and you Gentlemen that having now occasion from the above base and Scandalous Conduct in this affair, to Imagine that his former Errors was more than mere Omissions which at that time I was willing to suppose from a motive of Benevolence, to put the most favourable Construction on what I then concluded arose only from want of Abilitys in the Execution of his Employment; Yet now convinced of the malice and deep design throughout the whole of his Conduct in this affair as I believe must fully appear to every impartial Man, That I am obliged in Conscience now, as a Duty I owe my Employers, as a duty I owe society, and as a justice due myself no longer to screen a man who can with premeditated malice attack my Integrity, Honesty, and Character in so Capital a manner without being able to prove the least of his most Shamefull and Groundless Charge, As no man can be safe with a Disposition of the like nature, so highly dangerous to the Peace, Order, and Justice, as the only Knotts than can unite, and Connect in Intercourse between Man, & Man, and society in General Now Gentlemen that I have so laid before you such convincing Proofs of my Integrity, and Innocence, in Confutation of the Charge Offered by Capt. Kirkpatrick; which I suppose was what he Threatened me with in his Letter, wherein he asserts that he can and will if put to it carry his speculations a little further than bare Mistakes with Regard to me, and appeals to my own breast in this tender point. And still Conscious of my Innocence (from that appeal) not only to my Honourable Employers, but to all Mankind, have thought it incumbent upon me to put him to the Test, never indeed imagining even a possibility of any other Attack, than what might arise from the Opinion of Another Man, as some Error in Judgment in my Conduct, which had that at any time being the Case, I should most readily and willingly have	it might fairly be allowed even if that were his motive. He assured the Court and the Council, however, that it was not. Kirkpatrick's base and scandalous conduct in this affair had now given him reason to think that his earlier errors were more than oversights. At the time Corneille had chosen, out of goodwill, to put the most favourable construction on them and to put them down to a lack of ability in Kirkpatrick's work. He was now convinced of the malice and deep design behind Kirkpatrick's whole conduct in this affair, as he believed every impartial person would see. He felt bound in conscience, as a duty he owed the Company, to society and to himself in justice, to stop excusing a man who could attack his integrity, honesty and character in so deliberate and malicious a way without being able to prove the least part of his shameful and groundless charge. No one could be safe from a man of such a temper. It was highly dangerous to the peace, order and justice that alone held people together and governed dealings between them and in society at large. Corneille had now laid before the Council convincing proof of his integrity and innocence in answer to Kirkpatrick's charge. He supposed this was what Kirkpatrick had threatened him with in his letter, when he wrote that he could and would, if pressed, take his conjectures a little further than a mere mistake, and appealed to Corneille's own conscience on that delicate point. Still aware of his innocence, Corneille had thought it his duty to make that appeal not only to the Company but to all mankind, and to put Kirkpatrick to the test. He had never imagined that any other attack was possible than one arising from another man's view that some error of judgement had crept into his conduct. Had that ever been the case, he would most readily and willingly have accepted **Interpretations** Corneille's argument now changed in character. Until this point he had defended himself. Here he declared that he would no longer excuse Kirkpatrick's earlier failings as an accountant. In 1767 he had treated the overdrawn advance, the false bounty and the disputed receipt with Powell as the errors of a man not equal to his work. He now said he had been too generous. His reasoning was that a man who could invent a charge of embezzlement against a fellow councillor, as the pencilled paper and the letter marked "Burn this" showed, could no longer be presumed innocent of irregularities in his own accounts. Kirkpatrick's conduct in the present affair cast its own light back on his past. Corneille met the obvious objection directly. Raking up a rival's past faults during a quarrel would look like revenge, and the Court might discount it as such. He answered by drawing a line between personal resentment and public duty. Kirkpatrick held the post of paymaster and handled more than £4,000 of the Company's money each quarter. If he was willing to fabricate evidence, then the Company had a real interest in knowing it. The argument turned Corneille's grievance into a question of the Company's safety, the ground on which the Court was most likely to act. The closing distinction mattered to his whole case. Corneille said he would have accepted criticism of his judgement. What he would not accept was a charge against his honesty. A Lieutenant Governor might err in managing the plantation and still keep his post. Proven dishonesty would end his career.
165	158	The 19 July embraced the opportunity of clearing it up, and offerd my Reasons why I had so Acted. But so different is the nature of the Circumstances under which I now stand,	Corneille said he would have welcomed the chance to clear up any such error and to give his reasons for acting as he did. His present position was entirely different. He stood charged with defrauding the Company of £12 and the value of a kid. He

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		Charged with a fraud of cheating the Honble. Company of twelve pounds and the value of a Kid, that I must own I am so hurt by an imputation of that nature, so Contrary to the whole tenour of my Actions through Life, my Principles, my Character, (which tho I find it cannot escape the malice of bad Men, Yet thank God can stand proof against their Infamous Aspersions) that tis with difficulty my Reason gets the better of my Resentment, as I need only appeal to every honest Mans Breast, how far he must feel a premeditated Injury of the like horrid nature; Yet conscious of the justice of my Honourable Masters, as well as Yours Gentlemen; must now leave the rest to your Candour and Equity in the further determination of this affair, in support of my much injured Character in this false Attack, upon my Integrity, my Reputation, Nay every thing that is most sacred and Valuable to a Man of Honour and Honesty. I am sorry that the nature of this Attack has unavoidably obliged me to spin out my Defence to this Length, And now conclude what I have to offer with this one Reflection, which I submit to the Judgment of my Masters, and yours Gentlemen: That had Capt. Kirkpatrick being actuated with those principles of Duty, and Honesty that he owes his Employers, how he came to conceal for so long a time past so shamefull a Fraud as he has now alledged against me, which must certainly rendered me in the opinion of every Honest Man, As Unworthy of the Honble. Company's service; but contrary to all Justice, the nature of his Prosecution must appear obvious, from whence his motives arose, hoping to take the Advantage of me from a transaction so long elapsed, never imagining that my exactness in the management of my trust as the Company's Husband, was of that nature that has enabled me to have Recourse to, as a sure Voucher of my Innocence and Convincing proofs of the impossibility of my ever having wronged the Honble. Company (signed) Dan. Corneille	admitted he was deeply hurt by an accusation of that kind. It ran against the whole course of his life, his principles and his character. He knew his character could not escape the malice of bad men, but, thank God, it could withstand their slanders. He found it hard to let reason master his resentment, and he appealed to every honest man to imagine how he must feel such a deliberate injury. Trusting in the justice of the Company and of the Council, he left the rest to their fairness in settling the affair, in defence of a character so badly injured by this false attack on his integrity, his reputation and everything most sacred to a man of honour and honesty. He regretted that the nature of the attack had forced him to make so long a defence. He ended with one reflection, which he left to the judgement of the Company and the Council. If Kirkpatrick had been moved by the duty and honesty he owed the Company, how had he come to keep silent for so long about a fraud as shameful as the one he now alleged? Such a fraud must have made Corneille, in the eyes of every honest man, unfit for the Company's service. The nature of the prosecution, Corneille argued, showed plainly where Kirkpatrick's motives lay. Contrary to all justice, Kirkpatrick had hoped to profit from a transaction so long past. He never imagined that Corneille's care in managing his trust as the Company's steward of its stock had been such that Corneille could produce sure vouchers of his innocence and convincing proof that he could never have wronged the Company. Corneille signed his defence. **Interpretations** Corneille closed on the question of timing. The sheep were sold in May 1767 and the kid was taken in October 1766, yet Kirkpatrick raised neither until July 1768. If he had truly believed the Lieutenant Governor was defrauding the Company, his duty as a councillor was to report it at once. By keeping silent for more than a year, he had either tolerated what he thought was fraud or did not believe it was fraud at all. He produced the charges only after Corneille challenged him to prove his hints. Corneille presented the delay itself as proof that the charge came from the quarrel and not from concern for the Company. The sums at stake were small. The whole charge came to £12 for the sheep and a few shillings for a kid. Corneille stressed the gap between the value and the gravity of the accusation. A Lieutenant Governor on £87 10s 0d a quarter, who also handled the plantation's income for the Company, was accused of stealing an amount less than his pay for a fortnight. For him the damage was entirely to his reputation, and his defence was framed to repair it in the Court's eyes. Corneille called himself the Company's husband, a term then used for a person who managed property or business on behalf of owners, as a ship's husband managed a vessel for her owners. It described his role on the plantation exactly. He was the Company's agent in charge of its land and stock, and was answerable to it for every animal and every penny.
166	159	1768 Captain Kirkpatrick presented the following Minute to the Board viz. Captn. Kirkpatrick answers to ye. many reflections thrown on his Character, that, he would rather be an honest man than be thot. so, That through the course of his transactions during the unhappy Dissention, he has (according to his perception) only acted Consistant with his Duty as a Company's servant, That his having those Informations of embezzlement	Captain Kirkpatrick presented the following minute to the Board. Kirkpatrick answered the many reflections cast on his character by saying that he would rather be an honest man than be thought one. Throughout his part in the unhappy dispute, he had, as he saw it, acted only as his duty as a Company servant required. He had received the information about embezzlement from Mr John Desfountain, who was closely connected with Mr Worrall, the Company's overseer. He had passed it to the Governor, believing it lay within the Governor's power to make any necessary inquiry. In fact he had taken no step in the

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		from Mr. John Desfountain, who is so nearly connected with Mr. Worral the Honble. Company's Overseer, he made it known to the Governor, conceiving it to be his province to make any necessary enquiry; and in fact, took no step in it without his knowledge and approbation; pointing out the means for bringing to light, the truth, or falsehood of the assertion without the least view of prejudicing any character, and can not think himself accountable for the prosecution. That he wrote Mr. Corneille the private Letter, without any Malicious view, on the contrary a pacifick view, which has ever been his predominant. Begs the Governor and Council will be pleased to admit, of this having a place in the Consultation (signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick To which the Governor made the subsequent Reply viz. The Governor received the abovementioned note from Captain Kirkpatrick wherein he mentions his reason for acquainting the Governor with the Circumstance, to which the Governor only replies that after any Complaint is made to him as Governor it rests altogether with the Complainant to make good his Accusation	matter without the Governor's knowledge and approval. He had pointed out how the truth or falsehood of the claim could be brought to light, without the least intention of injuring anyone's character, and he could not think himself answerable for the prosecution. He had written the private letter to Corneille with no malicious aim but, on the contrary, a peaceable one, which had always been his ruling principle. He asked the Governor and Council to allow this minute a place in the consultation. Kirkpatrick signed it. The Governor then made the following reply. The Governor had received Kirkpatrick's note, in which he gave his reasons for bringing the matter to the Governor's notice. The Governor replied only that, once a complaint was made to him as Governor, the whole burden of making good the accusation lay on the person who made it. **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick did not answer the evidence against him. Desfountain had produced the pencilled paper and the letter marked "Burn this", which showed Kirkpatrick drafting his witness's statement and steering his testimony. Kirkpatrick said nothing about either. He sought instead to shift responsibility. He said he had acted throughout with the Governor's knowledge and approval, and had merely passed on information for the Governor to investigate. On that account the prosecution was the Governor's, not his. The Governor refused to accept that share of the blame. His reply was brief and pointed: a man who brings a complaint must prove it. Skottowe had begun the whole dispute with his private letter to the Court about Corneille. Even so, he would not let Kirkpatrick's failed charge rest on him. After Corneille's defence and Desfountain's documents, the charge of embezzlement could not be sustained. The Governor stood back from it and left Kirkpatrick to answer for it alone. The two minutes mark the collapse of the alliance between the Governor and Kirkpatrick. On 27 June Kirkpatrick had given his retraction privately to the Governor, who laid it before the Board. Three weeks later the Governor told the Council that the burden of the accusation lay wholly on the man who made it.
167	160	The 19 July And the Governor declares he never presumed to approve or prejudge either in this affair or any other complaint until it appeared before the Council, where the Governor flatters himself, his Conduct will appear to every one, to be regulated with no other Motive than strict Honor and Justice John Skottowe The Lieut. Governor does not sign this Consultation as he Considers himself upon his Trial before the Board Purling The Lieut. Governor and Capt. Kirkpatrick then withdrew from the Board The Governor and Mr. Purling continuing to Sit, in order to take a review of the whole proceedings which have passed relative to this affair, and to give their determination thereon. First took into consideration the nature and Circumstances of the Charge pursued by Capt. Kirkpatrick against Mr. Corneille, and the proofs offered in support of the said Charge, are of Opinion	The Governor declared that he had never presumed to approve or prejudge either this affair or any other complaint until it came before the Council. He believed his conduct would be seen to have no motive other than strict honour and justice. Governor Skottowe signed the declaration. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. Corneille did not sign this consultation, since he regarded himself as on trial before the Board. Corneille and Kirkpatrick then withdrew from the Board. The Governor and Purling remained sitting, to review all the proceedings in the affair and give their decision on it. They first considered the nature and circumstances of the charge brought by Kirkpatrick against Corneille and the evidence offered to support it. They gave the following opinion. The charge as brought by Kirkpatrick was a serious one. It accused the Lieutenant Governor of taking part of the Company's property for his own use, which amounted to defrauding the Company. The charge came down to three separate articles. 1: The Lieutenant Governor had taken large quantities of yams and used them to feed his own stock in the Long Wood. 2: The Lieutenant Governor had received £12 for 12 of the Company's sheep that the Governor meant as a present to Mr Palk, and the charge implied

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		That the Charge as delivered by Capt. Kirkpatrick is of a heavy nature, Accusing the Lieut. Governor with having appropriated part of the Honble. Companys property to his own use, amounting to no less than defrauding the Company; which said Charge is reduced to three separate Articles First That the Lieut. Governor has taken and applyed to his own Use large Quantitys of Yams to feed his Stock in the Long Wood Secondly That the Lieut. Governor had received twelve Pounds for twelve Sheep of the Companys intended by the Governor as a present to Mr. Bath, and intimating that he (the Lieut. Governor) had not Accounted with the Company for the amount of the said Sheep	that he had not accounted to the Company for the price of those sheep. **Interpretations** The Council could not judge a dispute between two of its own four members while they sat in it. Corneille and Kirkpatrick were the accused and the accuser, so both withdrew, leaving the Governor and Purling to decide. That was the only fair course open on so small a board, though it left the verdict with two men who had themselves been drawn into the quarrel. The Governor's private letter to the Court had started it, and Kirkpatrick had accused Purling of pressing him to sign the joint statement. The Governor's declaration that he had prejudged nothing was a careful step before he sat in judgement. Kirkpatrick had just claimed that he acted throughout with the Governor's knowledge and approval. Skottowe now stated for the record that he had not endorsed the charge before the evidence was heard. Only then did he take his place as one of the two judges. The judges' summary of the second charge exposed its weakness at once. The sheep were meant as a present to Governor Palk, yet they were sold for £12, and the question was only whether Corneille had accounted for the money. Corneille's ledger had already shown the £12 entered in the plantation account for the quarter ending 30 June 1767 and paid into the treasury.
168	161	1768 Thirdly That the Lieut. Governor had taken a Kid from the Company's Stock on the 3d of October 1766 and Converted it to his own Use Having duly weighed and considered the several Articles abovementioned which includes the whole Charge proferred by Capt. Kirkpatrick against Mr. Corneille and also considered the proofs offered in support of the said Charge We agreed to give our opinions on each and every Article Separately On the first Article we must observe; That it has been customary for the Lieut. Governors to have Yams from the Company's Plantations to feed and raise Stock in the Horse Point for the use of their Table, that altho it appears to us from the Evidence taken in this affair, that Mr. Corneille has had rather a large Quantity of Yams, Yet it is evident from the testimony of John Worrall the Company's Overseer, and John Bazett the superintendant of the Slaves; That most of those Yams were refuse Yams, and had they not been applyed to that use would have been thrown away In respect to the second Article, It plainly appears by Mr. Corneilles Book regularly kept of receipts for Provisions sold from the Plantations, as well as from the Cash Account Adjusted to the 30th of June 1767, That he has duly Accounted with the Company for the Amount of the said Sheep being twelve pounds With Regard to the third Article, It likewise appears clearly by the said Book of Mr. Corneilles; That he has charged himself for the Amount of the Kid, precisely to the day Capt. Kirkpatrick	3: The Lieutenant Governor had taken a kid from the Company's stock on 3 October 1766 and used it himself. The Governor and Purling weighed and considered each of these articles, which made up the whole of Kirkpatrick's charge against Corneille, together with the evidence offered in support. They agreed to give their opinion on each article separately. On the first article, they observed that Lieutenant Governors had customarily received yams from the Company's plantations to feed and raise stock in the horse pound for their own tables. The evidence showed that Corneille had received a fairly large quantity of yams. The testimony of John Worrall, the Company's overseer, and John Bazett, superintendent of the slaves, made it clear, however, that most of them were refuse. Had they not been used in that way, they would have been thrown away. On the second article, Corneille's ledger, kept regularly to record the receipts for provisions sold from the plantation, plainly showed that he had duly accounted to the Company for the £12 paid for the sheep. The cash account settled to 30 June 1767 showed the same. On the third article, Corneille's ledger likewise showed clearly that he had charged himself for the kid on the very day Kirkpatrick said he took it. He had duly accounted to the Company for it in the quarter ending 31 December 1766, and the cash account settled for that quarter matched Corneille's ledger exactly. It had undoubtedly been Kirkpatrick's duty to inform the Governor and Council at the time if he knew of, or had reason to believe in, any fraud against the Company. His delay until a quarrel arose between himself and the Lieutenant Governor showed plainly that he had acted from prejudice alone, not from **Interpretations** The Governor and Purling cleared Corneille on all three articles. On the yams they did not deny that he had received a large quantity. They accepted his defence that this was an established custom of his office and that the yams were refuse. On the sheep and the kid they relied on documents rather than testimony. Corneille's private ledger agreed with the

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		Alledges he took it, and has regularly Accounted with the Company for the same in the quarter ending the 31st of December 1766 the Cash Account Adjusted to that period corresponding exactly with Mr. Corneilles Book That it was undoubtedly Capt. Kirkpatricks Duty to have acquainted the Governor and Council at the time he knew or had reason to believe any Frauds were committed to the injury of the Company; but deferring to do so until some disputes happening between him and the Lieut. Governor shews plainly that he has been Actuated therein merely from prejudice and not	Company's own cash accounts, entry for entry. Hearsay and Kirkpatrick's recollection of a kid seen two years earlier could not stand against figures already checked and settled in the treasury's books. The judges then took up Corneille's closing argument about timing and adopted it as their own finding. A councillor who knew of a fraud was bound to report it at once. Kirkpatrick had waited more than a year and produced his charges only after his quarrel with Corneille began. The Governor and Purling concluded that he had acted from prejudice. The finding turned the case around. The accuser now stood condemned in the Council's own record for bringing a false charge out of personal animosity. The verdict was also a judgement on the Governor's earlier position. Skottowe had complained privately to the Court that Corneille took too much upon himself. He now signed a finding that cleared Corneille completely of the only specific wrongdoing alleged against him.
169	162	The 19 July from any intentions to serve the Company, and the rather, as in his private Letter to Mr. Corneille entered upon Consultation he proposes a conciliating System, That is, in our opinions, if Mr. Corneille would avoid all recrimination upon what had passed he (Capt. Kirkpatrick) would drop his Accusation That it evidently appears to us, That Capt. Kirkpatrick has not proved any part of the Charge laid before the Governor and Council against the Lieut. Govr. who is therefore, in our Opinions entirely acquitted from all Charges and Accusations pursued by Capt. Kirkpatrick. It is further our opinions, That the said Charge is frivolous and vindictive on the part of Capt. Kirkpatrick extremely unjustifiable and inconsistent with the treatment due from one Gentleman to another, and very unbecoming a Member of this Board We having seriously weighed and considered Capt. Kirkpatricks Conduct in the unjust Attack he has made upon the Lieut. Governor's Reputation and Integrity, And after the most mature deliberation, We cannot but be fully of opinion, That the whole reflects dishonor upon Capt. Kirkpatrick Arraigns his justice, and pronounces him to be a designing Man divested both of Candor and Probity, And we further join in sentiments, That he the said Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick appears to Us deserving of the highest Censure; But as the whole of this prosecution together with the Lieut. Governor's Defence will be laid open to the Honble. the Court of Directors by the proceedings in Consultation, We do not therefore apprehend that any ill Consequences can Arise from delaying the final determination of this Affair and the degree of Censure to be passed on Capt. Kirkpatrick in consequence of it, until their Honors pleasure shall be known herein, and therefore beg leave to refer the whole transaction to their Judgements. John Skottowe Purling	The Governor and Purling found that Kirkpatrick had not acted from any wish to serve the Company. That was all the clearer because his private letter to Corneille, now entered in the minutes, proposed a reconciliation. In their opinion this meant that Kirkpatrick would drop his accusation if Corneille would stop all counter-charges about what had passed. They found it plain that Kirkpatrick had failed to prove any part of the charge he laid before the Governor and Council against the Lieutenant Governor. In their opinion Corneille was therefore wholly acquitted of all the charges and accusations Kirkpatrick had brought. They further judged the charge frivolous and vindictive on Kirkpatrick's part. It was wholly unjustifiable, contrary to the treatment one gentleman owed another, and most unbecoming in a member of the Board. They had weighed carefully Kirkpatrick's conduct in his unjust attack on the Lieutenant Governor's reputation and integrity. After the fullest deliberation they could not avoid the conclusion that the whole affair brought dishonour on Kirkpatrick. It called his sense of justice into question and showed him to be a scheming man, lacking both candour and honesty. They agreed further that Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick deserved the severest censure. The whole prosecution, together with the Lieutenant Governor's defence, would be laid before the Court of Directors in the minutes. They therefore saw no harm in postponing a final decision on the affair, and on the degree of censure to be passed on Kirkpatrick, until the Court's wishes were known. They accordingly referred the whole matter to the Court's judgement. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the finding. **Interpretations** The finding went far beyond acquitting Corneille. The Governor and Purling formally condemned Kirkpatrick as frivolous, vindictive, scheming and lacking in honesty, and declared that he deserved the severest censure. These were exceptional words to enter against a sitting councillor in minutes bound for London. They read Kirkpatrick's letter of 21 June as an offer to trade silence for silence. It threatened worse charges while proposing peace. In the judges' view, a man ready to drop an accusation of fraud in return for an end to criticism did not believe the accusation himself. The Council could have punished Kirkpatrick at once. He held three posts, as councillor, captain and paymaster, and the Council might have suspended him from the paymaster's office, as it had suspended Jacobs as adjutant in 1767. It chose instead to refer

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			the penalty to the Court. Two reasons appear in the record. Only two members were left to sit in judgement, and the decision concerned a fellow councillor whose appointment came from London. The full papers, from the Governor's private letter to Desfountain's pencilled draft, would reach the Court in the same packet as the verdict. That allowed the Directors to judge for themselves. The outcome reversed the positions with which the quarrel began. In June the Governor's private letter had cast Corneille as a deputy who overstepped his place. By late July Corneille stood fully cleared on the record, and the Governor himself had signed the condemnation of the man who brought the charges.
170	163	The 20 July At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 20th day of July 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 19 July 1768 We this day received the following Letter from the Lieut. Governor viz. To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Mathew Purling Esq. of Council Gentlemen As I am now informed of your Ultimate determination in Regard to the heavy Charge prefered against me by Capt. Kirkpatrick, known from the Examination of Witnesses, and other means to every Body of this Valley, I hereby request that you will fall upon some method of making known to the Honble. Companys Servants your Opinions with respect to my Integrity, my Honour & Innocence, that my Acquital in your Judgments may be as publick, as Capt. Kirkpatricks shamefull Accusation has been, And beg that this my Request may be entered in Consultation as well as what ever may be your determination thereupon And Am Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servant (Signed) Danl. Corneille	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Wednesday 20 July 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 19 July 1768. The Council received a letter that day from the Lieutenant Governor, addressed to Governor Skottowe and Purling. Corneille wrote that he had now been told of their final decision on the serious charge Captain Kirkpatrick had brought against him. Through the examination of witnesses and in other ways, the charge had become known to everyone in Jamestown valley. He therefore asked them to find some means of making their opinion of his integrity, honour and innocence known to the Company's servants. His acquittal would then be as public as Kirkpatrick's shameful accusation had been. He asked that his request, and whatever they decided on it, be entered in the minutes. Corneille signed the letter. **Interpretations** Only the Governor and Purling sat at this consultation. Corneille and Kirkpatrick, the two parties to the dispute, still stayed away from the Board. The Council was reduced to half its number, and the island's business rested for the time on two men. Corneille's request shows that an acquittal recorded only in the minutes was not enough for him. The minutes went to London and were seen by the councillors and the secretary, but not by the island's people. The accusation, by contrast, had become public. Desfountain, Worrall, John Bazett and George Bazett had all been summoned and questioned, and the talk had spread through Jamestown. On an island of a few hundred households, a man's standing depended on what his neighbours believed. Corneille asked for a public declaration so that the clearing of his name would reach the same people who had heard the charge.
171	164	The 20 July Upon which we returned him the following Answer viz. To Daniel Corneille Esq. Lieut. Governor Sir We have received your Letter of this days date, and have summoned all the Gentlemen Civil and Military in the Company's service to attend at the Castle to morrow at Ten o'Clock in the forenoon in Order to have the whole proceedings of the Affair between you and Capt. Kirkpatrick publickly read to them and shall Enter your Letter with this Reply upon Consultation We are Sir	The Governor and Purling sent Corneille the following reply, dated 20 July 1768. They had received his letter of that day. They had summoned all the gentlemen in the Company's civil and military service to attend at the Castle at ten o'clock the next morning, to hear the whole proceedings in the affair between Corneille and Captain Kirkpatrick read aloud publicly. They would enter Corneille's letter and this reply in the minutes. Governor Skottowe and Matthew Purling signed the reply. The Governor and Purling then examined the paymaster's accounts of payments for the last four quarters. They found that Kirkpatrick had followed his orders on the re-enlistment of soldiers only in the first quarter after he received them, the quarter ending 30 September 1767. In the three quarters since, he had entirely failed to enter, against the

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		Your most Obt. & humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe Mattw. Purling 20th July 1768 Finding upon Examining the Account of Disbursements for the four last Quarters past, That the Paymaster has only complyed with the Orders he received relative to the relisting of Soldiers in the first Quarter after he had received those orders viz. in the Quarter ending the 30th Septr. 1767 but in the three subsequent Quarters has entirely Omitted inserting against the names of the Soldiers he has Relisted the time when their renewal of service commenced, We gave him back his Account of Disbursements for the last Quarter laid before us on Monday last and Directed him to correct the same conformable to the Orders he has	names of the soldiers he had re-enlisted, the date on which each man's new term of service began. They therefore returned to him his account of payments for the last quarter, which he had laid before them on the previous Monday. They directed him to correct it in line with the orders he had received **Interpretations** The Governor and Purling granted Corneille's request in the fullest form open to them. They did not simply post a notice. They called every Company officer, civil and military, to the Castle to hear the whole record read aloud: Kirkpatrick's charges, the witnesses' evidence, Desfountain's documents, Corneille's defence and the finding against Kirkpatrick. A public reading before the island's entire official community ensured that the clearing of Corneille's name would reach exactly those who had heard the accusation. It also shamed Kirkpatrick before his fellow officers, many of whom served under him in the garrison. The judges also tested one of Corneille's counter-charges and found it true. Corneille had said that Kirkpatrick obeyed the 1767 order on re-enlistment dates for only one quarter. The Governor and Purling checked the pay accounts and confirmed it exactly. Kirkpatrick had complied for the quarter ending 30 September 1767 and then dropped the practice for three quarters. They sent back his account for the quarter just ended, the one approved on 18 July, and ordered it corrected. A paymaster's account returned for correction after the Council had already examined it was a formal rebuke, entered in the minutes the Court would read. The point was not a trivial one of form. Without the dates entered against each name, nobody could tell from the pay list which men had been paid a bounty to re-enlist, or when their new five years began. That was the gap through which a bounty for a man who did not exist had passed in 1767.
172	165	1768 received in this respect, and before Council broke up the Governor acquainted Capt. Kirkpatrick it was expected by the Board that he should be more circumspect in future in following the Directions given him with regard to relisting Soldiers, as well as being punctual in giving Abstracts to the several Captains in the form and method prescribed As it has been always customary, and in our opinions, is highly reasonable (that the Lieut. Governor having no Plantation or Land alloted him) should have from the Company's Plantations, a Quantity of Yam sufficient for raising a supply of Hogs and Poultry for the use of his Table: And as no determinate Quantity has hitherto been fixed upon or Ordered for this purpose We are of opinion that a Weekly Quantity viz. of two hundred pounds of good Yams exclusive of any Rubbish be allowed Weekly from the Company's Plantations and also 50 lb. Paddy & 20 lb. Rice to be allowed the Lieut. Governor from the Store in future, which should be barely sufficient for the supply of his Table, and to refer this stipulated allowance to the Court of Directors for their approbation	Before the Council rose, the Governor told Captain Kirkpatrick that the Board expected him to be more careful in future about following his instructions on re-enlisting soldiers. He was also to give the captains their pay statements on time, in the form and manner laid down. It had always been the custom, and in the Governor and Purling's opinion it was entirely reasonable, for the Lieutenant Governor to receive enough yams from the Company's plantations to raise hogs and poultry for his table, since he had no plantation or land of his own. No fixed quantity had ever been set or ordered for this. They therefore resolved that the Lieutenant Governor should in future be allowed 200 lb of good yams a week from the Company's plantations, besides any refuse yams, together with 50 lb of paddy and 20 lb of rice a week from the stores. They judged that this would barely supply his table. They referred the allowance to the Court of Directors for its approval. Corneille was told that no reason had yet appeared why Mr Palk had paid for the 12 sheep. He replied that this was true. He did not remember how it had come about, or anything at all about it. The Governor and Purling therefore concluded that Mr Palk had most probably said he preferred to pay for them. The Governor and Purling believed that Mr Mahoney, the clerk of the peace, had drawn up many of the papers Captain Kirkpatrick had laid before the Council **Interpretations** The Council took up Corneille's request to put the Lieutenant Governor's allowances on a firmer footing. It did not condemn the use of Company yams. It made the practice official and set a limit. The

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		It was mentioned to Mr. Corneille that no reason had yet appeared why Mr. Bath had paid for the 12 Sheep; Who replied it was very true, nor did he remember how it was, or in short any thing about it therefore we apprehend it most probable that Mr. Bath had mentioned that he chose to pay for them Apprehending that Mr. Mahony the Clerk of the Peace have drawn up many of the Papers delivered into Council by Capt. Kirkpatrick	weekly allowance of 200 lb of good yams, with refuse yams in addition, was well below the 425 lb a week Worrall said Corneille was receiving. The difference shows what the Council judged fair. It accepted that a Lieutenant Governor with no land needed help to keep a table fit for entertaining visitors. It also fixed a quantity so that no future accuser could treat the allowance as theft. Referring the figure to the Court gave it the Directors' authority. The question of the sheep was settled by a reasonable inference rather than proof. Governor Skottowe had meant the 12 sheep as a gift to Governor Palk of Madras, yet Palk paid £12 for them. Corneille could not remember why. The two judges concluded that Palk had probably insisted on paying, perhaps out of courtesy to the island or to avoid accepting a present from another Company official. The money had in any case gone into the Company's account, which was all that mattered to the charge. The Council now turned to Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace and lately a sergeant in Kirkpatrick's own company. Desfountain had named him as the man sent to collect the pencilled paper. If he had also drafted Kirkpatrick's other papers, he had acted as Kirkpatrick's writer throughout the campaign against Corneille, while holding a judicial office on the island.
173	166	The 20 July Kirkpatrick, as the Style and diction of the said Papers appearing to be the said Mahonys, and it being highly improper for the proceedings in Council to be known and Canvassed by any indifferent Person, We to prevent this irregularity in future sent for Mr. Mahony and enjoined him not to have any concern directly or indirectly in any Papers or Writings that have any thing to do with the Companys concerns or proceedings in Council, which directions he promised strictly to observe John Skottowe Purling At a Consultation held on Thursday the 21st day of July 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Matthew Purling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 20th July 1768 We this day received the following Letter from the Lieut. Governor viz. To John Skottowe Esq. Governor & Mathew Purling Esq. of Council Gentlemen As you have now made known to Me your	The style and wording of Kirkpatrick's papers appeared to be Mahoney's. It was highly improper for the Council's proceedings to be known to, and discussed by, a person with no part in them. To prevent this in future, the Governor and Purling sent for Mr Mahoney. They ordered him to have nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with any papers or writings concerning the Company's affairs or the proceedings of the Council. He promised to obey this order strictly. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Thursday 21 July 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor Matthew Purling, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 20 July 1768. The Council received the following letter that day from the Lieutenant Governor, addressed to Governor Skottowe and Matthew Purling. Corneille wrote that they had now told him of their decision **Interpretations** Mahoney's offence was not that he had helped a friend write letters. It was that the Council's private business had passed outside the Board. As Kirkpatrick's writer, Mahoney had seen the charges, the minutes and the papers in the dispute, and he had carried them to and from witnesses. Council proceedings were meant to stay among the members and the secretary until they reached the Court. A clerk of the peace drafting accusations against the Lieutenant Governor also brought the island's court into a private quarrel. The order barred Mahoney from all Company papers, not merely this affair. It was a sweeping restriction on a man whose office had been confirmed by the Court only two months earlier. The Council chose to restrain Mahoney rather than punish him further. He was a subordinate who had acted on a councillor's instructions, and the real fault lay with the man who used him. Keeping him out of the Council's business protected its records without stripping him of his post.

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			The Council again met with only two members, the Governor and Purling. Corneille and Kirkpatrick were still absent, and the island's government was carried on by the two men who had judged the case.
174	167	The 21st July Determination on the Accusation with which I stood Charged by Capt. Kirkpatrick, of appropriating the Honble. Companys Property to my own use and profit, and in consequence of the whole that has appeared before you, both with respect to the Malice of the Prosecution, as well as the clear proofs offered of my Innocence; You have passed sentence, fully acquitting me both with Honour and Credit, and at same time doing me that justice, as to Stigmatize Capt. Kirkpatricks Conduct in the whole of his Prosecution with that infamy of Reproach as to arraign his Justice, Candour & Probity pronouncing him at same time a Designing Man, and leaving the final Determination of Justice for the great Injury done me to our Honble. Masters, pronouncing him at same time deserving of the highest Censure, as his Character and Conduct has appeared to you in so odious, and horrid a light; Not that I mention this Gentlemen to Arraign your Justice, being fully convinced of your Impartiality throughout the whole of this Affair, both to the Honble. Compy. as their Interest immediately concerned, to the Prosecutor, and myself as Defendant, but in order to justify the Step that my Honour and Conscience prompts me to, of Corroborating your Justification in this affair by a Personal appearance before the Court of Directors, and then to Answer for every other part of my Conduct, and must further Offer as a Reason that I cannot reconcile it to myself to sit in Council or any ways act in station with a Man branded by you Gentlemen in such a Light, as must ever reflect disgrace upon his station, and mark his Character with Infamy & Dishonour Therefore from the above motive, hope that my sense . . . . of Honour may not be misconstrued by my Honble. Employers, nor by you Gentlemen, as I make a great difference between suspecting a Man of a bad heart, which his former Conduct thro Life has unfortunately for him given too much cause to Imagine and proving him realy possessd of it, as must now ever stand upon record against him, Therefore flatter myself from the above reasons that the Honble. Court of Directors will not impute my sudden Determination of leaving this Island by the first opportunity, (as I now consider myself as compelled to it from the Unforeseeing events happening that entirely destroys my peace of mind, since my acquainting their Honours of my obedience to their desire of staying untill next Year) but to those sentiments of Honesty and honour, incompatible with the Character of Capt. Kirkpatrick whom	Corneille wrote that the Governor and Purling had now told him their decision on Kirkpatrick's accusation that he had taken the Company's property for his own use and profit. In view of everything laid before them, both the malice of the prosecution and the clear proof of his innocence, they had acquitted him fully, with honour and credit. They had also done him the justice of condemning Kirkpatrick's whole conduct in the prosecution as disgraceful. They had questioned Kirkpatrick's sense of justice, candour and honesty, and called him a scheming man. They had left the final judgement on the great injury done to Corneille to the Court, and declared that Kirkpatrick deserved the severest censure, since his character and conduct had appeared to them so odious and in so dark a light. Corneille said he did not mean to question their justice. He was fully convinced of their impartiality throughout the affair towards the Company, whose interest was most closely concerned, towards the accuser and towards himself as defendant. He wrote in order to justify the step his honour and conscience now prompted him to take. He meant to support their finding by appearing in person before the Court of Directors, and to answer there for every other part of his conduct. He added a further reason. He could not bring himself to sit in Council, or act in any capacity, beside a man whom they had branded in such terms. To do so must disgrace his own office and stain his character with infamy and dishonour. He hoped therefore that neither the Company nor they would misjudge his sense of honour. He drew a clear distinction between suspecting a man of a bad heart, as Kirkpatrick's past conduct had unhappily given too much reason to do, and proving it, as the record must now always stand against him. He trusted that the Court would not blame his sudden decision to leave the island by the first opportunity. He had earlier told the Directors that he would comply with their wish that he stay until the following year. He now felt forced to leave by unforeseen events that had wholly destroyed his peace of mind. His decision sprang only from feelings of honesty and honour, which could not be reconciled with the character of Captain Kirkpatrick, whom they **Interpretations** Corneille had been fully cleared, and the obvious course was to resume his seat and carry on as Lieutenant Governor. He chose instead to leave the island at the first chance, against a promise he had already given the Court to stay until the following year. His letter gives the reason plainly. The Council had only four members. Kirkpatrick had been condemned but not removed, because the penalty was left to the Court, so he remained a councillor, captain and paymaster. Corneille would have had to sit beside him at every meeting, sign the same minutes and work with him on every account. After being publicly accused of fraud by Kirkpatrick, he refused to share a Board with him while London considered the matter. Going home also served Corneille's interest. The Court would read the papers months later, alongside the Governor's private letter that had started the quarrel. By appearing in person, Corneille could answer every question directly and present himself as the wronged party, with the verdict of his fellow councillors in hand. He also offered to answer for every other part of his conduct. That invited the

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			Directors to test the Governor's original complaint that he had overstepped his place. His departure would leave the island with only three councillors, one of them under censure. It was a high price for the Company. Corneille judged that his honour required it.
175	168	The 21st July you for Reasons that I am unacquainted with have thought proper to continue a Dishonourable Member of a Respectable Board, Tho I always conceived that the authority of the Honble. the Court of Directors Delegated to their Governor & Council was ample enough for a present Act of Justice to the Injured, and tho not final untill it had received their Sanction; yet always approved of in support of Justice, to the punishment of Infamy and Vice I request Gentlemen that you may allow this a Place in Consultation as my reasons offered for the Step I now take as I shall not have an opportunity of accounting for this part of my Conduct sooner than my Arrival, which probably must be at the same time that those Papers will be laid before the Honble. Directors I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servant (signed) Dan. Corneille St. Helena 21 July 1768 The Lieut. Governor Acquaints Us that he resigns the Honble Company's Service and declines acting as Lieut. Governor or receiving any Salary from the Honble Company from this Day John Skottowe Purling	Corneille went on to say that, for reasons he did not know, the Governor and Purling had seen fit to keep Kirkpatrick on as a dishonourable member of a respectable Board. He had always believed that the authority the Court of Directors delegated to its Governor and Council was ample for an immediate act of justice to the injured party. Such an act would not be final until it received the Court's approval, but he believed the Court had always approved firm action in support of justice and the punishment of infamy and vice. He asked that his letter be entered in the minutes as his reasons for the step he was taking. He would have no chance to account for this part of his conduct before he arrived in England, which would probably be at the same time as these papers were laid before the Directors. Corneille signed the letter at St Helena on 21 July 1768. The Lieutenant Governor then told the Governor and Purling that he resigned from the Company's service. From that day he would no longer act as Lieutenant Governor or draw any salary from the Company. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Corneille's closing complaint was aimed at the Governor and Purling as much as at Kirkpatrick. They had condemned Kirkpatrick in the strongest terms, yet left him in his seat while they referred the penalty to London. Corneille held that the Council already had the power to act, for example by suspending Kirkpatrick at once, subject to the Court's later confirmation. That was how it had dealt with Jacobs, the adjutant, in 1767. By declining to act, the two judges left Corneille to choose between sitting with his accuser and leaving. He chose to leave and made sure the record showed why. The resignation was a drastic step. Corneille gave up an office worth £350 a year in salary and table allowance, besides his allowances in kind, without any assurance of being restored. He could have stayed on, cleared, and waited for the Court's decision. His letter shows that he valued the vindication of his honour above his post. He also judged that arriving in London alongside the papers would give him the best chance of a hearing. Leaving the Company's service, and the pay that went with it, from that very day made his protest unmistakable. His departure left St Helena's Council with only the Governor, Purling and the censured Kirkpatrick. The office of Lieutenant Governor, which had also carried the management of the Company's plantation and stock, now stood empty until the Court could fill it from England.
176	169	The 25 July At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of July 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 21st July 1768 The Reverend Mr. William Beancroft this day laid before Us the following Rules respecting the Library viz. Rules proposed to be observed with regard to the Library sent	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 25 July 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 21 July 1768. The Reverend William Bearcroft laid before the Council the following rules for the library that the Company had sent out for the use of its principal servants at St Helena.

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		by the Honble Company for the use of their principal Servants at St. Helena The Person borrowing to send a Receipt for every Book borrowed or to enter the title & the day of the Month in a Book kept by the Chaplain for that purpose - The receipt to be returned on sending back the Book, if any was given, & the date of the return to be always entered by the Chaplain even with the Title of the Book under the Persons Name No Person to have at one time more than One Folio or one Quarto Volume, or four of a Smaller size None to keep in his possession any Folio Volume longer than 8 Weeks or Smaller Volume Longer than 4 Weeks at a time - this Rule to take place only if the same should be askd for by any Person having a Right to borrow from the Library In Case of Damage to any single Book or Set of Books new Copies to be sent for at the Expence of the Person who last borrowd - & the Book or Set to remain in the Library till the new arrive then to become the property of the Person obliged to replace The Chaplain as keeper of the Books to see the above Rules	A borrower was to give a receipt for every book, or enter its title and the day of the month in a book kept by the chaplain for that purpose. The receipt was to be returned when the book came back, if one had been given. The chaplain was always to enter the date of return beside the title of the book under the borrower's name. No one was to have more than one folio or one quarto volume at a time, or four smaller volumes. No one was to keep a folio volume for longer than eight weeks, or a smaller volume for longer than four weeks at a time. This limit applied only if the same book was asked for by another person entitled to borrow from the library. If any single book or set of books was damaged, new copies were to be ordered at the expense of the last borrower. The damaged book or set was to stay in the library until the new copies arrived, and then become the property of the person obliged to replace it. The chaplain, as keeper of the books, was to see that these rules were observed **Interpretations** The library explains an entry in the paymaster's account for the quarter just ended: a carpenter's 10 days spent making a frame for a library. The Company had sent out a collection of books, probably in the *Tilbury* or the *Duke of Richmond*, and the shelves were built to house it. Libraries of this kind were sent to several of the Company's settlements in the eighteenth century. They were meant to give officers and officials on remote stations some means of improving their minds and filling long periods without ships. Placing the books in the chaplain's charge suited his education and his duties as schoolmaster's colleague and keeper of the parish registers. The rules show how scarce books were on the island. Each was valuable and hard to replace, since a new copy had to be ordered from London and might take a year to arrive. Hence the limit on how many a borrower could hold, the time limits when others were waiting, and the strict liability for damage. The right to borrow was confined to the Company's principal servants, the councillors and senior officers. Soldiers, planters and lesser employees had no access, apart from the single Bible, Prayer Books and spelling book sold through the warehouse. Kirkpatrick returned to the Board at this consultation, sitting with the Governor and Purling as though the censure of 19 July had not been passed. Corneille, now resigned, was absent for good.
177	170	The 25 July observed & to be accountable for any damage or deficiency whilst under his Care the same not happening by time, fire, Theft or other unforeseen Accident Some Gentleman to be appointed on a certain day (to be named) to see every Year that the Books answer the Catalogue lodged with the Governor & Council & to report to them accordingly All Books to be returned to the Library six Days before the Day fixed for the Review We think the above Rules are very proper to be observed, and directed them to be hung up in the Library for the inspection of all Persons concerned, And agreed that one of the Members of Council should visit the Library on the first Wednesday in September Yearly & Report the Condition of the same to the Board	The chaplain was to be answerable for any damage or loss while the books were in his care, unless it was caused by age, fire, theft or some other accident he could not foresee. A gentleman was to be appointed each year, on a fixed day, to check the books against the catalogue lodged with the Governor and Council and to report to them. All books were to be returned to the library six days before the day fixed for the annual check. The Council considered these rules entirely proper. It ordered them to be hung up in the library for everyone concerned to see. It also agreed that one of the members of Council would visit the library on the first Wednesday in September each year and report on its condition to the Board. The Council received the following petition that day from Mr George Bazett, dated 23 July 1768 and addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. George Bazett, steward of the Company's stores, said that he felt obliged to lay the hardship of his situation before the Council. For several years the part of his duties that consisted of issuing stores for

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		We this day received the following Petition from Mr. George Bazett viz. July 25th 1768 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. and Council of the Island St. Helena The Petition of George Bazett Steward to the Honble. Company's Stores Humbly Sheweth that your Petitioner finds himself under a Necessity of laying the hardship of his situation before your Honours That the part of the Duty of his Office, which consists in delivering out Stores on Account of the Honble. Company's Works has for several Years past been extremely fatiguing, and has required a much	the Company's works had been extremely tiring, and had required a much **Interpretations** The Council took the library seriously enough to make its inspection a duty of the Board itself. A councillor would check it each September against the catalogue, rather than leaving it wholly to the chaplain. The catalogue lodged with the Governor and Council served as the Company's record of its property, in the same way as the storekeeper's accounts recorded every nail and yard of cloth. Books were Company stores like any other, and the Council meant to be able to account for every volume when the Court asked. George Bazett's petition opened by tying his complaint to the fortification works. As steward he issued stores, and the building of Banks's and Munden's Point had multiplied the work. The storekeeper's accounts for the year showed hundreds of separate issues to the batteries: tons of cordage, iron, nails, baskets, tools and timber, each one recorded. Bazett's salary of £7 10s 0d a quarter had stayed the same while his workload grew. His petition was probably the start of a claim for extra pay, in the same way as Drawwater the cooper had sought a higher salary in 1767.
178	171	1768 greater Attendance than has ever before been the Case in this Island, on Account of the great Quantity of Stores indented for for the Repairs of the Fortifications of the Island, and the great and Constant Demands for these Stores, Materials, and Utensils at all Hours That your Petitioner has considerably injured his Health by the Fatigue he has undergone in his Endeavours towards a diligent Discharge of his Duty, and finds himself incapable to go through with any longer He therefore humbly requests that some Assistance be granted to him in issuing out these Stores for the Future, either by the Clerk of the Works, or by the Company's Cooper, as has formerly been Customary in the Stores He likewise humbly begs leave, to represent to your Worship & Council that his Allowance of Thirty Pounds a Year is not sufficient to afford him a Decent subsistence, and by no Means an adequate Compensation for the Constant Confinement to which the Duty of his Station Obliges him, and the great fatigue he undergoes in the Discharge of it, which he will venture to say is beyond to that of any one Company's Servant in the Island He therefore humbly prays that your Worship . . . and Council will be pleased to grant him such an Addition to his present Salary, as you shall think he deserves And your Petitioner shall for ever Pray &ca. (signed) Geo. Bazett We told the Petitioner in Answer to his Petition that we were sensible that his Appointment of £30 p Year was small and very inadequate to the Business of his Office, yet it was not in our power to Augment the same, but	Bazett said his duties now required a much greater attendance than had ever before been needed on the island. That was because of the large quantity of stores ordered for repairing the island's fortifications, and the heavy, constant demand for those stores, materials and tools at all hours. Bazett had seriously damaged his health through the strain of trying to carry out his duty diligently, and he found himself unable to go on with it any longer. He therefore asked for help in issuing the stores in future, either from the clerk of the works or from the Company's cooper, as had formerly been the custom in the stores. He also told the Governor and Council that his allowance of £30 a year was not enough to give him a decent living. It was in no way fair payment for the constant confinement his post required, or for the great strain of carrying it out, which he ventured to say was greater than that of any other Company servant on the island. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to grant him such addition to his present salary as they thought he deserved. George Bazett signed the petition. The Council told Bazett in reply that it recognised his salary of £30 a year was small and quite unequal to the work of his office. It had no power to raise it. However, it knew him to be a very sober, diligent and deserving young man. There had been a vacancy for a writer ever since the death of Mr Francis Wrangham, and the Company's business had lately increased considerably because of the constant issue of stores **Interpretations** The Council could not raise Bazett's salary, because salaries were fixed by the Court in London. It found another way to reward him. A writer's post had stood empty since Francis Wrangham's death, and the business of the stores had grown with the fortification works. Appointing Bazett to the vacancy would give him a writer's salary and table allowance on top of his steward's pay, without exceeding the Council's powers. The Company's establishment already allowed for a writer, so filling the place needed no new authority from London. Bazett's petition confirms the scale of the building programme seen in the storekeeper's accounts. Every coil of rope, every basket and every pickaxe sent to Banks's and Munden's Point had to be weighed or counted, entered and signed for. The

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		knowing him to be a very sober diligent deserving young man, and there being a Vacancy of a Writer ever since the Death of Mr. Francis Wrangham and Business multiplying considerably lately by Constant	demand came at all hours because the work at the batteries ran from first light to dark. A single steward on £30 a year had borne most of that work for three years, and his health had suffered. Bazett was one of the five Bazetts on the Company's lists, alongside Matthew the secretary, Thomas, Henry and John. A post as writer was the lowest rung of the Company's civil ladder. It could lead in time to the ranks of factor and councillor, as it had for others of the island's leading families.
179	172	Issues from the Stores on Account of the Works carrying on at the Fortificns. and Mr. Powell the Storekeeper representing to Us, that it was Impossible for him and his Assistant to Attend those daily Issues and at the same time transact the other current Business of his Department; There is also an Assistant less than there used to be in the Secretarys Office which makes it Extremely difficult to keep the Business regularly Up in that Office. We for these Reasons Appointed the said Mr. George Bazett a Writer in the Honble Company's Service at the Usual Salary to Commence from this day and directed him to Assist in the Stores, Secretary's Office or in Any Other Office where the Urgency of Business may require his Attendance The above appointment of Mr. George Bazett as a Writer occasioning a Vacancy of a Steward and Mr. Powell the Storekeeper recommending Robert Leech as a very Sober diligent Young Man, we have therefore appointed him the Honble Company's Steward in Mr. Bazetts stead at the Usual Salary of £30 p Ann. Daniel Corneille Esq. this day applied to Us to pay £36.. 6 into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum we have recd. and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Messrs. Haryfall & Gibbons or Order ninety Days after sight John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Mr Powell, the storekeeper, had told the Council that he and his assistant could not both attend to the daily issues of stores for the works at the fortifications and carry on the other ordinary business of his department. The secretary's office also had one assistant fewer than it used to, which made it very hard to keep that office's work up to date. For these reasons the Council appointed George Bazett a writer in the Company's service at the usual salary, starting that day. It directed him to help in the stores, in the secretary's office or in any other office where pressing business required him. Bazett's appointment as writer left the steward's post vacant. Mr Powell, the storekeeper, recommended Robert Leech as a very sober and diligent young man. The Council therefore appointed him the Company's steward in Bazett's place, at the usual salary of £30 a year. Daniel Corneille asked that day to pay £36 6s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Messrs Fairfax and Gilmore or their order 90 days after presentation. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council solved two problems with one appointment. The storekeeper's department was overwhelmed by the daily issues to the batteries, and the secretary's office was a clerk short. Making Bazett a writer with no fixed desk let the Council send him wherever the work was heaviest. Robert Leech, recommended by Powell, took over the steward's routine duties at the same salary Bazett had found too small. A young man starting in the service could accept £30 a year as the first step, as Bazett had once done. The writer's salary was evidently small too. John Goodwin, the island's other writer, drew £5 a quarter in salary and £10 in table allowance, £60 a year in all. For Bazett that doubled his income. It also placed him on the Company's ladder of civil promotion, the path by which young men of island families rose to factor and in time to the Council. Corneille paid in £36 6s 0d for a bill, now as a private man rather than an officer of the Company. He was settling his affairs before sailing. Converting what coin he had on the island into a bill payable in London was the safest way to carry his money home.
180	173	The 1st August At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st day of August 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick Absent being Sick The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 25th July 1768 Saturday the 30th Arrived the Admiral Pococks Boat at Banks's half an Hour past two o'Clock in the Afternoon Do. Do. Do. The Honble Company's Ship Admiral Pocock	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 1 August 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent through sickness The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 25 July 1768. At half past two in the afternoon on Saturday 30 July, a boat from the *Admiral Pocock* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Admiral Pocock* arrived from Bengal the same day. She brought the following supplies, listed in her invoice in Bengal money.

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		from Bengal and brought Us the following supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Admiral Pocock Rice fine S.T. No. 1 to 60 60 Bags wt. 120 Mds. @ 20 Srs. a Rs. 159 3 3 Sugar fine S.T. No. 1 to 10 10 Bags wt. 20 Mds. @ 8.6 p Md. 167 8 - Paddy S.T. No. 1 to 15 15 Bags wt. 33.20 Mds. Srs. 10 p Md. 18 4 6 Wax Candles S.T. No. 1 to 4 4 Chests wt. 8 Mds. 75 p Md. 600 - - Batavia Arrack S.T. No. 1 to 2 2 Leagers 220 each 496 12 9 1541 12 6 Carrd. over 1541 12 6	Fine rice, bags numbered 1 to 60, 60 bags weighing 120 maunds at 20 seers per Arcot rupee, 259 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Fine sugar, bags numbered 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 20 maunds at 8 rupees 6 annas per maund, 167 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Paddy, bags numbered 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers at 10 annas per maund, 14 rupees 1 anna 6 pies Wax candles, chests numbered 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds at 75 rupees per maund, 600 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, casks numbered 1 to 2, 2 leaguers at 220 rupees each, 496 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Total, 1,541 rupees 12 annas 6 pies Carried forward, 1,541 rupees 12 annas 6 pies **Interpretations** The *Admiral Pocock* arrived in the depth of the southern winter, long after the main homeward season had ended with the *Duke of Richmond*'s departure on 27 June. A ship reaching St Helena from Bengal in late July had probably sailed late from the Hooghly or been delayed by weather off the Cape. She brought the same fixed consignment that Bengal sent by every homeward ship. This time it came without any salt meat, which suggests the Court's order to stop those shipments had at last reached Calcutta before she sailed. Prices had again moved. Rice cost more, at 20 seers to the rupee against 25½ in April. Wax candles rose to 75 rupees a maund from 72. Arrack, at 220 rupees a leaguer, was still twice what the *Lord Holland*'s had cost in January. Batavia arrack had stayed dear at Calcutta all year. Kirkpatrick was again absent through sickness, as he had been in early June. The Council was reduced to the Governor and Purling for the second time in a fortnight, with Corneille gone and the paymaster ill. Two men now carried the whole government of the island.
181	174	The 1st August Brought over 1541 12 6 Charges Merchandize 135 Gunny Bags 23 7 - 2 Srs. Twine - 4 6 4 Chests & Package 16 15 3 20 Reed Matts 1 14 6 Dust 1 1 6 Boatham 4 5 3 Coolies 36 6 - Bearer 2 5 3 Weighmen - 9 - Peons 1 1 - Moolias 12 15 6 101 4 6 Current Rupees 1643 1 - Errors Excepted (signed) Richd. Watts Accompt. George Freeman Serjeant and Thos. McFarlin Gunner this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the	The *Admiral Pocock*'s invoice continued with the charges on the goods. Brought forward, 1,541 rupees 12 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods 155 gunny bags, 23 rupees 7 annas 0 pies 2 seers of twine, 0 rupees 4 annas 6 pies 4 chests with packing, 16 rupees 15 annas 3 pies 20 reed mats, 1 rupee 14 annas 6 pies Food, 1 rupee 1 anna 6 pies Boatmen, 4 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Sloop hire, 36 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Peons, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Packers, 1 rupee 1 anna 0 pies Coolies, 12 rupees 15 annas 6 pies Total for charges, 101 rupees 4 annas 6 pies Total in current rupees, 1,643 rupees 0 annas 9 pies Richard Wells signed the invoice as accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. George Freeman, a sergeant, and Thomas McFarlan, a gunner, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. The Council granted both requests. Captain Henry Bazett asked that day to pay £189 1s 7d into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Mr Matthias Brightwell or his order 90 days after presentation. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The charges on the *Admiral Pocock*'s goods came to just over 100 rupees, a little over 6 per cent of their

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		Honble Company their Contracted times Granted Captn. Henry Bazett this day applied to Us to pay £189.. 1.. 7 into the Honble Company's Cash, which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors, payable to Mr. Matthias Brightwell (or Order) ninety days after Sight John Skottowe Purling	cost. That was far less than the 579 rupees charged on the *Northington*'s cargo in June, when heavy casks of salt meat needed 216 rupees of sloop hire alone. Without the meat, sloop hire fell to 36 rupees. The difference shows how much the unwanted Bengal pork and beef had added to the cost of the island's supplies. Ending that trade saved the Company more than the price of the meat itself. Freeman and McFarlan were among the last of the men whose engagements ran out in 1768. George Freeman was one of the Second Company's four sergeants, and his loss would set off a new chain of promotions. Thomas McFarlan was a trained gunner, and the artillery could ill spare him with the new batteries close to completion. Captain Henry Bazett's odd sum of £189 1s 7d, like Corneille's £427 2s 9d in May, suggests the settling of a particular account rather than a round remittance of savings. Bazett had registered bills of sale in March and renewed his town lease in April. He was evidently an active man of business on the island, with dealings that reached to London.
182	175	The 8 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of August 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 1st August 1768 Wednesday the 3d died Thomas Newton Centinel This day Do. Lieut. Henry De Laval The Executors to the last Will & Testament of Alexander Ware 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 Alexander Ware Mariner on Board the good Ship Admiral Pocock Thos. Riddle Commr. being of sound mind and memory considering the Perils and Dangers of the Seas and other Uncertainties of this transitory life do for Avoiding controversies after my Decease make publish & declare this my last will and testament in manner following, that is to say first I recommend my soul to God that gave it and my Body to the Earth or Sea as it shall please God to order, as for and Concerning all my worldly Estate I give Bequeath & Dispose thereof as followeth that is to say all such wages sum & sums of Money Goods Chattles whatsoever as shall be any ways due owing or belonging to me at the time of my Decease, I do give Devise and Bequeath unto my beloved friend Jno. Cross One half of my Effects and the other half unto my beloved friends Thos. Stubbs, Jno. Burke And Christopher Armstrong belonging to the Ship Admiral Pocock Thos. Riddle Commr. and do hereby Nominate & Appoint the aforesaid Jno. Cross Thos. Stubbs Jno. Burke & Christopher Armstrong my whole & sole Executors of this my last Will testament hereby revoking all	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 8 August 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 1 August 1768. Thomas Newton, a private, died on Wednesday 3 August. Lieutenant Henry De Laune died that day. The executors of the will of Alexander Hoar, deceased, presented the will that day and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved it on the oaths of the witnesses. The will read as follows. Alexander Hoar, a seaman aboard the *Admiral Pocock*, commanded by Thomas Riddle, declared that he was of sound mind and memory. Mindful of the perils of the sea and the uncertainty of life, and to prevent disputes after his death, he made his last will. He commended his soul to God, who gave it, and his body to the earth or the sea as God should direct. He left all his worldly goods, meaning all wages, money, goods and possessions owed to him or belonging to him at his death, in two halves. One half went to his close friend John Cross. The other half went to his close friends Thomas Stubbs, John Burke and Christopher Armstrong, all of the *Admiral Pocock* under Captain Thomas Riddle. He named John Cross, Thomas Stubbs, John Burke and Christopher Armstrong as his joint executors, and revoked all earlier **Interpretations** Henry De Laune's death left the Fourth Company without any lieutenant. It had carried only one lieutenant all year, the second post being vacant, and De Laune had held it alone. With John Howard as captain and no lieutenant beneath him, the company now depended entirely on its captain and sergeants. A new commission could come only from the Court in London. The Council would have to appoint an officer to act in the meantime. Alexander Hoar's will followed the usual pattern of a seaman's will. Sailors on long voyages commonly made wills leaving their wages and few possessions to shipmates, who were their nearest companions for years at a time. Hoar evidently died while the *Admiral Pocock* lay at St Helena. The Council proved the will so that his executors, all fellow seamen of the same ship, could claim his wages when she reached London. Proof by the island's Council gave them authority the Company's paymasters at home would recognise.

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			Two deaths in the garrison in a single week, a private and an officer, came in the depth of the southern winter. Damp, cold weather in the uplands brought fevers and chest complaints, and the hospital's issues of sugar, rice and flour had risen steadily through the year.
183	176	The 8 August former & other wills Testaments and Deeds of Gifts by me at any time made by me and I do ordain & ratify these Presents to stand and be for and as my last will & testament in Witness whereof to this my last will and testament, I have set my hand and seal the twenty first day of July one thousand seven hundred and sixty eight and in the Eight Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the third Over Great Britain &c. (signed) Alexr. Ware Signd sealed published and Declared in the presence of This where there is no Stamp Paper to be had (signed) Henry Bifield John Smith Witnes William Bannister Serjeant & Joseph Fellows Matross this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted times 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 follows viz.	Alexander Hoar revoked all earlier wills and deeds of gift he had made, and confirmed this document as his last will. He signed and sealed it on 21 July 1768, in the eighth year of the reign of King George III. He signed it in the presence of two witnesses, Henry Bissett and John Smith. A note recorded that it was written on plain paper because no stamped paper was to be had. William Bannister, a sergeant, and Joseph Fellows, a matross, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. The Council granted both requests. The gunner's and steward's accounts for July were presented, examined and approved. They read as follows. **Interpretations** Hoar made his will on 21 July 1768, nine days before the *Admiral Pocock* reached St Helena on 30 July. He was evidently already ill at sea and dictated his will aboard, with two shipmates as witnesses, knowing he might not live to see England. The note about stamped paper repeats the point made in Captain Cooke's protest of May. English law required wills and legal documents to be written on paper bearing the government's tax stamp. Neither a ship at sea nor the island of St Helena could supply it. The Council's proof gave the will the authority that its missing stamp would otherwise have denied it. Bannister was the second sergeant of the First Company to leave that year, after Phillip Mahoney became clerk of the peace in May. Joseph Fellows was another trained matross lost to the artillery. The steady stream of discharges went on into the southern winter. The men whose five-year terms had begun in mid-1763 were now completing them one by one, just as the garrison was also losing men to death.
184	177	1768 Artillery Stores Expended in July 1768 Guns fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expend. lb, Powder Expend. oz 30th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Arrived the Admiral Pocock: Guns fired 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 6, Powder Expend. oz 12 Powder for Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 495, Powder Expend. oz 12 Total: Guns fired 15, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 512, Powder Expend. oz 8 Tallow for Boats &ca. 54 lb. Lead Balls to Shoot Goats 7 10 8 Inch Fuzes Expended 1 Sponge Staves Do. 1 Junk Wood Do. 100 Paper for Sundry Services 6 Qrs. Wall for raising the Sacks of Colts 1 Cord Isinglass 8	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in July 1768 recorded the guns fired, the 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 30 July, an alarm: guns fired 6, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 30 July, arrival of the *Admiral Pocock*: guns fired 9, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz Powder used on sundry services, 493 lb 12 oz Total: guns fired 15, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 2; powder 512 lb 8 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during July. Tallow for the boats and other uses, 54 lb Lead balls for shooting goats, 7 lb 10 oz Fuses for 8-inch shells, 1 Sponge staves, 1 Trunk nails, 100 Paper for sundry services, 6 quires [...], 1 lb 0 oz Isinglass, 8 oz The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in July 1768. 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 14 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 1s 0d 8 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 12s 0d 12 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d

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		Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Compys. Table in July 1768 6 Bottles Port Wine " 9 - 14 Do. Lisbon 1 1 - 8 Do. Mountain " 12 - 12 Do. Beer " 5 - 30 Gall. Arrk. 7 10 - 160 lb. Beef 3 2 6 200 Mutton 4 3 4 2 Kids " 10 - 12 Fowls " 18 - 2 Turkeys " 10 - 30 lb. Butter 1 10 - 100 lb. Candy 2 3 8 300 Flour 3 1 6 £ 25 16 2	160 lb of beef, £3 2s 6d 200 lb of mutton, £4 3s 4d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 100 lb of sugar candy, £2 3s 8d 300 lb of flour, £3 1s 6d Total, £25 16s 2d **Interpretations** July was the quietest month of the year for the island's guns. Only one ship called, the *Admiral Pocock*, so only 15 guns were fired for one alarm and one salute. Yet the powder used on sundry services reached nearly 500 lb, close to the highest of the year. With no ships to salute and the masons free of other calls, the winter months were spent blasting rock. Mitchell had reported on 4 July that the platform at Munden's Point was being enlarged by blasting, and the battery's right flank extended. The powder went into the cliff. The fuse for an 8-inch shell belonged to the mortars or howitzers the island was mounting at the new works. Isinglass was a pure gelatine made from the swim bladders of fish, especially sturgeon. Gunners and armourers used it as a fine glue, and it also served to clarify liquids. Its issue from the artillery stores suggests it was used in preparing fuses or cartridges. The Company's table cost £25 16s 2d, close to June's figure. The household had settled into its winter routine with few guests to entertain. Arrack held at 30 gallons, as it had every month of the year.
185	178	The 8 August We this day received the following Letter from the Engineer Viz. To the Worshipfull the Governor & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In Order that the Honble Court of Directors may have timely Notice of my Intentions, thro' the regular Conveyance of their Governor and Council; I therefore do myself the Honour of writing you this Letter, to inform you, that having now the agreable Prospect before me of being able to accomplish the Business upon which I was sent to this Island, by putting the finishing Hand to the Construction of all the material Works necessary to its Defence, against the Arrival of next Year's Store-ships, or within a few Months after; I do therefore propose returning to Europe next Season, in Order to give an Account of my Conduct to my Honble. Masters, And to lay before them a circumstantial Detail of the Military State of this Garrison and Settlement; as well as to make an humble Tender of my future services, agreable to the Terms on which I entered into their Service That this my Resolution may be Conveyed to them with that Degree of Concurrence and Approbation from their Governor & Council of which I am exceedingly ambitious, and with which you have hitherto been pleased so uniformly to honour my past proceedings; I therefore beg Leave to lay before you a succinct Account of the Condition in which I	The Council received the following letter that day from the engineer, addressed to the Governor and Council. Mitchell wrote so that the Court of Directors would have early notice of his intentions through the Governor and Council, the proper channel. He now had the welcome prospect of completing the work for which he had been sent to the island, by finishing all the main defences it needed before next year's store ships arrived, or within a few months after. He therefore proposed to return to Europe next season. There he would give the Company an account of his conduct and a detailed report on the military state of the garrison and settlement. He would also offer his future services, in line with the terms on which he had entered the Company's service. Mitchell was very anxious that his decision should reach the Company with the agreement and approval of the Governor and Council, who had so consistently approved his work so far. He therefore asked leave to set before them a short account of the state of the island's defences when he arrived. He would sum up the main points of the plan he had proposed and the Company had approved for completing them, and describe the progress made so far. He would also list the essential parts still unfinished. He had limited his stay on the island to completing them, in line with what he understood the Court of Directors intended, as its general letter of 21 November 1764 would show. He asked the Council to refer to that letter. **Interpretations** Mitchell wrote within three weeks of Corneille's resignation. He took care to send his notice of departure through the Governor and Council, the proper channel, and to ask for their approval. He had watched a Lieutenant Governor leave the island under a cloud of private letters and charges. By contrast, he set out his reasons openly and placed his record before the whole Board before anyone could question it.

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		found the Defences of this Island, upon my Arrival. To recapitulate the Heads of the Plan proposed by me and approved of by my Masters, for compleating them. To relate the Progress at present made in the Execution of this Plan, and to enumerate those essential Parts of it; which yet Remain unfinished; to the Accomplishment of which I have limited my Stay on the Island, agreable to what I apprehend to have been the Intention of the Honble Court of Directors, which will appear by their General Letter, of Date the 21st of November, Sixty four, to which I beg Leave to Refer you	His terms of service explain why he could leave. The Court's general letter of 21 November 1764 had evidently engaged him for a fixed task, to put the island's defences in order, not for an indefinite posting. With Sandy Bay finished, Banks's nearly complete and Munden's Point well advanced, he judged the task close to done. He planned to stay only until the last main works were finished, around the arrival of the next store ships in the autumn of 1769. The report he promised would serve as his defence and his recommendation together. By setting out the state of the defences when he arrived, the plan he had followed and what remained, he would show the Company exactly what its money had bought: about £1,000 a quarter in labour and stores on the batteries through 1767 and 1768. A favourable report from the Council would strengthen his claim to further employment, which he meant to seek once he was home.
186	179	1768 When I first surveyed the Fortifications of this Island, I found them in general, tho well situated, yet ill contrived, worse executed, and indeed the greatest Part of them altogether insufficient, untenable or going to Ruin. I did not say this then, nor do I now repeat it, from the absurd Motive of acquiring Merit to myself by finding fault with every thing that was done before me: My Reputation whatever it may be, shall be built on a firmer Foundation. The thing itself was obvious, even to a common observer, and I appeal to you, Gentlemen, for the truth of it In my Plan for remedying these Defects, and for compleating the Defences of the Island; I endeavoured, as much as I could, to unite the two principal Objects of strength and Oeconomy; Nor did I propose any Demolition of Old Works, or Construction of New Ones, farther than what I apprehended to be absolutely and essentially necessary, towards rendering every part of the Island properly and equally capable of Defence How far I have succeeded in this, or am likely to succeed, it would ill become me to pronounce, By your Award, Gentlemen, and by the opinion of other Judges, my Masters will undoubtedly determine, with Regard to the Degree of Merit or Demerit due to me on this account, Conscious of my best Endeavours, I chearfully appeal to this Tribunal The Alterations, Additions and Improvements proposed in my Plan, consisted In the Construction of a regular Line, consisting of a Rampart, Parapet, Ditch and Glacis, extending across the whole Extent of Sandy Bay In pulling down and rebuilding the upper Battery at Banks's In rebuilding Part of the lower Battery, situated in the Vally of that name, new laying the Platforms and repairing the whole In pulling down, rebuilding and enlarging the extensive and	When Mitchell first surveyed the island's fortifications, he found them on the whole well placed but badly designed and worse built. Most of them were wholly inadequate, impossible to hold or falling into ruin. He had not said this at the time, and did not repeat it now, from any foolish wish to gain credit by finding fault with everything done before him. Whatever his reputation might be, it would rest on its own foundation. The facts had been plain even to an ordinary observer, and he appealed to the Council to confirm them. In his plan for correcting these faults and completing the island's defences, he had tried as far as possible to combine the two main aims of strength and economy. He had not proposed to demolish old works or build new ones beyond what he thought absolutely essential to make every part of the island properly and equally defensible. It was not for him to say how far he had succeeded or was likely to succeed. The Company would surely judge what credit or blame he deserved, by the Council's verdict and the opinion of other judges. Conscious of his best efforts, he gladly submitted to that judgement. The alterations, additions and improvements proposed in his plan were as follows. A regular line was to be built across the whole width of Sandy Bay, consisting of a rampart, parapet, ditch and glacis. The upper battery at Banks's was to be pulled down and rebuilt. Part of the lower battery in the valley of the same name was to be rebuilt, new platforms laid and the whole repaired. The large and important battery and line of guns at Munden's Point was to be pulled down, rebuilt and enlarged, and a battery for mortars built at the same site. **Interpretations** Mitchell's opening judgement on the old defences was harsh: well sited but badly designed, worse built, and largely useless. He took care to say that he had not voiced it at first, to avoid looking as though he were running down his predecessors to make himself look good. He now set it before a Council whose members had lived beside those defences for years, and he asked them to confirm it. That way, the Court would hear the verdict from the island's government and not from the engineer alone. His list of works corresponds exactly to the spending recorded through 1767 and 1768. The line across Sandy Bay, with its rampart, parapet, ditch and glacis, was the work completed in December 1767. A glacis was a smooth outer slope of earth in front of

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		important Battery and Range of Guns situated on Mundens Point, and in Constructing a Battery for Mortars in the same Situation	the ditch, which left any attacker in the open, exposed to fire from the parapet. The rebuilt upper battery at Banks's was the work nearly finished in July 1768. The enlarged battery at Munden's Point, with its mortar battery, was the project still under way, for which the Council had ordered carriages and mortar beds from Bombay in May. Mitchell stressed economy as much as strength. The Court had complained for years about the cost of St Helena. An engineer who could show that he had built only what was essential would find a readier hearing in Leadenhall Street than one who had simply built more.
187	180	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 8 August In enlarging and Strengthening the Work now subsisting for the Defence of Lemon-Valley: In rebuilding, with some little Variation from their present Form, the two Demi-Bastions which form the Flanks, and terminat[...] the exterior Line of James's Valley; And lastly. In Walling up a few inconsiderable Gullies situated in differen[...] Parts of the Island Of these, the first; and most considerable of them all, has been long since accomplished The second is now finishing, and will be compleated, and a Plan of it delivered in, in a few Weeks. The third Work I compleated the first Year after my Arrival; The two last, namely the rebuilding the Half Bastions in James's Valley, and the Walling up a few inconsiderable Gullies, being Works of no difficulty in the Execution, have been postponed fo[...] that reason to the last: And as they will require in their Constructio[...] only the Hand of the Mason, and by no means the immediate Superintendance of an Engineer, are not therefore of Consequence sufficient to detain me another Season upon the Island With Regard to the Works proposed for Munden's Point, you have before been made acquainted that already a Considerable Progress has been made in them: The Foundations, a principal Part; have been got ready; The Materials have been Collected, prepared an[...] transported thither, and the greatest Part of the Honble. Company's Workmen are now employed in their Construction In Respect to the proposed Enlargement of the present Defences of Lemon Valley, I am preparing the Plan of it, which will be laid before you Next Monday; Its Execution will commence sometim[...] next Month By Compleating these, which I flatter myself I shall be abl[...] to Accomplish against May or June next ensuing, I shall hav[...]	Mitchell's plan also provided for enlarging and strengthening the existing defences of Lemon Valley. The two half-bastions that formed the flanks and closed the outer line of James's Valley were to be rebuilt, with some small changes to their present shape. Lastly, a few minor gullies in different parts of the island were to be walled up. The first and most important of these works, the line across Sandy Bay, had been finished long before. The second, the upper battery at Banks's, was now being finished. It would be completed, and a plan of it handed in, within a few weeks. The third, the lower battery in Banks's valley, had been completed in Mitchell's first year on the island. The last two, the rebuilding of the half-bastions in James's Valley and the walling up of the minor gullies, presented no difficulty, so they had been left until last. They needed only a mason's hand and did not require an engineer's direct supervision. They were therefore not important enough to keep him on the island for another season. As the Council already knew, considerable progress had been made on the works planned for Munden's Point. The foundations, which were the main part, were ready. The materials had been gathered, prepared and carried to the site, and most of the Company's workmen were now employed in building there. Mitchell was preparing a plan for enlarging the present defences of Lemon Valley, which he would lay before the Council the following Monday. Work on it would begin some time the next month. He hoped to complete all these works by May or June of the following year. By then he would have carried out **Interpretations** Mitchell grouped his works by the skill they needed as well as by their importance. The batteries at Banks's and Munden's Point, the line at Sandy Bay and the new work at Lemon Valley all needed an engineer to set out angles, levels and lines of fire. The half-bastions in James's Valley and the walls across the gullies were plain masonry that the master mason, William Holbrooke, could finish alone. By leaving those for last, Mitchell made his own departure possible without leaving the defences half built. The work only he could direct would be finished before he sailed. A half-bastion was a projecting work at the end of a fortified line. From it, defenders could fire along the face of the wall at anyone trying to climb it. The two in James's Valley closed the outer line protecting Jamestown from the sea. The gullies were narrow ravines in the cliffs, through which a small landing party might climb inland. Walling them up closed routes that the larger batteries could not cover. Mitchell's target of May or June 1769 matched his intention to leave in the next season's ships. He would finish Munden's Point and Lemon Valley, then sail home with the island's main defences complete, ready to report to the Court in person.

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188	181	1768 executed all those parts of my Plan, which require either my presence or Inspection, and I have not the smallest Inclination, by a longer Stay on the Island, to become only passively usefull to my Honble. Employers With Regard to the Buildings, Civil and Military, to be Constructed: Namely a Church, Sessions House Storehouses &c. It belongs to my Profession only to delineate their Plans and ascertain their Dimensions: These I shall leave behind me; together with such particular Directions regarding their Construction, as may render the Execution of them, plain, easy, and free from Mistakes I hope it will not be regarded as any impropriety in me, to make the following Observations in this Place: Namely, That I apprehend it would be thought highly improper to leave the Execution of these Works of Consequence; and the future Superintendance of the Fortifications of this Island, to the Care and inspection of a Master Mason only, as has formerly been the Case in this Island: A Person in whom the Company, as well as the Governor and Council can confide, with Respect to his Abilities, Integrity and Diligence, is absolutely necessary for this Purpose: The Governor and Council are well aware that the present Master Mason is not such a One, and the Company have already been considerable Sufferers by the Ignorance, Petulance and Quackery of that sort of Gentry I therefore humbly take the Liberty of recommending to you, Gentlemen, the present Overseer of the Works Lieut. Bazett, as a proper Person for this purpose; The Experience he has acquired during the two Years he has already been employed at the Fortifications; his Diligence and Assiduity in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, of which I have before had Occasion to make mention to the Governor and Council; And above all his application to those Studies and that knowledge essential to an Engineer, and the progress he has already made in them, render him deserving of every encouragement, and I hope will procure him your Protection & Recommendation on this Occasion, I dare say an Addition of a hundred pounds a Year to his Pay as Lieutenant; and a Commission to act as Company's Engineer of this Island, without any Addition of Rank, besides what he may acquire by his Seniority in	By then Mitchell would have carried out every part of his plan that required his presence or supervision. He had no wish to stay longer on the island and become merely a passive expense to the Company. As to the civil and military buildings still to be built, namely a church, a sessions house, storehouses and others, his profession required him only to draw their plans and fix their dimensions. He would leave these behind him, together with such detailed directions for building them as would make the work plain, easy and free of mistakes. He hoped the Council would not think it improper for him to add one observation. In his view it would be highly improper to leave the building of these important works, and the future care of the island's fortifications, to a master mason alone, as had formerly been the practice on the island. The task needed a man in whose ability, integrity and diligence the Company, the Governor and the Council could all place confidence. The Governor and Council knew well that the present master mason was not such a man. The Company had already suffered considerable loss through the ignorance, ill temper and pretence of people of that sort. Mitchell therefore recommended Lieutenant Bazett, the present overseer of the works, as a suitable person for the purpose. Bazett had gained experience during the two years he had already been employed at the fortifications. Mitchell had already had occasion to report his diligence and care in carrying out his trust to the Governor and Council. Above all, his study of the subjects and knowledge essential to an engineer, and the progress he had already made in them, made him deserving of every encouragement. Mitchell hoped the Council would support and recommend him on this occasion. He suggested an addition of £100 a year to Bazett's pay as lieutenant, and a commission to act as the Company's engineer on the island. This would carry no increase in rank beyond what Bazett might gain by seniority in **Interpretations** Mitchell's plan to leave raised an obvious question: who would look after the defences once he had gone. The island's past practice had been to leave works to the master mason, which meant William Holbrooke, the best-paid tradesman on the civil list at £30 a quarter. Mitchell rejected that course outright and explained why. He judged Holbrooke ignorant, ill-tempered and a pretender to skills he lacked, and he blamed men of that kind for the faulty works he had found when he arrived. He put the charge on record before the Council, which, he said, already knew it to be true. The man he recommended was Lieutenant Thomas Bazett of the Third Company, who also drew £13 13s 0d a quarter on the civil list as superintendent. The entry is now explained: Bazett had been Mitchell's overseer of works for two years and had studied engineering under him. Training a local officer as engineer gave the Company continuity at far less cost than sending out another engineer from England. Mitchell kept the proposal modest. He asked for £100 a year and an acting commission, with no step in military rank, so that Bazett would not jump over other officers of the garrison. The proposal also strengthened the Bazett family's hold on the island's offices. A Bazett was already secretary, another a captain, another superintendent of the slaves, and another had just been made a writer. Thomas would now add the post of engineer.

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189	182	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 8 August the Service, would fully gratify all his wishes: A due Regard to the Interest of my Masters, to Oeconomy, and to the Merit of this Gentleman, have been my only Motives for this Recommendation, which I hope will plead its Excuse As I apprehend you will judge it necessary to desire, that a Gentleman may be sent from England, by the first opportunity, to succe[...] me in the Command of the Artillery Company, I shall be happy to find that the Company is able to procure such a One as may be properly qualified to accomplish what my short stay and other Avocations have only allowed me to initiate them in: Namely that Discipline and knowledge of their Profession, of which they stood so much in Need, and on which the Defence of this Island (should it ever be Attacked) must principally depend. Allow me to Conclude this Letter by assuring you, Gentlemen, that I shall always retain a gratefull Sense of that kind Countenanc[...] and support you have so constantly and generously afforded me, in my Endeavours towards a faithfull discharge of the Trust reposed in Me; being, with the utmost Consideration Your much Obliged and most Obedient Servan[...] (signed) Ar. Mitchell St. Helena 8 August 1768 Upon which we sent for Capt. Mitchell and acquainted him that we approved of what he had set forth in the above Letter, and shall take due Notice of the several Circumstances he mention[...] in our General Letter by the Admiral Pocock Hugh Jones having Retailed Arrack contrary to Orders we fined him ten Pounds for the said Offence, one half we gave	Mitchell judged that an increase in pay and an acting commission, with promotion only by seniority in the service, would fully satisfy Bazett's wishes. Mitchell's only motives for the recommendation were a proper regard for the Company's interest, for economy and for Bazett's merit, and he hoped these would excuse it. He expected the Council would think it necessary to ask for a gentleman to be sent from England by the first opportunity to succeed him in command of the Artillery Company. He would be glad if the Company could find a man properly qualified to complete what his short stay and other duties had only allowed him to begin. That meant the discipline and professional knowledge the artillerymen so badly needed, on which the island's defence would chiefly depend if it were ever attacked. He closed by assuring the Council that he would always remember with gratitude the kind support it had so constantly and generously given him in his efforts to carry out his trust faithfully. Archibald Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 8 August 1768. The Council then sent for Captain Mitchell and told him it approved of what he had set out in his letter. It would report the various points he raised in its general letter to the Court, to be sent by the *Admiral Pocock*. Hugh Jones had sold arrack by retail against orders, and the Council fined him £10 for the offence. It gave half of the fine to John **Interpretations** Mitchell's request for a new artillery commander revealed a weakness he had not mentioned before. He had commanded the Artillery Company alongside his work as engineer, and the fortifications had taken nearly all his time. The gunners had therefore received little training in the discipline and skill of their trade. The batteries he had built would be of little use if the men serving them could not lay and fire the guns well. He did not propose a local officer for this post, as he had for the engineer's. Gunnery and military discipline had to be learned in the regular service, and only an officer trained in England could teach them. The Council's response was brief approval and a promise to report to the Court. It took no decision itself on Bazett's pay or commission, nor on a new artillery commander. Both lay with the Directors. The *Admiral Pocock* would carry the general letter home, along with the papers of the Corneille affair and Corneille himself. Hugh Jones was the first person recorded as fined under the proclamation of 4 July 1768, which forbade anyone but the five licensed publicans to sell spirits by retail. The fine was the full £10 set in the proclamation, with half paid to the informer. The Council enforced its new rules within five weeks of making them.
190	183	1768 John Price the Informer and the other half we paid into the Company's Cash And it being also proved by Roderick Merchant that Thos. Yates had retailed Arrack we ordered the said Yates to pay the Penalty of ten pounds for so doing, one half of which we propose giving to the said Merchant the other half we shall pay into the Company's Cash, together with Ten pounds more we fined the said Yates for retailing Spirituous Liquors a Second time, when we can recover the said Sum he being very indigent; at present was only	The Council gave half of Hugh Jones's fine to John Price, the informer, and paid the other half into the Company's treasury. Roderick Merchant also proved that Thomas Yates had sold arrack by retail. The Council ordered Yates to pay the £10 penalty for the offence. It intended to give half to Merchant and pay the other half into the Company's treasury. It also fined Yates a further £10 for selling spirits by retail a second time, to be paid into the treasury when it could be recovered. Yates was very poor and could pay only £5 at present of the £20 due for the two offences. The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, all payable 90 days after presentation.

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		able to pay five Pounds of the said Twenty pounds the penalty for these two Offences We this day Granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors viz. One Set to Danl. Corneille Esq. for £400.. payable to himself (or Order) One Set to Mattw. Purling Esq. for £450.. payable to John Purling Esq. (or Order) One Set to Mr. Saml. Dowlon for £437.. 14.. payable to Capt. Richd. Dowlons (or Order) One Set to Hugh Jones for £368.. 12.. 6 payable to himself (or Order) And One Set to Capt. Thos. Riddell for £280.. payable to Sir John Riddell & Thos. Arnfield Esq. (or Order) all drawn at ninety days sight John Skottowe Purling	1 set to Daniel Corneille for £400 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order 1 set to Matthew Purling for £450 0s 0d, payable to John Purling or his order 1 set to Mr Jonathan Doveton for £487 14s 0d, payable to Captain Richard Doveton or his order 1 set to Hugh Jones for £68 12s 6d, payable to himself or his order 1 set to Captain Thomas Riddle for £80 0s 0d, payable to Sir John Riddell and Thomas Armfield or their order Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The informers were both licensed publicans. John Price and Roderick Merchant were two of the five men kept on as punch house keepers on 4 July 1768. They had a direct interest in stopping unlicensed sellers, who drew away their customers and undercut their fixed prices. The half share of each fine gave them a further reward. The Council had built its system of enforcement on that interest: the licensed keepers policed the trade they now held between them. Thomas Yates was probably the matross and clerk of the church of that name. A man so poor that he could pay only a quarter of his fines had evidently turned to selling arrack to eke out small wages. Hugh Jones was fined £10 for illegal selling, yet the same day he paid in £68 12s 6d for a bill on London. He was evidently a trader of some means, not a poor man, and the fine was a small cost to him. Yates, by contrast, could not pay even half his. Corneille's bill for £400 was payable to himself, since he would be in London to collect it. With his earlier bill of £36 6s 0d, he was now converting all his savings on the island into paper before sailing in the *Admiral Pocock*. Purling sent a further £450 to John Purling. Jonathan Doveton, the factor, sent £487 14s 0d to Captain Richard Doveton, a kinsman in the Company's maritime service. Captain Riddle of the *Admiral Pocock* sent £80 home on his own account, as commanders did in every ship of the season.
191	184	The 10 August At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 10th day of August 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Captn. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 8th August 1768 Mr. Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Admiral Pocock to Muster her Company and Enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll are as follows viz. Muster Roll of Ship Admiral Pocock Thos. Riddell Commr. Willm. Bazeil 1st Mate Robert Muir 2d Do. Job Strong 3d Do. Malm. Watkinson 4th Do. Joseph Eyton 5th Do. Alexr. Carr 6th Do. Thos. Cairns Surgeon Robt. Raymont Do. Mate Robt. Riddell Purser Jno. Irving Boatswn. Albert Nicholas Carpenter Willm. Ashel Gunner Edw. Cunningham Ships Stewd. Thos. Gibson Capt. Do. Nichs. Proffest Midshn.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Wednesday 10 August 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 8 August 1768. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Admiral Pocock* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none. Her muster roll read as follows. Thomas Riddell, Commander William Boyd, First Mate Elliot Muir, Second Mate Job Strong, Third Mate Malcolm Watkinson, Fourth Mate Joseph Eyton, Fifth Mate Alexander Carr, Sixth Mate Thomas Cairns, Surgeon Robert [...], Surgeon's Mate Robert Riddell, Purser John Twining, Boatswain Albert Nicholas, Carpenter William [...], Gunner Edward Cunningham, Ship's Steward Thomas Gibson, Captain's Steward Nicholas Perfect, Midshipman Thomas Venn, Midshipman Robert Mason, Midshipman John Bowen, Quartermaster Thomas Edwards, Quartermaster William Phillips, Quartermaster

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		Thos. Denn Do. Robert Mason Do. Jno. Bowen Qr. Master Thos. Edwards Do. Willm. Phillips Do. Jno. Smith Do. Jno. Creighton Boatsn. Mate Wm. Corley Do. 2d Do. Will Nicholas Carptrs. Do. Geo. Blackadder 2d Do. Willm. Wilson Gunrs. Do. Jno. Easthrop Capt. Cook Thos. Armstrong Ships Do. Robt. Scott Cooper Edw. Gilbert Caulker Jno. Henry Do. Mate Edw. Potter Sailmr. Nat. Griffith Armour. Alexr. Hutchin Butcher John Deptford Poult. Christr. Armstrong Seam. John Butler Henry Bissett Geo. Brown Thos. Brown John Brown John Burk John Kellworth Edwd. Burrows Saml. Clay Gavin Cron Will Carter John Cross John Cossbrook Saml. Davey Will Eden Peter Fitzgerald John Frasan	John Smith, Quartermaster John Creighton, Boatswain's First Mate William Cosley, Boatswain's Second Mate William Nicholas, Carpenter's First Mate George Blackadder, Carpenter's Second Mate William Wilson, Gunner's Mate John [...], Captain's Cook Thomas Armstrong, Ship's Cook Robert Scott, Cooper Edward Gilbert, Caulker John Henry, Caulker's Mate Edward Potter, Sailmaker Nathaniel Griffith, Armourer Alexander Kitchen, Butcher John Deptford, Poulterer Christopher Armstrong, Seaman John Butler, Seaman Henry Bissett, Seaman George Brown, Seaman Thomas Brown, Seaman John Bourn, Seaman John Burke, Seaman John Killworth, Seaman Edward Burrows, Seaman James Clay, Seaman Gavin Crow, Seaman William Carter, Seaman John Cross, Seaman John Cosbrook, Seaman James Davey, Seaman William Eden, Seaman Peter Fitzgerald, Seaman John Fraser, Seaman **Interpretations** The roll names the men in Alexander Hoar's will, proved before the Council on 8 August 1768. John Cross, John Burke and Christopher Armstrong, three of his four executors and heirs, appear here as seamen of the *Admiral Pocock*. Henry Bissett, who witnessed the will, also appears as a seaman. John Smith, the other witness, was one of the ship's quartermasters. Hoar left everything to his messmates, the men who worked and lived beside him. The muster confirms that they were all still aboard and could claim his wages when the ship paid off in London. The *Admiral Pocock* carried six mates, the establishment of the largest Indiamen. Her commander was Thomas Riddell, whose bill of 8 August was payable to Sir John Riddell, evidently a kinsman of rank in Britain. Robert Riddell, the purser, was probably also a relation. Commanders commonly placed family members in posts aboard their ships, as Captain Elphinstone had done with his brother in the *Triton* in March.
192	185	1768 John Garn Seamen John Graves John Garrett Thos. Gutridge Jas. Gray Geo. Hall Jno. Holmes John Hind Thos. Horn Chas. Johnson Fredk. Johnson Will Jemmison Jno. Lowe Richd. Ladd John Leonise Jno. Moore Seamen Jno. Martin Will Munby Alexr. McIntosh	The *Admiral Pocock*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew and her passengers. John Garn, Seaman John Graves, Seaman John Garrett, Seaman Thomas Gutteridge, Seaman James Gray, Seaman George Holt, Seaman John Holmes, Seaman John Hind, Seaman Thomas Horn, Seaman Charles Johnson, Seaman Frederick Johnson, Seaman William Jemmison, Seaman John Lowe, Seaman Richard Ladd, Seaman John [...], Seaman John Moore, Seaman John Martin, Seaman William Mumby, Seaman

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		Jno. Murphy Nichl. Moss Richd. Pitt Jno. Pagett Willm. Rand Jno. Russ Thos. Hubs Peter Scott Dan. Scott Chas. Taylor Robt. Thompson James Wilkinsons Seam. Thos. Watts James Taylor Geo. Long Capt. Servt. Jno. Cockburn 2d Mates Do. Thos. Massey Surg. Do. James Hennes Carpt. Do. Jas. Tilbury Gunners Do. Wm. Chapman Boatn. Do. Edw. Kushworth Seam. Edw. Barker John Fanton Richd. Anger Jno. Whiteman Jno. Veal Passengers Mr. Alexr. Pepper Mrs. Pepper two maid Servants One Man Do. (signed) Thos. Riddell The Storekeeper this day Delivered the following Account of Stores short recd. from Ship Adml. Pocock viz. Acct. of Stores short recd. from Ship Admiral Pocock viz. 3 3 21 lb. Rice 2 - - Paddy 8 Cord. short Weight Occasioned by Wastage No. 1. 1 Leagr. Ard. Gauge 142½ Wants to fill 8½ No. 2. 1 Do. Do. 142½ Do. Do. 12½ 285 21 Gall. 264 Received (signed) Jas. Powell Storekr. 10 August 1768	Alexander McIntosh, Seaman John Murphy, Seaman Nicholas Mace, Seaman Richard Pitt, Seaman John Paget, Seaman William [...], Seaman John [...], Seaman Thomas Hobbs, Seaman Peter Scott, Seaman David Scott, Seaman Charles Taylor, Seaman Robert Thompson, Seaman James Wilkinson, Seaman Thomas Watts, Seaman James Taylor, Seaman George Long, Captain's Servant John Cockburn, Second Mate's Servant Thomas Massey, Surgeon's Servant James [...], Carpenter's Servant James Tilbury, Gunner's Servant William Chapman, Boatswain's Servant Edward Hushworth, Seaman Edward Walker, Seaman John Tanton, Seaman Richard Anger, Seaman John [...], Seaman John Veal, Seaman Passengers Mr Alexander [...] Mrs [...] 2 maidservants 1 manservant Captain Thomas Riddell signed the roll. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Admiral Pocock* that came ashore short of the invoice. He signed it on 10 August 1768. The shortfalls in weight came from wastage. Rice, short in weight by 5 cwt 3 qr [...] lb Paddy, short in weight by 2 cwt 0 qr 8 lb Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 142½ gallons, lacking 8½ gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 142½ gallons, lacking 12½ gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 285 gallons, total lacking 21 gallons Arrack received, 264 gallons **Interpretations** The *Admiral Pocock* carried only one private household as passengers, a gentleman and his wife with three servants. The ship sailed late in the season, which perhaps accounts for so few travellers. Corneille would add himself to her company when she sailed for England with the Council's general letter and the papers of his dispute. The arrack lacked 21 gallons, a little more than the losses of 13 to 17 gallons in the casks landed by other Bengal ships that year. The leaguers had been at sea longer than most. The late passage and the wintry seas off the Cape would have increased leakage and evaporation from casks stowed in a hold that worked in heavy weather.
193	186	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 10 August We this day Enlisted John Fanton (who came free on the Shi[...] Admiral Pocock) to serve the Honble. Company as a Soldier for five Years, he appearing to be a good Man, we gave him £3.. Bounty Money to buy him[...] Cloaths &ca. The death of Lieut. Henry De Laval on the 8th instant having	The Council enlisted John Tanton, who had come out in the *Admiral Pocock*, to serve the Company as a soldier for five years. He seemed a good man, so it gave him a bounty of £3 to buy clothes and other necessaries. Lieutenant Henry De Laune died on 8 August 1768, which left another vacancy among the officers. Lieutenant Thomas Bazett was superintendent of the works and did no garrison duty. That placed so heavy a burden on the other lieutenants that they could not carry out all the duties the island required. Mr James Greentree, the cadet whom the Council had recommended to the Court the year before, was now

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		occasioned another Vacancy among the Corps of Officers, and Lieut. Thomas Bazett who is superintendant of the Works not doing any Garrison Duty, makes it so very hard upon the other Lieuts. that its impossible for them to go through with the necessary Duty of the Island, And as Mr. James Greentree the Cadet who we recommended to the Honble. the Court of Directo[...] last Year is now well qualified for a Commission, we this day appointed him a Lieut. in the fourth Company which appointment we hope will meet with the Honble. Compys. approbation John Skottowe Purling	well qualified for a commission. The Council therefore appointed him a lieutenant in the Fourth Company that day, and hoped the Company would approve. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** John Tanton appeared on the *Admiral Pocock*'s muster roll as a seaman. He left the ship and joined the garrison with a bounty of £3, the same rate paid to Samuel Willson and Andrew Sedrick earlier in the year. The Council took men from passing ships whenever it could, as each was a trained man gained without the cost of passage from England. The Council could have waited for the Court to send a new lieutenant from England, the usual way commissions were filled. It chose to appoint Greentree at once, and the record explains why. De Laune's death left the Fourth Company with no lieutenant at all. Thomas Bazett, though a lieutenant in the Third Company, was fully occupied at the works under Mitchell and did no garrison duty. The remaining officers were stretched too thin to cover the guards and posts. Greentree had served as a cadet in the First Company throughout 1768, drawing £7 11s 8d a quarter in the ranks while he waited for a commission. The Council had already recommended him, so promoting him now was the obvious step. It was also an acting appointment, subject to the Court's approval, as Mahoney's and Bazett's had been. The vacancy shows the strain the island's small officer corps was under that year. Corneille had resigned, Kirkpatrick was often ill, De Laune was dead and Bazett was seconded to the works. The Council was filling gaps with the men it had at hand.
194	187	The 15 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of August 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Mattw. Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 10th Augt. 1768 Saturday the 13th Arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Blyswick Captn. H. J. Williams burthen 800 Tons Carrys 30 Guns & 112 Men Loaden with Coffee Sugar & Pepper bound to Holland Yesterday Sailed the Honble. Compys. Ship Admiral Pocock for England Mr. Colvill Muir of the Admiral Pocock this day applied to Us to pay £500.. into the Honble. Compys. Cash which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Messrs. Muir Son & Atkinson (or Order) Ninety days after sight Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of July last, which is as follows viz.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 15 August 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 10 August 1768. A Dutch ship from Batavia, the *Blyswick*, arrived on Saturday 13 August under Captain H J Williams. She was of 800 tons burden, carried 30 guns and 112 men, and was laden with coffee, sugar and pepper bound for Holland. The Company's ship *Admiral Pocock* sailed for England the previous day, 14 August. Mr Colvill Mure of the *Admiral Pocock* had asked to pay £500 into the Company's treasury. The Council took the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Messrs Mure, Son and Atkinson or their order 90 days after presentation. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for July 1768. **Interpretations** The *Admiral Pocock* left on 14 August, two days after the Council told Mitchell it would report his plans in the general letter she carried. She also carried the Council's papers on the quarrel between Corneille and Kirkpatrick. Corneille had resigned on 21 July, resolved to leave by the first opportunity and lay his case before the Directors in person. His bill of 8 August, payable to himself, shows he expected to be in London to collect it. He very probably sailed in her, arriving with the papers that cleared his name. Colvill Mure's bill was the largest single remittance of the month. It was payable to Mure, Son and Atkinson, a London merchant house with interests in the East India and West India trades. Mure was probably a member of the family travelling home with the ship, perhaps the passenger listed on

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			the roll. Elliot Muir, the second mate, may have been a kinsman. Family merchant houses often placed sons and nephews aboard Indiamen as officers or supercargoes to learn the trade. The Dutch *Blyswick* was the first foreign ship to call since June. She brought the usual Batavia cargo of coffee, sugar and pepper, and arrived just as the island's own ship left.
195	188	The 15 August Cash Dr. 1768 July 1st To Balance remaining£ 7642 " 3 4th To Account Current London Recd. of the Revd. Mr. Willm. Beancroft the Amount of his Bond borrowed of the Honble. Compy. in England 100 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors payable to Messrs. Stainforth & Giberne 36 " 6 £ 7778 " 9 Per Contra Cr. 1768 July 31st By Balance remaining viz. In Specie£ 7238 5 9 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 7778 " 9 £ 7778 " 9 John Skottowe Purling	The Council's cash account for July 1768 read as follows. Cash, debit 1 July 1768, balance remaining, £7,642 0s 3d 4 July 1768, received from the Reverend William Bearcroft, the amount of his bond for money borrowed from the Company in England, credited to the London account current, £100 0s 0d Received in exchange for 1 set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Messrs Stainforth and Giberne, £36 0s 6d Total, £7,778 0s 9d Cash, credit 31 July 1768, balance remaining in coin, £7,238 5s 9d 31 July 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,778 0s 9d Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the account. **Interpretations** The chaplain's bond explains the £100 he paid in on 4 July 1768. Bearcroft had borrowed the money from the Company in London before sailing, probably to fit himself out for the voyage and his first months on the island. Such advances to new servants were common. The Council credited the repayment to the London account current, so that the Court would see the debt cleared in its own books in Leadenhall Street, even though the coin was received at St Helena. The single bill of the month, £36 0s 6d, was Corneille's remittance of 25 July 1768, payable to Messrs Stainforth and Giberne. He was turning his last sums on the island into paper before he left. July was the quietest month in the treasury all year. No pay fell due, no ships but the *Admiral Pocock* called, and nothing was paid out. The coin rose slightly to £7,238 5s 9d. With the next quarter's pay of over £3,000 due at the end of September, and few ships expected before then, the Council would have to manage that reserve with care through the southern winter.
196	189	The 22 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d day of August 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 15th August 1768 Tuesday the 16 Passed by a Ship at a Great distance Mr. Gabriel Alexander Harper this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Gabl. Alexr. Harper Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of assigning his right to nineteen & an half Acres of Land, lying in Powells Valley, requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave so to do, and accept of Mr. John Scott as Tenant for the same	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 22 August 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 15 August 1768. A ship passed the island at a great distance on Tuesday 16 August. Mr Gabriel Alexander Harper presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 22 August 1768. He wished to transfer his right to 19½ acres of land in Powell's Valley. He asked the Council's leave to do so, and asked it to accept Mr John Scott as tenant. The Council granted his request. The Council received a letter from the engineer that day, together with a plan of the proposed works at Lemon Valley. **Interpretations** John Scott had petitioned on 29 February 1768 for about 30 acres of waste land at Green Saddle. He wanted to set up a small household of his own

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		And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Gabl. Alexander Harper 22d August 1768 Granted We this day received a Letter from the Engineer together with a Plan of the intended Works at Lemon Valley viz.	instead of living with his relations. The Council refused him because Margaret Alcock had already applied for the same ground, and later left that land as common. Six months later Scott obtained a holding another way, by taking over an existing lease from Gabriel Harper. The Council approved the transfer at once. Assignment of a settled lease raised none of the objections that a grant of common land had done, since no neighbour lost grazing or access. Gabriel Harper had taken over Lieutenant St Maurice's 10¾ acres in the West Division only on 4 July 1768. He now gave up nearly 20 acres in Powell's Valley. The Harpers were evidently rearranging their holdings, gathering land in one district and releasing it in another. Leases on St Helena changed hands freely among settler families, always with the Council's leave. Mitchell had promised the Council his plan for Lemon Valley on 8 August. It arrived a fortnight later, as the works at Banks's neared completion and men became free to begin the next site.
197	190	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 22 August To the Worshipfull the Govr. &c. & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen Along with this I have the Honour to lay before you a Plan of the present Defence of Lemon-Valley, together with the Manner in which I propo[...] to enlarge, improve and Compleat them As the Alteration and Improvement, as there laid down, will b[...] found conformable to what was first proposed, and approved of by the Court of Directors, relative to this Valley, I therefore flatter myself it will meet with your approbation It would be both tedious and unnecessary to enumerate in this Letter all the Defects of the present Defence of that place, and all the Advantages to be obtained by the Alterations proposed, - Both the one and th[...] other are much easier pointed out and much more elucidated by inspecting the Plan itself, than by any thing that can be inserted in a Letter: I shall therefore only observe in General That the Revetment of the present Work, being in itself weak and entirely exposed, might be laid in Ruins by a fire of a few Minutes, when (the Valley being entirely Open) an Enemy might Land without opposition, and by a sudden and expeditious March, would have it in their power to penetrate into the Country, before a Governor could possibly have time to collect a Force and form a Disposition capable of repelling them By extending the Front of this Work so as to join its two Flanks to the Rocks on each side the Valley, as proposed in the Plan, the whole will be enclose[...] and the intended Addition of a Ditch and Glacis will effectually secure the Revetment from the fire of an enemy. By this means this Work can receive no other Injury from the fire of Ships than to have the Guns in its Front dismounted[...] should that take place and an Enemy in Consequence of it have the Hardines[...]	Mitchell's letter to the Governor and Council enclosed a plan of the present defences of Lemon Valley, showing how he proposed to enlarge, improve and complete them. The alterations and improvements shown in the plan agreed with what had first been proposed for that valley and approved by the Court of Directors. He therefore hoped they would meet with the Council's approval. It would be tedious and unnecessary to list in a letter all the faults of the present defences of Lemon Valley and all the advantages of the proposed changes. Both could be seen far more easily and clearly by studying the plan itself. He would therefore make only some general remarks. The revetment of the present work was weak in itself and wholly exposed. A few minutes' fire could bring it down in ruins. Since the valley was entirely open, an enemy could then land without opposition. With a quick march, it could push inland before a Governor had time to gather a force and draw it up to drive it back. The plan proposed extending the front of the work until its two flanks met the cliffs on either side of the valley, so that the whole would be enclosed. The proposed ditch and glacis would also protect the revetment from enemy fire. Ships' guns could then do the work no harm beyond silencing the guns in its front. Even if that happened and an enemy dared to land, the flanks and their guns would remain intact. They would certainly be enough to stop an enemy from going down into the ditch at leisure and setting up ladders to climb the revetment along any stretch of not more than 50 yards. **Interpretations** A revetment was the facing of stone or masonry that held up the front of an earth rampart. At Lemon Valley it stood exposed to the sea. A warship's broadside could knock it down in minutes and open the valley to a landing. Mitchell's remedy followed the same principle as his line at Sandy Bay. A ditch and a sloping glacis in front would shield the revetment, so that ships' guns could strike only the battery's face and not its base. The heart of his design lay in the flanks. Extending the work from cliff to cliff would close the valley completely, leaving no gap to walk round. Even if the front guns were silenced, guns in the flanks would fire along the ditch. Any party trying to climb the wall would be caught there in crossfire. Mitchell kept every stretch of wall within 50 yards of a flank gun, the distance at which grapeshot was most deadly. This was standard practice in eighteenth-

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		to land, its Flanks and the Guns there mounted would remain entire, and wi[...] certainly be sufficient to prevent an Enemy from descending deliberately into the Ditch and from applying Ladders to surmount the Revetment, in any extent not exceeding fifty Yards	century fortification, which relied on flanking fire to protect the walls. Mitchell's warning about the speed of an enemy's march explains why the leeward valleys mattered so much. Lemon Valley lay only a short distance from Jamestown. A force landing there unopposed could reach the town and the Castle before the garrison could be gathered from its scattered posts.
198	191	1768 For the rest I beg leave to refer the Govr. and Council to the Plan itself, which only waits their approbation to be immediately carried into execution. The new Battery at Banks's will be compleated this Week and I shall have the Honour of delivering in a Plan of it to the Govr. & Council next Monday, in Order to its being transmitted to my Honble. Masters. I have the Honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servant (signed) Ar. Mitchell St. Helena 22 August 1768 Upon our inspecting the above Plan we told Captn. Mitchell we approved of the Plan laid before Us, And directed him to set about Executing that Work with all expedition Being in want of an Inkstand for the Consultation Table we Agreed to purchase one for which we paid £8.. 10.. the price it Cost in England as p Bill viz. London 4th Novr. 1767 Bought of George Rotheram Goldsmith & Jeweller at the Ship without Aldgate To a Ink Stand w. a Drawer & Ink, wafer, Sand water & pounce Glasses done in silver Tops & Fronts A Silv. Bell & Silv. handle Wt. 13.. 12 Oz. 8 10 Recd. ye 4 Novr. 1767 the Contents in full for Mr. Geo. Rotheram p Wm. Dunn	Mitchell left the rest to the Governor and Council's study of the plan, which needed only their approval to be put into effect at once. The new battery at Banks's would be finished that week. He would hand in a plan of it to the Governor and Council the following Monday, to be sent to the Company. Archibald Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 22 August 1768. The Council examined the plan and told Captain Mitchell that it approved it. It directed him to begin the work as quickly as possible. The Council needed an inkstand for the Council table. It agreed to buy one and paid £8 10s 0d, its cost in England according to the bill, which read as follows. London, 4 November 1767 Bought of George Retherdon, goldsmith and jeweller, at the Ship without Aldgate A fine inkstand with a drawer, and ink, wafer, sand, water and pounce glasses, with silver tops and fronts, a silver bell and a silver handle, weighing 13 oz 12 dwt, £8 10s 0d The bill was receipted in full on 4 November 1767 on behalf of Mr George Retherdon by W Benn. **Interpretations** The Council approved Mitchell's plan for Lemon Valley on sight and ordered work to begin at once. With Banks's finished that week, the masons and labourers could move straight to the new site without standing idle. Mitchell had planned exactly this sequence in April: keep the men constantly employed by always having a second work ready. The inkstand was a piece of official furniture of some value, made in silver for the Council's table. Each glass held one of the materials of eighteenth-century writing. Ink was for the quill, and wafers were small discs of dried paste used to seal letters. Sand and pounce were fine powders. Sand dried wet ink, and pounce was rubbed into paper so the ink would not spread. The water glass held water for moistening wafers or cleaning pens, and the silver bell summoned the clerk. It had evidently been bought in London by a private owner, probably an officer or passenger, and sold to the Council at cost. The Council added it to the new green cloth laid on the table in the spring. Retherdon's shop at the sign of the Ship, just outside Aldgate in the City of London, stood in the district where many East India sailors and outfitters traded.
199	192	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 22 August We this day Executed a Lease to Mr. Gabl. Alexr. Harper for a piece of Land containing nineteen Acres & an half lying in the South Divis[...] of this Island at 2/ p Acre John Skottowe Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of August 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick absent being sick	The Council executed a lease to Mr Gabriel Alexander Harper for a piece of land of 19½ acres in the South Division of the island, at 2s an acre. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 29 August 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent through sickness The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 22 August 1768. At one o'clock in the afternoon on Monday 22 August, a boat from the *Greenwich* landed at Banks's.

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		The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 22 Aug. 17[...] Monday the 22 Arrived the Greenwich's Boat at Banks's at one o'Clock in the afternoon Do. Do. Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Greenwich from Bomba[...] Tuesday the 23d Died Margaret Corbett Widow Wednesday the 24 Sailed the Dutch Ship Blyswick for Holland The Ship Greenwich brought Us the following Supplys viz.	The Company's ship *Greenwich* arrived from Bombay the same day. Margaret Isbell, a widow, died on Tuesday 23 August. The Dutch ship *Blyswick* sailed for Holland on Wednesday 24 August. The *Greenwich* brought the following supplies. **Interpretations** The lease to Gabriel Harper for 19½ acres matched exactly the land he had asked leave that same day to pass to John Scott. Harper evidently held the ground under an old or informal title. The Council first granted him a proper lease, so that he had a formal right he could then transfer. Only a holder with a valid lease could assign it, and the Council kept the record of every step. The rent of 2s an acre was well below the 5s charged in the East Division. Land in the South Division was rougher and further from Jamestown, and the Company set its rents accordingly. The *Greenwich* came from Bombay in the southern winter, almost a month after the *Admiral Pocock*. Late ships from the East were not unusual. They carried cargoes loaded after the main fleet had sailed, and the island still had to supply and dispatch them. Margaret Isbell was the first woman's death recorded in the consultations of 1768. The minutes noted deaths of soldiers, officers and slaves for the Company's accounts. A widow's death was entered probably because she held land or a lease from the Company, which would now pass to her heirs with the Council's leave.
200	193	1768 Invoice of Ship Greenwich Rice Bealer Fine 45 Bags contg. 350 Surt. Mds. viz. 44 Bags a 6¾ Sr. Mds. is 297 Surt. Mds. 1 Do. contg. 3 Do. 300 Surt. Mds. a 22 Rs. p 18 Sr. Mds. 366 2 66 Batty 32 Bags 3 Parahs a 3.. 3.. 0 Mds. Reas. a 1 Rs. 3 p Ps. Morah 49 - 56 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags 152 Expended for Rice Bags a 5 Rs. p Co. 10 - - Batty Bags 145 for Do. a 39 Rs. ea 33 3 - Gunnys 2d Sort 32 Making Bags for Batty a 5 Rs. p Co. 8 - - Twine & Sewing Bags 4 lb. a 4 Rs. p Md. 1 - - Lascars 19 for Do. a 12 Pice ea 2 3 40 Hamalls carrying 45 Bags of Rice to the Pier head a 2 Pice ea 1 - 50 Do. Carrying 32 Bags of Batty from the Mandovee to the Pier head a 4 Pice ea 1 2 40 Company's Boat 1 day carrying on board 2 2 - 66 3 30 Rs. 482 2 52 Errors Excepted for D. Draper Acct. Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz.	The *Greenwich*'s invoice listed the supplies she brought from Bombay, in Bombay money. Fine beaten rice, 45 bags containing 300 [...]: 44 bags of 6¾ [...] each and 1 bag of 3 [...], 300 [...] at 22 rupees per [...], 366 rupees 2 quarters 66 reas Batty, 32 bags, 3 morahs [...] at 15 rupees per morah, 49 rupees 0 quarters 56 reas Charges on the goods 15[...] gunny pieces used for rice bags at 5 rupees per hundred, 13 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas 145 [...] for batty bags, 33 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas 32 gunny pieces for making bags for the batty at 5 rupees per hundred, 8 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Twine for sewing the bags at 4 rupees per maund, 1 rupee 0 quarters 0 reas 19 lascars for the same at 12 pice each, 2 rupees 3 quarters 40 reas Porters carrying 45 bags of rice to the pierhead at 2 pice each, 1 rupee 0 quarters 50 reas Porters carrying 32 bags of batty from the Mandavee to the pierhead at 4 pice each, 1 rupee 2 quarters 40 reas The Company's boat for 1 day, carrying the goods on board, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Total for charges, 66 rupees 3 quarters [...] reas Total, 482 rupees 2 quarters 52 reas D Draper signed the invoice as accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council ordered the following notice to be published. **Interpretations** The *Greenwich* brought the same Bombay consignment as the *Worcester* in April: about 45 bags of beaten rice and 32 bags of batty. Her charges, however, came to more than 66 rupees, against under 20 rupees on the *Worcester*'s invoice. Most of the difference lay in the bags. The *Worcester*'s batty had travelled in 45 batty bags costing under 4 rupees. The *Greenwich*'s needed 145 items costing nearly 34 rupees, besides fresh gunny cloth. Prices and packing at Bombay evidently changed between the two sailings, and the island bore the cost either way.

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			The Mandavee was the customs house at Bombay, where goods were weighed, taxed and stored before shipment. The word came from the Hindustani term for a customs post or market. Hamals, the porters of western India, carried each bag on their backs from the Mandavee to the pierhead. Lascars sewed and stowed the bags. The Company's own boat took the cargo out to the ship lying in Bombay harbour.
201	194	The 29 August Island St. Helena 29th August 1768 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on, or before the 20 September next ensuing, an exact signed Account of their Familys, Lands, and Cattle, and to attend at the Castle on Friday the 30th of the said Month to pay their Rents, and Revenues due to the Honble Company for the Year past Notice is hereby further given that the Honorable Company's Stores will be shut from the 12th of Sept. to the 10th of October next Per Order of Council (signed) Mw. Bazett Secy. Appointed Mr. Matthew Purling to inspect and take the Remains of the Honble Company's Stores for the present Year as Usual The Governor this day received the following Letter from Captn. Kirkpatrick viz. To John Skottowe Esq. Governor Sir The inveteracy of my Disorder makes it Indispensible	The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 29 August 1768. All inhabitants of the island 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 Friday 30 September to pay the rents and dues they owed the Company for the past year. The Company's stores would be closed from 12 September to 10 October. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. The Council appointed Purling to inspect the Company's stores and take the count of what remained in them for the present year, as usual. The Governor received the following letter that day from Captain Kirkpatrick, addressed to Governor Skottowe. Kirkpatrick wrote that the severity of his illness made it essential **Interpretations** The notice set in motion the island's annual reckoning. Each household had to declare its members, its land and its cattle. The returns gave the Council a census of the settler population and its livestock, which it sent to the Court each year. They also served as the basis for collecting the year's rents and dues, payable in person at the Castle on a single fixed day. In the last quarter of 1767 the rents had brought in close to £600. A household's declared land had to match the leases recorded in the Council's registers, and any difference would show at once. The stores were closed for four weeks so that the year's count could be taken without goods moving in or out. Purling, as the Council's accountant, would check every item against the storekeeper's records. The count would show whether Powell's accounts of sales and issues through the year were true. The previous count, of 30 September 1767, had valued the stores at £11,565 2s 10d. Kirkpatrick had been absent from every consultation since 1 August, owing to sickness. His letter now opened with the gravity of his illness. The Council's paymaster, censured on 19 July and repeatedly absent since, was writing directly to the Governor about his condition.
202	195	1768 necessary that (in this inclemency of Wether) I still keep House; Therefore beg you'll excuse my Absence; and be pleased (as tis so near the time, for Advance to the Captains &c.) to order about £750.. to be sent me by one of the Clerks, together with a Receipt to be signed for the same I have the Honour to be Sir Your most Obedt. humble Servant (signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick 29th August 1768 The Engineer this day laid before Us a Plan of Banks's upper and lower Batterys the former being now completed we agreed to go	Kirkpatrick explained that, in the present bad weather, he must keep to his house. He asked the Governor to excuse his absence. Since it was close to the time for the advance to the captains and others, he asked the Governor to order about £750 to be sent to him by one of the clerks, together with a receipt for him to sign. Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter on 29 August 1768. The engineer laid before the Council a plan of the upper and lower batteries at Banks's, the upper one now being finished. The Council agreed to go the following Thursday to inspect it, and to send the plan to the Court of Directors by the *Greenwich*. The Council executed renewals of the following two leases. Captain H J Bazett, a piece of ground in James's Valley, 20 feet wide and 40 feet deep, at 5s a year Mr John Goodwin, a piece of land of 5 acres in the West Division of the island, at 5s an acre

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		on Thursday next to take a Review of the same, and shall transmit the said Plan to the Honble Court of Directors by the Ship Egmont We this day Executed the Renewal of the two following Leases viz. One to Capt. H. J. Bazett for a piece of Ground lying in James's Valley containing twenty feet in Width & forty feet in Depth, at 5/ p Ann. And One to Mr. Jas. Goodwin for a piece of Land containing five Acs. lying in the West Division of the said Island at 5/ p Acre On the 3d instant James Black Gardiner was Dismissed the	On 2 August 1768 James Black, the gardener, was dismissed from the Company's service **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick remained paymaster despite the censure of 19 July, and he asked for £750 to be sent to his house. The advance to the captains was the money issued before the quarter's end, so that companies could pay their men's subsistence. Kirkpatrick's illness kept him from the Castle. His request shows that the Company's cash continued to pass through his hands even while the Court was still to decide his fate. The Council had chosen to refer his punishment to London instead of removing him from office, and this was one result. The upper battery at Banks's was finished on schedule, as Mitchell had promised in July. The Council would inspect it in person before sending the plan home. A plan signed off by the Governor and Council after a visit carried more weight with the Court than the engineer's drawing alone, and it gave the Directors proof that their money had produced a finished work. Henry Bazett's plot in Jamestown was tiny, 20 feet by 40, a building plot rather than farmland. Its rent was 5s a year for the whole plot. John Goodwin's renewal of 27 June was now formally executed.
203	196	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 29 August Honble. Company's service for the reasons assigned in Consultation of the 9 May last, as likewise for his continuing to neglect the Garden & his refractory behaviour since we Agreed to send him to England upon the Ship Greenwich as a Charter party Passenger John Skottowe Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th day of September 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 29 August 1768 Wednesday the 31 Arrived the Egmonts Boat at Banks's a Quarter past Si[...] o'Clock in the Evening Thursday the 1st Arrived the Honble. Company's Ship Egmont from Madrass last from Mauritius, & brought Us the following Supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Egmont No. 1 Long Cloth Superfine One Bale Containing No. 3 8 Ps. @ 12 Pags. p Ps. 96 4 8 Do. @ 10½ Do. Do. 84 5 12 Do. @ 8¾ Do. Do. 103 18 1 Baling & Cooge 1.8 Pa. Packing 283 18 - 2 - - 285 18 [...] Carrd. Over 285 18 [...]	The Council noted that James Black, the gardener, had been dismissed from the Company's service on 2 August 1768. The reasons were those recorded in the consultation of 9 May 1768, together with his continued neglect of the garden and his insolent behaviour since then. The Council agreed to send him to England in the *Greenwich* as a charter party passenger. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 5 September 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 29 August 1768. At a quarter past six in the evening on Wednesday 31 August, a boat from the *Egmont* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Egmont* arrived the next day, Thursday 1 September, from Madras, having called last at Mauritius. She brought the following supplies, listed in her invoice in Madras money. Superfine longcloth, 1 bale, number 1, containing Number 3, 8 pieces at 12 pagodas a piece, 96 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Number 4, 8 pieces at 10½ pagodas a piece, 84 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Number 5, 12 pieces at 8⅝ pagodas a piece, 103 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash Total for the longcloth, 283 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash 1 bale with gunny for packing, 2 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Carried forward, 285 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash **Interpretations** The Council had decided on 9 May to dismiss Black and send him home, then waited three months to act. In the meantime he kept his post and drew his salary to the end of June. The record shows why the Council finally moved: he went on neglecting the garden and behaving insolently. A man under sentence of dismissal had nothing to gain by working well. Sending him as a charter party passenger meant the Company paid his passage under its contract with the ship's owners. It was cheaper than keeping a

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			troublesome former servant on the island with no wage and no prospects. The *Egmont* called at Mauritius before St Helena. The island was then the French Île de France, the main base of French power in the Indian Ocean. A Company ship stopping there in peacetime was unusual and probably reflected a need for water or repairs on the passage from Madras. The superfine longcloth was priced at 8⅝ to 12 pagodas a piece, well above most of the grades the Council ordered from Madras on 25 May. That order could not yet have reached India. These finer pieces were evidently sent under Madras's standing instructions for the island, probably for the Castle and the officers.
204	197	The 5th September Brought Over 285 18 - No. 2 & 3 Long Cloth fine Two Bales of 4 Corge @ 64 p Corge 256 Washing @ 1.31 p Corge 7 16 Packing @ 2.. p Bale 4 11 16 267 16 - No. 4 Long Cloth midling 1 Bale of 1 Corge 10 Ps. @ 44.18 p Co. 66 27 Washing @ 1.17 p Corge 2 22 40 Baling 2 - - 4 22 40 71 13 40 Rice 22 Bags Double, by Weight Gr. Dr. Ar. 32 3 2 Tare 1 lb. ea - 3 4 Nett 31 3 26 is 154 Mds. @ 1 p Candy 29 1 32 Paddy 25 Bags by Weight 28 2 17 Tare 1 lb. ea - 1 22 Nett 28 - 23 200 Mds. @ 12 p Pagoda 16 28 - Batavia Arrack 2 Leagers of 300 Gall. @ 45 p Leagr. 90 - Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags 69 @ 3 p Co. 2 2 40 Twine 2 - 2 - Weighing Cooly on 4½ @ 200 p Candy - 3 40 To Plates & Nails - 6 - Boat hire 4 Trips @ 9 fa. p Trip 1 - - Cooly Do. 3 Do. @ 1.20 - 3 60 Tarpaulins Do. Do. @ 4 each - 12 - Cooly Do. for Batavia Arr. - 6 - Do. on 27 Bags Paddy & Rice @ 40 Cash each Way - 20 40	The *Egmont*'s invoice continued from a total of 285 pagodas 18 fanams. Brought forward, 285 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash Fine longcloth, bales numbered 2 and 3, 2 bales containing 4 corge at 64 pagodas per corge, 256 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Washing at 1 pagoda 31 fanams per corge, 7 pagodas 16 fanams 0 cash Packing at 2 pagodas per bale, 4 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for charges, 11 pagodas 16 fanams 0 cash Total for fine longcloth, 267 pagodas 16 fanams 0 cash Middling longcloth, bale number 4, 1 bale containing 1 corge 10 pieces at 44 pagodas 18 fanams per corge, 66 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash Washing at 1 pagoda 17 fanams per corge, 2 pagodas 22 fanams 40 cash Packing, 2 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for charges, 4 pagodas 22 fanams 40 cash Total for middling longcloth, 71 pagodas 13 fanams 40 cash Rice, 22 double bags, weighing [...] net, 29 pagodas 1 fanam 32 cash Paddy, 25 bags, weighing [...] net, 16 pagodas 28 fanams 0 cash Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers containing 300 gallons at 45 pagodas per leaguer, 90 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Charges on the goods 69 gunny bags, 2 pagodas 2 fanams 40 cash Twine, 0 pagodas 2 fanams 0 cash Coolies for weighing, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 40 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Boat hire, 4 trips at 9 fanams a trip, 1 pagoda 0 fanams 0 cash Coolies for the same, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 60 cash Hire of tarpaulins for the same, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 0 cash Coolies for the Batavia arrack, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Coolies for 27 bags of paddy and rice at 40 cash each, 0 pagodas 20 fanams 40 cash Total for charges, 4 pagodas 26 fanams 28 cash Total, 764 pagodas 28 fanams 20 cash George Stratton signed the invoice as accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The longcloth came in three grades. A corge was a score of 20 pieces. The fine grade cost 64 pagodas a corge, about 3 pagodas 7 fanams a piece. The middling grade cost about 44 pagodas a corge, roughly 2¼ pagodas a piece. These matched closely the cheaper grades the Council had ordered from Madras on 25 May, at 3½ and 2½ pagodas a piece. The superfine pieces at the head of the invoice served the officers and the Castle. Madras was supplying the

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		4 26 28 Pagodas 764 28 20 Errors Excepted (signed) p Geo. Ballen Acct.	island's full range of needs before its order had even arrived. Washing was a charge peculiar to Indian cloth. Longcloth came from the weavers raw and stiff with starch. Before export it was washed and bleached by washermen along the river banks, to whiten it and soften the weave. The Company paid by the corge for this work, and the charge appeared on every invoice of finished cloth from the Coromandel coast. The Madras arrack cost 45 pagodas a leaguer, only a little more than the *Hector*'s 42 pagodas in February. Bengal arrack had risen to 220 rupees or more a leaguer through the same months. That was roughly 30 per cent dearer. The Madras market for Batavia arrack had stayed steadier than Calcutta's.
205	198	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 5th September Mr. Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Greenwich & Egmont to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. Muster Roll of Ship Greenwich Benjn. Hooke Commander Michl. Gallister Chief Mate Nathl. Hodges 2d Do. Saml. Copley 3 Do. Alvara Lofthouse 4 Do. Alexr. Watson 5 Do. Upinton Brace Surg. Jno. Rundall Purser Jno. Cooper Carpent. Jno. Ogilvie Boatn. Thos. Barrett Gunnr. Will. Hewlett Caulkr. Duncan Macalpine Carpr. Robt. Gibson Sailmakr. Robt. Humphreys Armour. John Griffiths Capt. Cook Jno. Strickland 2d Do. Robt. White Cooper Do. Jno. Mackay Gunnrs. Do. Gottlieb Shirlock Boatns. Do. Saml. Dixon Do. Do. Willm. Knight Ships Stewd. Hugh Macpherson Capt. Do. Jno. Scruton Capt. Cook Jno. Andrews Ships Do. Thos. Avery Butcher Wm. Blundell Midshn. Henry Bray Do. Justinian Nutt Do. Adam Spencer Midshn. Jno. Daffett Do. Coxswn. Richd. Kirkball Quarr. Master Richd. Hooker Do. Wm. Croucher Do. Thos. Grey Do. Thos. Adduley Seamen Wm. Tyson Jno. Strickland Purser Powers Kenneth Mackenzie Wm. Williams Thos. Loyd Thos. Giles Willm. Whittington Isaac North Wm. Moody Richd. White Henry Butcher Thos. Lane Geo. Willers Wm. Christie	Purling reported that he had boarded the *Greenwich* and the *Egmont* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. Their muster rolls read as follows, beginning with the *Greenwich*. Benjamin Hooke, Commander Michael Ballister, Chief Mate Nathaniel Hodges, Second Mate James Caplay, Third Mate Alexander Lofthouse, Fourth Mate Alexander Watson, Fifth Mate Upington Brace, Surgeon John Rundall, Purser John Cooper, Carpenter John Ogilvie, Boatswain Thomas Barrett, Gunner William Newsted, Caulker Duncan Macalpine, Carpenter's Mate Robert Gibson, Sailmaker Robert Humphreys, Armourer John Griffith, Carpenter's First Mate John Strickland, Carpenter's Second Mate Robert White, Cooper John Mackay, Gunner's Mate Cuthbert Shilock, Boatswain's First Mate James Dixon, Boatswain's Second Mate William Tough, Ship's Steward Hugh Macpherson, Captain's Steward John Scruton, Captain's Cook John Andrews, Ship's Cook Thomas Avery, Butcher William Blundell, Midshipman Henry [...], Midshipman Justinian Nott, Midshipman Adam Spencer, Midshipman John [...], Cooper's Mate Richard Kisball, Quartermaster Richard Hucker, Quartermaster William Croucher, Quartermaster Thomas Grey, Quartermaster Thomas [...], Seaman William Tyson, Seaman John Strickland, Seaman [...] Bowers, Seaman Kenneth Mackenzie, Seaman William Williams, Seaman Thomas Loyd, Seaman Thomas Giles, Seaman William Whittingham, Seaman Isaac North, Seaman William Moody, Seaman Richard White, Seaman Henry Butcher, Seaman Thomas Lunn, Seaman George Willers, Seaman William Christie, Seaman William [...], Seaman John Johnson, Seaman Robert Calhoun, Seaman Mark [...], Seaman John Decker, Seaman

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		Wm. Mackrell Jno. Johnson Robt. Calhoun Mark Keeze Jno. Decker Thos. Lewis Christr. Kitchen Josh. Ashley Sea[...] Thos. Kiball Christr. Jones Henry Yannan Thos. Warden James Hyde John Smith Robt. Mich. John Peter Angus Josh. Buckley Jno. Roots Jno. Waldron Saml. Weed Saml. Barnes Willm. Beers Jno. Hunter Richd. Dickinson Jno. Bailey Philip Russell Philip Marshall Saml. Gorges Willm. Simpson Jno. Maccaffry Thos. Knowles Wm. Field Danl. Dunn Wm. Hyam Wm. Johnson Jno. Owings	Thomas Lees, Seaman Christopher Kitchen, Seaman James Lesslie, Seaman Thomas [...], Seaman Christopher Jones, Seaman Henry Gannon, Seaman Thomas Warden, Seaman James [...], Seaman John Smith, Seaman Robert [...], Seaman Peter Angus, Seaman Joseph Buckley, Seaman John Roach, Seaman John Waldron, Seaman Samuel Weed, Seaman Samuel Barnes, Seaman William [...], Seaman John Hunter, Seaman Richard Dickinson, Seaman John Bailey, Seaman Philip Russell, Seaman Philip Marshall, Seaman James [...], Seaman William [...], Seaman John Maccaffry, Seaman Thomas Knowles, Seaman William Field, Seaman David Dunn, Seaman William Hyam, Seaman William Johnson, Seaman John [...], Seaman **Interpretations** The *Greenwich* had a crew of a typical Bombay ship: five mates, the usual warrant officers and tradesmen, four midshipmen and about 50 seamen. Her roll had few of the Portuguese or Asian names common in ships from Bengal and China. Bombay had its own supply of European seamen, drawn from the Company's marine and from men discharged from other ships in the harbour, so commanders there seldom needed to fill their crews with lascars. Purling mustered the two ships together, as both were due to sail soon. The *Greenwich* would carry James Black home as a charter party passenger, together with Mitchell's plan of the finished battery at Banks's. The search for deserters mattered all the more because the garrison had lost so many men that year. Any soldier hoping to slip away would find his chance in the last ships of the season.
206	199	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] 1768 Timothy Callahan Seam. George Burlison Mark Wood Michl. St. Andrew Thos. Rose Geo. England 1st Mates Servt. Henry Young 2d Do. Do. John Atkinson Surg. Do. James Pace Carpent. Do. Jona. Weedon Gunners Do. Richd. Crouch Boatns. Servt. Robt. Stewart Seamen Thos. Draper Geo. Denton Jno. Williams Passengers Mr. Wasley & Servant Mr. Fairfax & Do. Mr. Macpherson & Do. Mr. Jno. Hodges with 5 Invalids (signed) Benjn. Hooke Muster Roll of Ship Egmont	The *Greenwich*'s muster roll ended with the following men and her passengers. Timothy Callahan, Seaman George Burleson, Seaman Mark Wood, Seaman Michael St Andrew, Seaman Thomas [...], Seaman George England, First Mate's Servant Henry Young, Second Mate's Servant John Atherton, Surgeon's Servant James Pain, Carpenter's Servant Jonathan Weedon, Gunner's Servant Richard Crouch, Boatswain's Servant Robert [...], Seaman Thomas Draper, Seaman George Denton, Seaman John Williams, Seaman Passengers Mr [...] and servant Mr [...] and servant Mr Macpherson and servant Mr John Hodges 5 invalids Captain Benjamin Hooke signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Egmont* followed. Charles Mears, Commander

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		Chas. Mears Commandr. Wm. Mears Chief Mate Arthur Maxwell 2d Do. Jno. Child Purvis 3d Do. Thos. Brown 4 Do. Wm. Smith 5 Do. Andw. Carr Jno. Crowther Surgeon Adam Miller Purser Richd. Hewitt Boatn. Wm. Campbell Gunnr. Wm. Murrell Carpent. Sturges Sheeler Midshipm. Jno. Wilson Do. Jno. Harrison Do. Jas. Grove Do. Thos. Allen Do. Jas. Anderson Qr. Master Thos. Sealey Do. Jno. Bellow Do. Jno. Crawford Surg. Mate Richd. Grier Boatns. Do. Edwd. Kidd Do. 2 Do. Jno. Tuff Carpt. Do. Jno. Jones Caulker Thos. Bates Do. Mate Chas. Hutcher Cooper Geo. Gibson Ships Stewd. Dennis McDonald Do. Cook Thos. Davis Butcher Geo. Richard Capts. Stewd. Saml. Jones Do. Cook Jno. Davis Do. Servant Jno. Caesar Do. Do. Edw. Brumhall 1 Mates Ser[...] Geo. Reed Surgeons Do. Wm. Leveridge Boatns. Do. Wm. Bates Gunnrs. Do. Thos. Day Carpt. Do. Jno. Edwards Armourr. Jas. Lowe Seamen Jno. Grieve Do. Peter Duthie Edw. Williams Jno. Hollard Jno. Carroll Wm. Robinson Jno. Doney Jeffrey Hogues Nicho. Boring Wm. Ackerman	William Mears, Chief Mate Arthur Marsh, Second Mate John Child Purvis, Third Mate Thomas Bowen, Fourth Mate William Smith, Fifth Mate Andrew Carr, Sixth Mate John Crowther, Surgeon Adam Miller, Purser Richard Hewitt, Boatswain William Campbell, Gunner William Murrell, Carpenter [...] Sheeler, Midshipman John Wilson, Midshipman John Harrison, Midshipman John Grove, Midshipman Thomas Allen, Midshipman James Anderson, Quartermaster Thomas Sealey, Quartermaster John [...], Quartermaster John Crawford, Surgeon's Mate Richard Grice, Boatswain's First Mate Edward Kidd, Boatswain's Second Mate John Tuff, Carpenter's Mate John Jones, Caulker Thomas Bates, Caulker's Mate Charles [...], Cooper George Gibson, Ship's Steward Dennis McDonald, Ship's Cook Thomas Davis, Butcher George Richard, Captain's Steward Samuel Jones, Captain's Cook John Davis, Captain's Servant John Caesar, Captain's Servant Edward Brumhall, First Mate's Servant George Reid, Surgeon's Servant William Leveridge, Boatswain's Servant William Bates, Gunner's Servant Thomas Day, Carpenter's Servant John Edwards, Armourer John Lowe, Seaman John Grieve, Seaman Peter Duthie, Seaman Edward Williams, Seaman John Mallard, Seaman John Carroll, Seaman William Robinson, Seaman John [...], Seaman Jeffrey Hughes, Seaman William [...], Seaman William Ackerman, Seaman **Interpretations** The *Greenwich* carried five invalids home from Bombay. These were soldiers of the Company's Bombay army discharged as unfit for further service. The Company was bound to bring them home at its own cost, and they travelled under the ship's charter party, as James Black would. Each homeward ship that season brought a few such men, worn out by fever, wounds or the climate of India. Captain Charles Mears had William Mears as his chief mate, very probably his brother or son. It was the same family pattern seen in the *Triton* under the Elphinstones and in the *Admiral Pocock* under the Riddells. John Caesar, one of the captain's two servants, bore a classical name commonly given to black servants. Like Caesar in the *Vansittart* in June, he was probably a servant or slave brought from India.
207	200	[Ends of some lines at the right-hand edge hidden in the binding.] The 5 September Willm. Wilson Seamen Thos. Pierce Richd. Roling Adam Hall	The *Egmont*'s muster roll ended with the following men and her passengers. William Wilson, Seaman Thomas Pierce, Seaman [...] Rolling, Seaman Adam Hall, Seaman Robert Potter, Seaman

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		Robt. Potter Jno. Scott Jno. Canty Jno. Landy Edw. Wells Henry Duncan Thos. Clarke Humphy. Cox Alexr. Manson Thos. Barns Jno. Howard Henry Howard Robt. Blackburn Seam. Matt. Willson Jos. Frazer Willm. Jackson Geo. Edwards Edwd. Bunn Robt. Backer Jno. Anson Wm. Parkinson Thos. Brine Mattw. Wild Isaac Schomberg Alexr. McLane Saml. Kennedy Thos. Nurdahler Henry Birchall Jos. Sharpe Seamen Dungl. McDugal Wm. Tomlinson Clements Wiggenbotham Jno. Hopkins Jno. Berry Alexr. Shaw Richd. Evans Jno. Field Jas. Watts Jas. Bennett Geo. Hancock Thos. Harris Laurl. Johnston Paul Jones Thirty six Invalids Passengers Mrs. Taylor Mastr. Henry Taylor Mast. Jas. Taylor Miss Debrecour Miss Debrecour Mr. Spratt Mr. Devereux Mr. Tidman Mr. Drought Mast. Jno. Bellis Mast. Peter Moore Thos. Hixon Jose Silvia Flora Mrs. Taylors Servts. Miss Debrecours Do. Phill Mr. Devereux Do. (signed) Chas. Mears Lieut. Henry De Laval dying Intestate we Ordered the followi[...] Advertizement to be Published viz.	John Scott, Seaman John Canty, Seaman John Landy, Seaman Edward Wills, Seaman Henry Duncan, Seaman Thomas Clarke, Seaman Humphrey Cox, Seaman Alexander [...], Seaman Thomas [...], Seaman John Howard, Seaman Henry Howard, Seaman Robert Blackburn, Seaman Matthew Willson, Seaman John Frazer, Seaman William Jackson, Seaman George Edwards, Seaman Edward Burn, Seaman Robert [...], Seaman John Anson, Seaman William Parkinson, Seaman Thomas [...], Seaman Matthew [...], Seaman Isaac Schomberg, Seaman Alexander McLane, Seaman James Kennedy, Seaman Thomas [...], Seaman Henry Birchall, Seaman John [...], Seaman Duncan [...], Seaman William Tomlinson, Seaman Clements Higginbotham, Seaman John Hopkins, Seaman John Berry, Seaman Alexander Shaw, Seaman Richard Evans, Seaman John Field, Seaman John Watts, Seaman John Bennett, Seaman George Hancock, Seaman Thomas Harris, Seaman Lawrence Johnston, Seaman Paul Jones, Seaman 34 invalids Passengers Mrs Taylor Master Henry Taylor Master John Taylor Miss [...] Miss [...] Mr Devereux Mr [...] Mr Drought Master John [...] Master Peter Moore Thomas [...] Jose, Silvia and Flora, Mrs Taylor's servants Miss [...]'s servant Phill, Mr Devereux's servant Captain Charles Mears signed the roll. Lieutenant Henry De Laune had died without making a will, so the Council ordered the following notice to be published. **Interpretations** The *Egmont* carried 34 invalids from Madras, far more than the five in the *Greenwich*. The Madras army had been fighting almost continuously since 1767 in the war against Haidar Ali of Mysore, and wounded and broken-down soldiers were being shipped home in numbers. A Company ship sent from Madras that season would naturally carry a large draft of them. The servants were recorded by first names only: Jose, Silvia, Flora and Phill. They were very probably slaves or bonded servants bought in India, attending a returning family. Mrs Taylor travelled with her two sons and three servants, evidently a household

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			coming home from Madras, perhaps a widow or the wife of an official who had stayed behind. Lieutenant De Laune left no will. As with a will, the Council acted as the island's probate court. It would advertise for anyone with claims on his estate or debts owed to it, then gather and sell his goods and hold the balance for his heirs.
208	201	1768 St. Helena 6th September 1768 Notice is hereby given to all Persons upon the said Island that on Monday the 12 instant will be exposed at Publick Auction (for ready Money only) the Effects of the late Lieut. Henry De Laval the Sale to begin at ten o'Clock in the Morning at the House of Mr. Richd. Bagley in this Valley p Order of Council (signed) Mattw. Bazett Secy. The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ships Greenwich & Egmont viz. Account of Stores short recd. from the following Ships viz. Ship Greenwich viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 1.. 2.. 21 Rice short Weight Occasd. by Wastage the Packages being in good order 50.. 2 Paddy recd. Ship Egmont viz. Cwt. - 2.. 18 Rice short Weight 6.. - 23 Paddy Do. Occasd. by the Bags being in bad Order 2 Leaguers Arr. viz. Gall. No. 1 Gage 145 Wants to fill 12 Gall. No. 2 Do. 140 Do. 9 285 21 21 Gall. 264 Recd. (signed) p James Powell Storekeeper	The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 6 September 1768. The effects of the late Lieutenant Henry De Laune would be sold at public auction, for ready money only, on Monday 12 September. The sale would begin at ten o'clock in the morning at the house of Mr Richard Bagley in Jamestown valley. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. James Powell, the storekeeper, gave the Council an account of the stores from the *Greenwich* and the *Egmont* that came ashore short of their invoices. He signed it on 5 September 1768. From the *Greenwich*, the rice was short through wastage, the packages being in good order. Rice, short in weight by 1 cwt 2 qr 21 lb Paddy received, 50 cwt 0 qr 2 lb From the *Egmont*, the paddy was short because the bags were in bad order. Rice, short in weight by 0 cwt 2 qr 18 lb Paddy, short in weight by 6 cwt 0 qr 23 lb Arrack, cask number 1, 1 leaguer gauged at 145 gallons, lacking 12 gallons to fill it Arrack, cask number 2, 1 leaguer gauged at 140 gallons, lacking 9 gallons to fill it Arrack, total gauged 285 gallons, total lacking 21 gallons Arrack received, 264 gallons **Interpretations** The Council sold De Laune's belongings at auction because he had died without a will. Selling for ready money only turned his clothes, furniture and other goods into coin quickly. Debts owed by the dead man could then be settled and the balance held for his heirs in England. An auction in the valley gave every islander a chance to bid, which meant the goods fetched a fair price. The same method was used for estates of soldiers, settlers and passengers who died on the island. Powell distinguished carefully between the two ships' losses. The *Greenwich*'s shortfall was normal wastage in sound bags, nobody's fault. The *Egmont*'s paddy, more than 6 cwt short, was lost because its bags were in bad order. The Madras invoice had charged for 69 gunny bags, and the loss pointed to poor packing or rough handling on the long voyage by way of Mauritius. By naming the cause, Powell gave the Council grounds to claim the loss from the ship's owners or from Madras.
209	202	[End of one line at the right-hand edge partly hidden in the binding.] The 5 September John Hill and Matthew Dunhill who had been Soldiers at Madrass and came here upon the Ship Egmont applying to Us to Enter in the Garrison they appearing to be good Men we enlisted them to serve the Honble. Company as Soldiers for five Years, and gave them ten pounds Bounty Money [...] buy them Cloaths &c. 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 Powell for £350.. payable to Captn. John Williams (or Order)	John Hill and Matthew Dunhill had served as soldiers at Madras and came to the island in the *Egmont*. They asked to join the garrison. They seemed good men, so the Council enlisted them to serve the Company as soldiers for five years and gave each a bounty of £10 to buy clothes and other necessaries. The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, all payable 90 days after presentation. 1 set to Mr James Powell for £350 0s 0d, payable to Captain John Williams or his order 1 set to Mr Matthew Bazett for £600 0s 0d, payable to Captain Thomas Riddell or his order 1 set to Captain John Howard for £215 10s 0d, payable to Mrs Mary Hull or her order 1 set to Mr Robert [...] for £30 0s 0d, payable to Mr Robert Dallas or his order

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		One Set to Mr. Matthew Bazett for £300.. payable to Capt. Thos. Riddell (or Order) One Set to Capt. John Howard for £215.. 10.. payable to Mrs. Mary Hull (or Order) One Set to Mr. Robert Barclay for £30.. payable to Mr. Robt. Dallas (or Order) And One Set to Mr. Willm. Wrangham for £120.. payable to John Purling Esq. (or order) all drawn at ninety days sight Bought of Captn. Charles Mears on Account of the Honble. Company 1260 lb. Sail Rope at 2/ p Piece Amounting to £126. John Skottowe Purling	1 set to Mr William Wrangham for £120 0s 0d, payable to John Purling or his order The Council bought 1,260 pieces of salt beef from Captain Charles Mears on the Company's account, at 2s a piece, amounting to £126 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Hill and Dunhill received £10 each, the bounty the Council paid to experienced soldiers it wished to keep, not the £3 it gave to seamen leaving passing ships. They had evidently been discharged from the Madras army, perhaps among the invalids, and recovered on the voyage. Trained men who already knew drill and arms were worth a full bounty. They joined a garrison that had lost two sergeants, a gunner and several privates since the spring. Powell's bill was again payable to Captain John Williams of the *Hector*, as his bill of £200 had been in February. The repeated link points to a standing business arrangement between the storekeeper and the captain. Williams was probably investing Powell's money in trade or acting as his agent in London. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, sent £600 to Captain Riddell of the *Admiral Pocock*, which had sailed in August. That was the largest single remittance by a Company officer that season. Officers used the commanders of homeward ships as trusted agents and bankers in England. The Council had told Bengal to stop sending salt meat, but it still needed meat for the garrison and slaves. The 1,260 pieces of European beef from the *Egmont*, at the fixed price of 2s a piece, replaced the Bengal supply with better-cured meat bought from a ship that had more than she needed.
210	203	The 12 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of Septr. 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 5th Septr. 1768 Yesterday Sailed the Honble. Company's Ships Egmont and Greenwich for England Mr. Matthew Bazett & Miss Sarah Fenge this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Mattw. Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a piece of Land at Woody Ridge, that lies in the middle of the Honble. Company's Waste Land, but from the length and badness of the Fences and the want of Water for his Cattle he has never been able to make the least Use of it, Your Petitioner (notwithstanding the greatest part of the said Waste Land is very barren & Steep) should be extremely glad of Renting the same, for the Conveniency's beforementioned he therefore Requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for it And your Petitioner will ever Pray (signed) Mattw. Bazett 12th Sepr. 1768	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 12 September 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 5 September 1768. The Company's ships *Egmont* and *Greenwich* sailed for England the previous day, 11 September. Mr Matthew Bazett and Miss Sarah Fuge each presented a petition that day. Matthew Bazett's petition, dated 12 September 1768, was addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He held a piece of land at Woody Ridge that lay in the middle of the Company's waste land. Because the fences around it were so long and in such poor repair, and because there was no water for his cattle, he had never been able to make the least use of it. Most of the waste land was very barren and steep, but Bazett would be very glad to rent it, since it would make his own land usable as described. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of it. **Interpretations** Bazett's problem was common on St Helena. His land was surrounded by Company waste, with no water source and a long boundary to fence. Without water his cattle could not graze there, and without a sound fence the settlers' goats would strip whatever he planted. Leasing the waste around it would bring a spring or stream within his bounds and let him fence a larger, more compact holding at less cost per acre. The barren ground itself had little value. Its worth lay in making his own land workable. The request recalls the dispute over the Sandy Bay common in March. Margaret Alcock's petition for waste land there was refused because neighbours used it for grazing and access. Woody Ridge was different. Bazett described the waste as steep and

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			barren, and no other settler's interest appeared to be at stake. The Council would still need to have the land inspected, as it did with every new grant, before deciding. The *Egmont* and the *Greenwich* left together on 11 September, the last Company ships of the season. They carried James Black home and the Council's report on Banks's battery, and a large draft of invalid soldiers from Madras and Bombay.
211	204	[Ends of two lines at the right-hand edge partly hidden in the binding.] The 12 September To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Sarah Fenge Sheweth That there is small piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land in Sandy Bay adjoining to your Petitioner, which she is desirous of hiring, humbly requests that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant her a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray 12th Septr. 1768 Ordered the said Lands to be Viewed Thomas Watts Matross this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted tim[...] Granted The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of Augus[...] last were this day brought in, which were examined, and approved & are as follow viz.	Sarah Fuge presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 12 September 1768. A small piece of the Company's waste land at Sandy Bay lay next to her own, and she wished to rent it. She asked the Governor and Council to grant her a lease of it. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. Thomas Watts, a matross, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of his engagement. The Council granted his request. The gunner's and steward's accounts for August were presented, examined and approved. They read as follows. **Interpretations** The Council ordered Sarah Fuge's land to be inspected before granting it, and the location explains the caution. The waste was at Sandy Bay, the district where the Council had refused Margaret Alcock's petition for adjoining waste in March. Samuel Alexander and the inspection by Kirkpatrick had shown then that the settlers there depended on the small common for grazing and access. The Council had referred the whole question of the South Division's commons to the Court. It could not grant another piece of Sandy Bay waste without first checking that the same objections did not apply. The minutes recorded no order for an inspection on Matthew Bazett's petition for the waste at Woody Ridge, entered just before. As secretary to the Council, he may have been expected to wait for its decision without a formal order. Alternatively, the Council may have judged his steep, barren ground, with no neighbours' use at stake, to need less inquiry. Thomas Watts was the matross of that name in the Artillery Company. His discharge was another loss to the gunners in a year when the artillery had already lost a sergeant, a bombardier, a gunner and several matrosses.
212	205	1768 Artillery Stores Expended in August 1768 Guns fired, Shot Do., 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expend. lb, Powder Expend. oz 1st Powder to Shoot Goats at different times: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 13, Powder Expend. oz 4 3d Do. for the Funeral of Jno. Newton Soldr.: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 2, Powder Expend. oz 4 Do. for the Lascars at Sandy Bay at diff. times: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Do. To the Men in the Boats at Do.: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 18, Powder Expend. oz 0 9th Do. for the funeral of Lieut. Henry De Laval: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 4, Powder Expend. oz 8 10 Do. to Prepare the Cartridges at the main Guard: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 0, Powder Expend. oz 13 13 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in August 1768 recorded the guns fired, the shot fired, the 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 1 August, powder for shooting goats at different times: powder 13 lb 4 oz 3 August, powder for the funeral of Newton, soldier: powder 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the [...] at Sandy Bay at different times: powder 12 lb 0 oz Powder for the men in the boats at Sandy Bay: powder 18 lb 0 oz 9 August, powder for the funeral of Lieutenant Henry De Laune: powder 4 lb 8 oz 10 August, powder to repair the cartridges at the main guard: powder 0 lb 13 oz 13 August, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 13 August, arrival of a Dutch ship: guns fired 9, shot 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 14 August, guns fired in salute to Mr Corneille going on board: guns fired 17, shot 0, 4-pounders 3,

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		Arrived a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 9, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 6, Powder Expend. oz 12 14 Guns fired to Salute Mr. Corneille going on board: Guns fired 17, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 16, Powder Expend. oz 14 Departed the Pocock: Guns fired 9, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 6, Powder Expend. oz 12 22 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Arrived the Greenwich: Guns fired 10, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 10, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 7, Powder Expend. oz 8 24 Departed a Dutch Ship: Guns fired 11, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 3, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 7, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 12 Priming for all the above Salutes: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 11, Powder Expend. oz 0 Powder for the Works at Purlings Battery: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Do. for the Do. at Mundens Point: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 100, Powder Expend. oz 0 31 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Powder for Signals at diff. times: Guns fired 0, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 1, Powder Expend. oz 0 Total: Guns fired 74, Shot Do. 0, 4 Pr 12, 3 Pr 8, 2 Pr 48, 1 Pr 6, Powder Expend. lb 251, Powder Expend. oz 7 Tallow for different Uses at different times 43 lb. Lead Ball to shoot Goats at Do. 10 4 Paper for Different uses 7 Quire Bitts Expend. at the main Fort Prs. 2 2 Handspikes Do. at different places 13 Tompions Do. at Purlings Battery 18 2 9th Recd. one Barl. of Powder from Ship Admil. Pocock (signed) Ar. Mitchell	3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 16 lb 14 oz 14 August, departure of the *Admiral Pocock*: guns fired 9, shot 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz 22 August, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 22 August, arrival of the *Greenwich*: guns fired 10, shot 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 10, 1-pounders 0; powder 7 lb 8 oz 24 August, departure of a Dutch ship: guns fired 11, shot 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 7, 1-pounders 0; powder 12 lb 12 oz Priming for all the above salutes: powder 11 lb 0 oz Powder for the works at Purling's battery: powder 12 lb 0 oz Powder for the works at Munden's Point: powder 100 lb 0 oz 31 August, an alarm: guns fired 6, shot 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz Powder for signals at different times: powder 1 lb 0 oz Total: guns fired 74, shot 0, 4-pounders 12, 3-pounders 8, 2-pounders 48, 1-pounders 6; powder 251 lb 7 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during August. Tallow for different uses at different times, 43 lb Lead balls for shooting goats at different times, 10 lb 4 oz Paper for different uses, 7 quires [...] used at the main fort, 2 Handspikes used at different places, 13 Tompions for 18-pounders at Purling's battery, 2 Received 9 August, 1 barrel of powder from the Admiral Pocock Archibald Mitchell signed the return. **Interpretations** The island fired a salute of 17 guns for Corneille as he went aboard on 14 August 1768, the day the *Admiral Pocock* sailed. That confirms he left in her, carrying his case to the Court in person. He had resigned his office three weeks earlier, yet the garrison still gave him a salute fitting a Lieutenant Governor, more than the nine guns given to a Company ship. The honour paid in public matched the Council's finding that he left with his name fully cleared. The return mentioned Purling's battery for the first time, where 18-pounders were being fitted with tompions and powder was being used for the works. It was evidently a new or rebuilt battery named after the councillor, following the custom of naming works after the island's officers, as Banks's and Munden's had been named after earlier men. Blasting at Munden's Point took 100 lb of powder, less than in July as the work there moved from cutting rock to building. Both funerals of the month were marked with volleys: Newton, the private who died on 3 August, and Lieutenant De Laune, who died on 8 August. An officer's funeral used twice the powder of a private's.
213	206	[End of one line at the right-hand edge partly hidden in the binding.] The 12 September Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Compys. Table in August 1768 To 2 Bottles Port Wine " 3 18 Do. Lisbon 1 7 10 Do. Mountain	The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in August 1768. 2 bottles of port wine, £0 3s 0d 18 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 7s 0d 10 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 15s 0d 12 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d 24 gallons of arrack, £6 0s 0d 212 lb of beef, £4 8s 4d 250 lb of mutton, £5 4s 2d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d

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		" 15 12 Do. Beer " 2 6 24 Gall. Arr. 6 " - 211 lb. Beef 4 8 4 250 lb. Mutton 5 4 2 2 Lambs 1 " - 2 Kids " 10 - 3 Turkeys " 15 - 6 Ducks " 9 - 12 Fowls " 18 - 100 lb. Candy 2 1 8 300 lb. Flour 2 16 3 £ 26 9 11 We this day executed a Lease to Mr. John Alexander for forty Acres of Land lying in the West Division at 2/6 p Ac. for fourteen Years of the remaining Seven Years at 5/ p Ac. and likewise renewed a Lease to the Executo[...] to the last Will and Testament of Thos. Colgrave decd. for two pieces of Land lying in the East Division of the said Island containing fourteen Ac. at 5/ p Ac. John Skottowe Purling	2 kids, £0 10s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 100 lb of sugar candy, £2 1s 8d 300 lb of flour, £2 16s 3d Total, £26 9s 11d The Council executed a lease to Mr John Alexander for 40 acres of land in the West Division. The rent was 2s 6d an acre for 14 years and 5s an acre for the remaining seven years. It also renewed a lease to the executors of the will of Thomas Cadgrove, deceased, for two pieces of land totalling 14 acres in the East Division, at 5s an acre. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Arrack at the Company's table fell to 24 gallons in August, the first month all year below the usual 30. The change came in the same weeks as the Council's new rules on drink and the departure of Corneille, whose household had shared in the hospitality of the Castle. It may also reflect the quiet winter, with only the *Admiral Pocock* and the *Greenwich* calling and few guests to entertain. John Alexander's lease ran for 21 years on a rising rent. For the first 14 years he would pay only 2s 6d an acre, half the usual rate, and the full 5s for the last seven. The low early rent encouraged him to spend his own money and labour clearing, fencing and planting rough ground, which the Company would gain from later. Forty acres was a large holding by St Helena standards. A long lease on easy terms was the Council's way of bringing new land into cultivation without granting it outright. The Cadgrove lease renewed the holding George Alexander had applied for on 4 July 1768 on behalf of Thomas Cadgrove's orphans. The petition was granted then, and the lease was now formally executed.
214	207	The 19 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of Septr. 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Govern. Mr. Mattw. Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 12th Sept. 1768 Friday the 16 Died James Long Centinel Mr. John Desfountain Senr. this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipfull John Skottowe Esq. Govern. &c. Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of Jno. Desfountain Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land lying on a Hill facing Woody Ridge adjoining to your Petitioners own Land which he is desirous of hiring humbly requests that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) John Desfountain 19th Septr. 1768 As the abovementioned piece of Land is the same as Mr. Bazett Petitioned for last Monday we Agreed to view it	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 19 September 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling, of the Council Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 12 September 1768. James Long, a private, died on Friday 16 September. Mr John Desfountain senior presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 19 September 1768. A piece of the Company's waste land lay on a hill facing Woody Ridge, next to his own land, and he wished to rent it. He asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of it. John Desfountain signed the petition. The land was the same piece that Mr Bazett had petitioned for the previous Monday, so the Council agreed to inspect it. **Interpretations** Two settlers now claimed the same piece of waste at Woody Ridge. Matthew Bazett had asked for it on 12 September, saying it would make his own enclosed land usable by giving it water and a manageable fence. A week later John Desfountain, whose land also adjoined it, asked for the same ground. The Council had made no order for an inspection on Bazett's petition alone. A rival claim made one necessary. As with Margaret Alcock and John Scott at Sandy Bay in February, the Council would have to weigh which neighbour had the better claim, or whether the land should stay as waste. Desfountain was the witness whose evidence in July had exposed Kirkpatrick's attempt to draft his testimony. He was now competing for land with the

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			secretary of the Council, Matthew Bazett, a member of the island's most powerful family. An inspection on the ground gave the Council a neutral basis for its decision, which it would need if it was to be seen to judge fairly between the two. James Long was a private of the Third Company. His death was the fourth in the garrison since early August, in the cold, wet weeks at the end of the southern winter.
215	208	The 19 September As Blacks frequently Abscond from their Owners for a long time and support themselves by thieving and doing a great deal of mischief to the Inhabitants we therefore in order to prevent this Evil, Ordered the following Advertisement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 19th September 1768 Whereas Toney a Man slave belonging to Mr. Isaac Dowlon has Absconded from his Master for some Months past and living by Robbery & Plunder, In order therefore to put a stop to this publick mischief. This is to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island that whoever will secure the said Black and bring him to the Jail shall receive a Reward of £3.. One third part to be paid by the Honble. Company, one by the Parish & the other third by the Owner of the said Slave And when ever any Slave or Slaves shall in future Absent themselves from his or their Owner for a longer time than fourteen days the reward of £3.. for each Slave shall be paid to the Person or Persons who shall apprehend & secure them as aforesaid p Order of Council (signed) Mw. Bazett Secy. Counted and Examined the Honble. Compys. Cash for the Month of August last, which is as follows viz.	Slaves often ran away from their owners for long periods and lived by stealing, doing great harm to the inhabitants. To stop this, the Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 19 September 1768. Tony, a slave belonging to Mr Jonas Doveton, had run away from his master some months earlier and was living by robbery and plunder. To end this public nuisance, anyone on the island who caught him and brought him to the gaol would receive a reward of £5. The Company, the parish and the slave's owner would each pay one third. In future, whenever any slave stayed away from an owner for more than 14 days, a reward of £5 for each slave would be paid to whoever caught and secured that slave in the same way. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for August 1768. **Interpretations** A runaway slave on St Helena could not leave the island, but the steep, wooded interior offered places to hide for months. Such men survived by raiding gardens, stock and storehouses. The Council could have left the matter to Doveton to deal with privately. Instead it treated Tony's escape as a public problem and divided the reward three ways. The Company paid because thieving affected its plantations and stores. The parish paid because the settlers as a whole suffered. The owner paid because he recovered his property. The second part of the notice turned a single case into a standing rule. Any slave missing for more than 14 days now carried a £5 reward. That was a large sum, more than a private soldier earned in a quarter, and it gave soldiers, settlers and free blacks every reason to hunt down runaways. The same year had already seen the attempted escape by boat of four Madagascar men in April. Patna's flight in a King's ship had also been revealed in May. The reward completed a set of controls that included the pass system for slaves carrying goods, introduced in February. The Council was steadily tightening its hold over the island's slave population.
216	209	Cash Dr. 1768 Augt. 1st To Balance Remaining£ 7778 " 9 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable Court of Directors payable to Mattw. Brightwell 189 1 7 8th To Do. for five Sets Do. drawn as above payable as follows viz. One Set to Capt. Rd. Dowlon £ 437 14 - One Do. to Jno. Purling Esq. 450 " - One Do. to Danl. Corneille Esq. 400 " - One Do. to Mr. Hugh Jones 368 12 6 One Do. to Sir Jno. Riddell & Thomas Stratfield Esq. 280 " - 1936 6 6	The Council's cash account for August 1768 read as follows. Cash, debit 1 August 1768, balance remaining, £7,778 0s 9d Received in exchange for 1 set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Matthias Brightwell, £189 1s 7d 8 August 1768, received in exchange for 5 sets of bills on the Court of Directors 1 set payable to Captain Richard Doveton, £487 14s 0d 1 set payable to John Purling, £450 0s 0d 1 set payable to Daniel Corneille, £400 0s 0d 1 set payable to Mr Hugh Jones, £368 12s 6d 1 set payable to Sir John Riddell and Thomas Stratfield, £280 0s 0d Total for the 5 sets of bills, £1,986 6s 6d 12 August 1768, received from the ship *Admiral Pocock*, £10 16s 2d

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		12th To Ship Adml. Pocock 10 16 2 15th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors payable to Messrs. Muir, Son & Atkinson 500 " - £ 10464 5 - Per Contra Cr. 1768 Augt. 31st By Balance remaining viz. In Specie£ 9924 10 - In Cash Notes 539 15 - £ 10464 5 - John Skottowe Purling	15 August 1768, received in exchange for 1 set of bills on the Court of Directors payable to Messrs Mure, Son and Atkinson, £500 0s 0d Total, £10,464 5s 0d Cash, credit 31 August 1768, balance remaining in coin, £9,924 10s 0d 31 August 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £10,464 5s 0d Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the account. **Interpretations** The *Admiral Pocock*'s week in the road brought the treasury more coin than any month since May. Seven sets of bills were drawn in August, worth almost £2,700 in all. The departing Corneille, the councillors, a merchant, the ship's commander and a passenger family all turned their coin into paper on London before she sailed. The treasury's coin rose from £7,238 to £9,924 in a single month, with nothing paid out. The timing was fortunate for the Council. The next quarter's pay, more than £3,000 for the garrison and civil officers, would fall due at the end of September. No more Company ships were expected until the spring, and the *Egmont* and the *Greenwich* had already left. The late ships of the season had filled the treasury with enough coin to carry the island through the end of the southern winter and the following quarter. Hugh Jones paid in £368 12s 6d on 8 August, the same day he was fined £10 for selling arrack by retail. A man able to remit such a sum was clearly a trader of substance. To him the fine was a trivial cost of doing business, while Thomas Yates, fined for the same offence, could pay only £5 of the £20 he owed.
217	210	The 26 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th day of September 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 19 Septem. 1768 Tuesday the 20th Died Henry Beale Inhabitant Mr. Purling reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for by Miss Sarah Fenge and thinks that letting the same will not be prejudicial either to the Company or the Neighbourhood, but as the said Land is barren in part and very indifferent on the whole he judges it worth not more than one Shilling p Acre Agreed to Rent the said Land at 1/ p Acre Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 26th Sepr. 1768 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island that if any of them have demands upon the Estate of the late Lieut. Henry Delaval that they are hereby required to send in their respective Accounts to Capt. Jno. Howard on or before the 1st day of October next and all Persons Indebted to the said Lieut. Delaval's Estate are required to pay the same to Capt. Howard at the time beforementioned p Order of Council (signed) M. Bazett Secy.	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 26 September 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 19 September 1768. Henry Beale, an inhabitant, died on Tuesday 20 September. Purling reported that he had inspected the land Sarah Fuge had petitioned for. He thought leasing it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbourhood. The land was partly barren and very poor overall, however, so he judged it worth no more than 1s an acre. The Council agreed to let the land at 1s an acre. The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 26 September 1768. Any inhabitant with claims on the estate of the late Lieutenant Henry De Laune was to send an account of them to Captain John Howard on or before 1 October. Anyone who owed money to the estate was to pay it to Captain Howard by the same date. Matthew Bazett, secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. **Interpretations** Sarah Fuge's land lay at Sandy Bay, where the Council had refused Margaret Alcock in March because the neighbours depended on the common. This time the inspection found no such objection. Purling judged that a lease would hurt neither the Company nor the neighbourhood, so the Council granted it. The petitions were treated alike: each was tested on the ground, and the answer turned on whether others' use of the land would suffer. The rent of 1s an acre, a fifth of the East Division rate, reflected Purling's view of poor, partly barren ground.

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			The Council set rents by the land's real value, not by a single scale. Captain John Howard commanded the Fourth Company, in which De Laune had been the only lieutenant. He took charge of his dead officer's estate as administrator, collecting debts owed to it and paying its creditors from the money raised at the auction on 12 September. The short deadline let the account be closed and the balance sent to De Laune's heirs in England in the next ships. Kirkpatrick returned to the Board for the first time since July. The quarter's pay was due within days, and as paymaster he could not stay away.
218	211	1768 Thomas Palmer and George Fennes two Men left here from the Ship Greenwich, applying to be Enlisted in the Garrison, We Entertained them to serve the Honble. Company as Soldiers for five Years, & gave Palmer five Pounds and Fennes two pounds ten Shillings, to buy them Cloaths &ca. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Friday the 30th day of September 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Govern. Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 26 Sept. 1768 Pursuant to an Order in Consultation of the 29th of August last the Planters this day attended to pay their Rents & Revenues due to the Honble. Company for the Year past which amounts to £599.. 16.. 11½ 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 8½, £ 11, s 1, d 6 Jno. Alexander 15½ Ac. @ 1/ & 40 @ 2/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7¼, Lease Land 110¾, £ 23, s 3, d 6 George Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 28, Lease Land 58, £ 15, s 18, d 0 Margaret Alcock 14 @ 20/ p Ann. 8¼ @ 1/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 3/6, Free Land 30, Lease Land 33½, £ 11, s 3, d 9 Carrd. over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 165¾, Lease Land 233¾, £ 61, s 6, d 9	The Council enlisted Thomas Palmer and George Townes, two men who had stayed behind from the *Greenwich*, at their request to serve the Company as soldiers for five years. It gave Palmer £5 and Townes £3 10s 0d to buy clothes and other necessaries. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Friday 30 September 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 26 September 1768. Under the order made at the consultation of 29 August, the planters attended that day to pay the rents and dues owed to the Company for the past year. These came to £599 16s 11½d. The rent roll recorded the ground rent, the acres of freehold land and of leasehold land held by each planter, and the sum paid, as follows. Samuel Alexander: ground rent 0, freehold land 34 acres, leasehold land 3½ acres, £11 1s 6d John Alexander, 15½ acres at 1s and 40 acres at 2s 6d: ground rent 0, freehold land [...] acres, leasehold land [...] acres, £23 3s 6d George Alexander: ground rent 0, freehold land 28 acres, leasehold land 58 acres, £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, 11¼ acres at 20s a year and 8¼ acres at 1s an acre: ground rent 2s 6d, freehold land 30 acres, leasehold land [...] acres, £11 3s 9d Carried forward: freehold land [...] acres, leasehold land [...] acres, £61 6s 9d **Interpretations** The two men from the *Greenwich* received different bounties, £5 and £3 10s 0d. The Council evidently judged their worth separately, perhaps by their age, fitness or past service, rather than paying a flat rate to every man who stayed behind from a ship. The year's rents came to almost £600, close to the £593 9s 4d recorded for the previous year. The rent roll distinguished freehold land, which planters held outright on payment of a small fixed charge, from leasehold land rented from the Company for a term of years. The planters' own signed returns of their families, lands and cattle, due by 20 September, provided the figures, which the Council checked against its registers before collecting the money. Margaret Alcock held a sizeable estate in her own right: 30 acres freehold, besides leased land and a ground rent. This was the same woman whose petition for the Sandy Bay common the Council had refused in March, and her holding there explains why she sought to extend it. Samuel Alexander, who led the opposition to her claim, appears on the same page of the roll. The neighbours who had disputed the common paid their rents side by side on the same day.

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219	212	The 30 September Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 165¾, Lease Land 233¾, £ 61, s 6, d 9 Onesiphs. Beales Orps.: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 10, Lease Land 13½, £ 4, s 8, d 0 Richard Beale Senr. 5 Ac. @ 4/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 41¼, Lease Land 38½, £ 11, s 13, d 8½ John Bagley: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 36, £ 9, s 0, d 0 Richard Bagley 12 Ac. @ 5/ p Ac. 3 Ac. @ 1/6 p Ac. 4¼ Ac. @ 1/ p Ac. 12¾ @ 5/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 19/2, Free Land 126, Lease Land 182½, £ 49, s 12, d 11 Orlando Bagley Senr. 4 @ 1/6 p Ac. 21 Ac. @ 2/6 p Ac. 16¾ @ 4/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 72½, Lease Land 112, £ 27, s 10, d 3 Matthew Bazett 15 Ac. @ 1/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 19/, Free Land 142, Lease Land 68, £ 31, s 12, d 0 Henry Bazett 8 Ac. @ 4/ p Ac. 4½ @ 2/6 p Ac. 5 Ac. @ 1/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 35/, Free Land 65, Lease Land 49½, £ 15, s 10, d 9 Orlando Bagley Junr. 17 Ac. @ 1/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 63, £ 12, s 8, d 6 William Burnham's Orps.: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 14½, Lease Land 7½, £ 3, s 2, d 0 Thomas Burnham: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14½, Lease Land 7½, £ 2, s 12, d 0 William Bede: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 38¾, Lease Land 17¼, £ 6, s 5, d 0 Robert Ballard: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 15½, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s 8, d 6 George Bird: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 James Colgrave: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 3, Lease Land 57½, £ 14, s 10, d 6 Ruth Colgrave: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10½, Lease Land 35¼, £ 8, s 19, d 0 Joseph Chamberlain: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 John Dowlons Orps.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 86½, Lease Land 8, £ 6, s 6, d 6 Jonathan Dowlon: Ground Rent 17/4, Free Land 128¼, Lease Land 4, £ 8, s 6, d 1 Isaac Dowlon: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 77¼, Lease Land 9½, £ 6, s 5, d 3 John Desfountain Senr. 3 Ac. @ 4/ p Ac. 7¼ Ac. @ 2/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 98¼, Lease Land 58¼, £ 18, s 9, d 10½ John Desfountain Junr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 41½, £ 10, s 18, d 9 Elizabeth Desfountain: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 29¼, £ 7, s 16, d 3 Samuel Desfountain: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 5, d 0 Henry Easthorpe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14, Lease Land 28, £ 7, s 14, d 0 James Easthorpe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 11, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s 11, d 0 Sarah Fenge: 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 0, Free Land 49, Lease Land 27, £ 9, s 4, d 0 Carrd. Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1204, Lease Land 1143½, £ 337, s 1, d 7	The rent roll continued from the totals carried forward. Brought forward: freehold land 165¾ acres, leasehold land 233¾ acres, £61 6s 9d Orphans of Onesiphorus Beale: ground rent 10s 6d, freehold land 10 acres, leasehold land 13½ acres, £4 8s 0d Richard Beale senior, 5 acres at 4s an acre: ground rent 5s, freehold land 41¼ acres, leasehold land 38½ acres, £11 13s 8½d John Bagley: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 36 acres, £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley, 12 acres at 1s, 3 acres at 1s 6d, 4¼ acres at 1s and 12½ acres at 3s an acre: ground rent 19s 2d, freehold land 126½ acres, leasehold land 182½ acres, £49 12s 11d Orlando Bagley senior, 4 acres at 1s 6d, 21 acres at 2s 6d and 16¼ acres at 4s an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 7¾ acres, leasehold land 112 acres, £27 10s 3d Matthew Bazett, 15 acres at 1s an acre: ground rent 19s, freehold land 142 acres, leasehold land 68 acres, £21 12s 0d Henry Bazett, 8 acres at 4s, 4½ acres at 2s 6d and 5 acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 35s, freehold land 65 acres, leasehold land 49½ acres, £15 10s 9d Orlando Bagley junior, 17 acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 63 acres, £12 8s 6d Orphans of William Burnham: ground rent 10s, freehold land 14½ acres, leasehold land 7½ acres, £3 2s 0d Thomas Burnham: ground rent 0, freehold land 14½ acres, leasehold land 7½ acres, £2 12s 0d William Bede: ground rent 0, freehold land 38¾ acres, leasehold land 17¼ acres, £6 5s 0d Robert Ballard: ground rent 13s, freehold land 15½ acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £1 8s 6d George Bird: ground rent 15s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 15s 0d James Colgrave: ground rent 0, freehold land 3 acres, leasehold land 57½ acres, £14 10s 6d Ruth Colgrave: ground rent 0, freehold land 10½ acres, leasehold land 33¾ acres, £8 19s 0d Joseph Chamberlain: ground rent 15s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 15s 0d Orphans of John Doveton: ground rent 0, freehold land 86½ acres, leasehold land 8 acres, £6 6s 6d Jonathan Doveton: ground rent 17s 6d, freehold land 128½ acres, leasehold land 4 acres, £8 6s 1d Isaac Doveton: ground rent 0, freehold land 77½ acres, leasehold land 9½ acres, £6 5s 3d John Desfountain senior, 3 acres at 4s and 7¼ acres at 2s 6d an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 98½ acres, leasehold land 58¼ acres, £18 9s 10½d John Desfountain junior: ground rent 0, freehold land 10 acres, leasehold land 41½ acres, £10 18s 9d Elizabeth Desfountain: ground rent 0, freehold land 10 acres, leasehold land 29¼ acres, £7 16s 3d Samuel Desfountain: ground rent 5s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 5s 0d Henry Easthope: ground rent 0, freehold land 14 acres, leasehold land 28 acres, £7 14s 0d James Easthope: ground rent 0, freehold land 11 acres, leasehold land 8 acres, £2 11s 0d Sarah Fuge: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 4 acres, £1 0s 0d Michael Frost: ground rent 15s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin: ground rent 0, freehold land 49 acres, leasehold land 27 acres, £9 4s 0d Carried forward: freehold land 1,204½ acres, leasehold land 1,143½ acres, £339 1s 7d **Interpretations**

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			The roll shows how land on St Helena was spread among a few settler families. The Bagleys, Bazetts, Dovetons and Desfountains each held several holdings across branches of the family. Richard Bagley alone held more than 300 acres and paid nearly £50, the largest sum on the page. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, held 142 acres freehold and 68 leasehold. His petition of 12 September for the waste at Woody Ridge was meant to extend an estate already among the island's biggest. Freehold land paid a small fixed quit-rent and leasehold land a higher rent per acre, at rates varying with quality and district, from 1s to 4s an acre. The details given against several names show holdings let at different rates in the same estate. Each plot's rent had been fixed when it was granted, according to the inspector's view of its worth, as with Sarah Fuge's poor ground at 1s an acre. Ground rent was paid by people with small town plots in Jamestown rather than farmland. Officers such as Michael Frost and Samuel Desfountain, both lieutenants, appear only with ground rents, for their houses in the valley. Several holdings were entered for orphans, managed for minors by executors, as with the Harper and Cadgrove children. Elizabeth Desfountain, Ruth Colgrave, Sarah Fuge and Margaret Alcock show again that women held land in their own right on the island.
220	213	1768 Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1204, Lease Land 1143½, £ 331, s 1, d 7 John Goodwin: Ground Rent 10/6, Free Land 69½, Lease Land 28, £ 10, s 18, d 0 Elizabeth Greentree 33½ Ac. @ 4/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 55, Lease Land 60, £ 16, s 6, d 6 James Greentree: Ground Rent 29/3, Free Land 69½, Lease Land 55, £ 18, s 4, d 9 Onesips. Gurlings Orps. 9 Ac. @ 1/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 9, £ 1, s 16, d 6 Thomas Harpers Orps.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 19¼, Lease Land 46½, £ 12, s 13, d 6 George Hayes: 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 Henry Harper: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 Gabriel Harper 6 Ac. @ 1/ Ac. 4¾ Ac. @ 2/ p Ac. for 3 Months: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 40, Lease Land 10¾, £ 2, s 9, d 7 John Jacks: Ground Rent 16, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 16, d 0 Elisha Isaack: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 5, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Gabriel Isaacke: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick: Ground Rent 39/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 14, £ 5, s 9, d 0 Isaacke Knipe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 23½, £ 7, s 7, d 6 William Kennedys Orps.: Ground Rent 17/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 17, d 0 Thomas Leech: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 Elizabeth Lamb: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Benjamin Mason 3 Ac. @ 1/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 15/8, Free Land 42, Lease Land 84¼, £ 18, s 10, d 5 Roderick Merchant: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6	The rent roll continued from the totals carried forward. Brought forward: freehold land 1,204 acres, leasehold land 1,143½ acres, £331 1s 7d John Goodwin: ground rent 10s 6d, freehold land 6½ acres, leasehold land 28 acres, £10 18s 0d Elizabeth Greentree, 33½ acres at 4s an acre: ground rent 5s, freehold land 55 acres, leasehold land 60 acres, £16 6s 6d James Greentree: ground rent 29s 3d, freehold land 69½ acres, leasehold land 55 acres, £18 4s 9d Orphans of Onesiphorus Gurling, 9 acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 23 acres, leasehold land 9 acres, £1 16s 6d Orphans of Thomas Harper: ground rent 0, freehold land 19¼ acres, leasehold land 46½ acres, £12 13s 6d George Hayes: ground rent 0, freehold land 30 acres, leasehold land 4 acres, £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper: ground rent 0, freehold land 10 acres, leasehold land 26 acres, £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper: ground rent 10s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 10s 0d William Hayes: ground rent 10s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 10s 0d Henry Harper: ground rent 12s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 12s 0d Gabriel Harper, 6 acres at 1s and 4½ acres at 2s an acre for 3 months: ground rent 0, freehold land 40 acres, leasehold land 10¾ acres, £2 9s 7d John Jacks: ground rent 16s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 16s 0d Elisha Isaacke: ground rent 0, freehold land 25 acres, leasehold land 5 acres, £2 10s 0d Gabriel Isaacke: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 8 acres, £2 0s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick: ground rent 39s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 14 acres, £5 9s 0d Isaacke Knipe: ground rent 0, freehold land 30 acres, leasehold land 23½ acres, £7 7s 6d Orphans of William Kennedy: ground rent 17s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 17s 0d Thomas Leech: ground rent 12s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Lamb: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 10 acres, £2 10s 0d

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		Matthew Purling 12¼ Ac. @ 1/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 28/2, Free Land 205, Lease Land 108¼, £ 36, s 6, d 8 James Powell: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 3, d 0 John Price: Ground Rent 35/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s 15, d 0 John Pritchard: 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 28½ Ac. @ 1/6: Ground Rent 8/, Free Land 41¼, Lease Land 41½, £ 7, s 17, d 0 Solomon St. Maurice: Ground Rent 45/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 2, s 5, d 0 William Seale 5½ Ac. @ 1/6 p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7, Lease Land 36, £ 8, s 7, d 9 Benjn. Seale 4 Ac. @ 4/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 14¼, £ 2, s 15, d 3 John Seale's Orps.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 7½, £ 2, s 7, d 6 Carrd. Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1879, Lease Land 1735½, £ 508, s 1, d 0	Benjamin Mason, 5 acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 15s 8d, freehold land 42 acres, leasehold land 84¼ acres, £18 10s 5d Roderick Merchant: ground rent 2s 6d, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 2s 6d Matthew Purling, 12¼ acres at 4s an acre: ground rent 28s 2d, freehold land 205 acres, leasehold land 108¾ acres, £36 6s 8d James Powell: ground rent 3s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 3s 0d John Price: ground rent 35s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £1 15s 0d John Pritchard: ground rent 10s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 10s 0d James Pritchard: ground rent 7s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 7s 0d John Robinson, 28½ acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 8s, freehold land 41¼ acres, leasehold land 41½ acres, £7 17s 0d Solomon St Maurice: ground rent 45s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £2 5s 0d William Seale, 5½ acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 7 acres, leasehold land 36 acres, £8 7s 9d Benjamin Seale, 4 acres at 4s an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 14¼ acres, £2 15s 3d Orphans of John Seale: ground rent 0, freehold land 10 acres, leasehold land 7½ acres, £2 7s 6d Carried forward: freehold land 1,879 acres, leasehold land 1,735¾ acres, £508 1s 0d **Interpretations** Purling held the largest estate on this page and one of the largest on the island: 205 acres freehold and nearly 109 leasehold, for a rent of more than £36. A councillor's landholding was a source of wealth as well as a stake in the island. It helps explain the large sums Purling sent home by bills during the year, £250 in May and £450 in August. Kirkpatrick appears with only 14 acres of leasehold and a ground rent for his house in town. Unlike Purling and the Bazetts, the paymaster was not a planter of any size. He depended on his pay as captain, councillor and paymaster, which may have made the prospect of losing those posts after the July censure all the more serious for him. The entry for Gabriel Harper records 4½ acres at 2s an acre for only three months. Rent was charged from the date a lease began, so new holdings paid only for part of the year. Harper had taken over St Maurice's land on 4 July and the Powell's Valley lease in August. The roll followed every change in landholding through the year to the exact quarter. The orphans of William Kennedy paid a ground rent for a house in Jamestown, the punch house whose licence, held by Kennedy's widow, had been withdrawn in July. By the foot of this page the roll had accounted for £508 1s 0d of the year's £599 16s 11½d, with the remaining holdings still to be entered. The freehold and leasehold land counted so far came to more than 3,600 acres, most of the island's cultivated ground.
221	214	The 30 September Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, d Brought over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1879, Lease Land 1735½, £ 508, s 1, d 0 Martha Scott: Ground Rent 12/5, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 5 Nathan Sample: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 8½, £ 3, s 7, d 6 John Scott 19½ Ac. @ 2/ p Ac. for 1 Month: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 19½, £ 0, s 3, d 3 John Shirtley: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 13, d 0	The rent roll ended with the following holdings. Brought forward: freehold land 1,879 acres, leasehold land 1,735¾ acres, £508 1s 0d Martha Scott: ground rent 12s 5d, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 12s 5d Nathan Semple: ground rent 0, freehold land 25 acres, leasehold land 8½ acres, £3 7s 6d John Scott, 19½ acres at 2s an acre for 1 month: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 19½ acres, £0 3s 3d John Shirley: ground rent 13s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 13s 0d

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		Jeremiah Smith: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 15, d 0 James Torbetts Orps.: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 John Twaits Orps.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 9, Lease Land 32½, £ 9, s 1, d 6 John Worrall: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 31, Lease Land 33, £ 9, s 16, d 0 John Worralls Orps.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 42½, £ 10, s 12, d 6 William Wrangham 3 Ac. @ 1/ p Ac.: Ground Rent 26/6, Free Land 144, Lease Land 86, £ 29, s 10, d 0 Jane Willson: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6 Simon Whaley 6¼ Ac. @ 6d.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 16, Lease Land 42½, £ 10, s 0, d 4½ James Whaley: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14½, Lease Land 11¼, £ 2, s 17, d 11 William Young: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 79½, Lease Land 25, £ 10, s 9, d 6 Stephen Young: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 8½, £ 3, s 2, d 6 Total: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 2205, Lease Land 2046[¾], £ 599, s 16, d 11½ John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Jeremiah Smith: ground rent 15s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 15s 0d Orphans of James Torbett: ground rent 12s, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 12s 0d Orphans of John Swaits: ground rent 0, freehold land 9 acres, leasehold land 32½ acres, £9 1s 6d John Worrall: ground rent 0, freehold land 31 acres, leasehold land 33 acres, £9 16s 0d Orphans of John Worrall: ground rent 0, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 42½ acres, £10 12s 6d William Wrangham, 3 acres at 1s 6d an acre: ground rent 26s 6d, freehold land 144 acres, leasehold land 86 acres, £29 10s 0d Jane Willson: ground rent 2s 6d, freehold land 0 acres, leasehold land 0 acres, £0 2s 6d Simon Whaley, 6¼ acres at 6d an acre: ground rent 0, freehold land 16 acres, leasehold land 42½ acres, £10 0s 4½d James Whaley: ground rent 0, freehold land 17½ acres, leasehold land 11¼ acres, £2 17s 11d William Young: ground rent 5s, freehold land 79½ acres, leasehold land 25 acres, £10 9s 6d Stephen Young: ground rent 0, freehold land 20 acres, leasehold land 8½ acres, £3 2s 6d Total: freehold land 2,205 acres, leasehold land 2,004¾ acres, £599 16s 11½d Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the roll. **Interpretations** John Scott paid rent for only one month on his 19½ acres in Powell's Valley. He had taken over the lease from Gabriel Harper with the Council's leave on 22 August 1768. Six months after the Council refused him the Green Saddle waste in February, he appeared on the rent roll for the first time as a landholder in his own right, as he had wished. The finished roll covered about 4,200 acres in all, almost evenly divided between freehold and leasehold land. The year's rents came to £599 16s 11½d. It was a modest income beside the cost of the garrison, about £12,000 a year. The rents existed less to support the island than to record and keep control of who held its land, since every grant, transfer and renewal passed through the Council and appeared in this roll. William Wrangham, sheriff and factor, held 230 acres and paid nearly £30, one of the largest estates on the island. With Purling, the Bazetts and the Bagleys, he belonged to the small group of Company servants and established families who held most of the island's land. Simon Whaley's rent of only £10 0s 4½d for over 58 acres reflects the poor ground of the East Division and the 6d rate on part of it. That was about the time his larger farm was being sold at auction with the Council's leave in April.
222	215	The 3 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d day of October 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, & signed dated the 30 Sept. 1768 Captn. John Howard this Day brought in the Account Sales and Account Current of Lieut. Henry Delaval's Estate, the Balance amounting to £52.. 13.. 5½ We have received into the Honble. Company's Cash and ordered it to be wrote off to Account Current London Account Sale of the Effects of the late Lieut. De Laval Sold	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 3 October 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 30 September 1768. Captain John Howard brought in the account of sales and the account current of the estate of Lieutenant Henry De Laune. The balance came to £52 13s 5½d. The Council received it into the Company's treasury and ordered it to be credited to the London account current. The account of sales of the effects of the late Lieutenant De Laune, sold at auction on 12 September 1768, read as follows. Lot 1, a parcel of old china ware, £0 6s 0d

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		at Auction September the 12. 1768 Lotts 1 A parcel of Odd China Ware " 6 - 2 1 Mahogany Lance & Canes & 1 Mace for Billiards " 6 - 3 1 Backgammon Table " 13 - 4 1 Bedstead 1 13 - 5 1 Bed 1 Bolster, 1 Pillow 1 Blanket 3 14 - 6 1 Set of Gauze Curtains " 8 - 7 1 Small Liquor Case wt. 6 Bottles 1 3 6 8 2 Old Looking Glasses " 2 6 9 1 Set of Canisters " 4 6 10 1 Pr. of Pinchbeck Shoe & Knee Buckles " 15 6 11 1 Set of Copper Do. " 3 - 12 1 Pair of Silv. Shoe Buckles " 14 6 13 1 Brist. Stone Stock Buckle set in Silver " 9 6 14 1 Breach Do. " 10 - 15 1 Pr. Brist. Stone Knee Buckles " 4 6 16 12 Brist. Stone Waist. Buttons 1 1 6 Carrd. over£ 12 9 -	Lot 2, 1 set of mahogany cues and 1 mace for billiards, £0 6s 0d Lot 3, 1 backgammon table, £0 13s 0d Lot 4, 1 bedstead, £1 13s 0d Lot 5, 1 bed, 1 bolster, 1 pillow and 1 blanket, £3 14s 0d Lot 6, 1 set of gauze curtains, £0 8s 0d Lot 7, 1 small liquor case with 6 bottles, £1 0s 6d Lot 8, 2 old looking glasses, £0 2s 6d Lot 9, 1 set of canisters, £0 4s 6d Lot 10, 1 pair of pinchbeck shoe and knee buckles, £0 15s 6d Lot 11, 1 set of copper canisters, £0 3s 0d Lot 12, 1 pair of silver shoe buckles, £0 14s 6d Lot 13, 1 paste stock buckle set in silver, £0 9s 6d Lot 14, 1 paste brooch, £0 10s 0d Lot 15, 1 pair of paste knee buckles, £0 4s 6d Lot 16, 12 paste waistcoat buttons, £1 1s 6d Carried forward, £12 9s 0d **Interpretations** The balance of De Laune's estate went into the Company's treasury and was credited to the London account. That way his heirs could claim it in England from the Company itself, instead of the coin being shipped home. The method was the same one the island used for its own officers' savings, through bills on the Court. The estate was now settled within three weeks of the sale. The lots give a picture of an officer's life on the island. Billiard cues and a mace show that he played billiards, probably at a table in the Castle or a public house, since a lieutenant on £27 a quarter would hardly have owned one. The mace was a stick with a flat head used to push the ball, the older form of cue. A backgammon table and a liquor case speak of evenings spent at cards, dice and punch in a garrison with little else to do. The jewellery was the costume of an officer and gentleman: paste stones set in silver, imitating diamonds at a fraction of the cost, for his stock, knee and shoe buckles and waistcoat buttons. Pinchbeck was a cheap alloy of copper and zinc that looked like gold. Such items mark the effort of a junior officer to dress as befitted his rank on a small salary.
223	216	The 3 October Brought Over£ 12 9 - Lotts 17 16 Brist. Stone Waist. Buttons " 10 - 18 1 Pr. Sleeve Buttons Do. " 3 6 19 3 Doz. & 8 Regiment. Coat Buttons " 11 - 20 24 Do. Do. Waist. Do. " 5 - 21 1 Small Spying Glass " 7 - 22 1 Silv. Watch 1 15 6 23 3 Silk Hair Bags " 4 - 24 1 Small Chamr. Pot " 14 - 25 1 Silv. Mountd. Sword & Belt 3 4 - 26 1 Brass Do. Do. 1 " - 27 1 Do. Do. Tinder Box " 5 6 28 1 Do. Do. Pistol " 5 6 29 6 Large framed Prints " 17 6 30 1 Silv. Mount. Hanger " 11 -	The account of sales of Lieutenant De Laune's effects continued from a total of £12 9s 0d. Brought forward, £12 9s 0d Lot 17, 16 paste waistcoat buttons, £0 10s 0d Lot 18, 1 pair of paste sleeve buttons, £0 3s 6d Lot 19, 3 dozen and 8 regimental coat buttons, £0 11s 0d Lot 20, 2½ dozen regimental waistcoat buttons, £0 5s 0d Lot 21, 1 small spyglass, £0 7s 0d Lot 22, 1 silver watch, £1 15s 6d Lot 23, 3 silk hair bags, £0 4s 0d Lot 24, 1 small chamber pot, £0 14s 0d Lot 25, 1 silver-mounted sword and belt, £3 4s 0d Lot 26, 1 brass-mounted sword and belt, £1 0s 0d Lot 27, 1 brass-mounted powder box, £0 5s 6d Lot 28, 1 brass-mounted pistol, £0 5s 6d Lot 29, 6 large framed prints, £0 17s 6d Lot 30, 1 silver-mounted hanger, £0 11s 0d Lot 31, 3 small framed prints, £0 3s 3d Lot 32, 1 wooden clock, £0 4s 6d Lot 33, 10 volumes of Rapin's History of England, £0 12s 3d Lot 34, 9 volumes of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays, £0 11s 3d Lot 35, 2 volumes of Burnet's Theory of the Earth, £0 5s 0d Lot 36, 6 volumes of Swift's Works, £0 7s 0d

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		31 3 Small fram. Prints " 3 3 32 1 Wooden Clock " 4 6 33 10 Volumes of Rapins Hist. of England " 12 3 34 9 Do. Beaumont & Fletchers Plays " 11 3 35 2 Do. Burnets Theory of the Earth " 5 - 36 6 Do. Swifts Works " 7 - 37 Butlers Hudibrass " 2 6 38 Boyers Dictionary " 4 - 39 1 Bible, Sincere's Asse & Collect. of Proverbs 1 1 - 40 Ansons Voyage, Miltons Paradise & Shaftsbury's Workings " 4 - 41 A parcel of French & Latin Books " 5 - 42 A parl. of Old Books " 7 - 43 1 Regimtl. Coat 4 7 - 44 1 Frock 1 7 - 45 1 Do. Silv. Holes " 5 6 46 2 Old Frocks " 7 - 47 1 Blue Cloth Coat Gold Laced " 7 6 48 1 Do. Waistcoat Do. 1 12 - 49 1 Scarlet Do. Laced " 12 6 50 1 White Satt. Waist. 1 7 - " 7 - Carrd. over£ 33 14 9	Lot 37, Butler's Hudibras, £0 2s 6d Lot 38, Boyer's Dictionary, £0 4s 0d Lot 39, 1 Bible, Locke's Essay and a collection of proverbs, £1 1s 0d Lot 40, Anson's Voyage, Milton's Paradise Lost and Shaftesbury's Works, £0 4s 0d Lot 41, a parcel of French and Latin books, £0 5s 0d Lot 42, a parcel of old books, £[...] Lot 43, 1 regimental coat, £[...] Lot 44, 1 frock coat, £1 7s 0d Lot 45, 1 frock coat with silver buttonholes, £0 5s 6d Lot 46, 2 old frock coats, £0 7s 0d Lot 47, 1 blue cloth coat laced with gold, £0 7s 6d Lot 48, 1 blue cloth waistcoat laced with gold, £1 12s 0d Lot 49, 1 scarlet waistcoat, laced, £0 12s 6d Lot 50, 1 white cotton waistcoat, £[...] Carried forward, £33 14s 9d **Interpretations** De Laune's books show a well-read officer. Rapin's History of England was the standard history of the period, written by a French Protestant in exile. Burnet's Theory of the Earth was a speculative account of the creation and the Flood. Butler's Hudibras was a comic poem mocking the Puritans, and Shaftesbury's Works covered moral philosophy. Anson's Voyage told of Commodore Anson's voyage round the world in the 1740s, a book that would have interested an officer on a mid-ocean island. With Swift, Milton, Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding, French and Latin books and Boyer's French dictionary, the collection matched the reading of an educated English gentleman. It offered an alternative, in private, to the library the Company had just sent out for its senior servants. The clothes and arms were those of an infantry officer. A regimental coat and buttons formed his uniform. A frock coat was a plainer coat worn off duty. A hanger was a short sword carried on duty, while the silver-mounted sword was for full dress. The silk hair bags held the queue of hair tied at the back of the head, part of a gentleman's dress at the time. A spyglass, a pistol and a powder box completed the kit of a man who stood watch over the island's coasts. The silver watch and silver-mounted sword fetched the best prices. Most of the goods went cheaply, as they were second-hand and sold for ready money on a small island where few bidders could afford luxuries.
224	217	1768 Brought over£ 33 14 9 Lotts 51 2 Stocking Waistcoats " 5 6 52 2 Pr. Black Satt. Breeches 1 1 6 53 2 Do. Stocking Do. " 16 - 54 1 Old Scarlet Coat & 3 Pr. old Breeches " 13 6 55 1 New Gold Lacd. Hatt 2 " - 56 1 Worn Do. 1 1 - 57 1 Plain Do. " 3 3 58 2 Old Do. " 2 3 59 1 Gold Lace for a Hatt " 10 6 60 1 Pr. Brist. Stone Knee Buckles	The account of sales of Lieutenant De Laune's effects continued from a total of £33 14s 9d. Brought forward, £33 14s 9d Lot 51, 2 knitted waistcoats, £0 5s 6d Lot 52, 2 pairs of black satin breeches, £1 1s 6d Lot 53, 2 pairs of knitted breeches, £0 16s 0d Lot 54, 1 old scarlet coat and 3 pairs of old breeches, £0 13s 6d Lot 55, 1 new gold-laced hat, £2 0s 0d Lot 56, 1 worn gold-laced hat, £1 1s 0d Lot 57, 1 plain hat, £0 3s 3d Lot 58, 2 old hats, £0 2s 3d Lot 59, 1 gold lace for a hat, £0 10s 6d Lot 60, 1 pair of paste knee buckles, £0 5s 6d Lot 61, 1 gorget, £0 15s 0d Lot 62, shirts cut out but not made up, £0 18s 0d Lot 63, 6 ruffled shirts, £2 2s 0d Lot 64, 6 ruffled shirts, £1 17s 0d Lot 65, 4 ruffled shirts and 2 plain shirts, £2 0s 0d Lot 66, 6 plain shirts, £1 4s 0d

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		" 5 6 61 1 Gorgett " 15 - 62 Shirts Cut out not made " 18 - 63 6 Ruffled Shirts 2 2 - 64 6 Do. 1 17 - 65 4 Ruffd. & 2 Plain 2 " - 66 6 Plain Do. 1 4 - 67 6 Do. Do. 1 2 6 68 11 White Stocks " 6 - 69 12 Do. Do. " 7 6 70 8 Do. Do. " 4 6 71 6 Pr. White Stockings " 19 - 72 6 Pr. Do. " 19 - 73 6 Pr. Do. 1 3 - 74 6 Pr. Do. " 19 - 75 9 Pr. Do. " 13 6 76 2 Pr. Silk & 2 Pr. White Worst. Stockings " 17 - 77 6 White Waistcoats " 15 - 78 5 Do. " 11 - 79 8 Old Handks. " 4 - 80 13 Do. Do. " 4 - 81 11 Pr. Drawers " 15 - 82 1 Pr. Sheets " 12 - 83 1 Do. Do. & 1 Old one " 5 6 84 3 Pillow Cases " 3 - Carrd. over£ 60 18 3	Lot 67, 6 plain shirts, £1 2s 6d Lot 68, 11 white stocks, £0 6s 0d Lot 69, 12 white stocks, £0 7s 6d Lot 70, 8 white stocks, £0 4s 6d Lot 71, 6 pairs of white stockings, £0 19s 0d Lot 72, 6 pairs of white stockings, £0 19s 0d Lot 73, 6 pairs of white stockings, £1 3s 0d Lot 74, 6 pairs of white stockings, £0 19s 0d Lot 75, 9 pairs of white stockings, £0 13s 6d Lot 76, 2 pairs of silk stockings and 2 pairs of white worsted stockings, £0 17s 0d Lot 77, 6 white waistcoats, £0 15s 0d Lot 78, 5 white waistcoats, £0 11s 0d Lot 79, 8 old handkerchiefs, £0 4s 0d Lot 80, 13 old handkerchiefs, £0 4s 0d Lot 81, 11 pairs of drawers, £0 15s 0d Lot 82, 1 pair of sheets, £0 12s 0d Lot 83, 1 pair of sheets and 1 old sheet, £0 5s 6d Lot 84, 3 pillowcases, £0 3s 0d Carried forward, £60 10s 3d **Interpretations** The gorget was the mark of an officer on duty. It was a crescent-shaped plate of gilt or silver metal, worn at the throat on a ribbon, the last surviving piece of the old suit of armour. Every commissioned officer of foot wore one when on guard or parade, so that his rank could be seen at a glance. With the gold-laced hats and regimental coat, it completed De Laune's uniform. His linen shows how a gentleman kept up appearances far from home. He owned more than 30 shirts, most with ruffles at the wrist and breast, about 30 white stocks and some 35 pairs of stockings. Linen was washed often and wore out quickly in the island's climate, and a gentleman's shirts and stocks had to be spotless. The shirts cut out but not made up were cloth already shaped by a tailor or seamstress, waiting to be sewn, which suggests De Laune died with his wardrobe still being added to. The total had now reached £60 10s 3d, with the household goods, papers and remaining lots still to come. Clothing and linen fetched most of the money. On an island where every garment had to come from England or India, second-hand clothes kept a real value that buyers were glad to pay.
225	218	The 3 October Brought over£ 60 10 3 Lotts 85 3 Pr. Gaters " 12 - 86 3 Small Remnants of White Cloth " 8 - 87 2 Pr. Window Curtains " 6 - 88 2 Chints Palamps. " 7 6 89 2 Cloaths Bags " 3 - 90 2 Pr. New & 1 Pr. old Pumps " 10 6 91 1 Leaden Pot wt. Sugar " 3 - 92 Some Old Lace &ca. " 16 - 93 1 Glass Lant. & 1 Dark one " 5 6 94 1 Red Chest 1 12 - 95 1 Blue Do. " 10 - 96 3 Knives & 1 Pr. Riding Gloves	The account of sales of Lieutenant De Laune's effects ended with the following lots. Brought forward, £60 10s 3d Lot 85, 3 pairs of gaiters, £0 12s 0d Lot 86, 3 small remnants of white cloth, £0 8s 0d Lot 87, 2 pairs of window curtains, £0 6s 0d Lot 88, 2 chintz palampores, £0 7s 6d Lot 89, 2 clothes bags, £0 8s 0d Lot 90, 2 pairs of new pumps and 1 pair of old pumps, £0 10s 6d Lot 91, 1 London loaf of sugar, £0 3s 0d Lot 92, some old lace and other items, £0 16s 0d Lot 93, 1 glass lantern and 1 dark lantern, £0 5s 6d Lot 94, 1 red chest, £1 12s 0d Lot 95, 1 blue chest, £0 10s 0d Lot 96, 3 knives and 1 pair of riding gloves, £0 9s 0d Lot 97, a parcel of old things in a drawer, £0 7s 6d Lot 98, 1 jar and a clothes brush, £0 4s 0d Lot 99, 1 set of shelves, 8 quart bottles and 1 old chair, £0 12s 0d Lot 100, 1 pocket book, £0 4s 0d Lot 101, 18 silver waistcoat buttons, £0 2s 3d

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		" 9 - 97 A parcel of Old things in a Drawer " 7 6 98 1 Jar & Cloaths Brush " 4 - 99 1 Sett of Shelves, 8 Quart Bott. & 1 Old Chair " 12 - 100 1 Pocket Book " 4 - 101 18 Silv. Waist. Buttons " 2 3 102 8 Towels " 3 9 103 8 Neckcloths " 14 3 104 1 Bureau " 6 - 105 5½ Yds. Scarlet Broad Cloth & 8 Yds. of Shalloon 9 " - 106 3 Yds. Buckram 5 Skains of Silk & 5 Skains of Mohr. & 1½ lb. Thread 6 " - Cash " 8 - £ 84 14 6	Lot 102, 8 towels, £0 3s 9d Lot 103, 8 neckcloths, £0 14s 3d Lot 104, 1 bureau, £0 6s 0d Lot 105, 5½ yards of scarlet broadcloth and 8 yards of shalloon, £9 0s 0d Lot 106, 2 [...] of buckram, 5 skeins of silk, 5 skeins of mohair and 1¼ lb of thread, £6 0s 0d Cash, £0 8s 0d Total, £84 14s 6d **Interpretations** The scarlet broadcloth and shalloon fetched £9, the highest price of the sale. With the buckram, silk, mohair and thread in the next lot, they made up the materials for a new regimental coat, bought but not yet made. Like the shirts cut out but never sewn, they show De Laune was having a new uniform made when he died. Scarlet broadcloth was costly and hard to get on the island, so another officer would gladly pay well for enough to make a coat of his own. Palampores were large cotton hangings or bedcovers painted or printed with flowering trees, made on the Coromandel coast for export to Europe. A dark lantern had a shutter that could cover its light, used by a sentry or an officer making rounds at night. The London loaf of sugar was refined sugar moulded into a cone in England, far finer than the brown Bengal and China sugar sold in the island's warehouse. The whole sale raised £84 14s 6d. After his debts on the island were paid, the balance of £52 13s 5½d went into the Company's treasury on 3 October for his heirs. A lieutenant's entire possessions, from sword and books to his last neckcloth, came to less than a year's pay.
226	219	The Estate of Lieut. Henry Delaval Decd. Dr. To Account of Jno. Bazett for funeral Charges£ 12 16 4½ To Do. of Jno. Price for Sextons Fees, Selling Goods at Auction and Collecting the Money 2 19 6 To Mr. Solomon Jacob for Diet &ca. 5 14 2½ To a Debt of Wm. Whitchurch 5 15 5 To Do. to Jno. Price 1 16 6 To Do. to Jno. Bazett 1 5 2 To Do. to Mrs. Martha Bazett 1 1 - To Do. to Mr. Willm. Seale " 12 6 To Do. to Lieut. Leech " 10 - To Do. to Lieut. St. Maurice 1 4 - To Do. to Captn. Howard 6 " - To Do. to Richd. Bickerstaff 1 2 6 To Do. to Jno. Shirtley 1 7 - To Do. to Henry Hopwell " 13 3 To Willson for Shaving & 1 Wash Ball " 7 6 To Jno. Terry for Writing at the Auction & makg. out the Bills " 9 - To Washing the Bed & Blanket which he Died upon " 2 6 43 16 5 To Balance paid into the Honble. Company's Cash & Wrote off to	The account current of the estate of the late Lieutenant Henry De Laune read as follows. Estate of Lieutenant Henry De Laune, debit John Bazett's account for funeral charges, £12 16s 4½d John Price's account for sexton's fees, selling the goods at auction and collecting the money, £2 19s 6d Mr Solomon Jacobs, for a debt and other items, £5 14s 2½d A debt to John Whitchurch, £5 15s 5d A debt to John Price, £1 16s 6d A debt to John Bazett, £1 5s 2d A debt to Mrs Martha Bazett, £1 1s 0d A debt to Mr William Seale, £0 12s 6d A debt to Lieutenant Leech, £0 10s 0d A debt to Lieutenant St Maurice, £1 4s 0d A debt to Captain Howard, £6 0s 0d A debt to Richard Bickerstaff, £1 2s 6d A debt to John Shirley, £1 7s 0d A debt to Henry Howell, £0 13s 3d Willson, for shaving and 1 wash ball, £0 7s 6d John Perry, for writing at the auction and making out the bills, £0 9s 0d Washing the bed and blanket on which he died, £0 2s 6d Total of charges and debts, £43 16s 5d Balance paid into the Company's treasury and credited to the London account current, £52 13s 3½d Total, £96 9s 8½d Estate of Lieutenant Henry De Laune, credit Proceeds of the auction, £84 14s 6d His salary to the day of his death, £11 15s 2½d Total, £96 9s 8½d Captain John Howard signed the account, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The account shows how a dead officer's affairs were wound up on the island. His pay to the day of his death, £11 15s 2½d, was added to the auction proceeds. His funeral, the costs of the sale and his

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		Account Current London 52 13 3½ £ 96 9 8½ Per Contra Cr. By Acct. of the Auction£ 84 14 6 By his Salary to the time of his death 11 15 2½ £ 96 9 8½ Errors Excepted (signed) Jno. Howard	debts were paid from the total before anything went to his heirs. The funeral was the largest single charge, almost £13, paid to John Bazett, the superintendent of slaves, who probably supplied the coffin, bearers and burial. An officer's funeral was a public occasion, with a volley fired by the garrison, and its cost reflected his rank. De Laune's debts spread across the island's small society. He owed money to brother officers, to sergeants such as John Whitchurch of the artillery and Henry Howell, to John Price the publican, to a Bazett woman and to Bickerstaff, a corporal of his own company. Small debts to tradesmen and comrades were normal for an officer living on £27 a quarter. Fellow soldiers often lent to one another between pay days, and the estate settled every one before the balance passed on. The charge for washing the bed and blanket he died on is a reminder that the sick were nursed and died at home. The bedding was then cleaned so that it could be sold at the auction with the rest of his goods. De Laune's estate was relatively solvent. More than half its value survived the charges and reached his heirs through the Company in London.
227	220	[End of one line at the right-hand edge partly hidden in the binding.] The 3 October We this day received the following Letter from the Engineer viz. To the Worshipfull the Govern. &c. & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In my Letter of July 4th I acquainted you that the employm[...] of the Honble. Company's Workmen during the then ensuing Quarter would consist in compleating what remained to be done to the new Battery at Banks's: In collecting Materials for Munden's Point Battery, in the Construction of which the Stonelayers were to be employed as soon as Banks's was compleated; And in making Preparations for carrying into Execution the Alterations & enlargements since approved of for the Defences of Lemon Valley Agreable to these my intentions, you have been already informed that the New Battery at Banks's, since named Purling's Battery, has been finally compleated, and I have been made happy by your entire approbation of the Manner in which this Work has been executed: Since then the Honble. Company's Stonelayers and the greatest part of the Workmen have been employed in the Construction of the Battery at Munden's Point, where the Materials prepared are now all wrought up, and so great a progress made in carrying up the Revetment, that it may now be said to above half accomplished. - Besides this Preparations have been made for carrying into Execution the proposed Alterations in the Defences of Lemon Valley, by pulling down part of the Old Work, by preparing the Foundation and by Collecting Materials for their Construction, which is now ready to commence, and in which the Honble. Company's Stonelayers and the greatest of the Workmen will be principally if not solely employed during the ensuing Quarter: In the Meantime a sufficient quantity	The Council received the following letter that day from the engineer, addressed to the Governor and Council. In his letter of 4 July 1768, Mitchell had told the Council how the Company's workmen would be employed during the following quarter. They would finish the remaining work on the new battery at Banks's. They would gather materials for the battery at Munden's Point, where the stone layers were to be put to work as soon as Banks's was finished. They would also make preparations for carrying out the approved alterations and enlargements to the defences of Lemon Valley. He had kept to that plan. As the Council already knew, the new battery at Banks's, since named Purling's Battery, had been fully completed, and he had been gratified by the Council's full approval of the way it had been built. Since then the Company's stone layers and most of the workmen had been employed on the battery at Munden's Point. All the materials prepared there had now been worked up, and such progress had been made in raising the revetment that it could be said to be more than half finished. Preparations had also been made for the proposed alterations to the defences of Lemon Valley. Part of the old work had been pulled down, the foundations prepared and materials gathered for the new building. That work was now ready to begin, and the Company's stone layers and most of the workmen would be chiefly, if not wholly, employed on it during the coming quarter. In the meantime a sufficient stock of materials would be prepared to complete the battery at Munden's Point. Archibald Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 3 October 1768. **Interpretations** The new battery at Banks's was named Purling's Battery after the councillor, which explains the entry in the gunner's return for August, where tompions were issued for its 18-pounders. Naming a work after a sitting councillor was a mark of honour. It came in the same weeks that Purling, with the Governor, had sat in judgement in the Corneille affair and condemned Kirkpatrick. The older batteries on the island already bore the names of past officials, such as Banks's and Munden's, so the new work joined a long tradition. Mitchell's report shows his method of keeping the workforce fully employed. As soon as one battery was done, the masons moved to the next, while labourers prepared materials and foundations at a

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		of Materials will be prepared for compleating the Battery at Mundens Point I have the honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servant (signed) Ar. Mitchell St. Helena 3d Octr. 1768	third. With Purling's Battery finished, Munden's Point more than half built and Lemon Valley ready to begin, he was on course to complete the main works by mid-1769, as promised in his letter of 8 August. The revetment was the stone facing of the rampart, the part that took longest to build and needed the most skill.
228	221	1768 Upon reading and considering the above Letter we told Capt. Mitchell that we Acquiesced in opinion with him that the method he proposes of carrying on the Works for the ensuing Quarter are very proper Mr. Benjamin Seale this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Benjn. Seale Sheweth That there is a small piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land adjoining your Petitioners Land known by the name of Hyphams, which he is desirous of hiring for the Conveniency of Fencing humbly requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same at a Low Rent, as the said piece of Land is extremely Steep & Rocky And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Benjn. Seale 3d October 1768 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed Complaint having been made to the Governor that Peter Marot the Carpenters Mate when at Work at the Plantation House had Stolen a	After reading the letter, the Council told Captain Mitchell that it agreed with him: the way he proposed to carry on the works during the coming quarter was entirely proper. Mr Benjamin Seale presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council, dated 3 October 1768. A small piece of the Company's waste land lay next to his own land, known as Hyams. He wished to rent it so that he could fence his ground more easily. The land was very steep and rocky, so he asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of it at a low rent. Benjamin Seale signed the petition. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. A complaint had been made to the Governor that Peter Mariot, the carpenter's mate, had taken a door while working at Plantation House. **Interpretations** Benjamin Seale had become tenant of Hyams in May 1768, when Mary Swaits sold him her lease of four acres there with the Council's leave. Like Matthew Bazett at Woody Ridge, he now sought the adjoining waste to make his holding easier to fence. On St Helena the boundary of a holding often ran along broken ground, and a straight fence across waste land cost far less than one that followed every turn of the slope. Seale stressed that the land was steep and rocky to justify a low rent. The Council ordered the usual inspection, as it had for every grant of waste that year. Peter Mariot had joined the civil list as carpenter's mate during the last quarter, one of the skilled hands added for the building programme. A complaint that he had taken a door from Plantation House, the Governor's country residence, came straight to the Governor. The Company had dismissed its gardener in August for taking produce from the same estate.
229	222	The 3 October Door Lock from thence and brought it down to the Valley, and put it on his own Door; he was this day examined before Us, when it plainly appeared he had Stolen the Lock and had nothing to say in his defence but that he intended returning it again. As the said Merot is a very worthless troublesome fellow, and strongly suspected of being concerned in retailing Liquors, We for the above reasons agreed to Send him off the Island the first opportunity and shall appoint James Hogg Soldier who has worked some time in the Carpenters Shop Carpenters Mate in Merots room he being a sober good Man and understands his business very well John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of October 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 3 October 1768 The Plantation Account for the . . . . Quarter, and the	The complaint against Peter Mariot was that he had taken a door lock from Plantation House, carried it down to the valley and fitted it to his own door. He was examined before the Council that day. It was clear that he had stolen the lock, and he had nothing to say in his defence except that he had meant to return it. Mariot was a very worthless and troublesome fellow, and he was strongly suspected of selling spirits illegally. For these reasons the Council agreed to send him off the island at the first opportunity. It would appoint James Hogg, a soldier who had worked for some time in the carpenters' shop, as carpenter's mate in his place, since Hogg was a sober, good man who understood his trade very well. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. Governor Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 10 October 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 3 October 1768. The plantation account for the quarter and the gunner's and steward's accounts for September were presented, examined and approved. They read as follows.

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		Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of September last, were this day brought in, which were examined, and approved, and are as follow viz.	**Interpretations** The theft was small, a single lock, but the Council's response was severe. Sending a man off the island was its heaviest penalty short of a court's sentence, the same one it had imposed on James Black. The record gives the reason. The lock alone would not have justified it, but Mariot was already suspected of selling spirits illegally, the trade the Council had moved hard against since July. A carpenter's mate working at the Governor's country house was in a position of trust. A man who took the Company's fittings and was believed to be running an illicit drinking trade was not someone the Council wanted on a small island. The Council filled the place at once from within the garrison. James Hogg, a private of the Second Company, had worked in the carpenters' shop and could take the post without delay. Soldiers with trades were a reserve of skilled labour the Council drew on throughout the year, as it had done when it set men to masonry, smith's work and carpentry on the batteries at 1s 6d a day.
230	223	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. from the 1st of July to the 30th of September 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 Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining 1st July: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 96, Neat Cattle Calves 103, Neat Cattle Yearlings 29, Neat Cattle Heifers 34, Neat Cattle Steers 74, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 359, Sheep Ewes 376, Sheep Weathers 177, Sheep Lambs 131, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 698, Goats Ewes 169, Goats Weathers 48, Goats Kids 89, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 315, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 12, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 62, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 12, Poultry Geese 7 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 31, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 31, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 65, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 65, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 22, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 22, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 6, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 6, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 69, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 14, 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 Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 58, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 31, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 96, Neat Cattle Calves 134, Neat Cattle Yearlings 29, Neat Cattle Heifers 34, Neat Cattle Steers 74, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 390, Sheep Ewes 376, Sheep Weathers 177, Sheep Lambs 196, Sheep Rams 14, Sheep Total 763, Goats Ewes 169, Goats Weathers	The Company's livestock account for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1768 read as follows. Cattle Remaining 1 July: bulls 5, cows 96, calves 103, yearlings 29, heifers 34, steers 74, oxen 18, total 359 Increase: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 31, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 0, oxen 0, total 31 Bought: 0 Total: bulls 5, cows 96, calves 134, yearlings 29, heifers 34, steers 74, oxen 18, total 390 Killed: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 0, yearlings 0, heifers 2, steers 2, oxen 0, total 4 Died: bulls 0, cows 0, calves 4, yearlings 0, heifers 0, steers 7, oxen 0, total 11 Remaining 30 September: bulls 5, cows 96, calves 130, yearlings 29, heifers 32, steers 65, oxen 18, total 375 Regraded by age: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 92, yearlings 42, heifers 26, steers 71, oxen 18, total 375 Sheep Remaining 1 July: ewes 376, wethers 177, lambs 131, rams 14, total 698 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, lambs 65, rams 0, total 65 Total: ewes 376, wethers 177, lambs 196, rams 14, total 763 Killed: ewes 33, wethers 19, lambs 6, rams 4, total 62 Died: ewes 19, wethers 12, lambs 36, rams 0, total 67 Remaining 30 September: ewes 324, wethers 146, lambs 154, rams 10, total 634 Regraded by age: ewes 368, wethers 167, lambs 87, rams 12, total 634 Goats Remaining 1 July: ewes 169, wethers 48, kids 89, rams 9, total 315 Increase: ewes 0, wethers 0, kids 22, rams 0, total 22 Total: ewes 169, wethers 48, kids 111, rams 9, total 337 Killed: ewes 5, wethers 25, kids 9, rams 1, total 40 Died: ewes 7, wethers 3, kids 5, rams 0, total 15 Remaining 30 September: ewes 157, wethers 20, kids 97, rams 8, total 282 Regraded by age: ewes 164, wethers 67, kids 41, rams 10, total 282 Hogs Remaining 1 July: sows 2, young hogs 4, pigs 5, boars 1, total 12 Increase: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 6, boars 0, total 6

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		48, Goats Kids 111, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 337, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 18, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 189, Poultry Ducks 30, Poultry Turkeys 57, Poultry Geese 7 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 2, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 33, Sheep Weathers 19, Sheep Lambs 6, Sheep Rams 4, Sheep Total 62, Goats Ewes 5, Goats Weathers 25, Goats Kids 9, Goats Rams 1, Goats Total 40, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 42, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 4, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 7, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 11, Sheep Ewes 19, Sheep Weathers 12, Sheep Lambs 36, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 67, Goats Ewes 7, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 5, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 15, 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 Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 12, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 15, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining the 30th Sept.: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 96, Neat Cattle Calves 130, Neat Cattle Yearlings 29, Neat Cattle Heifers 32, Neat Cattle Steers 65, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 375, Sheep Ewes 324, Sheep Weathers 146, Sheep Lambs 154, Sheep Rams 10, Sheep Total 634, Goats Ewes 157, Goats Weathers 20, Goats Kids 97, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 282, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Pigs 9, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 135, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 38, Poultry Geese 7 Changd. the Specie: Neat Cattle Bulls 6, Neat Cattle Cows 120, Neat Cattle Calves 92, Neat Cattle Yearlings 42, Neat Cattle Heifers 26, Neat Cattle Steers 71, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 375, Sheep Ewes 368, Sheep Weathers 167, Sheep Lambs 87, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 634, Goats Ewes 164, Goats Weathers 67, Goats Kids 41, Goats Rams 10, Goats Total 282, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 7, Hogs Pigs 6, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 135, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 38, Poultry Geese 7 Decd. Slaves 1 Man named George Ceasar 1 Do. Martin Monkey Yams Expended for the Slaves 71.515 Bad Yam Do. for the Stock 9.150 Total 80.665 (signed) John Worrall Overseer	Total: sows 2, young hogs 4, pigs 11, boars 1, total 18 Killed: 0 Died: sows 0, young hogs 0, pigs 2, boars 0, total 2 Remaining 30 September: sows 2, young hogs 4, pigs 9, boars 1, total 16 Regraded by age: sows 2, young hogs 7, pigs 6, boars 1, total 16 Horses Remaining 1 July: horses 4, mares 6, total 10 Remaining 30 September: horses 4, mares 6, total 10 Asses Remaining 1 July: male asses 1, total 1 Remaining 30 September: male asses 1, total 1 Poultry Remaining 1 July: fowls 62, ducks 18, turkeys 12, geese 7 Increase: fowls 69, ducks 12, turkeys 14, geese 0 Bought: fowls 58, ducks 0, turkeys 31, geese 0 Total: fowls 189, ducks 30, turkeys 57, geese 7 Killed: fowls 42, ducks 6, turkeys 4, geese 0 Died: fowls 12, ducks 0, turkeys 15, geese 0 Remaining 30 September: fowls 135, ducks 24, turkeys 38, geese 7 Two of the Company's slaves died during the quarter. 1 man died, named George Caesar 1 man died, named Martin Monkey During the quarter 71,515 lb of yams were issued to the slaves and 9,150 lb of bad yams to the stock, a total of 80,665 lb. John Worrall, the overseer, signed the account. **Interpretations** John Worrall, the overseer, signed the account in place of Corneille, who had always signed it as Lieutenant Governor. Corneille had resigned on 21 July and left the island in August. Management of the Company's plantation and stock now fell to the overseer, until the Court sent out a new Lieutenant Governor. The account gives the clearest proof yet on the yams question raised in July. In the quarter after Corneille's departure, the Company's stock received 9,150 lb of bad yams, about 700 lb a week, entered openly as refuse. In June, Worrall swore that Corneille's hogs received 425 lb a week of waste yams. The plantation had a surplus of unfit yams far greater than the Lieutenant Governor's hogs ever consumed, as Corneille had argued in his defence. The winter was hard on the sheep. Thirty-six lambs and 19 ewes died, and the flock fell from 698 to 634. Cold rain in the uplands killed young animals born in the southern winter. The cattle did better, growing to 375 with 31 calves born, a sign that the herd built up from Cape stock earlier in the year was now breeding well. The 58 fowls and 31 turkeys bought restocked the poultry yard for the Castle's table before the next shipping season.
231	224	[Right-hand edge of the artillery table partly hidden in the binding.] The 10 October Artillery Stores Expended in Sept. 1768 Guns fired, 32 Pr, 24 Pr, 18 Pr, 12 Pr, 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expd. lb, Powder Expd. oz 1st An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expd. lb 12, Powder Expd. oz 0 Arrived the Egmont: Guns fired 9, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 9, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expd. lb 6, Powder Expd. oz 12	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in September 1768 recorded the guns fired, the 32-pounders, 24-pounders, 18-pounders, 12-pounders, 9-pounders, 4-pounders, 3-pounders, 2-pounders and 1-pounders used, and the powder spent in pounds and ounces. 1 September, an alarm: guns fired 6; 32-pounders 0, 24-pounders 0, 18-pounders 0, 12-pounders 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2; powder 12 lb 0 oz 1 September, arrival of the *Egmont*: guns fired 9; 32-pounders 0, 24-pounders 0, 18-pounders 0, 12-

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		Guns scaled at Purlings Battery: Guns fired 39, 32 Pr 6, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 15, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 18, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expd. lb 169, Powder Expd. oz 8 Do. Do. at Ruperts: Guns fired 22, 32 Pr 5, 24 Pr 1, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 4, 9 Pr 12, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expd. lb 115, Powder Expd. oz 0 11th Departed the Egmont & Greenwich: Guns fired 13, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 13, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expd. lb 9, Powder Expd. oz 12 Powder for Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 32 Pr 0, 24 Pr 0, 18 Pr 0, 12 Pr 0, 9 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expd. lb 285, Powder Expd. oz 1 Total: Guns fired 89, 32 Pr 11, 24 Pr 1, 18 Pr 15, 12 Pr 4, 9 Pr 30, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 22, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expd. lb 598, Powder Expd. oz 1 Tallow for Boats &c. 37 lb. Lead Balls to Shoot Goats &c. 3 15 4 lb. Rammer Heads Expd. 1 Paper for different uses 5 Handspikes for Do. 4 Bitts for Do. 2 White Rope at Mundens Point 16 Fathm. (signed) Ar. Mitchell Sundry's Expd. at the Honble. Company's Table in Septemr. 1768 To 18 Bottles Port Wine 1 7 - 19 Do. of Lisbon 1 8 6 8 Do. of Mountain " 13 6 12 Do. of Beer " 2 6 30 Gall. Arr. 7 10 - 191 lb. Beef 3 12 - 248 lb. Mutton 5 3 4 8 Lambs 1 10 - 4 Turkeys 1 " - 4 Ducks " 6 - 12 Fowls " 18 - Carrd. over£ 23 10 10	pounders 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 9, 1-pounders 0; powder 6 lb 12 oz Guns scaled at Purling's Battery: guns fired 39; 32-pounders 6, 24-pounders 0, 18-pounders 15, 12-pounders 0, 9-pounders 18, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 169 lb 8 oz Guns scaled at Rupert's: guns fired 22; 32-pounders 5, 24-pounders 1, 18-pounders 0, 12-pounders 4, 9-pounders 12, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0; powder 115 lb 0 oz 11 September, departure of the *Egmont* and the *Greenwich*: guns fired 13; 32-pounders 0, 24-pounders 0, 18-pounders 0, 12-pounders 0, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 13, 1-pounders 0; powder 9 lb 12 oz Powder used on sundry services, 285 lb 1 oz Total: guns fired 89; 32-pounders 11, 24-pounders 1, 18-pounders 15, 12-pounders 4, 9-pounders 30, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 22, 1-pounders 2; powder 598 lb 1 oz The gunner also accounted for other stores used during September. Tallow for the boats and other uses, 37 lb Lead balls for shooting goats and other uses, 3 lb 15 oz Rammer heads for 4-pounders, 1 Paper for different uses, 5 quires Handspikes for different uses, 4 Billhooks for different uses, 2 White rope at Munden's Point, 16 fathoms Archibald Mitchell signed the return. The steward's account listed the sundries used at the Company's table in September 1768. 18 bottles of port wine, £1 7s 0d 19 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 8s 6d 8 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 13s 6d 12 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d [...] lb of beef, £3 12s 0d 248 lb of mutton, £5 8s 4d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d Carried forward, £23 10s 10d **Interpretations** The heavy guns at Purling's Battery and Rupert's were scaled during the month, using nearly 300 lb of powder. Scaling meant firing a small charge through a gun to burn out rust and dirt from the bore, the usual way of cleaning heavy iron guns before they were put into service. All 39 guns at the newly finished Purling's Battery were scaled, among them six 32-pounders and fifteen 18-pounders. The new battery was being made ready for action. Rupert's, beside Jamestown, was prepared at the same time. The return gives the size of the island's heavy artillery for the first time. Guns of 32, 24, 18, 12 and 9 pounds were mounted on the new and rebuilt batteries. The light 1-, 2-, 3- and 4-pounders fired alarms and salutes. The heavy guns were for battle, able to strike a ship's hull at long range. Purling's Battery alone mounted 39 guns, a powerful work commanding the approach to James Bay from the windward side. Port wine at the Castle rose sharply, to 18 bottles from 2 in August. The *Egmont* and the *Greenwich* lay in the road for most of the month's first half, and their officers and passengers were entertained before sailing.
232	225	1768 Brought over£ 23 10 10 30 lb. Butter	The steward's account for September 1768 ended with the following items. Brought forward, £23 10s 10d

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		1 10 - 90 lb. Candy 1 18 6 300 lb. Flour 1 11 3 £ 28 10 7 Mr. Purling reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for by Mr. Benjamin Seale and thinks that letting the same will not be prejudicial either to the Company or the Neighborhood, but as the said Land is both barren and Rocky he is of opinion that a Rent of a Shilling p Ac. fully sufficient for it For the Reasons Mr. Purling Assigns we Agreed to Rent the said Land at 1/ p Ac. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 90 lb of sugar candy, £1 18s 6d 300 lb of flour, £1 11s 3d Total, £28 10s 7d Purling reported that he had inspected the land Benjamin Seale had petitioned for. He thought leasing it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbourhood. The land was both barren and rocky, however, so he judged a rent of 1s an acre quite enough for it. For the reasons Purling gave, the Council agreed to let the land at 1s an acre. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Company's table cost £28 10s 7d in September, more than in July or August. The *Egmont* and the *Greenwich* had lain in the road until 11 September, and their officers and passengers were entertained at the Castle. Port wine and lambs, absent or scarce in the quiet winter months, were bought again for the visitors. Benjamin Seale's grant followed the same course as Sarah Fuge's in September. Purling inspected the land, found no harm to the Company or the neighbours, and set a low rent of 1s an acre because the ground was barren. With Corneille gone and Kirkpatrick often absent, Purling now did most of the Council's inspection work. Seale had asked for a low rent, and the Council gave him the lowest rate on the island, the same paid for poor land at Sandy Bay. Rents on St Helena were set by the quality of each piece of ground. Steep, rocky waste added to a holding mainly to straighten a fence line was worth little in itself.
233	226	The 17 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of October 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Govern. Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 10 Sept. 1768 The Paymaster brought in his Accounts & the Storekeeper his Collections for the Quarter commencing the 1st July & ending the 30 September last, which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island of St. Helena with their several Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter commencing the 1st day of July and ending the 30th day of September 1768 John Skottowe Esq. Governor Salary£ 125 " " Do. Allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esq. Lieut. Govr. 21 days 20 2 8 Mr. Purling of Council Salary 15 " " Do. Allowance 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 " " Do. Gratuity 15 " " 62 10 - Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Saly. 7 10 - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 10 " "	Governor John Skottowe held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 17 October 1768. Present John Skottowe, Governor William Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the Council The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of 10 October 1768. The paymaster and the storekeeper brought in their accounts for the quarter ending 30 September 1768. The Council examined and approved them, and they read as follows. The list of the Company's officers and employees on St Helena gave their salaries, table allowances and other payments for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 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, for 21 days, £20 2s 8d 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, £249 7s 5d **Interpretations** Corneille was paid for 21 days only, from 1 July to the day of his resignation on 21 July 1768. He had told the Council he would draw no salary from that

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		Carrd. Over£ 249 7 5	day, and the paymaster kept to it to the day. His pay of £20 2s 8d, at the Lieutenant Governor's rate of £87 10s 0d a quarter in salary and table allowance, was the last the Company paid him. Kirkpatrick still drew his full salary and house rent as a councillor despite the censure of 19 July and his long absences through illness. The Council had left any penalty to the Court, and until London decided, his pay continued unchanged. As paymaster he was also responsible for drawing up the very list on which his own salary appeared.
234	227	[Right-hand money column partly cut off at the edge of the image.] 1768 Brought over£ 249 7 [...] Archibald Mitchell Engineer Saly. 50 " " Do. Diet Money 25 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 77 10 [...] William Beancroft Chapln. Saly. 40 " " Do. Diet Money 15 " " 55 " [...] Matthew Bazett Secy. Saly. 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 " [...] James Powell Storekeepr. 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 Govern. 10 " " 30 [...] Jonathan Dowlon Factor Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. Assist. Storekeeper 5 " " 22 10 [...] Bartholomew 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 " [...] George Bazett Writer Saly. 68 Days 11 1 8¾ Do. Company's Steward 24 Do. 1 19 11 13 " [...] Carrd. over£ 552 8 [...]	The list of the Company's officers and employees continued from a total of £249 7s 5d. Brought forward, £249 7s 5d 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 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 George Bazett, as writer for 68 days, £11 1s 8¾d George Bazett, as the Company's steward for 24 days, £1 19s 11¼d Total for George Bazett, £13 [...] Carried forward, £552 8s 3½d **Interpretations** George Bazett's pay was split at the date of his promotion. He served as steward for the first 24 days of the quarter and as writer for the remaining 68, from 25 July 1768, when the Council appointed him. As a writer he drew salary and table allowance at the rate of about £60 a year, against £30 as steward. The minutes had recorded the Council's reasoning: it could not raise a steward's pay, but it could fill a vacant writer's post with a deserving man. Every other salary on the page was unchanged from the previous quarter. Mitchell, Bearcroft, the Bazetts, Powell, Wrangham, Doveton, Wright and Goodwin were all paid at the rates the Court had set. Only death, resignation or promotion altered the list from quarter to quarter. This quarter brought one of each: De Laune's death, Corneille's resignation and George Bazett's promotion.

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235	228	[Foot of the right-hand money column partly cut off at the edge of the image.] The 17 October Brought over£ 552 8 3¾ Robert Barclay Surgeons Saly. 9 15 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 22 5 - John Pritchard Surgn. Mate Saly. 6 5 - Do. Diet Money 10 " " Do. House Rent 2 10 - 18 15 - Richard Beale Judge Advocate Saly. 12 10 - Do. School Master 7 10 - 20 " " Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 22 10 - Thomas Bazett Superintd. 13 15 - Samuel Alexander Overseers 7 10 - John Worrall 15 " " John Bazett Superintd. of the Compys. Blacks 10 " " Thomas Payne Overseer of the Compys. Watermen 6 16 10½ William Holbrook Master Mason 30 " " John Preston Masons Mate 20 " " John Robinson Carpenter 25 " " Peter Merot Do. Mate 12 10 - John Drawwater Cooper 8 15 - John Roberts Armourer 15 " " James Black Gardiner 59 Days 6 9 3½ Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 - Robert Leech Compys. Steward 68 days 5 10 10½ Thomas Yates Clerk of the Church 5 " " John Joyce Clerk & Instrument Cleaner 1 5 - Robert Allen Groom 2 " " John Cogswell Patroon 7 10 - John Price Marshall & Goaler 7 10 - To the Drum Major for Instructg. the Young Drumrs. 1 " " John Lemmon an Invalid 92 days at 9d. 3 9 - 232 14 [...] Carrd. over£ 846 2 [...]	The list of officers and employees continued from a total of £552 8s 3½d. Brought forward, £552 8s 3½d Robert Pinday, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Pinday, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Pinday, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Pinday, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Pritchard, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Total for Richard Beale, £20 0s 0d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £22 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, superintendent, £13 15s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Worrall, overseer, £15 0s 0d John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d Thomas Boyce, overseer of the Company's workmen, £6 16s 10½d William Holbrook, master mason, £30 0s 0d John Preston, mason's mate, £20 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Peter Mariot, carpenter's mate, £12 10s 0d John Drawwater, cooper, £8 15s 0d John Robins, armourer, £15 0s 0d James Black, gardener, for 59 days, £6 9s 3½d Solomon S[...], master at arms, £6 5s 0d Robert Leech, the Company's steward, for 68 days, £5 10s 10½d Thomas Yates, clerk of the church, £5 0s 0d John Joyce, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Robert Allen, groom, £2 0s 0d John Corfield, patroon, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d The drum major, for teaching the young drummers, £1 0s 0d John Lawrence, invalid, for 92 days at 9d a day, £3 9s 0d Total for the page, £232 14s [...] Carried forward, £846 2s [...] **Interpretations** The partial payments to James Black and Robert Leech showed how changes in staff were costed to the day. Black was paid for only 59 days, up to the date of his dismissal and passage home in *Greenwich*. Leech drew the steward's pay for 68 days from 25 July 1768, when he took over the post from George Bazett. The steward's rate came to about £30 a year, half of what Bazett gained by his promotion to writer. Peter Mariot was paid for the whole quarter as carpenter's mate, even though the Council had ordered him off the island for stealing a lock. His wages probably ran until he could be shipped out. James Hogg, his named successor, did not yet appear on the list. A patroon was the master of the Company's boats, in charge of the boat crews that carried men and goods between the ships in the road and the landing place. The post was essential on an island with no harbour quay, where every cask and passenger came ashore by boat. John Lawrence's entry showed how the Company provided for men no longer fit to work. Instead of a salary he received a daily subsistence of 9d. It was paid for each day of the quarter, giving him a modest but regular income without discharging him. Several posts were held in combination. Richard Beale was both judge advocate and schoolmaster, and the surgeons drew diet money where the senior

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			servants drew a table allowance. The layered pay showed a small establishment in which one man often covered several offices. Each office was paid for separately.
236	229	1768 Brought over£ 846 2 4 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 Desfountain Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjut. Saly. 29 13 1½ Serjeants Thomas Payne 7 13 4 William Bannister Disd. 8th August 3 5 - Henry Howell 7 13 4 William Rowlands 7 13 4 John Allman 53 days 4 8 4 Do. Corpl. 39 Do. 2 5 6 32 18 10 Corporals Thomas Townsend 5 7 4 George Rose 5 7 4 George Seale 5 7 4 Thomas Mears 53 Days 3 1 10 Do. Corpl. 39 Do. 1 12 6 20 16 4 Drummers John Martin 5 7 4 Richard Pleffert 5 7 4 Joseph Peerham 5 7 4 16 2 - Carrd. over£ 1046 8 10½	The pay list continued from £846 2s 4d with the officers and men of the First Company. Brought forward, £846 2s 4d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Solomon St Maurice, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Desfountain, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, adjutant, salary, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Thomas Payne, sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Bannister, sergeant, died 8 August, £3 5s 0d Henry Howell, sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Rowlands, sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Allman, sergeant, for 53 days, £4 8s 4d John Allman, as corporal for 39 days, £2 5s 6d Total for the sergeants, £32 18s 10d Corporals Thomas Townsend, corporal, £5 7s 4d George Roe, corporal, £5 7s 4d George Peak, corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Mears, corporal, for 53 days, £3 1s 10d Thomas Mears, at his former rank for 39 days, £1 12s 6d Total for the corporals, £20 16s 4d Drummers John Martin, drummer, £5 7s 4d Richard Stafford, drummer, £5 7s 4d Joseph Peckham, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £16 2s 0d Carried forward, £1,046 8s 10½d **Interpretations** William Bannister's death on 8 August 1768 set off a chain of promotions that the split payments recorded to the day. John Allman moved up from corporal to sergeant for the remaining 53 days of the quarter. Thomas Mears filled Allman's place as corporal. Each man's pay was divided at the date of his step up, with no back-dating and no rounding to the month. The figures showed fixed daily rates beneath the quarterly sums. A sergeant earned 20d a day and a corporal 14d. Mears's earlier 39 days came to 10d a day, the rate of a private soldier. Pay was reckoned per day and then multiplied out, so a change of rank or a death could be costed exactly. Captain Kirkpatrick drew his full captain's salary even though the Council had censured him on 19 July 1768 for his false charges against Corneille. The censure was a reprimand recorded in the minutes, not a suspension. His military pay and command of the First Company were left untouched. Samuel Desfountain appeared here as a lieutenant of the First Company, serving directly under Kirkpatrick. He was the officer whose pencilled paper had helped expose Kirkpatrick's charges against Corneille in July 1768. The two men therefore went on serving side by side in the same company after the affair. The adjutant ran the garrison's daily administration: drill, duty rosters, orders and returns. His salary, larger than a lieutenant's but without diet money or house rent, showed that the post was treated as a separate staff appointment rather than a company rank.

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237	230	The 17 October Brought Over£ 1046 8 10½ Centinels James Greentree Cadet 39 Days @ 20d. p day 3 5 - James Avery 3 16 8 James Armstrong 3 16 8 John Buchanan 3 16 8 Thomas Blake Transf. 2 Augt. 1 6 8 John Bell 3 16 8 Moses Boffey 3 16 8 John Barns 3 16 8 Timothy Bryan 3 16 8 Emanuel Bunner 3 16 8 William Benson 3 16 8 Benjamin Barclay 3 16 8 Samuel Bingrove Transf. 9th Aug. 1 12 6 Richard Brown 3 16 8 Thomas Brewick 3 16 8 William Bunn 3 16 8 John Blaven 3 16 8 Edward Caker 3 16 8 William Clifford 3 16 8 Patrick Conner 3 16 8 Andrew Conner 3 16 8 John Charlton 3 16 8 William Coppin 3 16 8 John Davis 3 16 8 John Dove 3 16 8 James Drake 3 16 8 Thomas Durham 3 16 8 James Dunn 3 16 8 George Dyce 3 16 8 Adam Evans 3 16 8 Cent. Carrd. over£ 106 7 2 Carrd. over£ 1049 13 10½	The First Company's pay list continued from £1,046 8s 10½d with its private soldiers. Brought forward, £1,046 8s 10½d Private soldiers James Greentree, cadet, for 39 days at 20d a day, £3 5s 0d James Avery, private, £3 16s 8d James Armstrong, private, £3 16s 8d John Brockhurst, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Blake, private, transferred 2 August, £1 6s 8d John Brill, private, £3 16s 8d Moses Biffen, private, £3 16s 8d John Barnes, private, £3 16s 8d Timothy Bryan, private, £3 16s 8d Emmanuel Bunner, private, £3 16s 8d William Benson, private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Barclay, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Bingrave, private, transferred 9 August, £1 12s 6d Richard Brown, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Brewick, private, £3 16s 8d William Bunn, private, £3 16s 8d John Bacon, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Cocker, private, £3 16s 8d William Clissold, private, £3 16s 8d Patrick Conner, private, £3 16s 8d Andrew Conner, private, £3 16s 8d John Charlton, private, £3 16s 8d William Coppen, private, £3 16s 8d John Davis, private, £3 16s 8d John Dean, private, £3 16s 8d James Drakes, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Durham, private, £3 16s 8d James Dunn, private, £3 16s 8d George Dyer, private, £3 16s 8d Adam Evans, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £106 7s 2d Carried forward, £1,049 13s 10½d **Interpretations** James Greentree's entry tied the garrison's pay to Lieutenant De Laune's death on 8 August 1768. Greentree was paid as a cadet for exactly 39 days, up to that date, and then left the private soldiers' roll. His promotion to lieutenant in the Fourth Company filled the vacancy at once. A cadet was a young man of better standing serving in the ranks while he waited for a commission, and he drew 20d a day, the same as a sergeant. The private soldiers, entered under the old term "sentinels", were paid 10d a day, which came to £3 16s 8d for the full 92-day quarter. Thomas Blake and Samuel Bingrave were each paid only to the date of their transfer, 2 August and 9 August. They probably moved to other companies, where the rest of their quarter's pay would be charged. The clerk carried the privates' running total separately from the main sum. Only Greentree's £3 5s 0d entered the page total, while the full-rate privates were added into a subtotal that ran on to the next page. This allowed the cost of each company's private soldiers to be reckoned as a single block.
238	231	1768 Brought over£ 1049 13 10½ Centl. brought over£ 106 9 2 Henry Everton 3 16 8 Cornelius Fish 3 16 8 William French 3 16 8	The roll of the First Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £106 9s 2d. Brought forward, £1,049 13s 10½d Private soldiers brought forward, £106 9s 2d Henry Cowdrey, private, £3 16s 8d Cornelius Fish, private, £3 16s 8d William French, private, £3 16s 8d William Fisher, private, £3 16s 8d William Greenwood, private, £3 16s 8d

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		William Foster 3 16 8 William Greenwood 3 16 8 John Granger 3 16 8 William Henderson 3 16 8 John Hourston 3 16 8 Edward Haddock 3 16 8 William Holmes 3 16 8 Owen Howard 3 16 8 Phillip Hayes 3 16 8 John Hammond 3 16 8 John Hill entd. 5th Sept. 1 1 8 Sutton Isaacke 3 16 8 William Jones 3 16 8 Duncan McLaren 3 16 8 William Mumford 3 16 8 John McAllister 3 16 8 William Mudge 3 16 8 James Miller 3 16 8 Mathew Oalmen 3 16 8 William Page 3 16 8 Thomas Roberts 3 16 8 William Robinson 3 16 8 Silvanus Rolf 3 16 8 Thomas Rogers 3 16 8 Anthony Reynolds 3 16 8 William Swaby 3 16 8 John Springthorpe 3 16 8 John Skeans 3 16 8 John Steward 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 226 7 6 Carrd. over£ 1049 13 10½	John Granger, private, £3 16s 8d William Henderson, private, £3 16s 8d John Houston, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Haddock, private, £3 16s 8d William Holmes, private, £3 16s 8d Owen Howard, private, £3 16s 8d Phillip Hayes, private, £3 16s 8d John Hammond, private, £3 16s 8d John Hill, private, enlisted 5 September, £1 1s 8d Sutton Isaacs, private, £3 16s 8d William Jones, private, £3 16s 8d Duncan McLaren, private, £3 16s 8d William Mumford, private, £3 16s 8d John McAllister, private, £3 16s 8d William Mudge, private, £3 16s 8d James Miller, private, £3 16s 8d Mathew Palmer, private, £3 16s 8d William Page, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Roberts, private, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, private, £3 16s 8d Silvanus Rolfe, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rosser, private, £3 16s 8d Anthony Reynolds, private, £3 16s 8d William Swaby, private, £3 16s 8d John Springthorpe, private, £3 16s 8d John Rains, private, £3 16s 8d John Stewart, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £226 7s 6d Carried forward, £1,049 13s 10½d **Interpretations** John Hill's pay began on the day he joined the company, 5 September 1768. His £1 1s 8d covered exactly 26 days at the private's rate of 10d a day. Recruits were not paid for the whole quarter in which they enlisted. Their wages were counted from the day their names went on the roll, just as the pay of men who died or transferred stopped on the day they left it.
239	232	[Right-hand money column partly hidden in the binding and at the foot of the page.] The 17 October Brought over£ 1049 13 10[...] Centl. brought over£ 226 7 6 Edward Silverton 3 16 8 William Smitt 3 16 8 Joseph Tracy 3 16 8 James Swanson 3 16 8 William Tapper 3 16 8	The First Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £226 7s 6d, and the list then moved on to the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,049 13s 10½d Private soldiers brought forward, £226 7s 6d Edward Stevenson, private, £3 16s 8d William Small, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Storey, private, £3 16s 8d James Swanson, private, £3 16s 8d William Tipper, private, £3 16s 8d John Tanker, private, enlisted 9 August, £2 4s 2d Joseph Valentine, private, £3 16s 8d John Whittingdale, private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Wise, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Windall, private, £3 16s 8d

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		John Fanton entd. 9th Aug. 2 4 2 Joseph Valentine 3 16 8 John Wittingdale 3 16 8 Benjamin Wise 3 16 8 Thomas Windall 3 16 8 John Weston 3 16 8 George Wall 3 16 8 270 15 - Second Company Henry Bazett Captn. Salary 45 12 6 Michael Groot Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10[...] John Ware Welch Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10[...] Serjeants John Bazett 7 13 4 Stephen Payor 7 13 4 John Fish 7 13 4 George Freeman Disch. 1st Aug. 2 13 4 John Sabourin 60 days 5 " - Do. as Corpl. 32 Do. 1 17 4 32 10 8 Corporals Robert Hopkinson 5 7 4 John Salsbury 5 7 4 Corpl. Carrd. over£ 10 14 8 Carrd. Over£ [...]	John Weston, private, £3 16s 8d George Wall, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the First Company's private soldiers, £278 15s 0d Second Company Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Michael Frost, £27 11s 10½d John Mare Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Mare Welch, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Mare Welch, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Mare Welch, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Bazett, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Stephen Rogers, sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Fish, sergeant, £7 13s 4d George Freeman, sergeant, discharged 1 August, £2 13s 4d John Sabourin, sergeant, for 60 days, £5 0s 0d John Sabourin, as corporal for 32 days, £1 17s 4d Total for the sergeants, £32 10s 8d Corporals Robert Stephenson, corporal, £5 7s 4d John Salisbury, corporal, £5 7s 4d Corporals carried forward, £10 14s 8d Carried forward, £1,[...] **Interpretations** George Freeman's discharge on 1 August 1768 opened a sergeant's place in the Second Company. John Sabourin was promoted into it at once. His pay was split at that date, 32 days as a corporal at 14d and 60 days as a sergeant at 20d. The Company filled vacancies from inside the company and costed each change to the day. John Tanker joined the First Company's privates on 9 August 1768, the same day Samuel Bingrave transferred out. The matching dates suggest one man's departure made room for the other, keeping the company at full strength. The roll was kept at a fixed number of places, and a new man filled a vacancy rather than adding to the total.
240	233	1768 Brought over£ 1453 15 9¾ Corpls. brought over£ 10 14 8 Samuel Parker entd. Corpl. 5 July 5 2 8 William Merrick 60 days 3 10 - Do. as Centl. 32 Do. 1 6 8 20 14 - Drummers John Brown 5 7 4 Patrick Edwington 5 7 4 10 14 8 Centinels Robert Allum 3 16 8 Joseph Banks 3 16 8 Thomas Bewley	The Second Company's corporals continued from a running total of £10 14s 8d, followed by its drummers and private soldiers. Brought forward, £1,453 15s 9½d Corporals brought forward, £10 14s 8d Samuel Parker, corporal, joined 5 July, £5 2s 8d William Merrick, corporal, for 60 days, £3 10s 0d William Merrick, as private for 32 days, £1 6s 8d Total for the corporals, £20 14s 0d Drummers John Brown, drummer, £5 7s 4d Patrick Etherington, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Private soldiers Robert Allen, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Banks, private, £3 16s 8d Malcolm Brooks, private, £3 16s 8d William Brooks, private, £3 16s 8d Jacob Brown, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Bowey, private, £3 16s 8d Nicholas Bustell, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Pye, private, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 8 William Brooks 3 16 8 Jacob Brown 3 16 8 Robert Brown 3 16 8 Nicholas Bushell 3 16 8 Daniel Burge 3 16 8 James Byrne 3 16 8 Jonathan Burden 4 days " 4 8 Do. Centl. 88 Do. 3 13 4 William Conquest 3 16 8 John Crawley 3 16 8 William Carfre 3 16 8 William Carter 3 16 8 John Cunningham 3 16 8 Robert Dickens 3 16 8 William Drummond 3 16 8 John Dayly 3 16 8 Mathew Dunhill Entd. 5th Sept. " 19 2 Peter Ellis 3 16 8 John Forbes 3 16 8 William Fullwood 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 81 10 9 Carrd. over£ 1485 4 5¾	James Byron, private, £3 16s 8d Jonathan Bartley, corporal, for 4 days, £0 4s 8d Jonathan Bartley, as private for 88 days, £3 13s 4d William Sargent, private, £3 16s 8d John Crowley, private, £3 16s 8d William Carter, private, £3 16s 8d William Carder, private, £3 16s 8d John Cunningham, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Dickson, private, £3 16s 8d William Devereux, private, £3 16s 8d John Dayley, private, £3 16s 8d Mathew Burchell, private, enlisted 8 September, £0 19s 2d Peter Allam, private, £3 16s 8d John Forbes, private, £3 16s 8d William Fulford, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £81 10s 9d Carried forward, £1,485 4s 5½d **Interpretations** Jonathan Bartley held his corporal's rank for only the first 4 days of the quarter and served the remaining 88 days as a private. Samuel Parker joined as a corporal on 5 July 1768, the day after Bartley's pay at that rank ended. The two entries together showed Bartley reduced to the ranks and Parker put in his place. A demotion took effect on a set day, and the man's pay fell from 14d to 10d a day at once. William Merrick's promotion completed the chain begun by George Freeman's discharge on 1 August 1768. John Sabourin moved up from corporal to sergeant at that date. Merrick, a private, then filled Sabourin's place as corporal for the remaining 60 days. One vacancy at the top of the company thus produced a step up at each rank below it.
241	234	[Foot of the page and the right-hand money column partly cut off at the edge of the image.] The 17 October Brought over£ 1485 4 5¾ Centl. brought over£ 81 10 6 John Goodsell 3 16 8 John Gray 3 16 8 Robert Green 3 16 8 James Gates 3 16 8 Charles Goulding 3 16 8 William Harris Senr. 3 16 8 William Harris Junr. 3 16 8 Abraham Harding 3 16 8 Samuel Hiles 3 16 8 John Holbrook 3 16 8 James Hudson 3 16 8 Thomas Haylis 3 16 8 James Hogg 3 16 8 John Ham	The Second Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £81 10s 6d. Brought forward, £1,485 4s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £81 10s 6d John Glossop, private, £3 16s 8d John Gray, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Green, private, £3 16s 8d James Gates, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Golding, private, £3 16s 8d William Harris senior, private, £3 16s 8d William Harris junior, private, £3 16s 8d Abraham Harding, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Hiles, private, £3 16s 8d John Holbrook, private, £3 16s 8d James Hudson, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hayter, private, £3 16s 8d James Hogg, private, £3 16s 8d John Hart, private, £3 16s 8d William Hunt, private, £3 16s 8d William Harper, private, transferred to the artillery company, £0 1s 8d Samuel Jesson, private, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d John Jacks, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas James, private, £3 16s 8d John James, private, £3 16s 8d Francis Jackson, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Kitteridge, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Kirkham, private, £3 16s 8d John King, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Miller, private, £3 16s 8d John Morris, private, £3 16s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 William Hunt 3 16 8 William Harper transfd. to the Artillery Compy. " 1 8 Samuel Instone 3 16 8 William Johnson 3 16 8 John Jacks 3 16 8 Thomas James 3 16 8 John James 3 16 8 Francis Jackson 3 16 8 Samuel Kirkham 3 16 8 Henry Ketcham 3 16 8 John Kemp 3 16 8 Henry Miller 3 16 8 John Morris 3 16 8 John McCullen 3 16 8 William Mackbeth 3 16 8 Abraham Miller 3 16 8 Joseph McCartney 3 16 8 Thomas Mathews 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 200 [...] Carrd. over£ 1485 [...]	John McCallum, private, £3 16s 8d William Macbeth, private, £3 16s 8d Abraham Miller, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph McCartney, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Mitchell, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £200 [...] Carried forward, £1,485 4s 5½d **Interpretations** James Hogg was still paid for the full quarter as a private, although the Council had named him to replace Peter Mariot as carpenter's mate. Mariot himself drew the carpenter's mate's pay for the whole quarter. Hogg's appointment therefore had not yet taken effect in the accounts. The Company's skilled workmen were often drawn from soldiers who had a trade, and such a man stayed on the military roll until the civilian post fell vacant. William Harper drew only 1s 8d, two days' pay at the private's rate, before transferring to the artillery company. His remaining pay for the quarter would fall on that company's roll. The artillery was kept as a separate company with its own establishment, and men moved into it from the infantry companies as places opened.
242	235	1768 Brought over£ 1485 4 5¾ Centl. brought over£ 203 8 10 Thomas Morgan 3 16 8 James Mannington Transfd. to the 3d Compy. 5 July " 3 4 Reeves Osborn 3 16 8 George Oliver 3 16 8 Thomas Newton decd. 3 Aug. 1 8 4 Samuel Perry 3 16 8 John Perry 3 16 8 Thomas Palmer entd. 26th Sept. " 4 2 Thomas Richards 3 16 8 William Richardson 3 16 8 Jno. Christr. Rufe 3 16 8 Thomas Stower 3 16 8 Gregory Southernwood 3 16 8 Francis Seale 3 16 8 Frederick Shaffer 3 16 8 George Street 3 16 8 John Tucker	The Second Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £203 8s 10d, and the list then opened the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,485 4s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £203 8s 10d Thomas Morgan, private, £3 16s 8d James Mornington, private, transferred to the Third Company 5 July, £0 3s 4d Reeves Osborn, private, £3 16s 8d George Oliver, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Naylor, private, died 3 August, £1 8s 4d Samuel Perry, private, £3 16s 8d John Povey, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Palmer, private, enlisted 26 September, £0 4s 2d Thomas Richards, private, £3 16s 8d William Richardson, private, £3 16s 8d John Christopher Shefe, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Seaver, private, £3 16s 8d Gregory Southernwood, private, £3 16s 8d Francis Seale, private, £3 16s 8d Frederick Sheffer, private, £3 16s 8d George Street, private, £3 16s 8d John Tucker, private, £3 16s 8d John Vaughan, private, £3 16s 8d John Whyrell, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Whaley, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the Second Company's private soldiers, £270 8s 0d Third Company Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 John Vaughan 3 16 8 John Whyatt 3 16 8 Joseph Whaley 3 16 8 270 8 - Third Company Richard Beale Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carrd. over£ 1856 8 8¾	Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Lambert, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £1,856 8s 8½d **Interpretations** Richard Beale commanded the Third Company while also serving as judge advocate and schoolmaster. His three posts together brought him £65 12s 6d for the quarter, more than any other officer on the island except the engineer. Captaincies of the garrison companies went to the leading civil servants. The same small group of men therefore held the island's military command, legal machinery and education. Thomas Bazett served as a lieutenant in the Third Company and also drew £13 15s 0d as a superintendent. He was the officer Archibald Mitchell had recommended to succeed him as engineer. A lieutenant's pay was supplemented by civil duties, and an able officer was being prepared for a technical post through those duties.
243	236	The 17 October Brought over£ 1856 8 8¾ Serjeants William Roberts 7 13 4 William Clifton 7 13 4 Samuel Johnson 7 13 4 Thomas Pearcy 7 13 4 30 13 4 Corporals John Hilliard 5 7 4 David Scott 5 7 4 John Ireland 5 7 4 Richard Ashford 5 7 4 21 9 4 Drummers John Francis 5 7 4 George Varney 5 7 4 10 14 8 Centinels James Anderson 3 16 8 Henry Brown 3 16 8 Jacob Bull 3 16 8 Mark Bolls 3 16 8 Fredk. Wm. Bird 3 16 8 John Bloxham 3 16 8 Willm. Caleb Baldwin 3 16 8 Abel Wagnell 3 16 8 John Cook 3 16 8 Robert Davis 3 16 8	The Third Company's list continued with its sergeants, corporals, drummers and private soldiers. Brought forward, £1,856 8s 8½d Sergeants William Roberts, sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Clifford, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Samuel Johnson, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Thomas Pearce, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Total for the sergeants, £30 13s 4d Corporals John Hilliard, corporal, £5 7s 4d David Reid, corporal, £5 7s 4d John Shirland, corporal, £5 7s 4d Richard Ashford, corporal, £5 7s 4d Total for the corporals, £21 9s 4d Drummers John Swale, drummer, £5 7s 4d George Varney, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Private soldiers James Anderson, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Brown, private, £3 16s 8d Jacob Bell, private, £3 16s 8d Mark Wells, private, £3 16s 8d Frederick William Beard, private, £3 16s 8d John Blackhorn, private, £3 16s 8d William Caleb Baldwin, private, £3 16s 8d Abel Bagnall, private, £3 16s 8d John Goff, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Davis, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Dudley, private, £3 16s 8d James Dornahan, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Edgels, private, £3 16s 8d William Edwards, private, £3 16s 8d William Foster, private, £3 16s 8d John Ferson, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £61 6s 8d Carried forward, £1,919 6s [...] **Interpretations** The Third Company's sergeants, corporals and drummers all served the full quarter without a death, discharge or promotion. The First and Second Companies had each seen a chain of changes. Here every man drew his whole 92 days' pay. The contrast showed that the movements recorded on the earlier pages came from individual vacancies, not from any general reorganisation of the garrison.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Edward Dudley 3 16 8 James Donavan 3 16 8 Charles Edgels 3 16 8 William Edwards 3 16 8 William Foster 3 16 8 John Foxon 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 61 6 8 Carrd. over£ 1919 6 -¾	
244	237	1768 Brought over£ 1919 6 -¾ Centl. brought over£ 61 6 8 William Ford 3 16 8 Archibald Grayham 3 16 8 Richard Gregory 3 16 8 William Greenup 3 16 8 Felix Hyder 3 16 8 William Hill 3 16 8 William Hopkins 3 16 8 Thomas Hilbrook 3 16 8 Mannord Hayes 3 16 8 Joseph Holloway 3 16 8 Robert Hardie 3 16 8 Peter Higgins 3 16 8 William Hamilton 3 16 8 Josiah Johnson 3 16 8 Richard Johnson 3 16 8 Robert Johnston 3 16 8 William Johnson 3 16 8 James Kemp 3 16 8 John Long 3 16 8 Edward Lambert 3 16 8 Bryan Lynch 3 16 8 James Long Decd. 16 Sept. 3 5 - Thomas Little 3 16 8 Charles Montague 3 16 8 Richard Moyse 3 16 8 Thomas Moris 3 16 8 John Miller 3 16 8 Abraham Major 3 16 8 James Moyse 3 16 8	The Third Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £61 6s 8d. Brought forward, £1,919 6s 0½d Private soldiers brought forward, £61 6s 8d William Ford, private, £3 16s 8d Archibald Grayham, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Gregory, private, £3 16s 8d William Greenup, private, £3 16s 8d Felix Hyler, private, £3 16s 8d William Hill, private, £3 16s 8d William Hopkins, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hillock, private, £3 16s 8d Maynard Hayes, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Holloway, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Hardie, private, £3 16s 8d Peter Higgins, private, £3 16s 8d William Hamilton, private, £3 16s 8d Josiah Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Johnston, private, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d James Kemp, private, £3 16s 8d John Long, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Lamburn, private, £3 16s 8d Bryan Lynch, private, £3 16s 8d James Long, private, died 16 September, £3 5s 0d Thomas Little, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Montague, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Moyle, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Minns, private, £3 16s 8d John Miller, private, £3 16s 8d Abraham Major, private, £3 16s 8d James Moyse, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Morton, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Matthews, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £179 11s 8d Carried forward, £1,919 6s 0½d **Interpretations** James Long's pay ran to the day of his death on 16 September 1768, which came to 78 days at the private's rate. The Company did not stop a dead soldier's wages at the last full month or pay out the whole quarter. The exact sum owed became part of his estate. Like Lieutenant De Laune's balance, it could then be settled with his creditors or passed to his heirs.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Joseph Martin 3 16 8 Thomas Matthews 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 179 11 8 Carrd. over£ 1919 6 -¾	
245	238	The 17 October Brought over£ 1919 6 -¾ Centl. brought over£ 179 11 8 Daniel Masterson 3 16 8 William Metcalf 3 16 8 Charles Morris 3 16 8 James Mannington Entd. 5 July 3 13 4 Charles Newstead 3 16 8 Thomas Perry 3 16 8 Henry Pinston 3 16 8 David Patten 3 16 8 William Perkins 3 16 8 James Proctor 3 16 8 Samuel Parker transfd. to 2d Compy. 5 July " 3 4 William Robinson 3 16 8 Robert Sack 3 16 8 Adam Scott 3 16 8 Arthur Skill 3 16 8 William Smith 3 16 8 John Thompson 3 16 8 Thomas Taylor 3 16 8 George Fennes entd. 26th Sept. " 4 2 Richard Vincent 3 16 8 Thomas Ward 3 16 8 Holton Walker 3 16 8 George Washington 3 16 8 Thomas Wiffington 3 16 8 Samuel Word 3 16 8 James York 3 16 8 271 15 10 Fourth Company John Howard Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Henry De Laval Lieut. 8th Augt. 11 15 2½ James Greentree Lieut. 9th Do. 15 16 8 27 11 10½ Carrd. over£ 2264 6 3	The Third Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £179 11s 8d, and the list then opened the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £1,919 6s 0½d Private soldiers brought forward, £179 11s 8d Daniel Masterson, private, £3 16s 8d William Medcalf, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Morris, private, £3 16s 8d James Mannington, private, joined 5 July, £3 13s 4d Charles Newstead, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Penny, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Puffin, private, £3 16s 8d David Paton, private, £3 16s 8d William Parkes, private, £3 16s 8d James Proctor, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Parker, private, transferred to the Second Company 5 July, £0 3s 4d William Robinson, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Stack, private, £3 16s 8d Adam Scott, private, £3 16s 8d Arthur Shill, private, £3 16s 8d William Smith, private, £3 16s 8d John Thompson, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Taylor, private, £3 16s 8d George Towns, private, enlisted 26 September, £0 4s 2d Richard Vincent, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ward, private, £3 16s 8d Hatton Walker, private, £3 16s 8d George Warrington, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Wellington, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Webb, private, £3 16s 8d James York, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the Third Company's private soldiers, £271 15s 10d Fourth Company John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, died 8 August, £11 15s 2½d James Greentree, lieutenant, from 9 August, £15 16s 8d Total for the lieutenancy, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £2,264 6s [...] **Interpretations** The Bartley and Parker exchange in the Second Company was a planned transfer between companies, not a fresh enlistment. Samuel Parker left the Third Company as a private on 5 July 1768 and joined the Second Company as a corporal on the same day. James Mannington moved the other way and joined the Third Company on 5 July. Parker's promotion was arranged by moving him into a company where a corporal's place had just opened, while Mannington kept the Third Company's private numbers level. Henry De Laune's lieutenancy passed to James Greentree without a single day's gap. De Laune was paid to 8 August 1768, the day he died, and Greentree from 9 August. Their two sums together made up exactly one lieutenant's full quarterly pay of £27 11s 10½d. The Company paid one salary for the post, divided between the outgoing and incoming holder, and the promotion of a cadet cost it nothing extra.
246	239	1768 Brought Over£ 2264 6 3 Serjeants	The Fourth Company's list continued with its sergeants, corporals, drummers and private soldiers. Brought forward, £2,264 6s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Fleming 7 13 4 John Moore 7 13 4 Joseph West 7 13 4 James Fox 7 13 4 30 13 4 Corporals John Dale 5 7 4 Thomas Hilliard 5 7 4 Thomas Williams 5 7 4 John Ward 5 7 4 21 9 4 Drummers George Hill 5 7 4 John Sampson 5 7 4 10 14 8 Centinels John Allen 3 16 8 William Allen 3 16 8 Daniel Armon 3 16 8 George Bennett 3 16 8 Joseph Blackwell 3 16 8 John Beauchamp 3 16 8 John Bewler 3 16 8 William Blackman 3 16 8 James Bullett 3 16 8 William Blevin 3 16 8 Thomas Bailey 3 16 8 Richard Bickerstaff 3 16 8 Thomas Blake entd. 2 Aug. 2 10 - William Corkney 3 16 8 Duncan Cameron 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 56 3 4 Carrd. over£ 2327 3 7	Sergeants John Fleming, sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Moore, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Joseph West, sergeant, £7 13s 4d James Fox, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Total for the sergeants, £30 13s 4d Corporals John Deale, corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Hilliard, corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Williams, corporal, £5 7s 4d John Woods, corporal, £5 7s 4d Total for the corporals, £21 9s 4d Drummers George Wells, drummer, £5 7s 4d John Sampson, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Private soldiers John Allen, private, £3 16s 8d William Allen, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Armin, private, £3 16s 8d George Bennett, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Blackwell, private, £3 16s 8d John Beauchamp, private, £3 16s 8d John Bowler, private, £3 16s 8d William Blackman, private, £3 16s 8d James Bullett, private, £3 16s 8d William Blavin, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Bayley, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Bickerstaff, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Blake, private, joined 2 August, £2 10s 0d William Cathery, private, £3 16s 8d Herman Campion, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £56 3s 4d Carried forward, £2,327 3s 7d **Interpretations** Thomas Blake's two entries showed a single man's quarter split between two companies. He was paid by the First Company up to 2 August 1768 and by the Fourth Company from that date. The 32 days and 60 days together made up the full 92-day quarter. Each company's roll carried only the days a man actually served in it, so a transfer never produced a double payment or a gap.
247	240	The 17 October Brought over£ 2327 3 7 Centl. brought over£ 56 3 4 James Cubbins 3 16 8 Richard Close 3 16 8 Josiah Cummings 3 16 8 John Gleanen 3 16 8 John Quston 3 16 8 Charles Field 3 16 8 Francis Flinn 3 16 8	The Fourth Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £56 3s 4d. Brought forward, £2,327 3s 7d Private soldiers brought forward, £56 3s 4d James Collister, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Close, private, £3 16s 8d Josiah Cummings, private, £3 16s 8d John Cleman, private, £3 16s 8d John Custon, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Field, private, £3 16s 8d Francis Flinn, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Friendly, private, £3 16s 8d John Glenny, private, transferred to the artillery company 2 August, £1 6s 8d George Gibson, private, £3 16s 8d John Gilmore, private, £3 16s 8d Edward German, private, £3 16s 8d

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		Thomas Friendly 3 16 8 John Glenney transf. to Arty. Compy. 2 Aug. 1 6 8 George Green 3 16 8 John Gilmore 3 16 8 Edward German 3 16 8 Thomas Ferris 3 16 8 Henry Hevenburgh 3 16 8 Roger Haydon 3 16 8 James Harris 3 16 8 John Harper 3 16 8 Stephen John 3 16 8 Christian Johnson 3 16 8 Thomas Johnson 3 16 8 John Joyce 3 16 8 James Jordan 3 16 8 Richard Kimpton 3 16 8 Thomas Kyleck 3 16 8 Thomas Lyne 3 16 8 Charles Lewellin 3 16 8 Murdk. McLeod 3 16 8 John Mayer 3 16 8 Thomas McClearman 3 16 8 Robert Nay 3 16 8 John Newton 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. over£ 172 10 - Carrd. over£ 2327 3 7	Thomas Jervis, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Harbaugh, private, £3 16s 8d Peter Hayden, private, £3 16s 8d James Harris, private, £3 16s 8d John Harper, private, £3 16s 8d Stephen John, private, £3 16s 8d Christian Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d John Joyce, private, £3 16s 8d James Jordan, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Kempton, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Kinlock, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lyne, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Lewellen, private, £3 16s 8d Murdoch McLeod, private, £3 16s 8d John Mayor, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas McDiarmon, private, £3 16s 8d Robert May, private, £3 16s 8d John Nelson, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £172 10s 0d Carried forward, £2,327 3s 7d **Interpretations** John Glenny left the Fourth Company for the artillery on 2 August 1768. On the same day Thomas Blake moved from the First Company into the Fourth. Blake's transfer therefore filled the place Glenny had left. The artillery took its recruits from the infantry, and the Council then rebalanced the companies by shifting men from one to another. Each company stayed at its fixed number of privates.
248	241	1768 Brought over£ 2327 3 7 Centl. brought over£ 172 10 - James Nesbitt 3 16 8 John Oswald 3 16 8 John Pluck 3 16 8 Daniel Patrick 3 16 8 Stephen Papps 3 16 8 William Parker 3 16 8 Thomas Pritchard 3 16 8 John Pink 3 16 8 Benjamin Poole 3 16 8 James Richardson 3 16 8 Thomas Rutherford 3 16 8	The Fourth Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £172 10s 0d, and the list then opened the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £2,327 3s 7d Private soldiers brought forward, £172 10s 0d James Newport, private, £3 16s 8d John Oswald, private, £3 16s 8d John Pluck, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Patrick, private, £3 16s 8d Stephen Phipps, private, £3 16s 8d William Parker, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Pritchard, private, £3 16s 8d John Pink, private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Poole, private, £3 16s 8d James Richardson, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rutherford, private, £3 16s 8d John Shaw, private, £3 16s 8d William Seaman, private, £3 16s 8d John Slade, private, £3 16s 8d William Stedman, private, £3 16s 8d William Sharpe, private, £3 16s 8d John Terry, private, £3 16s 8d John Tolledell, private, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Thorrell, private, £3 16s 8d William Varley, private, £3 16s 8d

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		John Shaw 3 16 8 William Scotman 3 16 8 John Slade 3 16 8 William Sedman 3 16 8 William Sharpe 3 16 8 John Sorry 3 16 8 John Tetchell 3 16 8 Jeremiah Worrall 3 16 8 William Waite 3 16 8 Thomas Watts 3 16 8 James Willson 3 16 8 James Walter 3 16 8 Samuel Willson 3 16 8 John Words 3 16 8 John White 3 16 8 272 3 4 Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Nathan Campbell Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carrd. over£ 2672 11 3½	Thomas Watts, private, £3 16s 8d James Wilson, private, £3 16s 8d James Walker, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Wilson, private, £3 16s 8d John Worth, private, £3 16s 8d Peter White, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the Fourth Company's private soldiers, £272 3s 4d Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sempill, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sempill, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sempill, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Nathan Sempill, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £2,672 11s 3½d **Interpretations** Archibald Mitchell commanded the Artillery Company as well as serving as engineer. His captain's salary of £45 12s 6d came on top of the £77 10s 0d he drew as engineer, making £123 2s 6d for the quarter. This was the largest income on the island's pay list. Placing the guns and the fortifications under one man made sense on St Helena, where the batteries Mitchell was building at Purling's Battery, Munden's Point and Lemon Valley were the artillery's own stations.
249	242	The 17 October Brought over£ 2672 11 3½ Thomas Leech Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Whitehurst 9 4 - Adam Watson 9 4 - John Shirtley 9 4 - Thomas Collins 9 4 - 36 16 - Corporals Nicholas Hodson 6 18 - Robert Gibson 6 18 - John Jack 6 18 - John Turner 6 18 - 27 12 - Bombardiers James Pickett 6 18 - David Dennis	The list of the Artillery Company continued with its second lieutenant and its non-commissioned men and gunners. Brought forward, £2,672 11s 3½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Leech, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Whitchurch, sergeant, £9 4s 0d Adam Watson, sergeant, £9 4s 0d John Shirley, sergeant, £9 4s 0d Thomas Collier, sergeant, £9 4s 0d Total for the sergeants, £36 16s 0d Corporals Nicholas Hoskin, corporal, £6 18s 0d Robert Gibson, corporal, £6 18s 0d John Jack, corporal, £6 18s 0d John Turner, corporal, £6 18s 0d Total for the corporals, £27 12s 0d Bombardiers James Garfett, bombardier, £6 18s 0d David Dennis, bombardier, £6 18s 0d Thomas Tyler, bombardier, £6 18s 0d Samuel Smith, bombardier, £6 18s 0d Total for the bombardiers, £27 12s 0d Gunners John Smith, gunner, £6 2s 8d Thomas McFarling, gunner, died 1 August, £2 2s 8d Thomas Jones, gunner, £6 2s 8d William Ashford, gunner, £6 2s 8d Sedgwick Wetherall, gunner, £6 2s 8d

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		6 18 - Thomas Tyler 6 18 - Samuel Smith 6 18 - 27 12 - Gunners John Smith 6 2 8 Thomas McFarling disd. 1 Augt. 2 2 8 Thomas Jones 6 2 8 William Stapleford 6 2 8 Sedgwick Netherol 6 2 8 John Dobson 6 2 8 Charles Abraham 6 2 8 John Corfoot 6 2 8 William Durham 60 days @ 1/4 4 " - Do. Matross 32 Do. @ 1/ 1 12 - 50 13 4 Carrd. over£ 2842 16 6	John Dobson, gunner, £6 2s 8d Charles Abraham, gunner, £6 2s 8d John Garfett, gunner, £6 2s 8d William Durham, gunner, for 60 days at 16d a day, £4 0s 0d William Durham, as matross for 32 days at 12d a day, £1 12s 0d Total for the gunners, £50 13s 4d Carried forward, £2,842 16s 6d **Interpretations** The artillery was paid at a markedly higher rate than the infantry at every level. An artillery sergeant drew 24d a day against 20d in the foot companies, and an artillery corporal 18d against 14d. A matross, the artillery's private soldier who helped the gunners load, aim and move the guns, earned 12d a day against the infantryman's 10d. The premium reflected the skill and training needed to serve heavy guns, and it explained why men transferred into the artillery from the infantry companies. Thomas McFarling's death on 1 August 1768 set off the same kind of chain seen in the infantry. William Durham moved up from matross to gunner for the remaining 60 days of the quarter. John Glenny and William Harper both transferred into the artillery from the foot companies at about this time. Their arrival probably filled the matross place that Durham's promotion left open. The bombardiers formed a separate rank, paid the same as the corporals. A bombardier was trained in charging and firing mortars and handling explosive shells, a more specialised task than ordinary gunnery. Their presence showed that the island's defences included high-angle weapons as well as cannon firing directly out to sea.
250	243	1768 Brought over£ 2842 16 6 Drummers George Gerrard 5 7 4 Joseph Purdey 5 7 4 10 14 8 Matrosses Benjamin Burton 4 12 - William Brown 4 12 - John Cope 4 12 - John Criswell 4 12 - Robert Cunningham 4 12 - Phillip Conaway 4 12 - Mathew Chelton 4 12 - Daniel Fenn 4 12 - Joseph Fellows Disd. 8 Augt. 1 19 - Robert Fenwick 4 12 - John Fox 4 12 - Christr. Greenwald 4 12 - Thomas Gerrard 4 12 - Thomas Green 4 12 - John Glenney entd. 2 Do. 3 " - William Hodges	The Artillery Company's list continued with its drummers and its matrosses. Brought forward, £2,842 16s 6d Drummers George Chamitt, drummer, £5 7s 4d Joseph Purdey, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Matrosses Benjamin Burton, matross, £4 12s 0d William Brown, matross, £4 12s 0d John Cope, matross, £4 12s 0d John Creswell, matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Cunningham, matross, £4 12s 0d Phillip Conaway, matross, £4 12s 0d Mathew Charlton, matross, £4 12s 0d Daniel Finn, matross, £4 12s 0d Joseph Fellows, matross, discharged 8 August, £1 19s 0d Robert Frankish, matross, £4 12s 0d John Fox, matross, £4 12s 0d Christopher Gronewald, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Gorall, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Green, matross, £4 12s 0d John Glenny, matross, joined 2 August, £3 0s 0d William Hodges, matross, £4 12s 0d William Halsall, matross, £4 12s 0d Benjamin Holmes, matross, £4 12s 0d William Harper, matross, joined 13 September, £0 18s 0d William Jenkins, matross, £4 12s 0d William Luke, matross, £4 12s 0d John Lewis, matross, £4 12s 0d Daniel Maloney, matross, £4 12s 0d George Marshall, matross, £4 12s 0d Jonathan Mallett, matross, £4 12s 0d John Moore, matross, £4 12s 0d Patrick Mahoney, matross, £4 12s 0d Matrosses carried forward, £116 5s 0d Carried forward, £2,853 11s 2d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 12 - William Halbert 4 12 - Benjamin Holmes 4 12 - William Harper Entd. 13 Sept. " 18 - William Jenkins 4 12 - William Luke 4 12 - John Lewis 4 12 - Daniel Maloney 4 12 - George Marshall 4 12 - Jonathan Mullett 4 12 - John Moore 4 12 - Patrick Mahoney 4 12 - Matrosses Carrd. over£ 116 5 - Carrd. over£ 2853 11 2	John Glenny's entry confirmed that he took the matross's place left open by William Durham's promotion. Durham became a gunner after 1 August 1768, when Thomas McFarling died, and Glenny joined the artillery on 2 August. His pay rose at once from the infantry's 10d a day to the matross's 12d. The vacancy was filled on the first possible day. William Harper's two entries left a gap that neither roll covered. The Second Company paid him for only two days in early July, and the artillery paid him only from 13 September. For roughly 10 weeks between the two dates he drew no pay from either company. The record gave no reason, but a soldier was not paid while absent from duty, confined or otherwise struck off strength. Harper probably entered the matross place opened by Joseph Fellows's discharge on 8 August 1768.
251	244	The 17 October Brought Over£ 2853 11 2 Matrosses brought Over£ 116 5 - Thomas Nimble 4 12 - Esau Nowland 4 12 - Martin Newman 4 12 - John Osborne 4 12 - William Phillips 4 12 - William Robinson 4 12 - Samuel Bingrow entd. 9th Aug. 2 13 - Godfrey Smith 4 12 - William Stone 4 12 - Andrew Tedrick 4 12 - Thomas Watts disd. 12th Sept. 3 14 - John Webley 4 12 - Richard Wellman 4 12 - Thomas Wyatt 4 12 - Richard Waterhouse 4 12 - John Willson 4 12 - Thomas Yates 4 12 - 191 12 - £ 3045 3 2	The Artillery Company's matrosses continued from a running total of £116 5s 0d, closing the quarter's pay list. Brought forward, £2,853 11s 2d Matrosses brought forward, £116 5s 0d Thomas Nimble, matross, £4 12s 0d Esau Nowland, matross, £4 12s 0d Martin Newman, matross, £4 12s 0d John Osborne, matross, £4 12s 0d William Phillips, matross, £4 12s 0d William Robinson, matross, £4 12s 0d Samuel Bingrave, matross, joined 9 August, £2 13s 0d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 12s 0d William Stone, matross, £4 12s 0d Andrew Tedrick, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Watts, matross, discharged 12 September, £3 14s 0d John Webley, matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Wellman, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Wyatt, matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Waterhouse, matross, £4 12s 0d John Wilson, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Yates, matross, £4 12s 0d Total for the matrosses, £191 12s 0d Total for the quarter, £3,045 3s 2d **Interpretations** The artillery's three recruits from the infantry each entered on the day after a matross place fell vacant. John Glenny joined on 2 August 1768, the day after Thomas McFarling's death set off William Durham's promotion. Samuel Bingrave left the First Company and joined the artillery on 9 August, the day after Joseph Fellows was discharged. William Harper arrived on 13 September, the day after Thomas Watts's discharge. The artillery was kept at a fixed strength, and the infantry companies served as its reserve of trained men. The full quarter's pay for the island's civil and military establishment came to £3,045 3s 2d. Roughly £550 of this went to the civil servants, surgeons, craftsmen and other employees. The rest paid the officers and men of the four foot companies and the artillery. The garrison was by far the largest charge on the Company's St Helena accounts. The island existed chiefly as a fortified base for the East India ships, and its pay list reflected that purpose. A Thomas Yates also appeared earlier in the list as clerk of the church, paid £5 0s 0d for the quarter. He was perhaps the same man as the matross,

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			earning an extra wage on top of his military pay. Civil posts held by soldiers were common on an island with few free men to fill them.
252	245	Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1768 Sept. 30 To Cash Received£ 3978 6 4¼ Carrd. over£ 3978 6 4¼ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Aug. 4th By Cash paid Sundy. Garrison Men for 12 days Work in the Stores " 12 - 10th By Cash paid Wm. French for sowing Sacking for Colts 1 " - By Cash paid Hugh Jones for 2 Empty Leagrs. by order of the Govern. 1 " - 6th By Cash paid Sundy. Garrison Men for 12¼ days Work in the Stores " 12 3 10th By Cash paid Do. Do. for 10 days Work Do. " 10 - 12 By Cash paid Captn. Riddell of the Ship Adl. Pocock as under p his Bill 1 Jo. Hawser half Worn wt. 3.2.0 @ 17/9 p Ct. £ 3 2 1½ 57½ lb. Wax Candles @ 2/ p lb. 6 18 1½ 37½ Gall. Sweet Oil @ 6/3 p G. 11 15 11¼ 2 Cable Junk @ 17/9 p C. 1 15 6 9 lb. Turpentine @ /5½ p lb. 2 3 7½ 2 Fish Tackles Hooks, Strops Hooks & Thimbles " 15 - 26 10 1¾ Carrd. over£ 30 4 4¾	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster recorded the cash he received and the payments he made from it. Received 30 September 1768, cash received, £3,978 6s 4¼d Carried forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d Paid 3 July 1768, to various garrison men for 12 days' work in the stores, £0 12s 0d 10 July 1768, to William French for sewing sacking for cots, £1 0s 0d 10 July 1768, to Hugh Jones for 2 empty leaguers, by the Governor's order, £1 0s 0d 6 August 1768, to various garrison men for 12¼ days' work in the stores, £0 12s 3d 10 August 1768, to the same men for 10 days' work in the stores, £0 10s 0d 12 August 1768, to Captain Riddell of the *Admiral Pocock*, for the goods on his bill: 1 half-worn 7½-inch hawser, 3 hundredweight 2 quarters at 17s 9d a hundredweight, £3 2s 1½d 57½ pounds of wax candles at 2s [...] a pound, £6 18s 11½d 37½ gallons of olive oil at 6s 3[...] a gallon, £11 15s 11¼d 2 hundredweight of old cable at 17s 9d a hundredweight, £1 15s 6d 93 pounds of turpentine at 5[...] a pound, £2 3s 7½d 2 fish tackle blocks, with strap hooks and thimbles, £0 15s 0d Total for Captain Riddell's bill, £26 10s 1¾d Carried forward, £30 4s 4¾d **Interpretations** Captain Riddell's bill showed the Company buying ship's stores directly from a commander in the road. The *Admiral Pocock* was the ship in which Daniel Corneille sailed on 14 August 1768, two days after this payment. A departing ship's surplus or worn gear was a ready source of supply for an island with no rope-walk, chandlery or oil press of its own. Half-worn hawser and old cable, sold by weight as "junk", were cut up for lashings, oakum and the many small uses ashore where new rope would have been wasted. Several of the goods would be unfamiliar today. A leaguer was a very large cask, holding roughly 150 gallons, used for water and arrack on East India ships. Empty leaguers were valued on St Helena for storing water and provisions. Sweet oil was olive oil, used for lamps, cooking and medicine. Turpentine served for paints, varnish and the treatment of timber and rigging. A fish tackle was the purchase used to haul an anchor's flukes up to the ship's side, and its blocks with their hooks and metal thimbles would have served the island's cranes and landing gear. The storehouse labour was paid by the day to men drawn from the garrison. Soldiers were set to work in the stores for a few days at a time and paid a small extra wage in cash. The arrangement spared the Company the cost of permanent labourers, using men it already fed and paid.
253	246	The 17 October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1768 Brought Over£ 3978 6 4¼ Carrd. over£ 3978 6 4¼	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account carried its receipts forward unchanged, with no further sums received. Received Brought forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d Carried forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick received the whole of his funds for the quarter as one sum on 30 September 1768. He

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			drew no cash in instalments as payments fell due. Throughout July, August and September he therefore paid the storehouse labourers, William French, Hugh Jones and Captain Riddell before the money was formally issued to him. Either he advanced these sums himself or the treasury allowed him to draw against an issue recorded only when the quarter closed. The single entry made the paymaster's account a record of what he had already spent rather than a running ledger of cash in hand.
254	247	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 30 4 4¾ Aug. 16th By Cash paid by order of the Govern. for a Man coming from Mundens Point with an Acct. of a Ship seen 7 leagues off " 2 6 22 By Cash paid by order of the Govern. & Council for an Ink Stand for the Consultn. Tables 8 10 - 10th By Cash paid John Fanton for enlistg. to serve the H. Company as a Soldr. for five Years subject to the Articles of War his time to commence this 10th day of Augt. 1768 3 - - Sept. 5th By Cash paid John Hill for enlistg. to serve the H. Compy. as above subject to the Articles of War his time to Commence this 5th day of Sept. 1768 10 - - Aug. 29th By Cash paid Sundy. Garrison Men for 15 days Work in the Stores getting the Charter party from the Ship Greenwich " 15 - By Cash paid Do. for 8¾ days Do. Do. from the Ship Egmont " 8 9 Sept. 8th By Cash paid Matw. Dunhill for enlistg. to serve the H. Company five Years as a Soldr. subj. to the Articles of War his Time to Commence this 8th day of Sept. 1768 10 - - 10 By Cash paid Captn. Mears for 30 Pieces of Rope each contg. 42 fms. @ 2/ p fm. 126 - - 17 By Cash pd. Do. for a Large Tea Table bought for the use of the Castle 4 3 - By Cash pd. Capt. Hook for 9 Bushl. Coals for the Honble. Compys. Use at 2/ p Bushl. " 18 - By Cash pd. Do. for the Passage of Jas. Black late Gardner to England 5 - - By Cash pd. Sundry Garrison Men emp. bringing provision from the Egmont 4 days " 4 - By Cash pd. Do. emp. in the Stores taking an Inventory 3¾ days " 3 9 By Cash pd. Thos. Watts Taylor by Order of the Govr. for Making a Suit of Cloaths for the Porter of the Court " 1 - 26th By Cash pd. Thomas Palmer for Enlisting to Serve the Honble.	Captain Kirkpatrick's payments as paymaster continued from a running total of £30 4s 4¾d. Brought forward, £30 4s 4¾d 16 August 1768, by the Governor's order, to a man who came from Munden's Point to report a ship sighted 9 leagues out, £0 2s 6d 22 August 1768, by order of the Governor and Council, for a roasting jack for the Company's table, £8 10s 0d 10 August 1768, to John Tanker for enlisting as a soldier for five years under the Articles of War, his service to run from 10 August 1768, £5 0s 0d 5 September 1768, to John Hill for enlisting on the same terms, his service to run from 5 September 1768, £10 0s 0d 29 August 1768, to various garrison men for 13 days' work in the stores landing the [...] from the ship *Greenwich*, £0 15s 0d 29 August 1768, to the same men for 8¾ days' similar work on goods from the ship *Egmont*, £0 8s 9d 8 September 1768, to Mathew Burchell for enlisting as a soldier for five years under the Articles of War, his service to run from 8 September 1768, £10 0s 0d 10 September 1768, to Captain Mears for 30 tierces of beef at [...] each, £126 0s 0d 17 September 1768, to Captain Mears for a mahogany tea table bought for the Council's use, £4 5s 0d 17 September 1768, to Captain Hook for 9 bushels of oats for the Company's use at 2s a bushel, £0 18s 0d 17 September 1768, to Captain Hook for the passage of James Black, the former gardener, to England, £5 0s 0d 17 September 1768, to various garrison men for 4 days spent bringing provisions ashore from the *Egmont*, £0 4s 0d 17 September 1768, to the same men for 3¾ days in the stores taking the inventory, £0 3s 9d 17 September 1768, by the Governor's order, to Thomas Watts, tailor, for making a suit of clothes for the porter of the Castle, £1 0s 0d 26 September 1768, to Thomas Palmer for enlisting as a soldier for five years under the Articles of War, his service to run from 26 September 1768, £5 0s 0d 26 September 1768, to George Towns for enlisting on the same terms, £2 10s 0d Carried forward, £211 4s 7¾d **Interpretations** The enlistment payments explained the new names on the pay roll. John Hill, Mathew Burchell, Thomas Palmer and George Towns each received a bounty on the day his service began. Those dates matched the dates from which the companies paid them. Every recruit signed for five years and placed himself under the Articles of War, the code of military law that governed discipline, desertion and punishment. The bounty bought the Company a man already on the island, probably a sailor or passenger from a visiting ship. This was far cheaper than recruiting in England and paying his passage out.

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		Compy. five years as a Soldier Subject to the Articles of War his time to Commence the 26 day of Sept. 1768 " 5 - By Cash paid Geo. Fennes for Enlistg. to Serve as Above 2 10 - Carried Over£ 211 4 4¾	The bounties varied sharply, from £10 0s 0d for Hill and Burchell to £5 0s 0d for Tanker and Palmer and £2 10s 0d for Towns. The record gave no reason for the difference. The Company perhaps paid more for a man who was fit, experienced or in particular demand. Where a recruit was already partly bound, by debt or by an earlier engagement, it probably paid less. The reward to the man from Munden's Point showed how the island's lookout system worked. A ship sighted 9 leagues out, roughly 27 miles, gave the Governor several hours' warning before it reached the road. The small payment encouraged soldiers at the outlying posts to bring such news quickly. Warning of an approaching ship mattered both for defence and for readying provisions and boats. Thomas Watts, the tailor paid for the porter's suit, was probably the matross of that name discharged from the artillery on 12 September 1768. His discharge left him free to work at his trade. The Company then employed him as a civilian craftsman five days later. A tierce was a cask holding about 300 pounds of salted meat. Salt beef bought from a ship's commander supplied the garrison when the island's own cattle could not meet demand. At £126 0s 0d, the 30 tierces made up by far the largest item on the page.
255	248	The 17 October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. Brought over£ 3978 6 4¼ Carrd. over£ 3978 6 4¼	The receipts side of Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account again carried its total forward with no new entries. Received Brought forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d Carried forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d **Interpretations** The paymaster's account was copied into the record of the consultation of 17 October 1768, alongside the quarter's pay list. Entering it there placed Kirkpatrick's handling of nearly £4,000 directly before the Council and, through the copy sent home, before the Court of Directors. Kirkpatrick had been censured for his conduct only three months earlier. Each payment he made on the Governor's order was set out against the funds issued to him, so that his use of the Company's money could be checked item by item.
256	249	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 211 4 7¾ Sept. 26th By Cash paid for subsist. of Sundy. Dutch Men in this Quarter 1 12 - By Cash paid Saml. Parker for 33 days Work as Gardiner from the 29th Augt. to the 30th day of Sept. 1768 inclusive @ 1/ p day 1 13 - By Cash paid Jno. Robins Armourer for 1½ lb. of Rivets 13d. for the use " 16 3 By Cash paid Do. for 9 Flat Files @ 1/ for Do. of the Shop " 9 - By Cash paid Do. for 4 Bottles of Oil for Do. " 18 - By Cash paid Wm. Jenkins for 117 Batch of Bread Bakg. this Quar. @ 20d. 9 15 - By Cash paid Wm. Holbrook for 78 days Work of a Labour. this Qr. 3 18 - By Cash paid the Clerk of the Assz. & the Porter of the Court " 12 6	Captain Kirkpatrick's payments as paymaster continued from a running total of £211 4s 7¾d. Brought forward, £211 4s 7¾d 26 September 1768, for the subsistence of various discharged men during the quarter, £1 12s 0d To Samuel Parker for 33 days' work as gardener from 29 August to 30 September 1768 inclusive, at 1s a day, £1 13s 0d To John Robins, armourer, for 19½ pounds of rivets at 10d a pound for the workshop, £0 16s 3d To John Robins for 9 flat files at 1s each for the workshop, £0 9s 0d To John Robins for 4 bottles of oil for the workshop, £0 18s 0d To William Jenkins for baking 117 batches of bread at 20d each, £9 15s 0d To William Holbrook for 78 days' work by a labourer at 1s a day, £3 18s 0d To the clerk, for the porter of the court's account, £0 12s 6d To Henry Kirkham for 12 pieces of salt meat left in the stores, money being allowed him instead to buy fresh, £1 6s 0d To Henry Kirkham for his diet allowance from the Company, £1 12s 6d To Henry Kirkham for house rent, £1 0s 0d

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		By Cash paid Nevg. Pinkhallam for 13 lb. Salt Meat left in the Stores he being indulged w. money to buy Fresh 1 6 - By Cash paid his Usual Allowance from the H. Company 1 12 6 By Cash paid Do. for House Rent for Do. 1 " " July 6 By Cash paid Capt. Bazett for 60 Loaf Sugr. @ 9d. p lb. for the use of the Honble. Compys. Table 2 7 6 By Cash paid for the following Particulars bought by Order of the Govr. for the use of the H. Compys. Table 30th 10 Turkeys Grown @ 5/ ea £ 2 10 - 14 Half Do. 2 2 - 8 Capons half Do. " 5 4 11 Fowls Grown @ 1/6 " 16 6 15 Do. half Do. @ 1/ " 15 - 16 Do. Middg. Sizd. @ /9 " 12 - 16 Chickens @ /4½ p Do. " 6 - 7 Geese @ 5/ 1 15 - 12 Muscovy Ducks @ 2/ 1 4 - 7 Young Do. @ 1/2½ " 4 4 1 Cape Drake @ 1/6 1 6 - 2 Turkeys @ 5/ ea " 10 - 9 Fowls Grown @ 1/6 " 13 6 10 Third size Chickens @ /6 " 5 - 4 Small Do. @ /4½ " 1 6 12 1 8 Carrd. over£ 249 6 -¾	6 July 1768, to Captain Bazett for 60 pounds of loaf sugar at 9½d a pound for the Company's table, £2 7s 6d 30 July 1768, for the following provisions bought by the Governor's order for the Company's table: 10 full-grown turkeys at 5s each, £2 10s 0d 14 half-grown turkeys at 3s each, £2 2s 0d 8 pigeons at 8d each, £0 5s 4d 11 full-grown geese at 1s 6d each, £0 16s 6d 15 half-grown geese at 1s each, £0 15s 0d 16 third-size geese at 9d each, £0 12s 0d 16 chickens, £0 6s 0d 7 geese at 5s each, £1 15s 0d 12 muscovy ducks at 2s each, £1 4s 0d 7 young muscovy ducks at 7½d each, £0 4s 4½d 1 English drake, £0 1s 6d 2 turkeys at 5s each, £0 10s 0d 9 full-grown fowls at 1s 6d each, £0 13s 6d 10 third-size chickens at 6d each, £0 5s 0d 4 small chickens at 4½d each, £0 1s 6d Total for the poultry, £12 1s 8d Carried forward, £249 6s 0¾d **Interpretations** The garden was kept going without a pause after James Black's dismissal. Samuel Parker was paid from 29 August 1768 at a labourer's rate of 1s a day. Black had drawn a salaried place on the civil list. Replacing him with a day-labourer cut the cost of the post and avoided appointing a new gardener before the Court's approval. Henry Kirkham received money in place of the salt meat due to him from the stores. The Company bought back his unused ration and let him buy fresh food instead. Salt provisions were costly to replace on the island, and a returned ration could be issued to someone else. Fresh meat was also healthier for a man than months of salted beef. The poultry bill showed how the Company's table was kept supplied. This was the common table at the Castle where the Governor, councillors and senior servants dined at the Company's expense. Those who did not eat there drew the table allowances recorded on the pay list. Birds were bought live from the island's farmers and graded by size and age, from full-grown down to "third size" and "small". The scale of the purchase, over 140 birds, reflected the number of officials and visiting commanders who ate there. Muscovy ducks were a large South American breed raised widely in the colonies. The single English drake was perhaps bought to improve the island's stock.
257	250	The 17 October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1768 Brought over£ 3978 6 4¼ Carrd. over£ 3978 6 4¼	The receipts side of Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account once more carried its total forward without any new entry. Received Brought forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d Carried forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d **Interpretations** The receipts stayed fixed at £3,978 6s 4¼d while the payments grew from page to page. By the last recorded payments the paymaster had spent about £249 on contingent items, on top of the quarter's pay list of £3,045 3s 2d. The difference between the two sides would show how much of the issue remained in Kirkpatrick's hands at the close of the account. Any surplus had to be returned to the treasury or carried into the next quarter. This kept the paymaster personally answerable for every shilling not accounted for.
258	251	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 249 6 -¾	Captain Kirkpatrick's payments as paymaster continued from a running total of £249 6s 0¾d. Brought forward, £249 6s 0¾d To John Price, marshal, gaoler and sexton, for the items on his bill:

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		By Cash paid Jno. Price Marsl. Goaler & Sexton as under p Bill 1 Skain of Silk for the use of the Church Book £ - - 7½ 2 Yds. Ferriting " 3 - for the Buril. of Thos. Newton Soldr. died 3 Augt. 1768 " 2 6 for Do. James Long Do. 16 Sept. Do. " 2 6 for Commitment & Banishing Mr. Matt. Bazetts Servt. " 5 - For Do. Lieut. Desfountain, for Mr. Greentree Cato Mr. Rd. Goodwins Robbin & Mr. John Seals Quagy " 6 - for Do. Jno. Fish " 5 - for Do. Josh. Papps " 5 - 1 9 7½ By Cash paid Adam Evans for the use of the H. Compys. for mending a Bag to Carry the Clerk of the Peace Papers to Court " 5 8 By Cash paid John Irvine for the following Articles bought for the use of the H. Compys. Table as under p Bill 536 lb. Beef @ 5d. p lb. £ 11 3 4 4 Piggs @ 5/ 1 " - 20 Doz. Eggs 1 10 - 21 Fowls 1 11 6 Blue Smalts " 14 - 15 18 10 By Cash paid Sundry Garrn. Men for coming express with Alarms this Quart. 1 5 - Sept. 30 By Cash paid for 6314½ days Labour. Work @ Mund. Point @ 1/ p day 315 14 6 By Do. 726½ Do. Stonelaur. Do. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 54 10 1½ By Do. 284 Masons Do. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 21 6 - By Do. 174½ Smiths Do. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 13 1 9 By Do. 98 Lime burng. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 7 7 - By Do. 88 Carpent. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 6 12 - By Do. 69¼ Carpentr. L. J. Boats Do. @ 1/6 Do. 5 3 10½ Carrd. over£ 692 - 5¼	1 skein of silk for the church book, £0 0s 7½d 2 yards of ferreting for the church book, £0 3s 0d For burying Thomas Naylor, soldier, who died 3 August 1768, £0 2s 6d For burying James Long, soldier, who died 16 September 1768, £0 2s 6d For committing and releasing Matthew Bazett's slave Cupid, £0 5s 0d For committing and releasing Lieutenant Desfountain's slave Joe, Mrs Greentree's slave Cato, Robert Goodwin's slave Nobbin and John Seale's slave Caesar, £0 6s 0d For committing and releasing Benjamin Fish, £0 5s 0d For committing and releasing Joseph Gaffe, £0 5s 0d Total for John Price's bill, £1 9s 7½d To Adam Evans, for the Company's use, for mending a bag to carry the clerk of the peace's papers to court, £0 5s 8d To John Irvin for the following goods bought for the Company's table, as on his bill: 536 pounds of beef at 5d a pound, £11 3s 4d 4 pigs at 5s each, £1 0s 0d 20 dozen eggs, £1 10s 0d 21 fowls, £1 11s 6d Other small items, £0 14s 0d Total for John Irvin's bill, £15 18s 10d To various garrison men for carrying word of alarms during the quarter, £1 5s 0d 30 September 1768, for 6,314½ days of labourers' work at Munden's Point at 1s a day, £315 14s 6d For 726¾ days of stonelayers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £54 10s 1½d For 284 days of masons' work there at 1s 6d a day, £21 6s 0d For 174½ days of smiths' work there at 1s 6d a day, £13 1s 9d For 98 days of lime-burners' work there at 1s 6d a day, £7 7s 0d For 88 days of carpenters' work there at 1s 6d a day, £6 12s 0d For 69¼ days of [...] work there at 1s 6d a day, £5 3s 10½d Carried forward, £692 0s 5¼d **Interpretations** The work at Munden's Point cost the Company more than £423 in wages for the quarter, far more than any other contingent charge. More than 6,000 of the days were paid at the plain labourer's rate of 1s. The skilled trades, from masons and smiths to lime-burners and carpenters, earned 1s 6d. These men were mostly soldiers paid extra for working on the fortifications. The Company used its garrison as the island's building workforce instead of hiring free labourers or bringing out artisans from England. The scale of the bill explained how the battery, already more than half built, was advancing so quickly. John Price's bill showed the public gaol being used to discipline privately owned slaves. Cupid, Joe, Cato, Nobbin and Caesar belonged to Matthew Bazett, Lieutenant Desfountain, Mrs Greentree, Robert Goodwin and John Seale. Their owners sent them to the gaol for confinement or punishment, and the marshal charged a fee for each committal and release. The owners were among the island's officials and leading inhabitants. The Company's officer and its gaol thus served as an arm of private slave discipline, with the fees passing first through the paymaster's account. The single gaoler also served as marshal and sexton. Price buried the dead soldiers Thomas Naylor and James Long, kept prisoners and supplied silk and ferreting, a narrow binding tape, for the church

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			register. On a small island one man covered the court, the prison and the burial ground, and was paid for each task by piece. The payment to soldiers for carrying alarms reflected the island's signal system. Lookouts at the outlying posts sent runners to the Castle when a ship appeared or an alarm gun fired. A small fee for each message encouraged them to bring news at speed.
259	252	[Right-hand edge of the page cut off in the image.] The 17 October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1768 Brought over£ 3978 6 4¼ £ 3978 6 4¼ Island St[...]	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account closed with its receipts totalled and posted to the island's general account. Received Brought forward, £3,978 6s 4¼d Total received, £3,978 6s 4¼d Posted to the Island account **Interpretations** The receipts side closed at exactly £3,978 6s 4¼d, the same sum as the single issue entered on 30 September 1768. The account was balanced by making the quarter's issue equal to what the paymaster had spent. Kirkpatrick therefore received no float to draw on. He paid the garrison, the workmen and the tradesmen through the quarter and was reimbursed in one sum when his vouchers were totalled. No surplus remained to be returned. The note "Island" pointed the entry to the general account of the island in the Company's ledger. Every quarter's military and contingent spending was charged there. This allowed the Court of Directors to see the full yearly cost of maintaining St Helena, set against the rents, sales and other income the island raised.
260	253	1768 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Brought over£ 692 - 5¼ Sept. 30th By Cash paid 3158 days Labr. Work @ Banks's @ 1/ p day 157 18 3 By Do. 120 Do. Masons Do. @ 1/6 Do. 9 " " By Do. 104½ Do. Stonelaur. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 7 16 9 By Do. 98 Do. Carpent. Do. @ 1/6 Do. 7 7 - By Do. 42 Do. Overseers Do. @ 1/6 Do. 3 3 - By Do. 14 Do. Painting Do. @ 1/6 Do. 1 1 - By Do. 70½ Do. Smiths Do. @ 1/6 Do. 5 5 9 By Do. 22½ Do. Sailmakers Do. @ 1/6 Do. 1 13 9 By Do. 841 Labour. Work at Lemon Valley @ 1/ Do. 42 1 - By Do. 12 Carpent. Do. @ 1/6 Do. " 18 - By Do. 18 Overseers Do. @ 1/6 Do. 1 7 - By Do. 12 White Washing at Govr. House @ 1/6 Do. " 18 - By Do. 20 Labr. Repg. the Armour. Shop @ 1/ Do. 1 " " By Do. 33¼ days Do. Ladder Hill Path @ 1/ Do. 1 13 3 £ 933 3 2¼ By the Amount of the Pay List 3045 3 2 £ 3978 6 4¼ Helena 30th Sepr. 1768 Errors Excepted (signed) Thoms. Kirkpatrick Paymastr.	Captain Kirkpatrick's payments as paymaster continued from a running total of £692 0s 5¼d and closed with the quarter's pay list. Brought forward, £692 0s 5¼d 30 September 1768, for 3,158¼ days of labourers' work at Banks's at 1s a day, £157 18s 3d For 120 days of masons' work there at 1s 6d a day, £9 0s 0d For 104½ days of stonelayers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £7 16s 9d For 98 days of carpenters' work there at 1s 6d a day, £7 7s 0d For 42 days of overseers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £3 3s 0d For 14 days of painting there at 1s 6d a day, £1 1s 0d For 70½ days of smiths' work there at 1s 6d a day, £5 5s 9d For 22½ days of sailmakers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £1 13s 9d For 841 days of labourers' work at Lemon Valley at 1s a day, £42 1s 0d For 12 days of carpenters' work at Lemon Valley at 1s 6d a day, £0 18s 0d For 18 days of overseers' work at Lemon Valley at 1s 6d a day, £1 7s 0d For 12 days of whitewashing at the Country House at 1s 6d a day, £0 18s 0d For 20 days of labourers' work repairing the armourer's shop at 1s a day, £1 0s 0d For 33¼ days of labourers' work on the Ladder Hill path at 1s a day, £1 13s 3d Total for the contingent payments, £933 3s 2¼d For the amount of the pay list, £3,045 3s 2d Total paid, £3,978 6s 4¼d Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster at St Helena on 30 September 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. The copy was then checked against the original. **Interpretations** The account still recorded the battery under its old name of Banks's, although the Council had

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			renamed it Purling's Battery when it was finished in August 1768. More than 3,000 labourers' days were charged there for the quarter. Sailmakers and painters worked alongside the masons and smiths, probably making canvas covers for the guns and painting the new carriages and woodwork. The final finishing of the battery thus fell within this quarter's spending. The 841 labourers' days at Lemon Valley showed the next set of works already under way before the quarter closed. While Munden's Point was still being built and Banks's was being completed, Archibald Mitchell had begun to move men to the third site. The engineer evidently ran the projects in overlapping stages to keep his garrison labour fully employed. He did not wait for one battery to be finished before starting the next. The phrase "errors excepted" was the standard reservation on a merchant's or officer's account. By signing with it, Kirkpatrick declared the figures correct to his knowledge while keeping the right to amend any mistake found later. It protected the paymaster from being held to a slip of the pen. It also left the Council and the Court free to challenge any item on audit.
261	254	The 17 October Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware Houses from the 1st of July to the 30 September 1768 viz. Sold to the Compys. Servants at 10 p Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 6352 lb. Sugar 99 18 6 2263 lb. Candy 51 17 2 151 15 8 Flour viz. 5202 lb. Flour 48 15 4 269 Cwt. 2 qrs. 2 lb. Do. Baked 251 11 - 300 6 4 Tea viz. 348 lb. Bohea 26 5 2 230 Congo 16 10 1 171 Singlo 12 2 3 54 17 6 Sope 781½ lb. 22 16 3 Flannel 46½ 4 3 3 Salt 22 Bushels 4 2 11 Pepper 49 lb. 1 7 6 Candles 76 lb. 32 18 10 Cordage 165¾ 16 4 6 Ticking 47¼ Yds. 8 1 5 Rice 1 Bushel " 10 5 Starch 51¼ 1 2 5 Buckram 15¾ Yds. " 13 9 Shallows 34 Pr. 15 11 8 Coffee 30 1 7 6 Arrack 4 7/8 Gall.	The record of goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses between 1 July and 30 September 1768 began with the sales to the Company's servants, charged at cost plus 10 per cent. Sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent above cost Sugar and sugar candy 6,352 pounds of sugar, £99 18s 6d 2,263 pounds of sugar candy, £51 17s 2d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £151 15s 8d Flour 5,202 pounds of flour, £48 15s 4d 269 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 pounds of flour issued as baked bread, £251 11s 0d Total for flour, £300 6s 4d Tea 54 pounds of Bohea tea, £26 5s 2d 23 pounds of Congo tea, £16 10s 1d 17¼ pounds of Hyson tea, £12 2s 3d Total for tea, £54 17s 6d 731¼ pounds of soap, £22 16s 3d 46½ yards of flannel, £4 3s 3d 22 bushels of salt, £4 2s 11d 49 pounds of pepper, £1 7s 6d 76½ [...] of candles, £32 18s 10d 165¼ [...] of cordage, £16 4s 6d 47¼ yards of ticking, £8 1s 5d 1 bushel of pease, £0 10s 5d 57¼ pounds of starch, £1 2s 5d 16¼ yards of buckram, £0 13s 9d 34 pieces of chelloes, £15 11s 8d 22 pounds of coffee, £1 7s 6d 4⅞ gallons of arrack, £1 3s 1d 3 [...] of jersey yarn, £2 6s 6d 1 grindstone, £0 3s 1d 1 small oar, £0 4s 5d Sailors' clothing of various kinds, £0 11s 10d 12 pounds of lead shot, £0 2s 9d Carried forward, £620 11s 7d **Interpretations** The Company's warehouses worked as the island's main shop. Goods shipped out from England and the East were sold to its own servants at cost plus 10 per cent. The mark-up was modest, covering freight, waste and handling, not a trading profit. It gave the officials, soldiers and their families access to sugar, tea, cloth and household goods. A small, remote island could not otherwise obtain such things at a reasonable price. Several of the goods would be unfamiliar today. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, Congo a better

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 3 1 Kersey 3 1/8 Yds. 2 6 6 Grindstones 1 " 3 1 Oars 1 Small " 4 5 Sailors Cloaths, Mens Shirts &c. " 11 10 Lead 12 lb. Shot " 2 9 Carrd. over£ 620 11 7	black tea and Hyson a fine green tea, all shipped from Canton. Their prices rose in that order. Sugar candy was crystallised sugar, sold in lumps. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap or rice. Chelloes were checked or striped cotton cloths woven in western India and sold by the piece. Ticking was a strong, close-woven cloth for mattress and pillow covers. Buckram was stiffened linen, used for lining and shaping clothes. Jersey was fine combed wool spun for knitting stockings and garments. The largest single item was flour issued as baked bread, worth £251 11s 0d. The Company supplied its own flour to a baker and sold the finished loaves to its servants. William Jenkins was paid by the paymaster for baking 117 batches during the quarter. Bread was thus produced centrally under the Company's control, so that an island with little grain of its own could ration a scarce imported staple.
262	255	1768 Brought Over£ 620 11 7 Beef & Pork viz. 1882 lb. Beef 188 4 - 2435 Do. Pork 243 10 - 431 14 - Rice & Paddy viz. 529 lb. Rice 1 19 - 2167 lb. Paddy 9 18 9 11 17 9 Long Ells viz. 81¾ Yds. Blue 7 6 6 6 1/8 Scarlet " 16 7 8 3 1 Twine viz. 54 Sk. Twine 1 13 9 14¼ Coll. Wick 2 4 6 3 18 3 Canvas viz. 17¾ Yds. Eng. Canvas 3 12 2 22 Do. Oznabrigs " 19 2 4 Yds. Ticklenburghs " 4 - 4 15 4 Corks viz. 16 Gro. 9 Lge. Corks 2 3 11 2¼ Small Do. " 1 7 2 5 6 Earthen Ware 2 Milk Pans " 2 1 Leather viz. 93 lb. Sole 4 10 6 9 Calf Skins 4 9 10 9 " 4 Oil viz. 12½ Gall. Linsed. 2 13 7 6 Bott. Florence 1 " 1 4 Gall. Train " 14 8 1½ Gall. Oil Turpentine	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £620 11s 7d. Brought forward, £620 11s 7d Beef and pork 1,882 pieces of beef, £188 4s 0d 2,435 pieces of pork, £243 10s 0d Total for beef and pork, £431 14s 0d Rice and paddy 529 pounds of rice, £1 19s 0d 4,167 pounds of paddy, £9 18s 9d Total for rice and paddy, £11 17s 9d Long ells 81¾ yards of blue long ells, £7 6s 6d 6⅛ yards of scarlet long ells, £0 16s 7d Total for long ells, £8 3s 1d Twine 54 pounds of small twine, £1 13s 9d 14¼ pounds of cotton wick, £2 4s 6d Total for twine, £3 18s 3d Canvas 1 bolt and 7¾ yards of English canvas, £3 12s 2d 22 yards of osnaburgs, £0 19s 2d 4 yards of tecklenburgs, £0 4s 0d Total for canvas, £4 15s 4d Corks 16 gross 9 dozen corks, £2 3s 11d 2¼ gross of short corks, £0 1s 7d Total for corks, £2 5s 6d 2 earthenware milk pans, £0 2s 1d Leather 9 sides of sole leather, £4 10s 6d 9 calf skins, £4 9s 10d Total for leather, £9 0s 4d Oil 12½ gallons of linseed oil, £2 13s 7d 6 flasks of Florence oil, £1 3s 1d 4 gallons of train oil, £0 14s 8d 1½ gallons of oil of turpentine, £0 8s 6d Total for oil, £4 19s 10d Carried forward, £1,097 7s 9d **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork made up the largest sales of the quarter after flour, at £431 14s 0d. Both were sold by the piece at a flat 2s, not by weight. Salt meat was packed in casks in pieces of standard size, so each piece served as a ready ration unit. The garrison and the servants' households drew their meat this way when the island's own cattle could not supply fresh beef. Several textiles and other goods needed explanation. Long ells were a light, coarse woollen cloth woven in Devon and Somerset, made in long lengths mainly for the East India trade. Osnaburgs were rough unbleached linen named after Osnabrück

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		" 8 6 4 19 10 Carrd. Over£ 1097 7 9	in Germany, much used for slaves' clothing, sacks and work clothes. Tecklenburgs were a similar German linen from the county of that name. Paddy was rice still in its husk, cheaper than cleaned rice and fed to slaves and livestock or husked at home. The four oils each had a separate use. Florence oil was fine olive oil shipped from Tuscany in straw-covered flasks, used at table and in medicine. Train oil was rendered from whale blubber and burned in lamps. Linseed oil and oil of turpentine were the materials for paint, which matched the painting work charged at the batteries the same quarter.
263	256	The 17 October Brought Over£ 1097 7 9 Cutlery Ware viz. 66 Pr. Leathr. Garters 2 1 3 14 fine Ivory Combs 1 14 1½ 28 Buckling Do. " 8 9 22 Horn Do. " 4 1½ 1 Ordy. Ivory Do. " 1 10 1 Horse Do. " " 3½ 1 Cooks Knife " 2 6½ 2 Pudding Do. " 2 2 14 Butch. Do. " 5 10 1 Doz. Ivory Handd. Knives & Forks 1 14 11 4 Shoe Knives " 1 6 12 Pr. Shoe Buckles " 7 - 7 4 4 Books viz. 2 Primmers " " 3½ 4 Testaments " 5 4 3 Bibles " 12 2¼ 6 Common Pray. Books " 19 3½ 3 Spelling Do. " 4 6 2 1 9 Pewter viz. 4 Chamber Pots " 13 8½ 1 Water Plate " 5 6½ 1 Ewre " 18 7 1 17 10 Pitch & Tar viz. 18 lb. Pitch " 1 -½ 1½ Gall. Tar " 1 3½ 24 Rozin " 4 - " 6 4 Shirts viz. 132 Centl. Shirts 33 " " 28½ Brown Holland 2 17 7 4½ Do. Irish Linen 7 11 3	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,097 7s 9d. Brought forward, £1,097 7s 9d Cutlery and small wares 66 pairs of leather garters, £2 1s 3d 14 fine ivory combs, £1 14s 1½d 28 buckle combs, £0 8s 9d 22 horn combs, £0 4s 1½d 1 ordinary ivory comb, £0 1s 10d 1 horse comb, £0 [...] 3½d 1 cook's knife, £0 2s 6½d 2 budding knives, £0 2s 2d 14 butcher's knives, £0 5s 10d 1 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 14s 11d 4 shoe knives, £0 1s 6d 12 pairs of shoe buckles, £0 7s 0d Total for cutlery and small wares, £7 4s 4d Books 2 primers, £0 0s 5½d 4 New Testaments, £0 5s 4d 3 Bibles, £0 12s 2¼d 6 Books of Common Prayer, £0 19s 3½d 3 spelling books, £0 4s 6d Total for books, £2 1s 9d Pewter 4 chamber pots, £0 13s 8½d 1 water plate, £0 5s 6½d 1 ewer, £0 18s 7d Total for pewter, £1 17s 10d Pitch and tar 18 pounds of pitch, £0 1s 0½d 1½ gallons of tar, £0 1s 3½d 24 pounds of rosin, £0 4s 0d Total for pitch and tar, £0 6s 4d Shirts and shirting 132 soldiers' shirts, £33 0s 0d 2 pieces of brown holland, £2 17s 7d 4½ pieces of Irish linen, £7 11s 3d Total for shirts and shirting, £43 8s 10d Carried forward, £1,152 6s 10d **Interpretations** The 132 soldiers' shirts, sold at 5s each, showed how the garrison was clothed. Soldiers bought their shirts and other necessaries from the Company's stores, and the cost was taken out of their pay. The Company thus recovered much of what it paid the garrison through its own warehouse. The men also received standard clothing at a controlled price. The sale of primers, spelling books, Testaments and prayer books supplied the island's school and church. Richard Beale drew a schoolmaster's pay on the same quarter's list. The Company stocked the books children needed to learn to read, along with the Bibles and prayer books used in services. It sold them at cost plus the usual 10 per cent, so families paid for their children's schoolbooks while the Company met the teacher's salary. A few of the items were specialised. Buckle combs were used to set the rolled side curls, known as buckles, of a wig or dressed hair. Budding knives were small blades for grafting fruit trees, a sign of the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		43 8 10 Carrd. over£ 1152 6 10	orchards kept on the island's farms. A pewter water plate had a hollow base filled with hot water to keep food warm at table. Brown holland was an unbleached linen first woven in the Netherlands, used for shirts, aprons and covers.
264	257	1768 Brought Over£ 1152 6 10 Hooks & Lines viz. 375 No. 1 Hooks 1 12 7 150 .. 6 Do. " 12 [...] 400 .. 9 Do. " 16 11½ 325 .. 14 Do. " 5 5½ 2525 .. 16 Do. " 14 8¾ 300 .. 12 Do. " 5 - 200 .. 11 Do. " 4 1½ 20 .. 8 Do. " 1 7¼ 15 Large Do. " 3 3 80 No. 2 Lines 3 13 4 [...] .. 3 Do. 2 18 3½ [...] .. 4 Do. 1 7 3½ 19 Hambro Do. 1 13 3 9 Log Do. " 10 1 14 19 3 Nails viz. [...] lb. 2d. 1 17 11½ 8 .. 3 " 6 8 60 .. 4 2 " " 38 .. 6 1 3 9 [...] .. 10 1 " 3½ [...] .. 20 " 11 3 12 .. 40 " 5 - 10 Clinch " 5 1½ 3 Barrd. " 3 - 1 Copper " " 7½ [...] lb. Glazrs. Brads " 4 1½ 18 Pump Do. " 1 3½ 8 [...] 2 Candles viz. [...] lb. Tallow 1 16 9 9½ lb. Wax Do. 1 10 9 3 7 6 Shalloon 76¾ Yds. Coloured 7 [...] 1 Carrd. over£ 1186 1[...] 10	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,152 6s 10d. Brought forward, £1,152 6s 10d Fish hooks and lines 575 number 1 hooks, £1 12s 7d 150 number 6 hooks, £0 12s 6d 400 number 9 hooks, £0 16s 11½d 525 number 14 hooks, £0 5s 5½d 2,525 number 16 hooks, £0 14s 8¾d 800 number 12 hooks, £0 5s 0d 200 number 11 hooks, £0 4s 1½d 20 number 8 hooks, £0 1s 7¼d 15 large hooks, £0 3s 3d 20 [...] of number 2 lines, £3 13s 4d 10 [...] of number 3 lines, £2 18s 3½d 5½ [...] of number 4 lines, £1 7s 3½d 19 Hamburg lines, £1 13s 3d 9 long lines, £0 10s 1d Total for hooks and lines, £14 19s 3d Nails [...] of twopenny nails, £1 17s 11½d 8 [...] of threepenny nails, £0 6s 8d 60 [...] of fourpenny nails, £2 0s 0d 38 [...] of sixpenny nails, £1 0s 9d 29 [...] of tenpenny nails, £1 0s 3¾d 9 [...] of twentypenny nails, £0 11s 3d 12 [...] of fortypenny nails, £0 5s 0d 10 [...] of clout nails, £0 5s 1½d 8 [...] of board nails, £0 3s 0d 1 [...] of copper nails, £0 0s 7½d [...] of glazier's brads, £0 4s 1½d 18 [...] of [...] nails, £0 3s 5½d Total for nails, £8 6s 2d [...] [...], £1 16s 9d 9 [...], £1 10s 9d Total, £3 7s 6d 7¾ yards of coloured shalloon, £1 10s 1d Carried forward, £1,186 14s 10d **Interpretations** Fishing gear made up the largest group on the page, with more than 5,000 hooks sold in a single quarter. Fish caught from the rocks and from small boats offshore were a staple of the island diet. They made up for the shortage of fresh meat between the arrival of store ships. The Company supplied hooks of graded sizes and lines of several weights. This enabled servants and soldiers to feed their households from the sea and reduced the demand on its salt provisions. Hamburg lines were strong hemp fishing lines of a type exported from that port. Nails were classed by the old "penny" system, from twopenny to fortypenny. The figure originally referred to the price per hundred and later served only to mark size, the higher the number the longer the nail. Clout nails had broad flat heads for fixing leather, canvas or sheet metal. Brads were small tapering nails with little or no head, used by glaziers to hold panes in their frames. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted cloth, named after Châlons-sur-Marne in France. It was used chiefly for lining coats, including soldiers' uniform coats.

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265	258	The 17 October Brought over£ 1186 14 10 Tin Ware viz. 8 Half Gall. Sauce Pans " 6 2 8 Quart Do. " 4 2 6 Pudding Pans " 3 3 4 Lamps " " 9½ 2 Quart Funnels " 7 4 1 Watering Pot " 3 3 4 lb. Solder " 4 1 1 Single Sheet Tin " " 4 1 17 6 Iron Ware viz. 54 Blank Keys 1 16 - 16 Scythe Stones " 3 - 18 Files " 7 10½ ¾ lb. Binding Wire " " 9 8 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 17 - 11 Mouse Traps " 6 10½ 5 Hand Hatchets " 9 7 18 Chest Locks 2 " 7½ 11 Stock Do. 1 12 6½ 10 Spring Rat Traps " 16 8 6 Spades 1 4 3 2 Broad Hoes " 4 10 6 Pad Locks " 10 - 3 Splint. Do. " 2 8½ 7 Pr. Sheep Shears " 10 6 7 Iron Jacks " 2 6 3 Ray Stones " " 8¼ 1 Iron rimd. Lock " 5 5 2 Small frying Pans " 4 5 2 Axletrees & Winches for Grind Stones " 7 4 6 Iron rim'd Locks w. Brass Knobs 2 " 4½ Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 14 3 9¼ Carrd. over£ 1188 12 4	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,186 14s 10d. Brought forward, £1,186 14s 10d Tinware 8 half-gallon saucepans, £0 6s 2d 8 quart saucepans, £0 4s 2d 6 pudding pans, £0 3s 3d 4 lamps, £0 0s 9½d 2 quart funnels, £0 7s 4d 1 watering pot, £0 3s 3d 4 coffee pots, £0 4s 1d 1 single sheet of tin, £0 0s 4d Total for tinware, £1 17s 6d Ironware 54 plank dogs, £1 16s 0d 16 scythe stones, £0 3s 0d 18 files, £0 7s 10½d ¾ [...] of iron binding wire, £0 0s 9d 8 pairs of H-L hinges, £0 17s 0d 11 mousetraps, £0 6s 10½d 5 hand hatchets, £0 9s 7d 12 chest locks, £2 0s 7½d 11 stock locks, £1 12s 6½d 10 spring rat traps, £0 16s 8d 6 adzes, £1 4s 3d 2 broad hoes, £0 4s 10d 6 padlocks, £0 10s 0d 5 [...] padlocks, £0 2s 8½d 7 pairs of sheep shears, £0 10s 6½d 9 iron jacks, £0 2s 6d 3 ragstones, £0 0s 8¼d 1 iron-rimmed lock, £0 5s 5d 2 small frying pans, £0 4s 5d 2 axles and winches for grindstones, £0 7s 4d 6 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £2 0s 4½d Ironware carried forward, £14 3s 9¼d Carried forward, £1,188 12s 4d **Interpretations** The ironware showed the needs of an island of small farms as much as a garrison town. Scythe stones, broad hoes, sheep shears and grindstone fittings served the planters in the country. The 10 spring rat traps and 11 mousetraps answered a constant threat to stored grain and growing crops. Chest locks, stock locks and padlocks were bought in quantity, reflecting a community where stores, provisions and personal goods had to be secured in houses shared with slaves and lodgers. Several of the tools need explaining. Plank dogs were iron staples with pointed ends, driven into timbers to hold planks together while they were fixed. Scythe stones and ragstones were whetstones for sharpening blades. H-L hinges were door hinges shaped like those two letters together, used for cupboards and room doors. A stock lock was a heavy lock set in a wooden case and fixed to the face of an outside door. The axles and winches were the iron spindle and crank on which a farm grindstone turned, matching the grindstone sold earlier in the quarter.
266	259	1768 Brought Over£ 1188 12 4 Iron Ware brought over£ 14 3 9¼ 3 Claw Hammers " 4 9½ 1 Scythe " 4 - 2 Wire Rat Traps " 14 8 8 Iron Pots	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,188 12s 4d. Brought forward, £1,188 12s 4d Ironware brought forward, £14 3s 9¼d 3 claw hammers, £0 4s 9½d 1 scythe, £0 4s 0d 2 wire rat traps, £0 14s 8d 8 iron shovels, £2 0s 0d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 1½d

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		2 " - 1 two foot Rule " 1 1½ 1 Plain. Door Lock w. Brass Knobs " 8 3 1 Cupd. Lock " 3 1½ 6 Doz. Wood Screws " 2 3 12 Round head Hooks " " 10½ 2 Sail Needles " " 2 7 Pickaxes 1 5 4 5 Axe Helves " 3 2½ 1 Gimblet " " 3½ 2 Gard. Rakes " 5 1½ 6 Curry Combs & Brushes " 12 - 1 Pruning Saw " 1 8 1 Hand Do. " 8 4¼ 2 Brick Lay. Trowels " 2 6 1 Lathg. Hammer " 1 10 1 Carpent. Adds " 3 4¼ 5 Pr. Dove tail Hinges " 1 10½ 8 Pr. Bart. Do. " 14 8 3 Gard. Hoes " 3 - 3 Helves for Do. " 2 6 6 Bolt Rope Needles " " 9 2 Pr. Garden Shears " 7 6 1 Chafing Dish " 6 7½ 23 16 3 Paint viz. 36 lb. Indico 3 8 3 3 lb. Blue Smalts " 5 9½ Paint Carrd. over£ 3 14 -½ Carrd. over£ 1212 8 7	1 parlour door lock with brass knobs, £0 8s 3d 1 cupboard lock, £0 3s 1½d 6 dozen wood screws, £0 2s 3d ½ [...] of round-headed tacks, £0 0s 10½d 2 sail needles, £0 0s 2d 7 pickaxes, £1 5s 4d 5 axe handles, £0 3s 2½d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 3¼d 2 garden rakes, £0 3s 1½d 6 curry combs and brushes, £0 12s 0d 1 pruning saw, £0 1s 8d 1 hand saw, £0 8s 4¼d 2 bricklayers' trowels, £0 2s 6d 1 lathing hammer, £0 1s 10d 1 carpenter's adze, £0 3s 4¼d 5 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 1s 10½d 8 pairs of [...] hinges, £0 14s 8d 3 garden hoes, £0 3s 0d 3 handles for garden hoes, £0 2s 6d 6 bolt rope needles, £0 0s 9d 2 pairs of garden shears, £0 7s 6d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 7½d Total for ironware, £23 16s 3d Paint 36 [...] of indigo, £3 8s 3d 5 [...] of blue smalt, £0 5s 9½d Paint carried forward, £3 14s 0½d Carried forward, £1,215 [...] **Interpretations** The garden tools on this page, among them rakes, hoes, shears and a pruning saw, reflected the island's role as a provisioning station. Inhabitants grew vegetables and fruit to sell to the East India ships calling in the road. The servants who bought them were tending kitchen gardens and orchards as well as carrying out their official duties. Several items had specialised uses. Bolt rope needles were heavy sail needles for stitching the rope sewn round the edge of a sail. A lathing hammer had a small axe blade on one side for trimming the wooden laths that held plaster. A chafing dish was a small pan set over hot coals to keep food warm at table. Curry combs were metal combs for grooming horses, sold here with their brushes. Smalt was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, used as a pigment in paint and to whiten linen in the wash. Indigo was the deep blue dye made from a tropical plant, shipped from India and the Americas. Both were blues for painting woodwork and for laundry.
267	260	The 17 October Brought Over£ 1212 8 9 Paint brought Over£ 3 14 -½ 11 lb. Blue Paint 1 7 - 1½ lb. Do. Black " " 11¾ 14 Pound. Blacking " 8 2 31½ lb. Whiting " 19 6 7½ lb. Span. Red dry " " 5½ 8¼ Do. Do. mixed " 4 8 4 lb. Chalk " " 2 6½ lb. Yellow Oaker Mixed " 1 10¾ 8 lb. Brimstone	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,212 8s 9d. Brought forward, £1,212 8s 9d Paint brought forward, £3 14s 0¾d 11 pounds of blue paint, £1 7s 0d 1½ pounds of black paint, £0 0s 11¾d 14 pans of blacking, £0 8s 2d 31½ pounds of whiting, £0 19s 6d 1½ pounds of Spanish red, dry, £0 0s 5½d 8¼ pounds of Spanish red, ground, £0 4s 8d [...] pounds of chalk, £0 0s 2d 6½ pounds of yellow ochre, mixed, £0 1s 10¾d 8 pounds of brimstone, £0 1s 10d 5⅛ pounds of copperas, £0 0s 9¾d [...] pounds of pearl colour, £0 2s 9d 9 pounds of black lead, £0 1s 3d 14 pounds of stone colour, £0 7s 1½d 1½ pounds of yellow ochre, dry, £0 0s 5d 83 pounds of white lead, dry, £1 9s 4¼d

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		" 1 10 5/8 Copperas " " 9½ 6 lb. Pearl Colour " 2 9 9 lb. Black Lead " 1 3 14 lb. Stone Colour " 7 1½ 1½ lb. Yellow Oaker dry " " 5 83 lb. White Lead Do. 1 9 4¼ 16 lb. Stone Oaker mixed " 8 4 1¾ Verd. " 7 6¾ 3 lb. Red Lead " " 9 1¼ lb. Olive Colour " " 6 9 17 7 Turners Ware viz. 2 Scrubg. Brushes " 4 6 11 Paint Do. " 6 2¼ 6 Plaist. Do. " 7 6 3 Shoe Do. " 2 8¼ 5 Cloth Do. " 6 3 4 Labour. Baskets " 5 1 2 Punch Ladles " 1 4½ 1 Birch Broom " " 5 1 14 - Carrd. over£ 1224 - 4	16 pounds of stone ochre, mixed, £0 8s 4d 7¾ pounds of verdigris, £0 7s 6¾d 3 pounds of red lead, £0 0s 9d ¼ pound of olive colour, £0 0s 6d Total for paint, £9 17s 7d Turners' ware 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 6d 11 paint brushes, £0 6s 2¾d 6 plasterers' brushes, £0 7s 6d 3 shoe brushes, £0 2s 8¼d 5 clothes brushes, £0 6s 3d 4 labourers' baskets, £0 5s 1d 2 punch ladles, £0 1s 4½d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5d Total for turners' ware, £1 14s 0d Carried forward, £1,224 0s 4d **Interpretations** The range of colours sold shows the servants painting and maintaining their own houses in Jamestown and the country. Stone colour, stone ochre, pearl colour and olive were ready-mixed shades for walls, doors and shutters. White lead was the base of almost every paint of the period, ground in linseed oil, and red lead was used as a rust-proof primer on ironwork. Whiting and chalk went into whitewash and putty. These were the same materials the Company used on its batteries and buildings, sold on to the inhabitants at the usual mark-up. Several pigments and chemicals were unfamiliar by modern standards. Spanish red was a red iron-oxide earth, the cheapest red paint. Verdigris was green copper acetate, used for green paint and as a fungicide on timber. Copperas, or green vitriol, was iron sulphate, used in ink, black dyes and tanning. Black lead was powdered graphite rubbed on to iron grates and stoves to polish them and keep off rust. Brimstone was sulphur, burned to fumigate rooms and used in medicine and gunpowder. Turners' ware was the trade term for goods made by turners and brushmakers: brushes, ladles, baskets and brooms. The punch ladles were small wooden ladles for serving punch, which the island's licensed punch houses and private households drank in quantity.
268	261	1768 Brought Over£ 1224 - 4 Glass Ware viz. 102 Wine Glasses 2 8 10½ 15 Tumblers " 12 6 8 Beer Glasses " 8 2 2 Quart Decanters " 5 3 18 Sq. Glass 10 by 12 1 9 1½ 111 Do. Do. 8 by 10 3 9 1½ 19 Do. Do. 6 by 8 " 7 1½ 8 Do. Do. 10 by 14 " 9 8 9 3 1 Thread viz. 13 lb. Whd. Brown 4 15 4 14 lb. Cold. 2 6 1 4 oz. Nuns No. 30 " 7 4 7½ Do. No. 36 " 9 2 7 Do. No. 38 " 6 5	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,224 0s 4d. Brought forward, £1,224 0s 4d Glassware 102 wine glasses, £2 8s 10½d 15 tumblers, £0 12s 6d 8 beer glasses, £0 8s 2d 2 quart decanters, £0 5s 3d 18 panes of window glass, 16 by 12 inches, £1 2s 1½d 111 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £3 9s 1½d 19 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 7s 1½d 8 panes of window glass, 10 by 14 inches, £0 9s 8d Total for glassware, £9 3s 1d Thread 13 pounds of whited brown thread, £4 15s 4d 1¼ pounds of coloured thread, £2 6s 1d 4 [...] of nuns' thread, number 30, £0 7s 4d [...] of nuns' thread, number 36, £0 9s 2d [...] of nuns' thread, number 38, £0 6s 5d [...] of nuns' thread, number 26, £0 2s 5d Total for thread, £8 6s 9d Hats 8 men's fine hats, £7 14s 8d 12 boys' hats, £4 1s 0d Total for hats, £11 15s 8d Broadcloth

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Do. No. 26 " 2 5 8 6 9 Hats viz. 8 Mens fine Hats 7 14 8 12 Boys Do. 4 1 - 11 15 8 Broad Cloth viz. 9¼ Yds. Dark Brown 9 5 3 8½ Green 7 13 8 21½ Yds. Do. Blue 20 15 8 7 Do. Buff 6 6 7 7 1/8 Do. Scarlet 7 10 - 8¾ Do. Light Brown 8 8 5 10¾ Do. Black 10 11 - 70 10 7 Carrd. over£ 1323 16 5	9¾ yards of dark brown broadcloth, £9 5s 3d 8½ yards of green broadcloth, £7 13s 8d 21½ yards of blue broadcloth, £20 15s 8d 7 yards of buff broadcloth, £6 6s 7d 7⅛ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £7 10s 0d 8¾ yards of light brown broadcloth, £8 8s 5d 10¾ yards of black broadcloth, £10 11s 2d Total for broadcloth, £70 10s 7d Carried forward, £1,323 16s 5d **Interpretations** Broadcloth was the costliest goods on the page, at roughly £1 a yard. Long ells sold earlier in the quarter cost less than 2s a yard. Broadcloth was a heavy, finely finished woollen cloth from the West of England, used for gentlemen's coats and officers' uniforms. The scarlet, blue and buff lengths were the colours of military coats and their facings. The officers were buying cloth from the Company's stores to have their uniforms made up on the island by tailors such as Thomas Watts. The window glass was sold by the pane in four standard sizes, from 6 by 8 inches up to 16 by 12. Each size fitted a different grade of sash window. The sale of more than 150 panes in one quarter showed houses being built or repaired in Jamestown and the country. Glass came out from England by ship, and a broken pane could not be replaced until the next store ship arrived. Nuns' thread was a fine white linen thread, first made in convents in Flanders and later in Scotland and Ireland. Its numbers marked its fineness, a higher number meaning a finer thread for delicate needlework and lace. Whited brown thread was a cheaper half-bleached linen thread for general sewing.
269	262	The 17 October Brought Over£ 1323 16 5 Serge viz. 39½ Blue Duffle 13 13 2½ 7½ Yds. Do. Brown Do. 2 11 10½ 35¾ Do. Scarlt. Sagathy 5 17 8 11¾ Do. Blue Serge 3 " 2½ 21 P. Prunella 5 4 5½ 2¾ Yds. Scarlet Serge 1 2 2 31 9 7 Haberdashery viz. 69 Sk. Silk 2 " 3 40 Do. Mohr. 1 1 6 9 Cockades " 3 4½ 10 P. Tape " 6 3 5½ Gross White Waist. Buttons " 13 9 3 Do. Shirt Do. " 7 6 5 Doz. Gilt Coat Do. " 7 3½ 13 Gro. Horn Moulds 1 11 11½ 14½ Yds. White Buckram " 17 6½ 6½ Doz. Mohr. Coat Buttons " 3 4½ 10½ Do. Do. Breast Do. " 3 11½ 6½ Do. Silv. Wire Wt. Do. " 17 -½	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,323 16s 5d. Brought forward, £1,323 16s 5d Serge and woollens 39½ yards of blue duffel, £13 13s 2¾d 7½ yards of brown duffel, £2 11s 10½d 35¾ yards of scarlet sagathy, £5 17s 8d 11¾ yards of blue serge, £3 0s 2¾d 2½ pieces of [...], £5 4s 5½d 2¾ yards of scarlet serge, £1 2s 2d Total for serge and woollens, £31 9s 7d Haberdashery 69 skeins of silk, £2 0s 3d 40 skeins of mohair, £1 1s 6d 9 cockades, £0 3s 4½d 10 pieces of tape, £0 6s 3d 5½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 13s 9d 3 gross of shirt buttons, £0 7s 6d 5 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 7s 3½d 13 gross of horn button moulds, £1 11s 11½d 14½ yards of white buckram, £0 17s 6½d 6½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 3s 4½d 10½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 3s 11½d 6½ dozen silver wire waistcoat buttons, £0 17s 0¾d 6½ dozen silver wire coat buttons, £0 12s 7¼d 3 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 3s 0½d Total for haberdashery, £9 9s 5d Braziers' ware 2 five-quart tea kettles, £1 17s 0d 9 three-quart tea kettles, £6 2s 3d 1 six-gallon boiling pot, £1 18s 11½d 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 7s 8d 2 pairs of snuffers, £0 6s 7½d 1 large brass tap, £0 4s 11½d 1 bib tap, £0 3s 9½d Total for braziers' ware, £11 1s 3d Carried forward, £1,375 16s 8d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6½ Do. Do. Coat Do. " 12 7¼ 3 Do. Do. Breast Do. " 3 -½ 9 9 5 Braziers Ware viz. 2 five Quart Tea Kettles 1 17 - 9 three Do. Do. 6 2 3 1 Boiling Pot of 6 Gall. 1 18 11½ 1 Pr. Candle Sticks " 7 8 2 Pr. Snuffers " 6 7½ 1 Large Brass Cock " 4 11½ 1 Small Do. " 3 9½ 11 1 3 Carrd. over£ 1375 16 8	The haberdashery showed that clothes were made up on the island, not imported ready-made. Servants bought cloth, thread, buckram and buttons separately and had coats and waistcoats sewn locally. Horn moulds were plain button blanks sold by the gross, to be covered with cloth or silk by the tailor to match the garment. The graded buttons, from plain shirt buttons through mohair to gilt and silver wire, allowed each man to dress according to his rank and means. Duffel was a coarse, heavily napped woollen cloth named after Duffel near Antwerp, used for greatcoats and blankets. Sagathy was a light, cheap woollen twill, often worn by soldiers and servants. Cockades were rosettes of ribbon worn on the hat as a military or official badge. Their sale beside the scarlet cloth matched the officers' uniform purchases recorded on the previous page. Braziers' ware was the trade term for goods of brass and copper. The 11 tea kettles sold in a quarter confirmed how widely tea drinking had spread among the island's households, matching the tea sold earlier. A bib tap was a tap with a downturned nozzle, fitted to a cask or cistern. Snuffers were scissor-like tools for trimming candle wicks to stop them smoking.
270	263	1768 Brought Over£ 1375 16 8 Shoes viz. 44 Pr. Mens fine Shoes 13 7 8 42 Do. Do. Do. Pumps 11 11 - 10 Do. Channel Do. 3 6 - 593 Do. Mens Ordy. Shoes 97 16 - 1 Do. Do. Midling Do. " 5 - 57 Do. Womens Calimanco Do. 12 2 3 12 Do. Do. Spanish Do. 2 11 - 1 Do. Do. Calf Do. " 2 9 5 Do. Girls Do. Do. " 11 - 5 Do. Do. Calam. Do. " 16 8 14 Do. Boys Do. 2 9 - 144 18 4 Long Cloth viz. 13½ Ps. C 20 " 6 12½ Do. C 45 3 2 9 Do. C 40 12 3 3 Do. W 10 11 3 ½ Do. I 2 13 2 4 Do. L 21 11 4 6¾ Do. Y 7 3 5 1½ Do. [...] 3 16 - 1 Do. 2 3 19 7 ¾ Do. K 2 " 11 1 Do. W3 5 7 10 1 Do. W7	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,375 16s 8d. Brought forward, £1,375 16s 8d Shoes 44 pairs of men's fine shoes, £13 7s 8d 42 pairs of men's fine pumps, £11 11s 0d 10 pairs of men's channel shoes, £3 6s 0d 592 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £97 16s 0d 1 pair of men's [...] shoes, £0 5s 0d 57 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £12 2s 3d 12 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £2 11s 0d 1 pair of women's calf shoes, £0 2s 9d 5 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 11s 0d 5 pairs of girls' calimanco shoes, £0 16s 8d 14 pairs of boys' shoes, £2 9s 0d Total for shoes, £144 18s 4d Longcloth 13½ pieces marked C, £20 0s 6d 12¼ pieces marked E, £45 3s 2d 9 pieces marked G, £40 12s 3d 3 pieces marked H, £10 11s 3d ½ piece marked J, £2 13s 2d 4 pieces marked L, £21 11s 4d 6¾ pieces marked Y, £7 3s 5d 1½ pieces marked [...], £3 16s 0d 1 piece marked Z, £3 19s 7d ¾ piece marked K, £2 0s 11d 1 piece marked W3, £5 7s 10d 1 piece marked W7, £1 1s 3d Total for longcloth, £164 0s 8d Hosiery 14 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £2 16s 0d 134 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £20 18s 9d 2 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 4s 3d 1 pair of men's fine jersey stockings, £0 9s 3d 4 pairs of scarlet breeches, £3 0s 0d 3 pairs of buff breeches, £2 1s 6d Total for hosiery, £29 9s 9d Carried forward, £1,714 5s 5d **Interpretations** The 592 pairs of ordinary men's shoes, together with 134 pairs of thread stockings, were the garrison's issue. With roughly 500 soldiers on the pay list, the quantity amounted to about one pair of shoes per man for the quarter. The island's steep, rocky paths wore out footwear quickly. As with the 132 soldiers'

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 1 3 164 - 8 Hosiers Ware viz. 14 Pr. Mens Worst. Stockings 2 16 - 134 Do. Do. Ordy. Thread Do. 20 18 9 2 Do. Boys Do. " 4 3 1 Pr. Mens fine India Cott. Do. " 9 3 4 Pr. Scarl. Breeches 3 " - 3 Do. Buff Do. 2 1 6 29 9 9 Carrd. Over£ 1714 5 5	shirts sold earlier, the cost came back to the Company through deductions from the men's pay. Longcloth was a plain cotton calico woven in southern India and shipped from Madras, sold in long pieces of roughly 36 to 40 yards. The letters C, E, G and so on were the merchants' assortment marks, stamped on each bale to show the grade and quality of the cloth. The price per piece varied widely between marks, from less than £1 10s 0d to more than £5. The servants could therefore choose cheaper grades for shirts and sheets and finer ones for better linen. Calimanco was a glossy worsted woollen cloth, often patterned or striped, used for women's shoe uppers as well as dresses. Spanish leather was fine cordovan goatskin. Channel shoes had their soles stitched in a groove cut in the leather, so that the thread was protected from wear. Pumps were light, low-cut shoes with thin soles for indoor wear and dancing.
271	264	The 17 October Brought over£ 1714 5 5 China Ware viz. 89 Cups 1 13 1½ 15 Chamber Potts 1 13 1½ 10 Sets Ordy. Dishes & Plates 12 13 4 72 Octagon Soup Plates 1 13 - 32 Do. Meat Do. " 19 4 51 Bowls 2 6 9 5 Tea Potts " 4 7 2 Enaml. Baking Dishes " 5 10½ 8 New Guglets & Basons 1 6 8 1 Old Do. & Do. " 2 7 1 Milk Ewer " 1 1½ 1 Set Round Dishes & Plates 1 " 1 6 Round Soup Plates " 3 4 2 Salled Dishes " 1 8 2 Tureens & Dishes " 13 3 24 18 1 Wine viz. 19 Gall. Mountain 6 " 4 189¼ Do. Lisbon 57 4 9 180½ Do. Mount. 57 3 2 120 8 3 Beer 2 Hogsheads 7 " - £ 1866 11 9	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,714 5s 5d and closed with the quarter's total. Brought forward, £1,714 5s 5d China 89 [...], £1 13s 1½d 15 chamber pots, £1 13s 1½d 10 sets of octagonal dishes and plates, £12 13s 4d 72 octagonal soup plates, £1 13s 0d 32 octagonal meat plates, £0 19s 4d 51 bowls, £2 6s 9d 5 teapots, £0 4s 7d 2 enamelled baking dishes, £0 5s 10½d 8 new guglets and basins, £1 6s 8d 1 old guglet and basin, £0 2s 7d 1 milk jug, £0 1s 1½d 1 set of round dishes and plates, £1 0s 1d 6 round soup plates, £0 3s 4d 2 salad dishes, £0 1s 8d 2 tureens and dishes, £0 13s 3d Total for china, £24 18s 1d Wine 19 gallons of Madeira, £6 0s 4d 184¼ gallons of Lisbon, £57 4s 9d 180½ gallons of Mountain, £57 3s 2d Total for wine, £120 8s 3d 2 hogsheads of beer, £7 0s 0d Total sold to the Company's servants, £1,866 11s 9d **Interpretations** The servants bought £1,866 11s 9d of goods from the Company's warehouses during the quarter. The Company had paid out £3,045 3s 2d on the pay list in the same period. Some three-fifths of the wage bill therefore came straight back to the Company through its own stores. The warehouse was a key part of the island's economy as well as a convenience. It let the Company keep down the amount of coin it had to ship out and recycle the same money from quarter to quarter. The china was Chinese export porcelain, brought from Canton in the Company's own ships and sold in sets and by the piece. Octagonal plates and dishes were a popular export shape of the period. Guglets were long-necked water bottles of Indian origin. Each was sold with a basin for washing, and water kept in them was cooled by evaporation through the porous clay. The three wines reflected the island's place on the sea routes. Madeira came from the island of that name, where outward-bound East India ships called for it. Lisbon was a white Portuguese wine. Mountain was a sweet wine from the hills around Malaga in Spain. Lisbon and Mountain, at about 6s 3d a gallon,

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			made up almost all the wine sold. Madeira was dearer, and on this page the servants bought very little of it.
272	265	1768 Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent viz. Flannel 3 Yds. " 10 3 Shalloon 24½ Yds. Cold. 2 18 7 Serge viz. 3½ Yds. Blue Serge 1 10 5 4 P. Prunella 1 4 2 6½ Yds. Blue Duffle 2 11 1 7½ Do. Brown Do. 3 " 10 8 6 6 Shoes viz. 11 Pr. Womens Calimanco Shoes 2 12 8½ 4 Do. Do. Spanish Do. " 19 2 5 Do. Boys Do. " 19 9 2 Do. Womens Calf Do. " 6 3 3 Do. Girls Do. Do. " 7 6 1 Do. Mens Channel Pumps " 7 6 5 12 10 Hosiers Ware viz. 5 Pr. Mens Worst. Stockings 1 2 6 2 Do. Boys Do. " 4 9 1 7 3 Long Cloth viz. 1 Ps. [...] 3 9 - 1 Do. 2 4 12 8 8 1 8 Broad Cloth viz. 7½ Yds. Dark Brown 8 " 9 6 Do. Blue 6 11 8 1 Do. Buff 1 " 6 5 Do. Black 5 11 6 21 4 5 Buckram 2 Yards " 2 6 Carrd. over£ 48 1 [...]	The record then turned to goods sold to the planters, charged at cost plus 25 per cent. Sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost 5 yards of flannel, £0 10s 3d [...] yards of coloured shalloon, £2 18s 7d Serge and woollens 5¼ yards of blue serge, £1 10s 5d 1 piece of [...], £1 4s 2d 6¾ yards of blue duffel, £2 11s 1d 7½ yards of brown duffel, £3 0s 10d Total for serge and woollens, £8 6s 6d Shoes 11 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £2 12s 8½d 4 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 19s 2d 5 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 19s 9d 2 pairs of women's calf shoes, £0 6s 3d 3 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 7s 6d 1 pair of men's channel pumps, £0 7s 6d Total for shoes, £5 12s 10d Hosiery 5 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £1 2s 6d 2 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 4s 9d Total for hosiery, £1 7s 3d Longcloth 2 pieces marked G, £3 9s 0d 1 piece marked Z, £4 12s 8d Total for longcloth, £8 1s 8d Broadcloth 7½ yards of dark brown broadcloth, £8 0s 9d 6 yards of blue broadcloth, £6 11s 8d 1 yard of buff broadcloth, £1 0s 6d 5 yards of black broadcloth, £5 11s 6d Total for broadcloth, £21 4s 5d 2 yards of buckram, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, £48 [...] **Interpretations** The Company charged the planters a 25 per cent mark-up on the same goods it sold to its own servants at 10 per cent. A planter paid noticeably more for a yard of duffel or a pair of shoes than a clerk or soldier did. The two-tier price rewarded those in the Company's service and kept the warehouse's cheapest goods for the men it paid. The planters, who held land on lease from the Company, were treated as customers rather than dependants. The higher margin also helped cover the cost of supplying an island where the free settlers had no other ready source of imported goods.
273	266	The 17 October Brought Over£ 48 1 1 Shirts 5 Yds. Brown Holland " 11 5 Long Ells 21 Yds. Blue 2 2 10 Hats viz. 2 Mens fine Hats 2 4 - 3 Boys Do. 1 2 10 3 6 10 Thread viz. 3 lb. Col. " 12 - 2 lb. Whd. Brown " 16 8	The planters' purchases at 25 per cent above cost continued from a running total of £48 1s 1d, and the record then opened a third group of sales at 40 per cent above cost. Brought forward, £48 1s 1d 5 yards of brown holland for shirts, £0 11s 5d 21 yards of blue long ells, £2 2s 10d Hats 2 men's fine hats, £2 4s 0d 3 boys' hats, £1 2s 10d Total for hats, £3 6s 10d Thread 3 [...] of coloured thread, £0 12s 0d 2 [...] of whited brown thread, £0 16s 8d Total for thread, £1 8s 8d Haberdashery 8 skeins of silk, £0 6s 0d

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		1 8 8 Haberdashery viz. 8 Sk. Silk " 6 - 9 Do. Mohr. " 5 3 3 Yds. White Buckram " 4 1 1 Gro. Horn Moulds " 2 10 " 18 2 Sold at 40 p Cent viz. Sugar 401 lb. 8 19 7 Candy 252 lb. 7 7 - Flour 359 lb. 5 5 4 Sope 83 lb. 3 5 7 Salt 2¼ Bushels " 10 11 Pepper 3 lb. " 2 3 Candles 14 lb. 2 3 2 Paddy 2752 lb. 8 8 2 Canvas 89 Yds. Engl. " 13 - Pewter 2 Chamb. Pots " 8 10 Books 6 Testament " 1 9 Lead 6 lb. Shot " 1 9 Oil Turpentine ½ Gall. " 3 7 Corks 1 Gross Corks " 3 6 Carrd. over£ 94 3 5	9 skeins of mohair, £0 5s 3d 3 yards of white buckram, £0 4s 1d 1 gross of horn button moulds, £0 2s 10d Total for haberdashery, £0 18s 2d Sold at 40 per cent above cost 401 pounds of sugar, £8 19s 7d 252 pounds of sugar candy, £7 7s 0d 3 hundredweight [...] of flour, £5 6s 4d 83 pounds of soap, £3 5s 1d 2¼ bushels of salt, £0 10s 11d 3 pounds of pepper, £0 2s 3d 14 [...] of candles, £2 3s 2d 2,752 pounds of paddy, £8 8s 2d 8 yards of English canvas, £0 13s 0d 2 pewter chamber pots, £0 8s 10d 1 New Testament, £0 1s 9d 6 pounds of lead shot, £0 1s 9d ½ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 3s 7d 1 gross of corks, £0 3s 6d Carried forward, £94 3s 5d **Interpretations** The warehouse ran three price levels for the same goods. Servants paid cost plus 10 per cent, planters cost plus 25 per cent and a third group of buyers cost plus 40 per cent. The difference showed plainly in the staples. A pound of sugar cost a servant about 3¾d but cost a buyer in the top band more than 5d. Paddy and sugar candy followed the same pattern. The record did not name who paid the highest rate. The steep mark-up on basic provisions such as flour, salt and rice suggests buyers with no claim on the Company's favour, perhaps free black inhabitants, ships' people or visitors buying from the stores.
274	267	1768 Brought Over£ 94 3 5 Tea viz. 31 lb. Bohea 1 16 2 179 lb. Congo 14 3 5 33 Singlo 2 12 3 18 11 10 Cordage 78¾ lb. 18 9 4 Twine viz. 3 Sk. Twine " 4 2 1 Coll. Wick " 4 - " 8 2 Hooks & Lines viz. 7 Doz. No. 2 Lines 1 13 3 4½ Do. .. 3 Do. 1 5 6 5 Do. .. 4 Do. 1 11 8 3 Hambro Do. " 6 3 2 Log Do. " 2 10 350 No. 1 Hooks 1 5 1 100 .. 6 Do. " 11 1 50 .. 11 Do.	The sales at 40 per cent above cost continued from a running total of £94 3s 5d. Brought forward, £94 3s 5d Tea 3 pounds of Bohea tea, £1 16s 2d 17[...] pounds of Congo tea, £14 3s 5d 3 pounds of Hyson tea, £2 12s 3d Total for tea, £18 11s 10d 78¾ [...] of cordage, £18 9s 4d Twine 3 pounds of small twine, £0 4s 2d 1 pound of cotton wick, £0 4s 0d Total for twine, £0 8s 2d Fish hooks and lines 7 [...] of number 2 lines, £1 13s 3d 4½ [...] of number 3 lines, £1 5s 6d 5 [...] of number 4 lines, £1 11s 8d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 6s 3d 2 long lines, £0 2s 10d 350 number 1 hooks, £1 5s 1d 100 number 6 hooks, £0 11s 1d 50 number 11 hooks, £0 1s 1½d 25 number 12 hooks, £0 0s 6½d 225 number 14 hooks, £0 3s 0d 325 number 16 hooks, £0 2s 5d 2 large hooks, £0 0s 9d Total for hooks and lines, £7 3s 6d Paint 4[...] of blacking, £1 15s 3d 6 pounds of red lead, £0 1s 9d 3 pounds of indigo, £0 7s 2½d 2 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 1½d 9 pounds of white lead, dry, £0 4s 9½d Total for paint, £2 9s 3d

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		" 1 1½ 25 .. 12 Do. " " 6½ 225 .. 14 Do. " 3 - 325 .. 16 Do. " 2 5 2 Large Do. " " 9 7 3 6 Paint viz. 47 Pound. Blacking 1 15 3 6 lb. Red Lead " 1 9 3 lb. Indico " 7 1½ 2 lb. Whiting " " 1½ 9 lb. White Lead dry " 4 9½ 2 9 3 China Ware viz. 1 Chamber Pot " 2 10 3 Cups " 1 5 " 4 3 Carrd. over£ 141 9 9	China 1 chamber pot, £0 2s 10d 3 [...], £0 1s 5d Total for china, £0 4s 3d Carried forward, £141 9s 9d **Interpretations** Tea was the dearest everyday item in the warehouse. At the highest mark-up, Bohea cost about 12s a pound and Congo nearly 18s, several days' wages for a soldier or labourer. Even so, the buyers in this band spent more on tea than on any other single group of goods except cordage. The tea habit had spread well beyond the officials' tables on the island. The buyers at 40 per cent took a large share of fishing gear, including more than 1,000 hooks and several sets of lines. Their purchases matched those of people who fed themselves partly from the sea. This fits the suggestion that the band included the island's poorer free inhabitants, who had neither Company rations nor large farms to fall back on.
275	268	The 17 October Brought Over£ 141 9 9 Braziers Ware viz. 1 Pr. Candlesticks " 9 9 1 Do. Snuffers " 4 3 1 Three Quart Tea Kettle " 17 4 1 11 4 Cutlery Ware viz. 4 Buckling Combs " 1 9 2 Horn Do. " " 6 1 fine Ivory Do. " 3 4 " 5 7 Nails viz. 2 lb. 2d. " 2 5 10 .. 4 " 8 6½ 22 .. 6 " 17 10½ 15 .. 10 " 5 1½ 8 .. 20 " 4 4 16 Flooring Brads " 9 4 8 Cooper's Rivets " 5 7½ 2 13 3 Iron Ware viz. 1 Broad Hoe " 3 1 3 Spring Rat Traps " 6 6 3 Mouse Do. " 2 5¼ 2 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 5 6 2 Large Frying Pans " 11 9¼ 1 Joint. Rub Stone	The sales at 40 per cent above cost continued from a running total of £141 9s 9d. Brought forward, £141 9s 9d Braziers' ware 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 9s 9d 1 pair of snuffers, £0 4s 3d 1 three-quart tea kettle, £0 17s 4d Total for braziers' ware, £1 11s 4d Cutlery and small wares 4 buckle combs, £0 1s 9d 2 horn combs, £0 0s 6d 1 fine ivory comb, £0 3s 4d Total for cutlery and small wares, £0 5s 7d Nails 2 pounds of twopenny nails, £0 2s 5d 10 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 8s 6½d 22 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 17s 10½d 15 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 5s 1½d 8 pounds of twentypenny nails, £0 4s 4d 16 pounds of flooring brads, £0 9s 4d 8 pounds of coopers' rivets, £0 5s 7½d Total for nails, £2 13s 3d Ironware 1 broad hoe, £0 3s 1d 3 spring rat traps, £0 6s 6d 3 mousetraps, £0 2s 5¼d 2 pairs of H-L hinges, £0 5s 6d 2 large frying pans, £0 11s 9¼d 1 joiner's rubstone, £0 2s 11d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 3d 1½ [...] of round-headed tacks, £0 1s 1½d Total for ironware, £1 13s 7d Turners' ware 1 blacking brush, £0 1s 2½d 5 paint brushes, £0 3s 9d 2 shoe brushes, £0 2s 3½d 1 labourer's basket, £0 1s 8d Total for turners' ware, £0 8s 11d Carried forward, £148 1s 5d **Interpretations** The buyers paying 40 per cent included people building and furnishing houses, not only the poor. They took nearly 70 pounds of nails across five sizes, along with flooring brads, hinges, paint and brushes. They also bought candlesticks, a tea kettle and an ivory comb. Taken with the tea and sugar on earlier

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		" 2 11 1 Scythe Do. " " 3 9 Round head Hooks " 1 1½ 1 13 7 Turners Ware viz. 1 Black. Brush " 1 2½ 5 Paint Do. " 3 9 2 Shoe Do. " 2 3½ 1 Labour. Basket " 1 8 " 8 11 Carrd. Over£ 148 1 5	pages, the purchases suggest households of modest but settled means. Such buyers fell outside both the Company's service and the planters' leaseholds, perhaps free tradesmen, ships' officers or recent arrivals. Coopers' rivets were short soft-iron rivets used to join the ends of the iron hoops that bound casks. Their sale points to cask-making or repair outside the Company's own cooperage. Barrels were in constant demand on the island for water, salt meat and the produce sold to visiting ships.
276	269	1768 Brought Over£ 148 1 5 Leather viz. 3¾ lb. Soles " 6 8 2 Calf Skins 1 9 - 1 15 8 Tin Ware viz. 2 Lamps " 2 1 1 Pudding Pan " 1 9 " 3 10 Glass Ware viz. 21 Sq. Glass 8 by 10 " 17 -¾ 8 Do. Do. 10 by 16 " 13 10 1 Do. Do. 11 by 17½ " 1 11¼ 1 12 10 £ 151 13 9 Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships from the 1st of July to the 30th Sept. 1768 viz. Glass Ware viz. 2 Sq. Glass 8 by 10 " 1 8 4 Do. Do. 11 by 12 " 6 2 9 Do. Do. 11 by 19 " 18 9 3¼ Do. Do. 11 by 15 2 11 - 3 17 7 Nails viz. 18 lb. 4d. 27 .. 6 65 .. 20 30 .. 10 7 Scupper 6 Carpt. Rivets 1 lb. Glazing Brads 5 9 4 Carrd. over£ 9 6 11	The sales at 40 per cent above cost closed with leather, tinware and glass, and the record then opened the sales made to the Company's ships during the quarter. Brought forward, £148 1s 5d Leather 3¾ [...] of sole leather, £0 6s 8d 2 calf skins, £1 9s 0d Total for leather, £1 15s 8d Tinware 2 lamps, £0 2s 1d 1 pudding pan, £0 1s 9d Total for tinware, £0 3s 10d Glassware 21 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 17s 0¾d 8 panes of window glass, 10 by 16 inches, £0 13s 10d 1 pane of window glass, 11 by 17½ inches, £0 1s 11¼d Total for glassware, £1 12s 10d Total sold at 40 per cent above cost, £151 13s 9d Sold to the Company's ships, 1 July to 30 September 1768 Glassware 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 8d 4 panes of window glass, 11 by 12 inches, £0 6s 2d 9 panes of window glass, 11 by 19 inches, £0 18s 9d 34 panes of window glass, 11 by 15 inches, £2 11s 0d Total for glassware, £3 17s 7d Nails 18 pounds of fourpenny nails, 27 pounds of sixpenny nails, 65 pounds of twentypenny nails, 30 pounds of tenpenny nails, 7 pounds of copper nails, 6 pounds of coopers' rivets and 1 pound of glazing brads, together £5 9s 4d Carried forward, £9 6s 11d **Interpretations** The warehouse also served as a repair depot for the Company's own East India ships calling in the road. A ship that had lost cabin windows or stern lights in heavy weather could replace the glass at St Helena, as the large panes sold here suggest. Nails, copper nails and glazing brads supplied the carpenters making good the damage before the ship sailed on. Sales to the Company's ships were in effect a transfer between two branches of the same business. They were recorded separately so the island's stores could be credited for what the shipping consumed. The buyers at 40 per cent spent only £151 13s 9d over the quarter. The servants had spent £1,866 11s 9d at the 10 per cent rate. Almost all the warehouse's trade therefore went to the Company's own people,

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			and the highest price band was a minor source of income. The premium rate probably served more to discourage outside buyers from drawing on scarce stores than to raise money.
277	270	The 17 October Brought Over£ 9 6 11 Iron Ware viz. 10 Sail Needles " 1 1 1 Iron rim'd Lock w. Brass Knobs " 9 3 4 Files " 3 - 1 Small Frying Pan " 3 - " 16 4 Twine 84 Sk. 3 13 6 Salt 7 Bushels 1 18 6 Cordage 214 lb. 53 14 6 Paint 6 Pound. Blacking " 4 6 Tin Ware 2 Pudg. Pans " 3 7 Canvas viz. 11 Ps. Eng. Canvas 33 " 11 101 Yds. Ticklenb. 7 7 4 40 8 3 Beef & Pork viz. 2 Punchs. Beef 32 11 - 2 Hhds. Pork 29 8 4 61 19 4 £ 172 5 5 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Arrack 120½ Gall. Sundy. Dutch Ships & Men Emp. in the Stores 16 2 - Candles viz. 350 lb. Castle 19 lb. Governr. Chapl. Deck Shop & Baker House 48 12 1 Sope 100 lb. for Linen 3 6 8 Starch 14 lb. Do. " 8 2 Carrd. over£ 68 8 11	The sales to the Company's ships continued from a running total of £9 6s 11d, and the record then began the issues charged to the Company's general expenses. Brought forward, £9 6s 11d Ironware 10 sail needles, £0 1s 1d 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs, £0 9s 3d 4 files, £0 3s 0d 1 small frying pan, £0 3s 0d Total for ironware, £0 16s 4d 84 pounds of twine, £3 13s 6d 7 bushels of salt, £1 18s 6d 2,149 pounds of cordage, £53 14s 6d 6 pans of blacking, £0 4s 6d 2 tin pudding pans, £0 3s 7d Canvas 11 bolts of English canvas, £33 0s 11d 101 yards of tecklenburgs, £7 7s 4d Total for canvas, £40 8s 3d Beef and pork 2 puncheons of beef, £32 11s 0d 2 hogsheads of pork, £29 8s 4d Total for beef and pork, £61 19s 4d Total sold to the Company's ships, £172 5s 5d Charged to general expenses: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 80½ gallons of arrack, issued to the doctor's shop and to the men working in the stores, £16 2s 0d Candles 250 pounds for the Castle 19 [...] for the guard rooms, the chapel, the doctor's shop and the [...] house Total for candles, £48 12s 1d 100 pounds of soap for washing linen, £3 6s 8d 14 pounds of starch for linen, £0 8s 2d Carried forward, £68 8s 11d **Interpretations** The Company's ships drew rope, canvas and salt provisions from the island in bulk. Over 2,000 pounds of cordage and 11 bolts of canvas went to replace rigging and sails worn on the passage. The beef and pork, in puncheons and hogsheads of about 70 and 63 gallons, restocked their provisions for the voyage home. The cordage was charged at a flat 6d a pound, apparently close to cost. The Company did not mark up goods passing from one of its departments to another. "Charges General" was the account to which the island's own consumption of stores was debited. Candles lit the Castle, the guard rooms, the chapel and the hospital through the long nights. Soap and starch kept the Company's table linen. Arrack went to the doctor's shop as the spirit base for tinctures and remedies. It was also given as a dram to the men working in the stores, a customary allowance for heavy labour. Recording these issues at cost showed the Court how much of its imported stock was consumed by the island's administration, as distinct from the sales that brought money back.
278	271	1768 Brought Over£ 68 8 11 Coals viz. 190 Bushl. Armour. Shop 10 5 10 Sugar & Candy viz. 74 lb. Candy Groom Gard. & Doctor's Shop 1 13 11 18 lb. Sugar	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £68 8s 11d. Brought forward, £68 8s 11d 190 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop, £10 5s 10d Sugar and sugar candy, for the [...] and the doctor's shop 74 pounds of sugar candy, £1 13s 11d 18 pounds of sugar, £0 2s 6d

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		" 2 6 1 16 5 Tea viz. 6 lb. Congo Do. Do. " 7 6 1 Bohea " " 10 " 8 4 Cordage 67 lb. for a Bell Rope 1 2 4 Glass Ware viz. 3 Candleshades Castle 1 2 4 4 Quart Decanters " 10 - 6 Tumblers " 4 6 6 Beer Glasses " 6 - 48 Wine Do. 1 " 10 2 Sq. Glass 8 by 10 Armour. Shop " 1 2 3 4 10 Twine 10 Sk. Store use & Castle " 5 - Paint viz. 12 lb. Indico for Linen 1 1 - 60 lb. White Lead dry to Paint Gun Carriages " 18 9 7 lb. Whitg. " " 2 1 lb. Blue Black " " 7 1 lb. Copperas " " 11½ 1 lb. Red Lead " " 2¼ 2 lb. Chalk Carpt. use Do. Do. " " 6 2½ Black Lead " 3 4½ 2 lb. Umber " " 6½ 2 6 1 Carrd. over£ 87 17 9	Total for sugar and sugar candy, £1 16s 5d Tea, for the same 6 [...] of Congo tea, £0 7s 6d 1 [...] of Bohea tea, £0 0s 10d Total for tea, £0 8s 4d 67 pounds of cordage for a bell rope, £1 2s 4d Glassware for the Castle [...] candle shades, £1 2s 4d 4 quart decanters, £0 10s 0d 6 tumblers, £0 4s 6d 6 beer glasses, £0 6s 0d 48 wine glasses, £1 0s 10d 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, for the armourer's shop, £0 1s 2d Total for glassware, £3 4s 10d 10 [...] of twine for the Castle, £0 5s 0d Paint 12 pounds of indigo for blueing linen, £1 1s 0d 60 pounds of white lead, dry, for painting the gun carriages, £0 18s 9d 7 pounds of whiting for the gun carriages, £0 0s 2d [...] of blue black for the gun carriages, £0 0s 7d [...] of copperas for the gun carriages, £0 0s 11½d [...] of red lead for the gun carriages, £0 0s 2¼d 2 pounds of chalk for the cooper, £0 0s 6d 2½ pounds of black lead for the cooper, £0 3s 4½d 2 pounds of umber for the cooper, £0 0s 6¼d Total for paint, £2 6s 1d Carried forward, £87 17s 9d **Interpretations** The 190 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop had to be imported, since St Helena had no coal of its own. Its scarce timber was already under heavy strain. Coal shipped out from England kept the forge working on gun locks, tools and the ironwork for the new batteries. At more than £10 for the quarter it was one of the largest single charges on the account. The paint issued for the gun carriages tied the stores to the work on the fortifications. The wooden carriages on which the cannon were mounted rotted quickly in the damp air of the batteries. White lead, red lead and blue black protected them and gave a uniform finish. The sailmakers and painters charged at Banks's the same quarter were probably engaged on the same task. Indigo was issued to blue the Company's linen in the wash, giving it a whiter appearance. The glassware for the Castle restocked the common table where the Governor and senior servants dined: decanters, tumblers, beer glasses and 48 wine glasses. Candle shades were glass chimneys set over candles to stop the flame guttering in the wind, needed in rooms open to the sea breeze.
279	272	The 17 October Brought over£ 87 17 9 Iron Ware viz. 13 Stock Locks Armour. Shop & Barracks 1 15 5½ 1 Pad Do. " 1 6 1½ lb. Iron binding Wire " 1 1½ 4 Coopr. Punches for the use of the Coopr. Shop " 3 11 2 Do. Cold Chizels " 2 - 3 Hand Saws " 16 6 1 Cask Borer " 1 8	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £87 17s 9d. Brought forward, £87 17s 9d Ironware For the armourer's shop and the barracks: 13 stock locks, £1 15s 5½d 1 padlock, £0 1s 6d 1 pound of iron binding wire, £0 1s 1½d For the cooper's shop: 4 coopers' punches, £0 3s 11d 2 coopers' cold chisels, £0 2s 0d 3 hand saws, £0 16s 6d 1 cock borer, £0 1s 8d 1 large taper borer, £0 1s 2d 1 bung borer, £0 5s 6d 5 coopers' vices, £0 2s 9¾d 1 cooper's axe, £0 4s 6d 1 cooper's adze, £0 3s 0d

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		1 Long Tap Do. " 1 2 1 Bung Do. " 5 6 5 Coopr. Vices " 2 9¾ 1 Do. Axes " 4 6 1 Do. Adz " 3 - 1 Rounding Adz " 3 1 1 Coopers Howell " 2 1 1 Drawing Knife " 1 8 1 Hollowing Do. " 2 2 1 Round Shave w. a Handle " 1 1 1 Inside Spoke Shave " 2 - 1 Coopr. Head Joint. " 11 6½ 1 Hollowing Shave " 2 2 1 Coopr. Brass Driver " 4 1½ 1 Do. Round Shave " 1 11½ 2 Scyth. Stones for the Groom " " 4 4 Wood Axes Castl. Lt. Govr. House & Baker House " 11 4 4 Ash Helves " 2 4 1 lb. Spelter Armour. Shop " " 6 1 lb. Case Hardening " " 11¼ 1 Bench Vice " 8 5 52 Files 1 2 9 4 Bast. Rubbers " 17 8 2 Sheets Sand Paper " " 1½ Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 8 15 5¼ Carrd. over£ 87 17 9	1 rounding adze, £0 3s 1d 1 cooper's howel, £0 2s 1d 1 drawing knife, £0 1s 8d 1 hollowing knife, £0 2s 2d 1 round shave with a handle, £0 1s 1d 1 inside spokeshave, £0 2s 0d 1 cooper's head jointer, £0 11s 6½d 1 hollowing shave, £0 2s 2d 1 cooper's [...] driver, £0 4s 1½d 1 cooper's round shave, £0 1s 11½d For the groom: 2 scythe stones, £0 0s 4d For the Castle, the steward's house and the bake house: 4 wood axes, £0 11s 4d 4 ash handles, £0 2s 4d For the armourer's shop: 1¼ pounds of spelter, £0 0s 6d ½ pound of case-hardening compound, £0 0s 11¼d 1 bench vice, £0 8s 5d 52 files, £1 2s 9d 4 rasps and rubbers, £0 17s 8d 2 sheets of sandpaper, £0 0s 1½d Ironware carried forward, £8 15s 5¼d Carried forward, £87 17s 9d **Interpretations** The cooper's shop received almost a full set of tools in a single quarter. Casks were vital on St Helena, where every ship in the road had to be watered and every barrel of salt meat, flour and arrack had to be stored. The tools covered each stage of the work. Borers cut the tap and bung holes, and the howel and hollowing shaves dressed the inside of the staves. The head jointer was a long plane for truing the boards of the cask head. Re-equipping the shop so thoroughly suggests its old tools were worn out or its work had grown with the demand from the shipping. Spelter was zinc, used with copper to make brazing solder for joining iron and brass in the armourer's shop. Case-hardening compound was a mixture of charcoal, bone or horn dust packed round iron and heated, giving the surface a hard steel skin. The armourer used it to harden gun locks, springs and tools against wear.
280	273	1768 Brought Over£ 87 17 9 Iron Ware brought over£ 8 15 5¼ 3 Taper Augers Carpent. Shop " 11 10½ 17 Gimblets " 6 4½ 1 Carpent. Broad Ax " 4 8½ 2 Joint. Rub Stones " 4 2 1 Tenon Saw " 7 4 1 Two feet Rule " 1 - 4 Adzes " 12 - 1 Scythe for the Groom " 5 8 1 Iron rim'd Lock w. B. Knobs Library " 6 1½ 2 Spring Rat Traps	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £87 17s 9d. Brought forward, £87 17s 9d Ironware brought forward, £8 15s 5¼d For the carpenter's shop: 3 taper augers, £0 11s 10½d 17 gimlets, £0 6s 4½d 1 carpenter's broad axe, £0 4s 8½d 2 joiners' rubstones, £0 4s 2d 1 tenon saw, £0 7s 4d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 0d 4 adzes, £0 12s 0d 1 scythe for the groom, £0 5s 8d 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs for the library, £0 6s 1½d For the Castle: 2 spring rat traps, £0 3s 0d 2 mousetraps, £0 1s 1½d 4 hand hatchets for the carpenter's shop and the [...], £0 6s 10d 1 brass wire sieve for the bake house, £0 4s 5½d For the cooper's shop:

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		Castle " 3 - 2 Mouse Do. " 1 1½ 4 Hand Hatch. Carpent. Shop & Store " 6 10 1 Brick Wire Sieve for the Bakes " 4 5½ 33 Truss Hoops Coopr. Shop 2 18 6 1 lb. Twined Tacks " 1 1 15 9 8 Oil viz. 1 Bott. Florence Armr. Shop " 3 6 2 Gall. Oil Turpent. for Paintg. Gun Carriages " 10 6 7¼ Do. Lins. 1 9 - 1½ Do. Drying " 9 5 2 12 5 Nails viz. 14 lb. 4d. 12 .. 6 for mendg. Wheel Barrows 13 Coopr. Rivetts Coopr. Shop " 8 5½ " 6 9 " 5 11½ 1 1 2 Canvas viz. 11 Yds. Oznabrigs for makg. Cogh Bags & Carpent. Aprons " 8 5¾ 3 Do. Eng. Canvas " 3 4½ 1½ Do. Ticklenburghs " 1 4¾ " 13 3 Carrd. over£ 107 14 3	33 truss hoops, £2 18s 6d ½ [...] of [...] tacks, £0 1s 1d Total for ironware, £15 9s 8d Oil 1 flask of Florence oil for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 6d For painting the gun carriages: 2 gallons of oil of turpentine, £0 10s 6d 7¼ gallons of linseed oil, £1 9s 0d 1½ gallons of [...] oil, £0 9s 5d Total for oil, £2 12s 5d Nails For mending the wheelbarrows: 14 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 8s 5½d 12 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 6s 9d 13 pounds of coopers' rivets for the cooper's shop, £0 5s 11½d Total for nails, £1 1s 2d Canvas, for making coal bags and carpenters' aprons 11 yards of osnaburgs, £0 8s 5¾d 3 yards of English canvas, £0 3s 4½d 1½ yards of tecklenburgs, £0 1s 4¾d Total for canvas, £0 13s 3d Carried forward, £107 14s 3d **Interpretations** Truss hoops were heavy iron hoops used by the cooper as forms, not as fittings. They were driven down over the staves to draw them together while the cask was fired and shaped. Permanent hoops were then fitted in their place. The 33 issued here completed the cooper's re-equipment begun with the tools on the previous page. The lock for the library showed that the Castle kept a collection of books important enough to be secured. A garrison library on a remote island was a valued resource for the officers and officials. It supplied reading and works of reference during long periods without news or new arrivals from England.
281	274	The 17 October Brought over£ 107 14 3 Braziers Ware viz. 2 Three Quart Tea Kettles Castle 1 4 8 1 Boilg. Pot of 8 Gall. Coopr. Shop for boilg. Size & Glue 2 2 5 4 lb. Brass Wire for the Armour. " 12 - 3 19 1 Deals viz. 3 Wainst. Boards for the Library " 19 9 4 Elm Do. to make Wheel Barrows " 14 3 1 Baulk for Crane Bars & Scaff. Poles " 8 10 1¾ Pr. Riga Timber for Shelves in the Library 4 11 8 2½ Do. Elm Plank for making W. Barrows 4 5 5 10 19 11 Hooks & Lines viz. 4 Doz. & No. 2 Lines 1 Do. .. 3 Do. 1½ Do. .. 4 Do. 2 Log Do. 20 No. 12 Hooks 25 No. 8 Do. 150 No. 16 Do. 100 No. 1 Do.	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £107 14s 3d. Brought forward, £107 14s 3d Braziers' ware 2 three-quart tea kettles for the Castle, £1 4s 8d 1 eight-gallon boiling pot for the cooper's shop, for boiling size and glue, £2 2s 5d 4 pounds of brass wire for the armourer, £0 12s 0d Total for braziers' ware, £3 19s 1d Timber 3 wainscot boards for the library, £0 19s 9d 4 elm boards to make wheelbarrows, £0 14s 3d 1 baulk for [...] doors, £0 8s 10d 1¾ [...] of Riga timber for shelves in the library, £4 11s 8d 2½ [...] of elm plank for making wheelbarrows, £4 5s 5d Total for timber, £10 9s 11d Fish hooks and lines for the fishermen 4 [...] of number 2 lines, £0 16s 10d 1 [...] of number 3 lines, £0 4s 0d 1½ [...] of number 4 lines, £0 6s 0d 2 long lines, £0 2s 7d 20 number 12 hooks, £0 0s 4½d 75 number 8 hooks, £0 1s 5½d 150 number 16 hooks, £0 0s 9d 100 number 1 hooks, £0 5s 1d 50 number 11 hooks, £0 0s 9d 3 large hooks, £0 0s 8d Total for hooks and lines, £1 17s 11d

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		50 No. 11 Do. 3 Large Do. for the fishermen " 16 -½ " 4 - " 6 - " 2 7 " " 1½ 1 " 3½ " " 9 " 3 1 " " 9½ " " 8 1 17 11 Hats 1 Mans fine " 17 7 Serge 9½ Yds. Blue for the Covers of the Coffee 1 18 2 Buckram 1 Yard Do. " 1 - Long Cloth viz. 1¼ for Do. Rubbers for Shalloon 4½ Yds. Do. 2 6 5 Lead 2 lb. Shot & Castle " 9 3 " 4 [...] Carrd. over£ 130 7 [...]	1 man's fine hat, £0 17s 7d For the coat of the porter of the court: 9½ yards of blue serge, £1 18s 2d 1 yard of buckram, £0 1s 0d 1¼ pieces of longcloth for rubbing cloths, £2 6s 5d 4½ yards of shalloon, £0 9s 3d 2 pounds of lead shot, £0 4s 2d Carried forward, £130 7s 9d **Interpretations** The porter of the court was dressed from the Company's own stores. Serge, buckram and shalloon were issued for his coat, and Thomas Watts, the tailor, was paid £1 0s 0d on 17 September 1768 to make up the suit. Livery for public servants marked their office. The porter who attended the court and kept its doors was given a uniform suited to his place. The hooks and lines issued to the fishermen showed that the Company kept its own fishing crew. Their catch supplied the Castle and the garrison with fresh food. Issuing the gear free and charging it to general expenses treated fishing as part of the island's provisioning, alongside the bakery and the Company's table. Riga timber was Baltic pine or fir shipped from the port of Riga, prized for its straight grain and strength. Wainscot was quarter-sawn oak from the Baltic, used for panelling and fine joinery. Both had to be imported because the island's own trees were too few and too small for building. Using them for shelving underlined the value the Company placed on its library.
282	275	1768 Brought Over£ 130 7 9 Haberdashery viz. 6 Sk. Silk for the Cryer of the Court " 3 - 4 Do. Mohr. " 1 8 3 Doz. Gilt Coat Buttons " 5 4½ 2½ Do. Do. Breast Do. " 2 1½ " 12 2 Pewter viz. 1 Quart Tankd. Store use " 2 4 1 Half Gall. Pott " 3 8 1 Ewer Do. " 16 11 1 4 11 Pork 2 lb. for Cleaning Small Arms " 5 11 Turners Ware viz. 2 Birch Brooms Castle " " 8½ 1 Hair Sieve Doctr. Shop " 12 7½ 1 Labour. Basket Store use " 1 2 1 Basket Castle " 2 6 " 17 - Corks 12 Gro. 1 9 - Tin Ware viz. 3 Half Gall. Saucepans Castle " 2 3¾ 3 Quart Do. " 1 4½ 2 Gall. Funnels	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £130 7s 9d and closed with the account's total. Brought forward, £130 7s 9d Haberdashery, for the coat of the crier of the court 6 skeins of silk, £0 3s 0d 4 skeins of mohair, £0 1s 8d 3 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 5s 4½d 2½ dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 2s 1½d Total for haberdashery, £0 12s 2d Pewter, for use in the stores 1 quart tankard, £0 2s 4d 1 half-gallon pot, £0 5s 8d 1 ewer, £0 16s 11d Total for pewter, £1 4s 11d 2 [...] for cleaning small arms, £0 5s 11d Turners' ware 2 birch brooms for the Castle, £0 0s 8½d 1 hair sieve for the doctor's shop, £0 12s 7½d 1 labourer's basket for use in the stores, £0 1s 2d 1 flasket for the Castle, £0 2s 6d Total for turners' ware, £0 17s 0d 12 gross of corks, £1 9s 0d Tinware 3 half-gallon saucepans for the Castle, £0 2s 3¾d 3 quart saucepans for the Castle, £0 1s 4½d 2 gallon funnels for use in the stores, £0 4s 4d 1 watering pot for use in the stores, £0 3s 4d 1 [...] for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 11¼d Total for tinware, £0 11s 9d Pitch and tar, for the Castle 3½ pounds of pitch, £0 0s 5½d 3½ pounds of rosin, £0 0s 7½d Total for pitch and tar, £0 1s 1d 6 [...] of iron for the armourer, £0 13s 1d Total charged to general expenses, £136 2s 8d **Interpretations** The gilt buttons, silk and mohair completed the coat begun with the serge, buckram and shalloon on the previous page. The coat belonged to the crier of the court, the officer who called the court to order, summoned parties and witnesses and read out

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Store use " 4 4 1 Watering Pot " 3 4 9 Ground Tin Armour. Shop " " 11¼ " 11 9 Pitch & Tar viz. 3 lb. Pitch Castle " " 5½ 3¼ Rozin " " 7½ " 1 1 Iron 63 lb. Armour. " 13 1 £ 136 2 8	proclamations. Gilt buttons set his coat apart from ordinary dress. The Company bore the whole cost, from the cloth to the tailor's fee paid to Thomas Watts, because the crier's appearance reflected on the dignity of its court. A flasket was a long, shallow basket with handles at each end, used for carrying washed linen. The hair sieve for the doctor's shop was a fine sieve of woven horsehair. The doctor used it to sift powdered drugs and to strain infusions when preparing medicines. The general expenses for the quarter totalled £136 2s 8d. This was the cost of the stores the Company consumed itself, chiefly in the Castle, the armourer's and cooper's shops, the carpenter's shop and the hospital. Against the £1,866 11s 9d sold to the servants, it showed how small the administration's own use of imported goods was compared with the trade the warehouse carried on.
283	276	The 17 October Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Nails viz. 8 lb. 6d. " 4 6½ 7 .. 10 " 3 2½ " 7 9 Paint viz. 20 lb. Whiting " " 5 1 Pound. Blacking " " 6 " " 11 Tin Ware 1 double Sheet Tin " " 8 Glass Ware 2 Sq. 8 by 10 " 1 2 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 1 11 1 Cupd. Lock " 2 10 " 4 9 Pitch 20 lb. for two of ye Compys. Houses " 1 8 Deals viz. 1½ Ps. Oak Plank for Repairg. Door Case Stores 2 5 5 3 Do. Elm Do. Repg. Powder Room Ship & Castle 4 15 4 8 Double Deals Do. Lime House & Prison 1 7 4 8 8 1 £ 9 5 - Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Oil 12 Bott. Florence 2 2 - Flour 1323 lb. 12 10 4 Rice 583 lb. 1 18 11 Arrack 42 Gall. 5 12 - Salt 2½ Bushel " 8 7 Pepper 1 lb. " " 9 Coffee 30 lb. 2 1 8 Pease 1 Bushel " 9 5 Carrd. over£ 25 7 11	The record next set out the stores issued for repairs, followed by those issued for diet expenses, both for the period from 1 July to 30 September 1768. Charged to repairs Nails 8 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 4s 6½d 7 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 2½d Total for nails, £0 7s 9d Paint 20 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 5d 1 pan of blacking, £0 0s 6d Total for paint, £0 0s 11d 1 double sheet of tin, £0 0s 8d 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 2d Ironware 1 pair of H-L hinges, £0 1s 11d 1 cupboard lock, £0 2s 10d Total for ironware, £0 4s 9d 20 pounds of pitch for two of the Company's houses, £0 1s 8d Timber 1½ [...] of oak plank for repairing door cases at the stores, £2 5s 5d 3 [...] of elm plank for repairs at the [...], the armourer's shop and the Castle, £4 15s 4d 8 Dutch deals for repairs at the lime house and the prison, £1 7s 4d Total for timber, £8 8s 1d Total charged to repairs, £9 5s 0d Charged to diet expenses 12 flasks of Florence oil, £2 2s 0d 13 hundredweight 3 quarters 3 pounds of flour, £12 10s 4d 583 pounds of rice, £1 18s 11d 42 gallons of arrack, £5 12s 0d 2½ bushels of salt, £0 8s 7d 10 pounds of pepper, £0 5s 0d 30 pounds of coffee, £2 1s 8d 1 bushel of pease, £0 9s 5d Carried forward, £25 7s 11d **Interpretations** The stores were divided among separate accounts according to their purpose. Repairs to buildings, general running costs and the Company's table were each charged to their own heading. This let the Council and the Court see what each part of the establishment cost. The repairs for the quarter came to only £9 5s 0d, most of it imported timber. Dutch deals were sawn softwood boards shipped from the Netherlands and the Baltic. "Diet expenses" was the account for the Company's table at the Castle. The flour, rice, oil, coffee and pease issued here supplemented the poultry, beef and eggs the paymaster bought fresh on the island. The 42 gallons of arrack in a single quarter

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			were mostly used for punch. Punch, mixed from arrack, sugar, lime or lemon and water, was the standard drink at the Governor's table and at the entertainment of visiting commanders.
284	277	The 17 October Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Nails viz. 8 lb. 6d. " 4 6½ 7 .. 10 " 3 2½ " 7 9 Paint viz. 20 lb. Whiting " " 5 1 Pound. Blacking " " 6 " " 11 Tin Ware 1 double Sheet Tin " " 8 Glass Ware 2 Sq. 8 by 10 " 1 2 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 1 11 1 Cupd. Lock " 2 10 " 4 9 Pitch 20 lb. for two of ye Compys. Houses " 1 8 Deals viz. 1½ Ps. Oak Plank for Repairg. Door Case Stores 2 5 5 3 Do. Elm Do. Repg. Powder Room Ship & Castle 4 15 4 8 Double Deals Do. Lime House & Prison 1 7 4 8 8 1 £ 9 5 - Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Oil 12 Bott. Florence 2 2 - Flour 1323 lb. 12 10 4 Rice 583 lb. 1 18 11 Arrack 42 Gall. 5 12 - Salt 2½ Bushel " 8 7 Pepper 1 lb. " " 5 Coffee 50 lb. 2 1 8 Pease 1 Bushel " 9 5 Carrd. over£ 25 7 11	The record next set out the stores issued for repairs, followed by those issued for diet expenses, both for the period from 1 July to 30 September 1768. Charged to repairs Nails 8 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 4s 6½d 7 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 2½d Total for nails, £0 7s 9d Paint 20 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 5d 1 pan of blacking, £0 0s 6d Total for paint, £0 0s 11d 1 double sheet of tin, £0 0s 8d 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 2d Ironware 1 pair of H-L hinges, £0 1s 11d 1 cupboard lock, £0 2s 10d Total for ironware, £0 4s 9d 20 pounds of pitch for two of the Company's houses, £0 1s 8d Timber 1½ [...] of oak plank for repairing door cases at the stores, £2 5s 5d 3 [...] of elm plank for repairs at the [...], the armourer's shop and the Castle, £4 15s 4d 8 Dutch deals for repairs at the lime house and the prison, £1 7s 4d Total for timber, £8 8s 1d Total charged to repairs, £9 5s 0d Charged to diet expenses 12 flasks of Florence oil, £2 2s 0d 13 hundredweight 3 quarters 3 pounds of flour, £12 10s 4d 583 pounds of rice, £1 18s 11d 42 gallons of arrack, £5 12s 0d 2½ bushels of salt, £0 8s 7d 10 pounds of pepper, £0 5s 0d 30 pounds of coffee, £2 1s 8d 1 bushel of pease, £0 9s 5d Carried forward, £25 7s 11d **Interpretations** The stores were divided among separate accounts according to their purpose. Repairs to buildings, general running costs and the Company's table were each charged to their own heading. This let the Council and the Court see what each part of the establishment cost. The repairs for the quarter came to only £9 5s 0d, most of it imported timber. Dutch deals were sawn softwood boards shipped from the Netherlands and the Baltic. "Diet expenses" was the account for the Company's table at the Castle. The flour, rice, oil, coffee and pease issued here supplemented the poultry, beef and eggs the paymaster bought fresh on the island. The 42 gallons of arrack in a single quarter were mostly used for punch. Punch, mixed from arrack, sugar, lime or lemon and water, was the standard drink at the Governor's table and at the entertainment of visiting commanders.
285	278	The 17 October Brought Over£ 69 8 5 Iron Ware viz. 34 Small frying Pans Sevl. out Guards 3 8 9 11 Wood Axes 1 11 2 8 Ash Helves	The issues for the garrison continued from a running total of £69 8s 5d. Brought forward, £69 8s 5d Ironware For the various outguards: 34 small frying pans, £3 8s 9d 11 wood axes, £1 11s 2d 8 ash handles, £0 4s 8d 26 hand hatchets, £2 4s 5d

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		" 4 8 26 Hand Hatchets Do. 2 4 5 1 Cupd. Lock main Guard " 2 10 1 lb. Tinn'd Tacks for Drums " 1 2 7 13 - Broad Cloth viz. 12¼ Yds. Scarlet for Cloathg. the Officers 14 7 2 19¾ Yds. Blue 18 2 1 32 9 3 Haberdashery viz. 80 Sk. Silk for the Officers Cloathing 2 3 4 80 Do. Mohr. 1 16 8 68 7/12 Doz. Gilt Coat Buttons 4 11 7 40 Do. Do. Breast Do. 1 6 8 13½ Gro. Narrow Worst. Lace for Hats & Waistcoats 7 16 11 ¾ Do. Broad Do. " 11 9 18 6 11 Thread viz. 6 lb. Colourd for the Officers Cloathg. " 19 - 4 lb. Whd. Brown 1 6 8 2 5 8 Hats viz. 16 Officers Gold Lace for the Officers 32 8 6 3 Centl. for three Recruits " 8 6 32 17 - Long Cloth 1¾ Ps. for Officers Cloathing 4 18 3 Carrd. over£ 227 18 6	1 cupboard lock for the main guard, £0 2s 10d ½ pound of tinned tacks for the drums, £0 1s 2d Total for ironware, £7 13s 0d Broadcloth, for clothing the officers 9¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £14 7s 2d 19¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £18 2s 1d Total for broadcloth, £32 9s 3d Haberdashery For the officers' clothing: 80 skeins of silk, £2 3s 4d 80 skeins of mohair, £1 16s 8d 68½ dozen gilt coat buttons, £4 11s 7d 40 dozen gilt breast buttons, £1 6s 8d For the hats and the oboe players: 13½ gross of narrow worsted lace, £7 16s 11d ¾ gross of broad worsted lace, £0 11s 9d Total for haberdashery, £18 6s 11d Thread, for the officers' clothing 6 [...] of coloured thread, £0 19s 0d 4 [...] of whited brown thread, £1 6s 8d Total for thread, £2 5s 8d Hats 16 gold-laced hats for the officers, £32 8s 6d 3 soldiers' hats for three recruits, £0 8s 6d Total for hats, £32 17s 0d 1¾ pieces of longcloth for the officers' clothing, £4 18s 3d Carried forward, £167 18s 6d **Interpretations** The Company clothed its military officers at its own expense, unlike the servants and soldiers who bought their clothing from the stores. Scarlet and blue broadcloth, gilt buttons and gold-laced hats made up the officers' uniform. The 16 gold-laced hats alone cost more than £32. Supplying the cloth, trimmings and hats centrally ensured a uniform appearance and spared officers on modest pay the cost of an expensive dress. The worsted lace was issued for the hats and for the oboe players, the musicians of the garrison band. Their coats were trimmed with lace to mark them out on parade. A band of oboes, with the drums, played for ceremonies, salutes and the changing of the guard. The tinned tacks for the drums held their heads and ornamental studs in place. The outguards were the small detachments posted at the batteries, lookouts and passes away from Jamestown. Each was supplied with frying pans, axes and hatchets so the men could cut firewood and cook for themselves at their isolated posts. This reflected the spread of the garrison across the island's outlying defences.
286	279	1768 Brought over£ 227 18 6 Sailors Cloaths viz. 2 Watch Coats for the main Guard 1 13 - 3 Centl. Do. & Breeches for 3 Recruits 4 7 9 6 " 9 Shirts viz. 3 Centl. Shirts for 3 Recruits " 13 7½ 3 Rollers " 2 ½ " 15 8 Paint viz. 14 lb. Whiting for Cleang. Accoutr. " " 3½ 28 lb. Yell. Oaker dry " 4 7½ " 4 11 Oil viz.	The issues for the garrison continued from a running total of £227 18s 6d, and the record then opened the account of stores issued for the Company's slaves. Brought forward, £227 18s 6d Sailors' clothing 2 watch coats for the main guard, £1 13s 0d 3 soldiers' coats and breeches for three recruits, £4 7s 9d Total for clothing, £6 0s 9d Shirts, for three recruits 3 soldiers' shirts, £0 15s 7½d 3 rollers, £0 0s 0½d Total for shirts, £0 15s 8d Paint, for cleaning the soldiers' equipment 14 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 3½d 28 pounds of yellow ochre, dry, £0 4s 7½d Total for paint, £0 4s 11d Oil 52⅛ gallons of train oil, £8 13s 9d 15⅛ gallons of linseed oil, £3 3s 6d Total for oil, £11 17s 3d Total for the garrison, £246 17s 1d

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		52½ Gall. Linsd. 8 13 9 15 7/8 Do. 3 3 6 11 17 3 £ 246 17 1 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Beef & Pork viz. 294 lb. Engl. Beef 51 2 10 226 Do. Do. Pork 33 13 3 417¼ Beng. Beef 75¼ Do. Pork 195 17 - 280 13 1 Rice 82.. 1.. 2 Cwt. qrs. lb. 30 10 2 Arrack 284¼ Gall. 37 18 - Sugar 240 lb. 3 " " Shallows 13 Pr. 5 8 4 Tea 165 lb. Bohea 4 7 6 Pepper 3 lb. " 1 6 Carrd. over£ 361 18 7	Charged to the Company's slaves: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 Beef and pork 294 pieces of English beef, £51 2s 10d 226 pieces of English pork, £33 13s 3d 417¼ [...] of Bengal beef and 75¼ [...] of Bengal pork, together £195 17s 0d Total for beef and pork, £280 13s 1d 82 hundredweight 1 quarter 2 pounds of rice, £30 10s 2d 284¼ gallons of arrack, £37 18s 0d 240 pounds of sugar, £3 0s 0d 13 pieces of chelloes, £5 8s 4d 10 pounds of Bohea tea, £4 7s 6d 3 pounds of pepper, £0 1s 6d Carried forward, £361 18s 7d **Interpretations** The account headed "Blacks" recorded the cost of feeding and clothing the slaves the Company owned and worked on the island. Its scale showed how heavily the Company relied on slave labour for its plantations, stores and public works. In one quarter the slaves were issued more than 8,000 pounds of rice, large quantities of salt meat and over 280 gallons of arrack. Their food and cloth were drawn from the same imported stores that supplied the garrison and the servants. The slaves were fed mainly on Bengal salt beef and pork, cheaper provisions shipped from India, with only a smaller share of English meat. Rice was their staple grain. The daily ration of arrack was a customary allowance for heavy outdoor labour. Chelloes, the coarse Indian checked cotton, supplied their clothing. Recording these issues at cost let the Company reckon the upkeep of its slaves against the value of the work they performed. The two watch coats were heavy greatcoats kept at the main guard for sentries on night duty, passed from man to man as the watches changed. The whiting and yellow ochre were used to clean and colour the soldiers' leather belts and pouches. The large issue of train oil fuelled the lamps of the guard rooms and outposts through the night.
287	280	The 17 October Brought over£ 361 18 7 Long Cloth viz. 13¼ Pieces 3/6 Do. 1 Do. 20 17 7 Salt ¼ Bushel " " 11 Shoes viz. 91 Pr. Men Ordy. 21 11 5 31 Do. Womens Calf 4 7 6 3 Do. Boys Shoes " 10 - 8 Do. Mens fine Shoes 2 6 - 4 Do. Do. Do. Pumps 1 1 - 29 15 11 Serge viz. 5½ Yds. Scarl. Sagathy 1 " 4 2½ Do. Blue Duffill " 15 3 9 Yds. Green Sagathy 1 5 10 1 Ps. Prunella 1 18 8 5 " 1 Blankets 7	The stores issued for the Company's slaves continued from a running total of £361 18s 7d. Brought forward, £361 18s 7d 15¼ pieces, [...] and 1 piece of longcloth, together £20 17s 7d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 11d Shoes 91 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £21 11s 5d 31 pairs of women's calf shoes, £4 7s 6d 3 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 10s 0d 8 pairs of men's fine shoes, £2 6s 0d 4 pairs of men's fine pumps, £1 1s 0d Total for shoes, £29 15s 11d Serge and woollens 5½ yards of scarlet sagathy, £1 0s 4d 2½ yards of blue duffel, £0 15s 3d 9 yards of green sagathy, £1 5s 10d 1 piece of [...], £1 18s 8d Total for serge and woollens, £5 0s 1d 7 blankets, £1 19s 4d [...] pounds of soap, £1 2s 2d 1 pan of blacking, £0 0s 6d 3 brass [...], £0 10s 3d 1 pound of sixpenny nails, £0 0s 7d 1 single sheet of tin, £0 0s 8d Fish hooks and lines 275 number 1 hooks, £0 14s 0d 275 number 9 hooks, £0 7s 7½d 275 number 14 hooks, £0 2s 6½d 275 number 16 hooks, £0 1s 5d 17½ [...] of number 2 lines, £2 19s 7d 16 [...] of number 3 lines, £3 4s 0d

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		1 19 4 Sope 4 lb. " 2 2 Paint 1 Pound. Blacking " " 6 Braziers Ware 3 Brass Locks " 10 3 Nails 1 lb. 6d. " " 7 Tin Ware 1 Single Sheet Tin " " 8 Hooks & Lines viz. 275 No. 1 Hooks " 14 - 75 No. 9 Do. " 7 7½ 275 No. 14 Do. " 2 6½ 275 No. 16 Do. " 1 5 17½ Doz. No. 2 Lines 2 19 7 16 Do. No. 3 Do. 3 4 - 10 Do. No. 4 Do. 2 5 - 9 14 2 Carrd. over£ 430 - 9	10 [...] of number 4 lines, £2 5s 0d Total for hooks and lines, £9 14s 2d Carried forward, £400 0s 9d **Interpretations** The Company's slaves were issued more than 1,000 fish hooks and over 40 sets of lines in a single quarter. Fishing was evidently part of how they were fed. Some slaves probably worked as the Company's fishermen, while others were expected to catch fish to supplement their rations of rice and salt meat. Supplying the gear cost far less than issuing more meat. It also turned the sea around the island into a source of food for the Company's labour force. The issue of shoes to slaves, including 31 pairs for women, is notable. In many slave societies field labourers went barefoot. On St Helena the steep, stony ground, the Company's need to keep its labourers fit for work and the relatively small number of slaves it owned probably all encouraged the practice. The handful of fine shoes and pumps, with the scarlet and green cloth, was perhaps issued to slaves working as servants in the Castle or as attendants to officials, where appearance mattered.
288	281	1768 Brought over£ 430 - 9 Canvas 1¼ Yds. Oznab. Cast. Servants " " 9 Thread 1 lb. Colourd " 4 9 Haberdashery 6 Sk. Mohr. " 2 9 Buckram 3 Yds. " 5 - Shalloon 1 Yd. Colourd " 1 10 Cutlery Ware 3 Horn Combs " " 6 Hosiers Ware viz. 20 Pr. Ordy. Thread Stockings Castle Servants 2 18 4 2 Pr. Boys Do. " 4 10 3 3 2 Sailors Cloaths viz. 6 Dutch Caps " 9 9 6 Jackets 15 Pr. Breeches 3 6 - 3 Shirts " 8 1 4 3 10 £ 438 3 1 Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30th of Sept. 1768 viz. Sugar 44 lb. " 11 - Rice 128 lb. " 8 - Arrack 8½ Gall. 1 2 8 Sope 6 lb. " 3 3 Flour 24 lb. " 4 6 Candles 10 lb. 1 1 8	The stores issued for the Company's slaves continued from a running total of £430 0s 9d, and the record then opened a separate account headed "Mallay". Brought forward, £430 0s 9d For the Castle servants: 1¼ yards of osnaburgs, £0 0s 9d [...] of coloured thread, £0 4s 9d 6 skeins of mohair, £0 2s 9d 3 yards of buckram, £0 5s 0d 1 yard of coloured shalloon, £0 1s 10d 3 horn combs, £0 0s 6d Hosiery 20 pairs of ordinary thread stockings for the Castle servants, £2 18s 4d 2 pairs of boys' stockings for the Castle servants, £0 4s 10d Total for hosiery, £3 3s 2d Sailors' clothing 6 Dutch caps, £0 9s 9d 6 jackets and 15 pairs of breeches, together £3 6s 0d 3 shirts, £0 8s 1d Total for sailors' clothing, £4 3s 10d Total charged to the Company's slaves, £438 3s 1d Charged to Mallay: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 44 pounds of sugar, £0 11s 0d 128 pounds of rice, £0 8s 0d 8½ gallons of arrack, £1 2s 8d 6 pounds of soap, £0 3s 3d 24 pounds of flour, £0 4s 6d 10 pounds of candles, £1 1s 8d 1 flask of Florence oil, £0 3s 6d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 11d 4 pieces of beef, £0 13s 11d 2 pounds of pepper, £0 1s 0d 3 yards of coloured shalloon, £0 10s 2d Carried forward, £5 0s 7d **Interpretations** The items issued to the Castle servants confirmed that some of the Company's slaves worked in the Governor's household. They received stockings, combs, shalloon and buckram for better clothing than the field labourers were given. Slaves waiting at the Company's table and attending its

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		Oil 1 Bott. Florence " 3 6 Salt ¼ Bushel " " 11 Beef 48 lb. " 13 11 Pepper 2 lb. " 1 - Shalloon 3 Yds. Col. " 10 2 Carrd. over£ 5 - 7	officials were dressed to suit the setting. The cost was charged to the same account as the rations of the slaves who worked in the fields and on the fortifications. The sailors' clothing, with Dutch caps, jackets, breeches and shirts, was probably for the slaves who manned the Company's boats. The patroon commanded the boats that carried men and goods between the ships in the road and the shore. Their crews were dressed in seamen's working clothes. The account headed "Mallay" stood apart from both the garrison and the slaves. Its issues of sugar, rice, arrack, soap, candles, beef and cloth matched the rations of a single household rather than a body of men. The record did not explain who or what Mallay was. The separate heading suggests a person or small group maintained at the Company's expense under a distinct arrangement.
289	282	The 17 October Brought Over£ 5 - 7 Tea viz. 3 lb. Bohea " 2 6 1 lb. Congo " 1 3 " 3 9 Broad Cloth 4½ Yds. Blue 4 2 6 Haberdashery viz. 4 Sk. Silk " 2 2 4 Do. Mohr. " 1 10 " 4 - Long Cloth viz. 1 Ps. ½ Do. 5 18 10 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr. Eng. Coll. Hose " 13 6 Blankets 1 " 5 8 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens fine " 5 6 Thread viz. 1 lb. Whd. Brown " 6 8 1 lb. Col. " 3 2 " 9 10 China Ware viz. 6 Octn. Meat Plates 2 Do. Do. Dishes " 8 7 2 Bowls " 2 - 6 Cups " 2 - " 12 7 £ 17 16 9	The stores charged to Mallay continued from a running total of £5 0s 7d and closed with the account's total. Brought forward, £5 0s 7d Tea 3 [...] of Bohea tea, £0 2s 6d [...] of Congo tea, £0 1s 3d Total for tea, £0 3s 9d 4½ yards of blue broadcloth, £4 2s 6d Haberdashery 4 skeins of silk, £0 2s 2d 4 skeins of mohair, £0 1s 10d Total for haberdashery, £0 4s 0d 1 piece and ½ piece of longcloth, together £5 18s 10d 2 pairs of English cotton stockings, £0 13s 6d 1 blanket, £0 5s 8d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 5s 6d Thread [...] of whited brown thread, £0 6s 8d [...] of coloured thread, £0 3s 2d Total for thread, £0 9s 10d China 6 octagonal meat plates and 2 octagonal dishes, together £0 8s 7d 2 bowls, £0 2s 0d 6 [...], £0 2s 0d Total for china, £0 12s 7d Total charged to Mallay, £17 16s 9d **Interpretations** The second half of the Mallay account showed that its holder lived as a person of some standing, not as a labourer. Blue broadcloth, silk thread, fine shoes, cotton stockings, tea and a set of china plates and dishes were the goods of a modest gentleman's household. Together with the rations on the previous page they cost the Company £17 16s 9d for the quarter. The Company kept Mallay in food, clothing and household goods while charging him nothing. This points to someone held or maintained on the island at its expense, perhaps a political exile or state prisoner sent from the East, whose upkeep the Company had agreed to bear.
290	283	1768 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to 30th Septemb. 1768 viz. Rice & Paddy viz. 433 lb. Rice Poultry Horses & Overseers 1 11 6 4246 lb. Paddy 9 3 4 10 14 10 Iron Ware viz. 38 Rolled Iron Wood Cart " 13 5½	The record next set out the stores issued to the Company's plantation between 1 July and 30 September 1768. Charged to the plantation Rice and paddy, for the poultry house and the overseers 433 pounds of rice, £1 11s 6d 4,246 pounds of paddy, £9 3s 4d Total for rice and paddy, £10 14s 10d Ironware For the Sandy Bay plantation: 38 [...] of rolled iron for the wood cart, £0 13s 5½d

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		12 Ash Helves for Sandy Bay Plantation " 7 - 1 Wood Ax " 2 10 1 Iron Shovel " 4 6½ 1 Spring Rat Trap " 1 6 2 Pick Axes " 6 8 1 Gard. Rake fort Garden " 2 3¾ 1 Scyth. for Plantat. House " 5 8½ 1 Do. Stone Garden " 1 10½ 1 Pad Lock Horse Point Gate " 1 6 1 Mouse Trap Plant. House " " 6½ 2 7 11 Beef & Pork viz. 18 lb. Beef for the Compys. Steward " 6 11 4 Do. Pork " 11 11 " 18 10 Lines 14 No. 4 Plant. House Gard. " 5 3 Earthen Ware 12 Milk Pans Dery " 15 3 Paint viz. 3 lb. White Lead dry to Paint Gates at Plant. Ho. " 1 6¾ 2 lb. Whiting " " 1½ 1½ Copperas " " 3½ ¼ Blue Black " " 1¼ " 2 3 Tin Ware 3 Watering Pots " 9 - Carrd. over£ 15 13 6	12 ash handles, £0 7s 0d 1 wood axe, £0 2s 10d 1 iron shovel, £0 4s 6½d 1 spring rat trap, £0 1s 6d 2 [...] hoes, £0 6s 8d 1 garden rake for the garden, £0 2s 3¾d 1 scythe for Plantation House, £0 5s 8¼d 16 scythe stones for the garden, £0 1s 10½d 1 padlock for the horse pound gate, £0 1s 6d 1 mousetrap for Plantation House, £0 0s 6¼d Total for ironware, £2 7s 11d Beef and pork, for the Company's steward [...] pieces of beef, £0 6s 11d 4 pieces of pork, £0 11s 11d Total for beef and pork, £0 18s 10d 1¼ [...] of number 4 lines for the Plantation House garden, £0 5s 3d 12 earthenware milk pans for the dairy, £0 15s 3d Paint, for painting the gates at Plantation House 5 pounds of white lead, dry, £0 1s 6¾d [...] of whiting, £0 0s 1d [...] of copperas, £0 0s 3½d ¼ [...] of blue black, £0 0s 1¼d Total for paint, £0 2s 3d 3 tin watering pots, £0 9s 0d Carried forward, £15 13s 6d **Interpretations** The plantation account covered the Company's own farms, chiefly the estate at Plantation House, the Governor's country residence, and the plantation at Sandy Bay. The Company ran these as working farms to supply its table and stores with fresh produce. The issues showed a dairy, a poultry house, kitchen gardens and a stable yard. Most of the paddy, more than 4,000 pounds, was probably fed to the poultry rather than eaten by the overseers. Unhusked rice was the cheapest grain the stores held. The 12 milk pans for the dairy matched the 2 bought earlier in the year, recorded in the minutes before the paymaster's account. A dairy at Plantation House meant fresh milk and butter for the Governor's household. Such goods were scarce on an island where most food came out of casks.
291	284	The 17 October Brought over£ 15 13 6 Oil viz. ½ Gall. Lins. to paint Gates " 2 - 1/8 Oil of Turpentine " " 8 " 2 8 Cutlery Ware viz. 6 Shoe Knives for cutting Rushes " 2 - 2 Case Fleams for Bleeding Cattle " 5 6 " 7 6 Turners Ware 2 Ox Bows for Oxen " 2 9 Deals viz. 1½ Ps. Riga Timber for makg. & repairg. Gates in ye Pastures & Carts 3 5 6 3½ Do. Oak Plank 4 18 - 1 Do. Ash Do. 2 3 10 10 7 4 £ 26 13 9	The stores issued to the Company's plantation continued from a running total of £15 13s 6d, and the record then set out the stores issued to the hospital. Brought forward, £15 13s 6d Oil, for painting the gates ½ gallon of linseed oil, £0 2s 0d ½ [...] of oil of turpentine, £0 0s 8d Total for oil, £0 2s 8d Cutlery and small wares 6 shoe knives for cutting rushes, £0 2s 0d 2 cased fleams for bleeding cattle, £0 5s 6d Total for cutlery and small wares, £0 7s 6d 2 pairs of ox bows, £0 2s 9d Timber, for making and repairing the pasture gates and the carts 1½ [...] of Riga timber, £3 5s 6d 3½ [...] of oak plank, £4 18s 0d 1 [...] of ash plank, £2 3s 10d Total for timber, £10 7s 4d Total charged to the plantation, £26 13s 9d Charged to the hospital: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 [...] of sugar, £4 1s 9d 3 hundredweight 27 pounds of flour, £3 1s 4d 3 [...] of rice, £1 2s 3d 2 [...] of Bohea tea, £0 16s 8d

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		Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Sugar 327 lb. 4 1 9 Flour 327 lb. 3 1 4 Rice 327 lb. 1 2 3 Tea 20 lb. Bohea " 16 8 Salt 1 1/8 Bush. " 4 9 Canvas 2 Yds. Oznab. " 1 7 China Ware 12 Cups " 4 - Glass Ware 6 Sq. Glass 6 by 8 " 2 - Kersey 2½ Yds. " 3 6 Tin Ware 4 Lamps " 2 11 Oil viz. 5 Gall. Lins. 1 " " 10¾ Do. Oil Drought 3 7 8 4 7 8 Twine 1½ lb. Cott. Wick " 1 5 £ 14 9 10	1⅜ bushels of salt, £0 4s 9d 2 yards of osnaburgs, £0 1s 7d 12 [...] of china, £0 4s 0d 6 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 2s 0d 2½ [...] of jersey yarn, £0 3s 6d 4 tin lamps, £0 2s 11d 5 gallons of linseed oil and 10¾ [...] of [...] oil, together £4 7s 8d 1½ pounds of cotton wick, £0 1s 5d Total charged to the hospital, £14 9s 10d **Interpretations** The plantation's stores showed working cattle as well as dairy cows. Ox bows were the curved wooden collars fitted under the necks of draught oxen and fixed to the yoke. Oxen drew the carts and ploughs on the island's steep ground, where horses were fewer and less sure-footed. The fleams were small lancets kept in a case, used by a farrier or cowman to bleed cattle. Bleeding was the standard treatment for many animal ailments in the period. The hospital's stores were mostly food for the sick, not medicines. Sugar, flour, rice and tea made a lighter diet than the salt meat and biscuit the soldiers ate in health. The doctor's drugs were supplied separately through the doctor's shop. Patients were fed from the Company's stores at cost, so the account showed the true charge of keeping the garrison's sick.
292	285	1768 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30th of Sept. 1768 viz. Canvas 88 Yards Eng. Long Boats 4 15 - Tin Ware viz. 6 Single Sheets of Tin 2 Double Do. Do. " 5 4 Cordage 33 Cwt. 2 qrs. 1 lb. Do. 66 5 8 Iron Ware viz. 1 Hand Hatchet Do. " 1 8½ 3 Large Frying Pans " 12 7½ 2 Augers " 4 1 6 Bastard Rubbers 1 1 7 24 Files " 10 6 2 10 6 Oars viz. 10 Large 2 15 - 6 Small 1 4 3 3 19 3 Pitch & Tar viz. 1 Barrl. Pitch Do. 1 13 - 1 Do. & 1 Gall. Tar 1 13 - 18 lb. Rozin " 2 8 73 lb. Turpentine 1 13 5 5 2 1	The record next set out the stores issued for the Company's boats between 1 July and 30 September 1768. Charged to the boats 88 yards of English canvas for the longboats, £4 15s 0d 6 single sheets and 2 double sheets of tin for the longboats, together £0 5s 4d 55 hundredweight 2 quarters 1 pound of cordage for the longboats, £66 5s 8d Ironware, for the longboats 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8½d 3 large frying pans, £0 12s 7½d 2 augers, £0 4s 1d 6 bastard rubbers, £1 1s 7d 24 files, £0 10s 6d Total for ironware, £2 10s 6d Oars 10 large oars, £2 15s 0d 6 small oars, £1 4s 3d Total for oars, £3 19s 3d Pitch and tar, for the longboats 1 barrel of pitch, £1 13s 0d 1 barrel of tar, £1 13s 0d 18 pounds of rosin, £0 2s 8d 73 [...] of turpentine, £1 13s 5d Total for pitch and tar, £5 2s 1d 4 grapnels, £9 11s 3d 7 [...] of sole leather, £0 6s 5d 7¼ gallons of arrack, £0 19s 4d 1 deep-sea line, £0 4s 8d 33 [...] of iron, £2 3s 4d 24 [...] of paint, £0 11s 0d 26 pounds of twine, £0 10s 0d Carried forward, £97 3s 10d **Interpretations** The boats were the most expensive service on the island after the garrison's pay and the fortifications. With no harbour or quay, every cask, passenger and letter passed between the ships in the road and the landing at Jamestown in the Company's longboats. The 55 hundredweight of cordage, worth more than £66, supplied cables, mooring lines and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Anchors 4 Grapnails 9 11 3 Leather 7 lb. Sole " 6 5 Arrack 7¼ Gall. " 19 4 Lines 1 Deep Sea " 4 8 Iron 331 lb. 2 3 4 Paint 24 lb. " 11 - Twine 20 Sk. " 10 - Carrd. over£ 97 3 10	the tackle used to sling heavy goods in and out of the boats. Constant work in the Atlantic swell wore the rope out quickly. Grapnels were small anchors with four or five curved arms, used to hold boats off the landing or to recover objects from the seabed. Bastard rubbers were coarse-cut files for shaping wood and metal. Sole leather served for chafing gear, protecting oars and ropes where they rubbed against the gunwales. The arrack was the customary allowance to boat crews for their heavy work at the oars.
293	286	The 17 October Brought over£ 97 3 10 Nails viz. 8 lb. 3d. 12 .. 2 15 .. 6 10 .. 40 10 .. 4 65 .. 10 Boats in General " 6 - " 10 3 2 2 2¼ 1 3 9 " 6 -½ 1 9 9½ 4 18 - Oil viz. 3 Gall. Linsd. " 12 - ½ Do. Oil of Turpent. " 2 7 " 14 7 Deals viz. 1 Baulk " 8 10 6 Elm Boards 1 1 6 3¼ Ps. Riga Timber 1 19 4 2½ Do. Oak Plank 3 2 6 3 Do. Ash Do. 6 11 6 4 Do. Elm Do. 6 2 5 7 Doub. Deals 1 3 11 ½ Wainst. Board " 3 2 20 13 2 £ 123 9 7 Banks's Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Paint viz. 1 Pound. Blacking " " 6½ 1 lb. Blue Black " " 7 6 lb. Span. Red mixd. " 3 6 1 lb. Red Lead " " 2¾ 8 lb. White Lead dry " 2 6 Carrd. over£ " 7 4	The stores issued for the Company's boats continued from a running total of £97 3s 10d, and the record then opened the account for the fortification at Banks's. Brought forward, £97 3s 10d Nails, for the boats in general 8 pounds of threepenny nails, £0 6s 0d 12 pounds of twopenny nails, £0 10s 3d 15 pounds of sixpenny nails, £2 2s 2¼d 10 pounds of fortypenny nails, £1 3s 9d 10 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 6s 0¼d 65 pounds of tenpenny nails, £1 9s 9½d Total for nails, £4 18s 0d Oil 3 gallons of linseed oil, £0 12s 0d ½ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 2s 7d Total for oil, £0 14s 7d Timber 1 baulk, £0 8s 10d 6 elm boards, £1 1s 6d 3¼ [...] of Riga timber, £1 19s 4d 2½ [...] of oak plank, £3 2s 6d 3 [...] of ash plank, £6 11s 6d 4 [...] of elm plank, £6 2s 5d 7 Dutch deals, £1 3s 11d ½ wainscot board, £0 3s 2d Total for timber, £20 13s 2d Total charged to the boats, £123 9s 7d Charged to the fortification at Banks's: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 Paint 1 pan of blacking, £0 0s 6¼d [...] of blue black, £0 0s 7d 6 pounds of Venetian red, mixed, £0 3s 6d [...] of red lead, £0 0s 2¾d 8 pounds of white lead, dry, £0 2s 6d Total for paint, £0 7s 4d Carried forward, £0 7s 4d **Interpretations** The boats cost the Company £123 9s 7d in stores for the quarter, on top of the boatmen's wages. The large issue of timber showed that boats were built and repaired on the island, not merely maintained. Ash was the standard wood for oars, thwarts and the bent frames of a boat. Elm, which resists rot when kept wet, was used for planking below the waterline. Oak and Riga fir supplied keels, stems and heavier members. The Company's carpenters thus kept the longboats working without waiting for replacements from England. Venetian red was a red iron-oxide pigment, originally from Italy, used for priming and for durable outdoor paint. With the white lead and red lead, it probably went on the gun carriages, doors and ironwork of the battery at Banks's. The Council had renamed the battery Purling's Battery when it was finished in August 1768, but the storekeeper still kept its account under the old name.

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294	287	1768 Brought Over£ " 7 4 Leather 34 lb. Sole 1 11 2 Nails viz. 2 lb. 2d. " 1 8½ 4 .. 6 " 2 3 6 .. 10 " 2 9 2 .. 40 " " 9½ " 7 6 Iron Ware viz. 10 Iron Shovels 2 5 2½ 3 Hand Hatchets " 5 1½ 20 Ash Helves " 11 8 1 Large frying Pan " 4 2½ 36 Sail Needles " 2 3 4 two feet Rules " 4 - 1 Pick Ax " 3 4 1 Wood Do. " 2 10 3 Setting Hammers 1 " 3 2 Stock Locks " 3 9 2 Spades " 7 6 1 Pr. Garnet Hinges " 7 2 6 Bricklay. Trowels " 6 9 2 Brass Wire Sieves " 8 11½ 6 15 - Turners Ware viz. 7 Plaistr. Brushes " 7 7 1 Wood Bowl " 1 1 3 Paint Brushes " 1 6 " 10 2 Iron 68 lb. " 12 9 Tin Ware 1 Watering Pot " 3 - Twine 20 Sk. " 10 - Candles 3 lb. " 6 6 Cordage 124 2 1 4 Carrd. over£ 13 4 9	The stores issued for the fortification at Banks's continued from a running total of £0 7s 4d. Brought forward, £0 7s 4d 34 pounds of sole leather, £1 11s 2d Nails 2 pounds of twopenny nails, £0 1s 8½d 4 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 2s 3d 6 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 2s 9d 2 pounds of fortypenny nails, £0 0s 9½d Total for nails, £0 7s 6d Ironware 10 iron shovels, £2 5s 2½d 3 hand hatchets, £0 5s 1½d 20 ash handles, £0 11s 8d 1 large frying pan, £0 4s 2½d 36 sail needles, £0 2s 3d 4 two-foot rules, £0 4s 0d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 4d 1 wood axe, £0 2s 10d 3 setting hammers, £1 0s 3d 2 stock locks, £0 5s 9d 2 spades, £0 7s 6d 1 pair of garnet hinges, £0 7s 2d 6 bricklayers' trowels, £0 6s 9d 2 brass wire sieves, £0 8s 11½d Total for ironware, £6 15s 0d Turners' ware 7 plasterers' brushes, £0 7s 7d 1 wooden bowl, £0 1s 1d 3 paint brushes, £0 1s 6d Total for turners' ware, £0 10s 2d 68 pounds of iron, £0 12s 9d 1 tin watering pot, £0 3s 0d 20 pounds of twine, £0 10s 0d 3 [...] of candles, £0 6s 6d 124 pounds of cordage, £2 1s 4d Carried forward, £13 4s 9d **Interpretations** The stores for Banks's matched the trades charged in the paymaster's account for the same quarter. Shovels, spades and pickaxes served the labourers, and trowels, setting hammers and plasterers' brushes the masons and stonelayers. The 36 sail needles and 20 pounds of twine went to the sailmakers, who were paid for 22½ days' work at the battery. They were probably sewing canvas covers to protect the guns and their carriages from rain and salt spray. The brass wire sieves were used to screen sand and slaked lime for mortar, removing lumps and stones before mixing. A setting hammer was a mason's heavy hammer for bedding stones firmly into their mortar. Garnet hinges were T-shaped strap hinges for doors and shutters, here probably fitted to the battery's magazine or guardhouse. The sole leather was perhaps cut into washers and packing for the gun tackle, or into protective strips where ropes ran over stone.
295	288	The 17 October Brought Over£ 13 4 9 Oars 3 Long " 16 6 Glass Ware 4 Sq. Glass 8 by 10 " 2 3 Tar 3 Gall. " 2 3 Oil viz. 3 Gall. Linsd. " 12 - 3½ Do. Oil of Turpent.	The stores issued for the fortification at Banks's continued from a running total of £13 4s 9d and closed with the account's total, and the record then opened the account for the fortifications in Lemon Valley. Brought forward, £13 4s 9d 3 long oars, £0 16s 6d 4 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 2s 3d 3 gallons of tar, £0 2s 3d Oil 3 gallons of linseed oil, £0 12s 0d

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		" 16 8 1 8 8 Deals viz. 2 Coffers " 6 3 1 Baulk " 8 10 " 15 1 Coals 24 Chald. 48 16 7 £ 64 16 1 Lemon Valley Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Iron Ware viz. 7 Ash Helves " 4 1 4 Pickaxes " 13 4 1 Hand Hatchet " 1 8½ 8 Iron Shovels 1 16 2½ 2 15 4 Cordage 51 lb. " 12 3 Cart Wheels 7 Wheel Barr. 6 19 6 Nails viz. 10 lb. 40d. " 3 9½ 10 Spikes " 3 1½ " 6 11 Deals viz. 1 Ps. Riga Timber 2 8 5 5½ Do. Oak Plank 6 17 6 9 5 11 £ 19 19 11	3½ gallons of oil of turpentine, £0 16s 8d Total for oil, £1 8s 8d Timber 2 [...], £0 6s 3d 1 baulk, £0 8s 10d Total for timber, £0 15s 1d 24 chaldrons of coal, £48 16s 7d Total charged to the fortification at Banks's, £64 16s 1d Charged to the fortifications in Lemon Valley: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 Ironware 7 ash handles, £0 4s 1d 4 pickaxes, £0 13s 4d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8½d 8 iron shovels, £1 16s 2½d Total for ironware, £2 15s 4d 51 pounds of cordage, £0 12s 3d Cart wheels and wheelbarrows, £6 19s 6d Nails 10 pounds of fortypenny nails, £0 3s 9½d 10 spikes, £0 3s 1½d Total for nails, £0 6s 11d Timber 1 [...] of Riga timber, £2 8s 5d 5½ [...] of oak plank, £6 17s 6d Total for timber, £9 5s 11d Total charged to the fortifications in Lemon Valley, £19 19s 11d **Interpretations** The 24 chaldrons of coal made up three-quarters of the stores charged to Banks's for the quarter. A chaldron was a large measure of coal, about 36 bushels. The coal was fuel for the lime kilns, where the lime-burners paid at the battery burned limestone or shells into quicklime for mortar. With little wood to spare on the island, imported coal was the only practical fuel for lime-burning on this scale. It made mortar one of the most expensive materials in the Company's building works. The Lemon Valley account showed the works there only just beginning. The stores were almost all for moving earth and stone: pickaxes, shovels, wheelbarrows and cart wheels, with timber for scaffolding, shuttering and sheds. No paint, glass or finishing materials appeared yet. The 841 labourers' days paid at Lemon Valley in the same quarter matched this picture of a site being cleared and its foundations dug.
296	289	1768 Mundens Point Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Blocks viz. 6 Doubl. Blocks 3 18 6 6 Dead Eyes " 15 3 8 Single Blocks w. Brass Sheaves 1 10 4 6 4 1 Cordage 9 Cwt. qrs. 24½ lb. 17 4 2 Iron Ware viz. 10 Iron Shovels 2 5 2½ 53 Ash Helves 1 10 11 1 Hand Hatchet " 1 8½ 24 Masons Tools 2 " " 10 Do. Stone Mallets " 16 8 1 Axletree & Winch for Grind Stones	The record next set out the stores issued for the fortification at Munden's Point between 1 July and 30 September 1768. Charged to the fortification at Munden's Point Blocks 6 double blocks, £3 18s 6d 6 deadeyes, £0 15s 3d 8 single blocks with brass sheaves, £1 10s 4d Total for blocks, £6 4s 1d 9 hundredweight 24½ pounds of cordage, £17 4s 2d Ironware 10 iron shovels, £2 5s 2½d 53 ash handles, £1 10s 11d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8½d 24 masons' tools, £2 0s 0d 10 masons' stone mallets, £0 16s 8d 1 axle and winch for a grindstone, £0 3s 4d 5 padlocks, £0 7s 6d 265 pounds of flat iron, £5 15s 11d 2 melting ladles, £0 7s 11d 6 pickaxes, £1 0s 0d 2 [...] saws, £0 10s 3½d 1 plasterer's trowel, £0 1s 8½d 1 wood axe, £0 2s 10d Total for ironware, £15 4s 0d

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		" 3 4 5 Pad Locks " 7 6 265 lb. Plate Iron 5 15 11 2 Melting Ladles " 7 11 6 Pickaxes 1 " " 2 Stone Saws " 10 3½ 1 Plaist. Trowel " 1 8½ 1 Wood Ax " 2 10 15 4 - Iron & Steel viz. 608 lb. Iron 5 14 - 19 lb. German Steel " 10 8 54 lb. Blist. Do. " 16 8 7 1 4 Lines 24 No. 4 " 9 - Arr. 2 Gall. " 5 4 Pastel 3 lb. " 2 4 Candles 5 lb. " 10 10 Braziers Ware 1 Large Brass Cock " 4 6 Carrd. over£ 47 5 7	Iron and steel 6 hundredweight 8 pounds of iron, £5 14s 0d 19 pounds of German steel, £0 10s 8d [...] of blistered steel, £0 16s 8d Total for iron and steel, £7 1s 4d 2 [...] of number 4 lines, £0 9s 0d 2 gallons of arrack, £0 5s 4d 3 baskets, £0 2s 4d 5 pounds of candles, £0 10s 10d 1 large brass tap, £0 4s 6d Carried forward, £47 5s 7d **Interpretations** The blocks, deadeyes and nine hundredweight of cordage showed how the battery at Munden's Point was being built. The site stood on a steep headland above the sea, and stone, timber and guns had to be hoisted into place with tackle. Double and single blocks with brass sheaves made up the pulleys of the hoisting gear. Deadeyes were round wooden blocks pierced with three holes, used to tension the standing ropes that steadied sheerlegs and cranes. The arrangement was the same rigging a ship's crew used, adapted to heavy work on a cliff. The melting ladles were for pouring molten lead. Masons set iron cramps, bolts and gun-ring fixings into holes cut in the stone and ran lead around them to hold them fast. German steel was a cheap steel made directly from iron ore in the forges of Styria and the Rhineland. Blistered steel was made in England by baking bar iron in charcoal, leaving a blistered surface. Both were forged by the armourer into the cutting edges of masons' chisels and picks, which the hard island rock blunted quickly.
297	290	The 17 October Brought Over£ 47 5 7 Nails viz. 7 lb. 4d. " 4 3 6 .. 6 " 3 4 " 7 7 Tin Ware 1 Large Tin Kettle w. a Cover " 3 4 Thread 3 lb. Col. " 9 6 Grindstones 1 " 2 9 Turners Ware 6 Labour. Baskets " 6 10 Deals viz. 21 Coffr. 3 5 8 2 Baulks " 17 8 4 3 4 Coals 24 Chald. 13 Bushl. 49 14 9 £ 102 13 8 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of July to the 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Paint viz. 13 lb. White Lead dry to paint Gun Carriages & Iron Work for the Guard " 4 1 12 Pound. Blacking " 6 3 3 lb. Umber " " 9 2 Stone Oaker mixd. " " 11 3 lb. Verd. " 11 9	The stores issued for the fortification at Munden's Point continued from a running total of £47 5s 7d and closed with the account's total, and the record then opened the general account for the fortifications. Brought forward, £47 5s 7d Nails 7 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 4s 3d 6 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 3s 4d Total for nails, £0 7s 7d 1 large tin kettle with a cover, £0 3s 4d 3 [...] of coloured thread, £0 9s 6d 1 grindstone, £0 2s 9d 6 labourers' baskets, £0 6s 10d Timber 21 [...], £3 5s 8d 2 baulks, £0 17s 8d Total for timber, £4 3s 4d 24 chaldrons 13 bushels of coal, £49 14s 9d Total charged to the fortification at Munden's Point, £102 13s 8d Charged to the fortifications in general: stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1768 Paint, for painting the gun carriages and the ironwork for the guard 13 pounds of white lead, dry, £0 4s 1d 12 pans of blacking, £0 6s 3d 3 pounds of umber, £0 0s 9d 2 pounds of stone ochre, mixed, £0 0s 11d 3 pounds of verdigris, £0 11s 9d Total for paint, £1 3s 9d Oil, for the same 2⅛ gallons of linseed oil, £0 11s 6d ¾ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 3s 11d Total for oil, £0 15s 5d Carried forward, £1 19s 2d **Interpretations** Munden's Point used almost exactly the same quantity of coal as Banks's in the quarter, about 24 chaldrons each. Both batteries were burning their

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		1 3 9 Oil viz. 2 7/8 Gall. Lins. Do. " 11 6 3/4 Oil of Turpentine " 3 11 " 15 5 Carrd. over£ 1 19 2	own lime on site, rather than drawing on a central kiln. Lime-burning on site saved carrying heavy quicklime over the island's steep paths. The cost, however, was a large import of coal to each work. At Munden's Point the coal alone came to almost half the stores charged for the quarter. The general fortifications account covered the upkeep of the island's existing defences, as distinct from the new works under construction. Its paint and oil went on the gun carriages and ironwork at the established batteries and guard posts. Verdigris gave a green finish and resisted rot in damp timber. The carriages were repainted in rotation to keep them sound in the moist sea air.
298	291	1768 Brought Over£ 1 19 2 Twine 2¼ Skeins to make Cartridges " 2 6 Thread 2 lb. Col. Do. " 6 4 Candles 3 lb. for the Magazines " 6 6 Arrack 1/8 Gall. for Hoistg. Colours " 1 8 Deals viz. 5½ Ps. Riga Timber 13 6 1 6½ Do. Oak Plank 8 2 6 3½ Do. Ash Do. 7 13 5 9 Doub. Deals 1 10 9 15 Single Do. 1 13 1 32 5 10 £ 35 2 - Errors Excepted (signed) James Powell Storekpr. St. Helena 30th Sept. 1768	The general account for the fortifications continued from a running total of £1 19s 2d and closed the storekeeper's account for the quarter. Brought forward, £1 19s 2d For making cartridges: 2¼ pounds of [...] twine, £0 2s 6d [...] of coloured thread, £0 6s 4d 3 pounds of candles for the magazines, £0 6s 6d ⅛ gallon of arrack for [...] the colours, £0 1s 8d Timber 5½ [...] of Riga timber, £13 6s 1d 6½ [...] of oak plank, £8 2s 6d 5½ [...] of ash plank, £7 13s 5d 9 Dutch deals, £1 10s 9d 15 single deals, £1 13s 1d Total for timber, £32 5s 10d Total charged to the fortifications in general, £35 2s 0d James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 30 September 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The twine and thread were used to make up cartridges for the guns. Each charge of powder was sewn into a bag of cloth or paper and tied at the neck, so it could be rammed into the barrel in one piece. Cartridges were made in advance and stored in the magazines. A battery could then fire quickly without loose powder being handled near the guns. Candles were issued for the magazines only in small quantities and under strict rules. A naked flame among stored powder was the greatest danger in any fort. Magazine candles were burned inside closed lanterns, often behind glass set in the wall, so that the men inside never came near an open flame. Powell closed his account with the same reservation Kirkpatrick had used on the paymaster's account: errors excepted. Between them, the two officers' accounts set out every shilling paid and every item issued in the quarter. Each was charged to its own department, from the garrison and the slaves to the boats and the fortifications. The Court of Directors could therefore trace where its money and goods had gone on the island.
299	292	The 17 October Inventory of Stores Remaining in the Honble. Company's Ware Houses Sept. 30. 1768 viz. Anchors viz. 5 Anchors£ 66 19 7 6 Iron Hoops 1 12 8 4 Anc. Stocks 16 feet long 25 4 10 18 Fore Nails " 3 6 1 Anch. on the West Rocks 13 7 11 1 Do. 11.. 33.. 6 56 6 7	An inventory followed of the stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 September 1768. Anchors 5 anchors, £66 19s 7d 6 iron hoops, £1 12s 8d 4 anchor stocks, 16 feet long, £25 4s 10d 18 treenails, £0 3s 6d 1 anchor lying on the [...] rocks, £13 7s 11d 1 anchor weighing [...] hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds, £56 6s 7d 1 anchor weighing 34 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 pounds, £59 7s 3d Total for anchors, £223 2s 4d Bunting 4 pieces of 36 yards of red bunting and 19¾ yards of damaged red bunting, together £8 1s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Do. 34.. 2.. 10 59 7 3 223 2 4 Bunting viz. 4 Ps. 36 Yds. Red 19¼ Do. damagd. 8 1 4 9¾ Do. White Do. " 5 6 1 Ps. 32½ Blue 15¼ Yds. Do. Damag. 2 6 8 10 13 6 Broad Cloth viz. 122½ Yds. Scarlet 107 7 11 32¼ Do. Blue 3½ Do. Do. Damag. 39 18 3 31 Do. Light Brown 3½ Do. Do. damagd. 30 3 9 13¼ Do. Black 11 16 4 23½ Do. Green 19 1 9 26 Do. Buff 21 6 10 6½ Do. Dark Brown 5 16 6 4½ Do. French Grey damag. 4 " 8 249 12 - Buckram 2 Ps. 11 Yds. 2 19 - Carrd. over£ 486 6 [...]	9¾ yards of white bunting, £0 5s 6d 1 piece of 32½ yards of blue bunting and 15¼ yards of damaged blue bunting, together £2 6s 8d Total for bunting, £10 13s 6d Broadcloth 122½ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £117 7s 11d 32¼ yards of blue broadcloth and 3½ yards of damaged blue broadcloth, together £39 18s 3d 31 yards of light brown broadcloth and 3½ yards of damaged light brown broadcloth, together £30 3s 9d 13¼ yards of black broadcloth, £11 16s 4d 23¾ yards of green broadcloth, £19 1s 9d 26 yards of buff broadcloth, £21 6s 10d 6¾ yards of dark brown broadcloth, £5 16s 6d 4½ yards of damaged French grey broadcloth, £4 0s 8d Total for broadcloth, £249 12s 0d 2 pieces and 11 yards of buckram, £2 19s 0d Carried forward, £486 6s [...] **Interpretations** The anchors were the most valuable items in the store. They were kept so that any ship that lost an anchor in the road could be supplied before sailing on. St Helena's anchorage was open to the sea, and anchors were often lost when cables parted or had to be cut in a sudden swell. A replacement from the island's store could save a ship. The anchor recorded as lying on the rocks was probably one recovered from the shore or a wreck and still awaiting removal. The large stock of scarlet broadcloth, more than 120 yards worth over £117, was held for the officers' uniforms. Only a fraction was issued in any single quarter, but the next supply from England might be a year away. The Company therefore kept enough cloth on hand to clothe its officers for several seasons. The storekeeper listed damaged lengths separately so their lower value would not be mistaken for sound stock. Bunting was a light woollen cloth used for flags and signals. Red, white and blue bunting supplied the Company's colours, the ensigns flown at the Castle and batteries, and the signal flags used to speak with ships in the road.
300	293	1768 Brought Over£ 486 6 10 Braziers Ware viz. 8 Skimmrs. @ 2/5¾ " 19 10½ 1 Do. @ 2/8 " 2 8 2 Do. @ 14/4 1 8 8 1 Warming Pan " 11 5 10 Hash Pans wt. Covers 13 10 10 1 Do. without Do. " 14 10 5 Large Cocks " 17 10½ 3 Rolling Do. " 18 1 4 Pr. Brass Cand. Sticks 1 16 - 3 Flat Do. " 10 3 8 Pr. Steel Snuffers 1 4 - 1 Sauce Pan " 13 1 2¼ Brass Wire " 6 9	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £486 6s 10d. Brought forward, £486 6s 10d Braziers' ware 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 5d 10 stewpans with covers, £13 10s 10d 1 stewpan without a cover, £0 14s 10d 5 large taps, £0 17s 1½d 3 bib taps, £0 18s 1d 4 pairs of brass candlesticks, £1 16s 0d 3 flat candlesticks, £0 10s 3d 8 pairs of steel snuffers, £1 4s 0d 1 saucepan, £0 13s 1d 2¼ [...] of brass wire, £0 6s 9d 4 brass rollers for the crane, £4 10s 7d 2½ [...] of brass for soldering, £0 10s 7½d 6 copper plates, £0 8s 6½d 1 copper bar, 3 feet long, £0 9s 5d 1 brass bar, 3 feet long, £0 9s 0d 9 five-quart tea kettles, £7 10s 9½d 1 three-quart tea kettle, £0 12s 4d Total for braziers' ware, £38 5s 7d Books 7 Bibles, £1 5s 10d 2 New Testaments, £0 2s 5d 11 primers, £0 2s 9d 15 spelling books, £0 12s 6d 12 hornbooks, £0 1s 3d

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		4 Brass Rollers for the Crane 4 10 7 2½ Brass for Soldering " 10 7½ 6 Copper Plates " 8 6½ 1 Copper Bar three feet long " 9 5 1 Brass Do. 3 Do. Do. " 9 - 9 Tea Kettles of 5 Quarts 7 10 9½ 1 Do. of 3 Do. " 12 4 38 5 7 Books viz. 7 Bibles 1 5 10 2 Testaments " 2 5 11 Primmers " 2 9 15 Spellg. Books " 12 6 12 Horn Do. " 1 3 1 Common Prayer Do. " 2 11 2 7 8 Carrd. over£ 527 - 1	1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 2s 11d Total for books, £2 7s 8d Carried forward, £527 0s 1d **Interpretations** The four brass rollers for the crane were spares for the crane at the landing place, where goods from the ships were hoisted out of the boats. The rollers carried the crane's moving parts and wore quickly under constant heavy loads. Keeping replacements in store meant a breakdown would not halt the unloading of the next ship in the road. Hornbooks were a child's first reading lesson. A sheet printed with the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer was mounted on a small wooden board and covered with a thin, transparent layer of horn to protect it. With the primers and spelling books, they made up the stock for the island's school. They were the beginners' end of the reading materials sold to the servants earlier in the quarter.
301	294	The 17 October Brought Over£ 527 - 1 Beef & Pork viz. [...] lb. Beef 3357 2 2 306 Hhds. Pork 3291 9 9 42 Casks Bengal Provisions 1 Do. Do. Do. damaged 963 15 7 30 Tierc. Beef 126 " " 7740 7 6 Blocks viz. 2 Iron bound Cat " 12 10 2 Do. Snatch 1 7 6 4 Do. Dead Eyes 2 13 1 1 Doubl. Long Tackle " 4 9 21 Doub. Blocks w. Brass Sheaves 4 Singles Do. Do. 4 14 10 9 13 - Copper Money 53.. 960 Juck half Pence 112 8 4 Coals 5 Chaldrs. 9 15 - Canvas viz. 24 Ps. 15½ Yds. Eng. Canvas 65 6 9 1 Do. 70 Do. Oznab. 7 5 10 107¾ Yds. Do. Ticklenb. 4 15 6 77 9 1 Cordage viz. 1 Cable of 17 Inc. Wt. 72.. 1.. 17 2 Do. of 9 Do. 19.. 3.. 10 3 Coils of 5 Do. 21.. -.. 20 9 Do. of 4 Do. 44.. -.. 15 7 Do. 3½ Do. 28.. 3.. 11 15 Do. 3¼ Do. 61.. -.. 2	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £527 0s 1d. Brought forward, £527 0s 1d Beef and pork [...] of beef, £3,357 2s 2d 306 [...] of pork, £3,291 9s 9d 42 casks of Bengal provisions and 1 cask of damaged Bengal provisions, together £965 15s 7d 30 tierces of beef, £126 0s 0d Total for beef and pork, £7,740 7s 6d Blocks 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 21 double blocks with brass sheaves and 4 single blocks with brass sheaves, together £4 14s 10d Total for blocks, £9 13s 0d 53,960 copper halfpence, £112 8s 4d 5 chaldrons of coal, £9 15s 0d Canvas 34 bolts and 15½ yards of English canvas, £63 6s 9d 1 [...] of 70 yards of osnaburgs, £7 5s 10d 107¾ yards of tecklenburgs, £4 15s 6d Total for canvas, £77 9s 1d Cordage 1 cable of 17 inches, 72 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 pounds 2 cables of 9 inches, 19 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 pounds 3 coils of 5 inches, 21 hundredweight 0 quarters 20 pounds 9 coils of 4 inches, 44 hundredweight 0 quarters 15 pounds 7 coils of 3½ inches, 28 hundredweight 3 quarters 11 pounds 15 coils of 3¼ inches, 61 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 pounds 3 coils of 3 inches, 9 hundredweight 2 quarters 8 pounds 6 coils of 2 inches, 9 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds

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		3 Do. 3 Do. 9.. 2.. 8 6 Do. 2 Do. 9.. 1.. 12 9 Do. 1½ Inc. Netting 5.. 3.. 20 8 Do. 9 Do. Do. 4.. 2.. 6 276.. 3.. 9 485 13 7 Carrd. Over£ 8962 6 7	9 coils of 12-thread ratline, 5 hundredweight 3 quarters 20 pounds 8 coils of 9-thread ratline, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 6 pounds Total weight of cordage, 276 hundredweight 3 quarters 9 pounds Total value of cordage, £485 13s 7d Carried forward, £8,962 6s 7d **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork worth more than £7,700 made up by far the largest part of the stock. This reserve fed the garrison, the Company's slaves and the servants' households. It supplied the Company's ships calling for provisions and served as the island's defence against famine or siege. The 30 tierces of beef bought from Captain Mears on 10 September 1768 for £126 0s 0d still stood unopened in the warehouse at the same price. The Bengal provisions were the cheaper Indian salt meat issued mainly to the slaves. The 53,960 copper halfpence, worth £112 8s 4d, were held as small change. Coin of every kind was scarce on an island that produced nothing it could export for cash. The Company shipped out copper so that wages, petty purchases and the warehouse's own sales could be paid in exact sums. The cash notes recorded in the treasury served for larger amounts. The cordage ran from a single 17-inch cable down to light ratline. A cable's size was measured round its circumference, and a 17-inch cable weighing more than 72 hundredweight was large enough to hold an East Indiaman at anchor. Ratline was thin tarred line, knotted across a ship's shrouds to form the rungs the sailors climbed. The whole stock existed chiefly to refit ships in the road. Cat and snatch blocks were the heavy pulleys used for hoisting an anchor and for leading a rope round an awkward angle.
302	295	1768 Brought Over£ 8962 6 7 Cart Wheels viz. 5 Pr. Cart Wheels 21 2 8 1 Spare Sides for Wheel Barrows " 8 4 21 11 - Cutlery Ware viz. 6 Horse Combs " 1 6 349 Buckling Do. 5 " 7 180 Horn Combs 1 12 8 6 Ivory Do. " 13 3 4 Shoe Knives " 1 4 2 Butch. Do. " " 9 3 Doz. Ivory Handd. Knives & Forks 4 9 3 1 Do. Desert Do. & Do. 1 4 3 7 Case Fleams " 19 3 14 Chopping Knives " 17 10 8 Cullet Do. " 6 8 10 Stone Do. " 14 7 6 Pudding Do. " 5 9 11 Pruning Do. " 11 1½	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £8,962 6s 7d. Brought forward, £8,962 6s 7d Cart wheels 5 pairs of cart wheels, £21 2s 8d 1 spare [...] for wheelbarrows, £0 8s 4d Total for cart wheels, £21 11s 0d Cutlery and small wares 6 horse combs, £0 1s 6d 349 buckle combs, £5 0s 7d 180 horn combs, £1 12s 8d 6 ivory combs, £0 13s 3d 4 shoe knives, £0 1s 4d 2 butcher's knives, £0 0s 9d 3 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £4 9s 3d 1 dozen ivory-handled dessert knives and forks, £1 4s 3d 7 cased fleams, £0 19s 3d 14 clasp knives, £0 17s 10d 8 palette knives, £0 6s 8d 10 penknives, £0 14s 7d 6 budding knives, £0 5s 9d 11 pruning knives, £0 11s 1½d 6 dozen stag-horn-handled knives and forks, £2 19s 5d 80 dozen pairs of shoe buckles, £25 1s 8d 6 dozen and 4 pairs of knee buckles, £1 2s 2d 213 pairs of leather garters, £5 19s 10d 1 cook's knife, £0 2s 3½d Total for cutlery and small wares, £52 4s 5d Camlet 3½ yards of scarlet camlet, £0 13s 0d 2½ yards of brown camlet, £0 7s 8d Total for camlet, £1 0s 8d Corks

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		6 Doz. Stag Horn Handd. Knives & Forks 2 19 5 80 Do. Pr. Shoe Buckles 25 1 8 6 Do. 4 Pr. Knee Do. 1 2 2 213 Pr. Leat. Garters 5 19 10 1 Cooks Knife " 2 3½ 52 4 5 Camblet viz. 3½ Yds. Scarlet " 13 - 24 Do. Brown " 7 8 1 " 8 Corks viz. 10 Gro. 7 Doz. Corks 1 10 8 11 Small Do. " 7 11 1 18 7 Carrd. over£ 9039 1 3	10 gross 7 dozen corks, £1 10s 8d 11 [...] of short corks, £0 7s 11d Total for corks, £1 18s 7d Carried forward, £9,039 1s 3d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 80 dozen pairs of shoe buckles, nearly 1,000 pairs, worth more than £25. Only 12 pairs had been sold to the servants during the whole quarter. At that rate the stock would have lasted for many years. The same was true of the 349 buckle combs. The Court of Directors sent out goods in bulk shipments, often without regard to the island's real demand. Small fashion items could therefore sit in store long after they had any prospect of sale, tying up money the Company might have spent better elsewhere. Camlet was a light cloth woven from wool or goat's hair, sometimes mixed with silk, and was used for cloaks, petticoats and linings. Palette knives were thin flexible blades for mixing paint. Knee buckles fastened breeches below the knee. The stag-horn-handled knives and forks were the everyday tableware of the period, cheaper than ivory.
303	296	The 17 October Brought over£ 9039 1 3 Deals viz. 20 Wainst. Boards 6 11 8 6 Elm Do. 1 1 6 5¾ Riga Timber 15 1 5 11 Baulks 4 17 2 5 Coffers " 15 8 16½ Ps. Oak Plank 24 19 2 9 Do. Elm Do. 15 1 6 7 Do. Ash Do. 8 13 10 575 Do. Timber for the Church in James Valley 161 10 2 238 18 1 Earthen Ware viz. 21 Milk Pans 1 8 - 3 Glass Stool Do. 2 Do. Do. Damag. 1 3 4 2 11 4 Flour 406 Casks wt. 1228 1234 1 - Flannel 66¼ Yds. 5 8 1 Glass Ware viz. 68 Wine Glasses 1 11 6 21 Beer Do. 1 " 8½ 13 Tumblers " 10 9 12 Water Glasses " 5 10 14 Decanters 1 16 - 1 Urinal " 1 - 2 Pr. Salts " 15 1½ 6 Cand. Shades 2 " - 3 Four Hour Glasses	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £9,039 1s 3d. Brought forward, £9,039 1s 3d Timber 20 wainscot boards, £6 11s 8d 6 elm boards, £1 1s 6d 5¾ [...] of Riga timber, £15 1s 5d 11 baulks, £4 17s 2d 5 [...], £0 15s 8d 16½ [...] of oak plank, £24 19s 2d 9 [...] of elm plank, £15 7s 6d 7 [...] of ash plank, £8 13s 10d 575 [...] of timber for the church in Jamestown, £161 10s 2d Total for timber, £238 18s 1d Earthenware 21 milk pans, £1 8s 0d 3 close-stool pans and 2 damaged close-stool pans, together £1 3s 4d Total for earthenware, £2 11s 4d 406 casks of flour, or 1,228 hundredweight, £1,234 1s 0d 66½ yards of flannel, £5 8s 1d Glassware 68 wine glasses, £1 11s 6d 21 beer glasses, £1 0s 8½d 13 tumblers, £0 10s 9d 12 water glasses, £0 5s 10d 14 decanters, £1 16s 0d 1 cruet, £0 1s 0d 2 pairs of salt cellars, £0 15s 1½d 6 candle shades, £2 0s 0d 3 four-hour glasses, £0 10s 0d 1 three-hour glass, £0 3s 4d 6 half-hour glasses, £0 2s 9d 15 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 5s 0d 45 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £2 11s 2d Glassware carried forward, £11 13s 1d Carried forward, £10,559 19s 9d **Interpretations** The timber set aside for the church in Jamestown, valued at £161 10s 2d, was the largest single stock of wood in the warehouse. It was held for a particular building, not issued piecemeal for repairs. The quantity and value suggest a major rebuilding or enlargement of the church was planned or under way. The Company bore the cost of the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		" 10 - 1 Two Do. Do. " 3 4 6 Half Do. Do. " 2 9 15 Sq. Glass 6 by 8 " 5 - 45 Sq. Do. 10 by 12 2 11 2 Glass Ware Carrd. over£ 11 13 1 Carrd. over£ 10559 19 9	island's church, as it did of the chaplain's salary and the books for the school. The 406 casks of flour, worth more than £1,200, were the island's grain reserve. Little wheat was grown on St Helena, so bread for the garrison, the slaves and the households depended on flour shipped from England or the Cape. A stock of more than 1,200 hundredweight could feed the island for many months if the store ships were delayed. The sand glasses timed the watches of the garrison. A four-hour glass measured a full watch, and half-hour glasses marked the intervals at which sentries were relieved or the bell was struck. Close-stool pans were the earthenware vessels fitted inside a close stool, the enclosed chamber pot of the period. They were probably held for the hospital.
304	297	1768 Brought over£ 10559 19 9 Glass Ware brought Over£ 11 13 1 10 Sq. Glass 11 by 12¾ " 10 10 17 Sq. Do. 11 by 16 1 3 9 83 Sq. Do. 11 by 16 5 1 - 12 Sq. Do. 10 by 14 " 13 - 17 Sq. Do. 11 by 17 1 2 8 12 Sq. Do. 11 by 17¾ " 16 - 12 Sq. Do. 11 by 18½ " 16 - 21 Sq. Do. 11¼ by 18 1 8 - 30 Sq. Do. 10½ by 17¾ 2 " " 40 Sq. Do. 11½ by 19 2 16 8 28 Sq. Do. 11½ by 19 1 19 8 30 " 7 Grind Stones 2 " 5 6 Hatts viz. 15 Mens Hatts 13 3 9 2 Boys Do. " 12 2 28 Centl. Do. 3 18 9 17 14 8 Haberdashery viz. 8¾ lb. Silk 15 13 6½ 8¾ lb. Mohr. 13 13 5½ 15 Gro. Mohr. Coat Buttons 6 " " 7 Gro. 7 Doz. Do. Breast Do. 1 8 4 13 Gro. 7¾ Doz. Silv. Wire Coat Do. 18 3 6¼ 1 Gro. 4½ Doz. Do. Breast Do. 1 7 5¼ 3 Gro. Silv. Plated Coat Do. " 6 8 3¼ Doz. Do. Breast Do. " 2 4¾ 30½ Doz. Gilt Coat Do. 1 6 3¼ 31¾ Do. Do. Breast Do. " 19 - 3 Gro. Gilt Metal Coat Do. " 1 -	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £10,559 19s 9d. Brought forward, £10,559 19s 9d Glassware brought forward, £11 13s 1d 10 panes of window glass, 11 by 12¼ inches, £0 10s 10d 15 panes of window glass, 11 by 16 inches, £1 3s 9d 85 panes of window glass, 10 by 16 inches, £5 1s 0d 12 panes of window glass, 10 by 14 inches, £0 13s 0d 17 panes of window glass, 11 by 17 inches, £1 2s 8d 12 panes of window glass, 11 by 17¾ inches, £0 16s 0d 12 panes of window glass, 11 by 18½ inches, £0 16s 0d 21 panes of window glass, 11½ by 18 inches, £1 8s 0d 30 panes of window glass, 10½ by 17¾ inches, £2 0s 0d 40 panes of window glass, 11½ by 19 inches, £2 16s 8d 28 panes of window glass, 11 by 19 inches, £1 19s 8d Total for glassware, £30 0s 7d 2 grindstones, £0 5s 6d Hats 15 men's hats, £13 3s 9d 2 boys' hats, £0 12s 2d 28 soldiers' hats, £3 18s 9d Total for hats, £17 14s 8d Haberdashery 8¾ [...] of silk, £15 13s 6½d 8¾ [...] of mohair, £13 13s 5½d 15 gross of mohair coat buttons, £6 0s 0d 7 gross of mohair breast buttons, £1 8s 4d [...] of silver wire coat buttons, £18 5s 6¾d [...] of silver wire breast buttons, £1 7s 5¾d [...] of silver-plated coat buttons, £0 6s 8d [...] of silver-plated breast buttons, £0 2s 4¾d 30½ [...] of gilt coat buttons, £1 6s 3¾d [...] of gilt breast buttons, £0 19s 0d 3 [...] of gilt metal coat buttons, £0 1s 0d [...] of horn button moulds, £1 18s 1d Haberdashery carried forward, £61 18s 7½d Carried forward, £10,608 0s 6d **Interpretations** The warehouse stocked window glass in more than a dozen different sizes, from small panes of 6 by 8 inches to large ones of 11½ by 19. Each size fitted a particular pattern of sash, so a broken pane could be replaced only with glass cut to the same dimensions. Glass could not be cut down safely on the island in quantity. The storekeeper therefore held a range of ready-sized panes for the Castle, the Company's houses and the servants' homes.

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		1 Gro. 7½ Horn Moulds 1 18 1 Haberd. Carrd. over£ 61 18 7½ Carrd. Over£ 10608 - 6	The large stock of buttons in mohair, silver wire, silver plate, gilt and gilt metal showed how closely dress marked rank on the island. Officers, senior servants and junior clerks each wore the grade of button suited to their station. The silver wire coat buttons alone were valued at more than £18. The Company supplied the whole range from its own stores so that each man could be fitted out according to his place.
305	298	The 17 October Brought Over£ 10608 - 6 Haberdy. brought Over£ 61 1 8¾ 4½ Gro. White Waist. Buttons " 7 10½ 3 Gro. Shirt Do. " 6 9 6 lb. Union Cord " 13 6 12 Ps. Galloon 3 2 7½ 4 Ps. Braid " 11 - 18 7/8 Yds. Tabby 7 14 8 2¾ Gro. Broad Worst. Lace 2 2 10 57½ Gro. Narrow Do. Do. 33 8 5¾ 85¼ Yds. White Buckram 4 10 8¾ 28 Ps. Holl. Tape " 15 9 8 Hair Sacks " 5 6 61 lb. Whale Bone 18 6 - 133 7 5 Hosiers Ware viz. 895 Pr. Mens Ordy. Thread Stockings 131 8 3 7 Pr. Do. Worst. Do. 1 5 1 3 Pr. Do. Knit Do. damd. " 9 - 13 Pr. Girls Do. Do. Do. 1 9 - 4 Pr. Womens Do. Do. " 11 - 6 Pr. Boys Do. Do. Do. " 11 6 18 Pr. Mens Eng. Cott. Do. 5 18 6 2 Pr. Do. India Do. Damgd. " 10 6 19 Pr. Do. Do. Do. Do. fine 7 19 1 7 Pr. Scarl. Worst. Breeches 3 Do. Do. Do. damaged 6 16 3 2 Pr. Crimson Do. Do. 1 7 3 3 Pr. Buff Do. 1 Pr. Do. Do. damaged 4 8 1 162 13 6 Carrd. over£ 10904 1 5	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £10,608 0s 6d. Brought forward, £10,608 0s 6d Haberdashery brought forward, £61 1s 8¾d 4½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 7s 10½d 4½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 6s 9d 6 [...] of union cord, £0 13s 6d 12 pieces of galloon, £3 2s 7¾d 4 pieces of braid, £0 11s 0d 18⅞ yards of tabby, £7 14s 8d 2¾ gross of broad worsted lace, £2 2s 10d 57½ gross of narrow worsted lace, £33 8s 5¾d 85¼ yards of white buckram, £4 10s 8¾d 28 pieces of holland tape, £0 15s 9d 8 hair [...], £0 5s 6d 6 [...] of whalebone, £18 6s 0d Total for haberdashery, £133 7s 5d Hosiery 895 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £131 8s 3d 7 pairs of men's [...] stockings, £1 5s 1d 3 pairs of men's knitted stockings, damaged, £0 9s 0d 13 pairs of girls' stockings, £1 9s 0d 4 pairs of women's stockings, £0 11s 0d 6 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 11s 6d 18 pairs of men's English cotton stockings, £5 18s 6d 2 pairs of men's Indian cotton stockings, £0 10s 6d 19 pairs of men's Indian cotton stockings, [...], £7 19s 1d 7 pairs of scarlet worsted breeches and 3 damaged pairs, together £6 16s 3d 2 pairs of crimson worsted breeches, £1 7s 3d 3 pairs of buff worsted breeches and 1 damaged pair, together £4 8s 1d Total for hosiery, £162 13s 6d Carried forward, £10,904 1s 5d **Interpretations** The 895 pairs of men's thread stockings, worth more than £131, were the garrison's reserve. The servants had bought 134 pairs during the quarter and the Castle servants another 20. The stock was therefore enough to supply the soldiers for more than a year. Like the shirts and shoes, stockings were sold to the men from store and the cost was recovered from their pay. Several of the trimmings need explaining. Galloon was a narrow, close-woven braid of silk, wool or metal thread, used to edge hats and uniforms. Tabby was a heavy watered silk with a wavy sheen, used for linings, waistcoats and women's gowns. Union cord was probably a cord of mixed fibres for lacing and trimming. Whalebone was the flexible horny plate from the mouth of the baleen whale, cut into strips to stiffen women's stays and the hoops of petticoats.
306	299	1768 Brought Over£ 10904 1 5 Hooks & Lines viz. 6,500 No. 1 Hooks 16 10 3	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £10,904 1s 5d. Brought forward, £10,904 1s 5d Fish hooks and lines

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		13.030 .. 6 Do. 52 7 2½ 200 .. 7 Do. " 11 - 6,100 .. 9 Do. 8 9 -¼ 9.300 .. 10 Do. 7 9 2½ 1.400 .. 11 Do. 1 2 2 9.750 .. 12 Do. 7 6 2 803 .. 15 Do. Large 9 1 - 7600 .. 8 Do. Do. 22 3 4 12.050 .. 14 Do. 4 19 3½ 8.550 .. 16 Do. 2 3 2 8000 .. 15 Do. Small 2 13 7 8000 .. 13 Do. 3 11 2 270 Doz. 5 .. 2 Lines 35 6 11 159 Doz. 4 .. 3 Do. 31 6 4 37 Doz. 2 .. 4 Do. 7 " 3 58 Hambro Do. 4 11 10 36 Deep Sea Do. 8 8 - 27 Log Do. 1 7 - 1½ Lead Sash Do. " 1 8½ 226 8 11 Iron Potts viz. 1 Iron Pot Wt. 75 lb. " 14 - 2 Iron Kettl. 3 12 1 4 6 1 Iron & Steel viz. 52.. 3.. 25 Iron Cwt. qrs. lb. 57 9 2 -.. 1.. 16 German Steel 1 5 10 -.. 3.. 10 Blist. Do. 1 11 4 60 6 4 Carrd. over£ 11195 2 9	6,500 number 1 hooks, £16 10s 3d 13,030 number 6 hooks, £52 7s 2½d 200 number 7 hooks, £0 11s 0d 6,100 number 9 hooks, £8 9s 0¼d 9,300 number 10 hooks, £7 9s 2½d 1,400 number 11 hooks, £1 2s 2d 9,750 number 12 hooks, £7 6s 2d 800 large number 15 hooks, £9 1s 0d 7,600 large number 8 hooks, £12 3s 4d 12,050 number 14 hooks, £4 19s 3½d 8,550 number 16 hooks, £2 3s 2d 8,000 small number 15 hooks, £2 13s 7d 8,000 number 13 hooks, £3 11s 2d 270 dozen 5 number 2 lines, £35 6s 11d 159 dozen 4 number 3 lines, £31 6s 4d 37 dozen 2 number 4 lines, £7 0s 3d 58 Hamburg lines, £4 11s 10d 36 deep-sea lines, £8 8s 0d 27 long lines, £1 7s 0d 1½ hand lead lines, £0 1s 8½d Total for hooks and lines, £226 8s 11d Iron pots 1 iron pot weighing 93 pounds, £0 14s 0d 2 iron kettles, £3 12s 1d Total for iron pots, £4 6s 1d Iron and steel 52 hundredweight 3 quarters 25 pounds of iron, £57 9s 2d 1 quarter 16 pounds of German steel, £1 5s 10d 3 quarters 16 pounds of blistered steel, £1 11s 4d Total for iron and steel, £60 6s 4d Carried forward, £11,195 2s 9d **Interpretations** The warehouse held more than 91,000 fish hooks and hundreds of dozens of lines, worth more than £226 together. During the quarter about 5,000 hooks had been sold to the servants, about 1,000 to the buyers paying 40 per cent and more than 1,000 issued to the slaves and fishermen. At that pace the stock would last for many years. The Court in London evidently judged fishing so central to feeding the island that it sent out hooks by the tens of thousands. A failure of supply would have cut off one of St Helena's few reliable sources of fresh food. A hand lead line was a light sounding line with a lead weight, used from a boat or ship to measure the depth of water. Boats approaching the landing or working close inshore needed to sound the bottom. The Company's longboats and the pilots who guided ships to their anchorage in the road made constant use of such lines. The 52 hundredweight of bar iron was the raw stock of the armourer's forge. It was worked up into bolts, cramps, gun fittings, tools and repairs for the batteries and boats. With the German and blistered steel, it supplied all the island's ironwork for months ahead, since none could be produced locally.
307	300	The 17 October Brought Over£ 11195 2 9 Iron Ware viz. 1 Iron rim'd Lock A. 1 " 2½ 1 Do. B. 1 1 1 2 Do. C. 2 4 2 16 Do. M. w. Brass Knobs 4 17 8 22 Do. 5 4 6 22 Cupd. Locks 3 2 4 26 Splint. Do. " 12 5½ 14 Pad Do.	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,195 2s 9d. Brought forward, £11,195 2s 9d Ironware 1 iron-rimmed lock, size A, £1 0s 2½d 1 iron-rimmed lock, size B, £1 1s 1d 2 iron-rimmed locks, size C, £2 4s 2d 16 iron-rimmed locks, size M, with brass knobs, £4 17s 8d 22 iron-rimmed locks, size M, £5 4s 6d 22 cupboard locks, £3 2s 4d 26 plate locks, £0 12s 5½d 14 padlocks, £1 1s 0d 6 gaol padlocks, £2 3s 0d 2 brass closet locks, £0 12s 10½d 1 parlour door lock, £0 5s 0d 8 parlour door locks with brass knobs, £3 0s 0d

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		1 1 - 6 Goal Pad Do. 2 3 - 2 Brass Closet Locks " 12 10½ 1 Plain. Door Do. " 5 - 8 Do. Do. w. Brass Knobs 3 " " 3 Chest Do. " 8 6 15 Stock Do. 2 3 1½ 38 Pr. Shutter Hinges 4 " 9 42 Brass Rings " 8 3 30 Pr. Bart. Hinges 2 10 - 20 Pr. H.L. Do. 1 18 4 16 Broad Hoes 1 14 8 1 Grubbing Do. " 2 11 12 Pr. Sheep Shears " 18 - 4 Adzes " 12 - 26 Gouges 2 7 4 7 Edging Irons 1 7 2 23 Pick Axes 4 3 4 8 Augers 1 2 1 24 Taper Bitts " 7 6 2 Pr. Steel Yards 1 " 6 9 Drill Bows 1 " 3 32 Masons Stone Hammers 4 11 - 1 Brass Adz & Driver " 4 1½ 3 Punches " 2 10½ Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 56 6 11½ Carrd. Over£ 11195 2 9	3 chest locks, £0 8s 6d 15 stock locks, £2 3s 1½d 38 pairs of shutter hinges, £4 0s 9d 42 brass rings, £0 8s 3d 30 pairs of [...] hinges, £2 10s 0d 20 pairs of H-L hinges, £1 18s 4d 16 broad hoes, £1 14s 8d 1 grubbing hoe, £0 2s 11d 12 pairs of sheep shears, £0 18s 0d 4 adzes, £0 12s 0d 26 gouges, £2 7s 4d 7 edging irons, £1 7s 2d 23 pickaxes, £4 3s 4d 8 augers, £1 2s 1d 24 [...] billhooks, £0 7s 6d 2 pairs of steelyards, £1 0s 6d 9 drill bows, £1 0s 3d 32 masons' stone hammers, £4 11s 0d 1 brace and bits, £0 4s 1½d 3 pincers, £0 2s 10½d Ironware carried forward, £56 6s 11½d Carried forward, £11,195 2s 9d **Interpretations** The locks were graded by letter, from A through to M, according to size and strength. The storekeeper could match a replacement exactly to the door it was meant for. Gaol padlocks were heavy padlocks made to secure the prison doors and the irons of prisoners. They were costlier than ordinary padlocks. Their presence in store matched the marshal's fees for confining slaves and others recorded earlier in the quarter. Several tools served the island's farms and building works. A grubbing hoe was a heavy mattock for digging out roots and breaking new ground. Edging irons were half-moon blades for cutting turf and trimming the edges of beds and paths. Steelyards were balances with a sliding weight on a long arm, used to weigh heavy goods such as casks and bales on the wharf. A drill bow turned a drill bit by the back-and-forth motion of a bowstring wrapped round its spindle, and was used by smiths and masons to bore holes in metal and stone.
308	301	1768 Brought Over£ 11195 2 9 Iron Ware brought Over£ 56 6 11½ 8 Cold Chizels " 8 - 1 Hovel " 2 1 30 Gard. Hoes 1 14 - 22 lb. Iron binding Wire " 19 - 1 Pr. Large Iron Dividers " 2 6 4 Curry Combs & Brushes " 7 2 9 Pr. Garden Shears 1 10 9 1 Two feet Rule " 1 - 2 Carpent. Jointg. Planes " 14 11 6 Carpt. Spoke Shaves " 12 - 16 Bitts for a Stock	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,195 2s 9d. Brought forward, £11,195 2s 9d Ironware brought forward, £56 6s 11½d 8 cold chisels, £0 8s 0d 1 howel, £0 2s 1d 30 garden hoes, £1 14s 0d 22 [...] of iron binding wire, £0 19s 0d 1 pair of large iron dividers, £0 2s 6d 4 curry combs and brushes, £0 7s 2d 9 pairs of garden shears, £1 10s 9d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 0d 2 carpenters' jointing planes, £0 14s 11d 6 coopers' spokeshaves, £0 12s 0d 16 bits for a [...] stock, £0 4s 8d 1 cooper's round-headed shave, £0 1s 11½d 8 pairs of large cross garnet hinges, £2 17s 4d 6 Dutch hoes, £1 3s 7½d 100 spades, £18 10s 10d 15 shovels, £1 6s 10½d 33 iron shovels, £7 9s 10½d 7 [...] saws, £1 16s 0d 1 melting ladle, £0 11s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		" 4 8 1 Carpt. Round Head Plane " 1 11½ 8 Pr. Large Cross Garnet Hinges 2 17 4 6 Dutch Hoes 1 3 7½ 108 Spades 18 10 10 15 Shovels 1 6 10½ 33 Iron Do. 7 9 10½ 7 Stone Saws 1 16 - 1 Melting Ladle " 11 10 57 Bed Irons " 11 10½ 3 Pr. Hand Screws 12 5 1½ 25 Claw Hammers 1 14 4½ 93 Helves 2 17 - 76 Small frying Pans 7 1 5½ 2 Large Do. " 8 5 15 lb. Flour Emery 1 5 11½ 6¾ lb. Corn Do. " 11 8 15 lb. Spelter 1 9 -¾ 4 lb. Borax 2 18 6 6½ lb. Case Hardening " 12 8¾ 2 Coffee Mills " 15 4½ 4 Chafing Dishes 1 4 - Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 130 17 3 Carrd. Over£ 11195 2 9	57 [...] of rod iron, £0 11s 10½d 3 pairs of hand screws, £12 5s 1½d 25 claw hammers, £1 14s 4½d 93 handles, £2 17s 0d 76 small frying pans, £7 1s 5½d 2 large frying pans, £0 8s 5d 15 pounds of flour emery, £1 3s 11½d 6¾ pounds of corn emery, £0 11s 8¾d 15 [...] of spelter, £1 9s 0¾d 4 [...] of borax, £2 18s 6d 6½ [...] of case-hardening compound, £0 12s 8¾d 2 coffee mills, £0 15s 4½d 4 chafing dishes, £1 4s 3d Ironware carried forward, £130 17s 3d Carried forward, £11,195 2s 9d **Interpretations** The hand screws were the most costly item on the page, three pairs valued at more than £12. They were heavy screw jacks used to raise great weights a little at a time. On St Helena they lifted cannon on to their carriages, raised fallen stones and set heavy timbers at the batteries. They also served to heave boats and casks at the landing. Their high price reflected the scarcity of such machinery on an island with no foundry or engineering trade. Emery and borax were materials for the armourer and smith. Emery was a hard natural abrasive ground to powder, sold here in two grades. The coarser, corn emery was used for grinding and the finer, flour emery for polishing gun barrels, locks and blades. Borax was a white mineral salt used as a flux in brazing and welding. It cleaned the metal surfaces and let the spelter solder flow into the joint.
309	302	The 17 October Brought Over£ 11195 2 9 Iron Ware brought Over£ 130 17 3 63 Plane Irons 1 3 10 10 Sets Jack Wheels 3 7 3 1 Coopr. Jointer " 11 6½ 10 Jack Chains " 17 3½ 4 Do. Weights & Stoppers 1 16 - 26 Figured Squares 1 12 6 81 Blank Keys 2 10 7½ 80 lb. Plate Iron 1 15 - 4 Hash Pans Hammd. Iron 3 10 10 1 Sauce Pan Do. " 11 2½ 9 Scrapers " 16 10½ 93 File Hafts " 5 9¾ 1 Pr. Screw Stocks " 11 7 15 Sickles	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,195 2s 9d. Brought forward, £11,195 2s 9d Ironware brought forward, £130 17s 3d 63 plane irons, £1 3s 10d 10 sets of jack wheels, £3 7s 3d 1 cooper's jointer, £0 11s 6½d 10 jack chains, £0 17s 3½d 4 sets of jack weights and pulleys, £1 16s 0d 26 [...] squares, £1 12s 6d 81 plank dogs, £2 10s 7½d 80 pounds of plate iron, £1 15s 0d 4 stewpans of hammered iron, £3 10s 10d 1 saucepan of hammered iron, £0 11s 2½d 9 scrapers, £0 16s 10½d 93 file handles, £0 5s 9¾d 1 pair of screw stocks, £0 11s 7d 15 sickles, £0 14s 4½d 15 garden rakes and 11 damaged garden rakes, together £1 17s 0d 43 ragstones, £0 14s 4d 64 scythe stones, £0 15s 9d 16 joiners' rubstones, £1 13s 4d 84 drill bits, £0 5s 8½d 2 joiners' hatchets, £0 4s 0d 27 plasterers' trowels, £2 3s 10½d 42 bricklayers' trowels, £2 6s 3d 139 packing needles, £1 0s 3¾d 10 pairs of rising-joint hinges, £1 11s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		" 14 4½ 15 Garden Rakes 11 Do. Damaged 1 17 - 43 Rag Stones " 14 4 64 Scyth. Do. " 15 9 16 Joiners Rubbstones 1 13 4 84 Drill Bows " 5 8½ 2 Joiners Hatchets " 4 - 27 Plaist. Trowels 2 3 10½ 42 Bricklay. Do. 2 6 3 139 Packing Needles 1 " 3¾ 10 Pr. H.L. w. rising Joints Hinges 1 11 8 11 Pr. Shutter Hinges 1 4 9 9 Scythes 2 11 2½ 1 Pr. Dove Tail Hinges " " 3¾ 2 Pr. Stone Saw Heads " 10 11 2 Whip Saws 4 14 9 16 Cross Cut Do. 1 3 9 3 Gun Smiths Do. 2 1 3 Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 176 3 7 Carrd. Over£ 11195 2 9	11 pairs of shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d 9 scythes, £2 11s 2½d 1 pair of dovetail hinges, £0 0s 3¾d 2 pairs of stone saw handles, £0 10s 11d 2 whipsaws, £4 14s 9d 1 crosscut saw, £1 3s 9d 3 gunsmiths' saws, £2 1s 3d Ironware carried forward, £176 3s 7d Carried forward, £11,195 2s 9d **Interpretations** The jack wheels, chains, weights and pulleys were spare parts for roasting jacks. A roasting jack was a clockwork device driven by a falling weight that turned a spit before the kitchen fire, so meat roasted evenly without a servant turning it by hand. The Council had bought a roasting jack for the Company's table on 22 August 1768. The spare parts kept that and other kitchen jacks working. Whipsaws and crosscut saws were the tools of the sawpit. Timber was laid over a pit and sawn lengthways into planks by two men, one standing above and one below. Whipsaws were the long blades used for that work, and crosscut saws cut logs and baulks across their length. Any island timber, and the baulks imported from the Baltic, were converted into boards this way. Screw stocks cut the threads on iron bolts. Rising-joint hinges lifted a door slightly as it opened, so it cleared a carpet or uneven floor.
310	303	1768 Brought Over£ 11195 2 9 Iron Ware brought Over£ 176 3 1 2 Hand Saws " 15 2 4 Tenon Do. 1 9 4 27 Gimblets " 9 8½ 4 Iron Wedges " 2 8 9 Jack Spits 2 11 7 239 Files 5 4 6¾ 3 Bast. Rubbers 1 2 1 18 Farriers Rasps " 16 6 13 Setting Hammers 4 7 9 6 Masons Tools " 8 3 63 Doz. Wood Screws 1 1 - 1 Large Jack 7 10 2 1 Midling Do. 4 18 - 4 Small Do. 10 1 10 7 Sheets Sand Paper " " 5¼ 6 Quires Emery Do. " 13 3 1 Screw Plate " 4 -	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,195 2s 9d. Brought forward, £11,195 2s 9d Ironware brought forward, £176 3s 1d 2 hand saws, £0 15s 2d 4 tenon saws, £1 9s 4d 27 gimlets, £0 9s 8½d 4 iron wedges, £0 2s 8d 9 jack spits, £2 11s 7d 239 files, £5 4s 6¾d 3 bastard rubbers, £1 2s 1d 18 farriers' rasps, £0 16s 6d 13 setting hammers, £4 7s 9d 6 masons' tools, £0 8s 3d 63 dozen wood screws, £1 1s 0d 1 large roasting jack, £7 10s 2d 1 middle-sized roasting jack, £4 18s 0d 4 small roasting jacks, £10 1s 10d 7 sheets of sandpaper, £0 0s 5¼d 6 quires of emery paper, £0 13s 3d 1 screw plate, £0 4s 0d 2 plough planes, £0 19s 8d 5 axles and winches for grindstones, £1 4s 9¾d 3 iron gauges, £1 4s 3¼d 7 firmer chisels, £0 5s 3¾d 1 [...] saw, £0 6s 11d 7 lathing hammers, £0 11s 8d 300 brass nails for chairs, £1 2s 1d 4½ [...] of bolt rope needles, £0 4s 1d 7 [...], £0 0s 7d 36 socket chisels, £1 2s 0d 3 pairs of compasses, £0 2s 11d 27½ [...] of tinned tacks, £2 8s 4½d 32 handles for garden hoes, £1 4s 0d 1¼ [...] of rod iron, £0 6s 4½d 3 iron chains, £6 18s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Plow Planes " 19 8 5 Axletrees & Winches for Grind stones 1 4 9¾ 3 Iron Gages 1 4 3¼ 7 Joiners Chizels " 3 3½ 1 Wood Saw " 6 11 7 Lathg. Hammers " 11 8 300 Brass Nails for Chairs 1 2 1 4½ Bolt Rope Needles " 4 1 7 Vices " " 7 36 Socket Chizels 1 2 - 3 Steel Compasses " 2 11 27½ lb. Tin'd Tacks 2 8 4½ 32 Helves for Gard. Hoes 1 4 - 18 lb. Rolled Iron " 6 1½ 3 Iron Chains 6 18 9 Iron Ware Carrd. over£ 235 1 8¼ Carrd. over£ 11195 2 9	Ironware carried forward, £235 1s 8½d Carried forward, £11,195 2s 9d **Interpretations** The store held six complete roasting jacks in three sizes, together worth more than £22, along with nine spits. With the spare wheels, chains and weights listed on the previous page, the warehouse could equip or repair the kitchens of the Castle, Plantation House and the officers' houses. A large jack could turn a whole joint for the Company's table. The small ones suited a private household. Farriers' rasps were coarse files for trimming and levelling horses' hooves before shoeing. Their presence showed that the Company kept horses in some number, for the Governor, the officers and the carts. Brass chair nails were the decorative round-headed nails used to fix leather or fabric to chair frames, so upholstered furniture was made or repaired on the island. Plough planes cut grooves along the edge of a board for fitting panels, and firmer chisels were general-purpose joiners' chisels.
311	304	The 17 October Brought Over£ 11195 2 9 Iron Ware brought Over£ 235 1 8¼ 66 Drill Strings 1 14 1½ 1 Hand Vice " 1 10 1 Do. w. a Key " 6 9 14 Spring Rat Traps 1 1 - 15 Mouse Do. " 8 3½ 24 Knotts Hall Gut " 3 9 6 Smiths Hdt. Saw Files " 10 3 12 Saw Sets " 6 9 1 Groove Stock " 1 10 6 Groove Irons " 5 - 2 Drawing Knives " 3 4 2 Brass Blow Pipes " 1 10 6 Pr. Wool Cards " 12 10½ 22 Wood Axes 4 10 8 6 Masons Stone Axes 2 4 6 4 Smiths Hammers 1 " " 2 Broad Axes " 9 5½ 1 Frame Saw w. a Frame 1 14 2 18½ Rolld Brass 1 9 3 2 Cast Backs for Forges 1 17 -	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,195 2s 9d. Brought forward, £11,195 2s 9d Ironware brought forward, £235 1s 8¼d 66 bell springs, £1 14s 1½d 1 hand vice, £0 1s 10d 1 hand vice with a key, £0 6s 9d 14 spring rat traps, £1 1s 0d 15 mousetraps, £0 8s 5¼d 24 [...], £0 3s 9d 6 smiths' saw files, £0 10s 3d 12 saw sets, £0 6s 9d 1 croze stock, £0 1s 10d 6 croze irons, £0 5s 0d 2 drawing knives, £0 3s 4d 2 brass blowpipes, £0 1s 10d 6 pairs of wool cards, £0 12s 10½d 22 wood axes, £4 10s 8d 6 masons' stone axes, £2 4s 6d 4 smiths' hammers, £1 0s 0d 2 broad axes, £0 9s 5½d 1 frame saw with its frame, £1 14s 2d 18¼ [...] of rolled brass, £1 9s 3d 2 cast backs for forges, £1 17s 0d 12 turning gouges, £1 13s 6d 2 brass pins for the [...], £0 8s 10d Total for ironware, £257 7s 1d Kersey and baize 16¾ yards of kersey and 11¼ yards of damaged kersey, together £1 18s 6d 72¾ yards of baize, £6 7s 10d Total for kersey and baize, £8 6s 4d Leather 7 calf skins, £3 12s 4d 228 [...] of sole leather, £10 9s 0d Total for leather, £14 1s 4d Carried forward, £11,474 17s 6d **Interpretations** The ironware in store was valued at £257 7s 1d, a large sum for tools and fittings on a small island. The stock was deep because almost nothing of iron or steel could be made locally beyond what the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		12 Socket Gouges 1 13 6 2 Brass Pins for Capstan " 8 10 257 7 1 Kersey viz. 16¾ Yds. Kersey 11¼ Do. Do. damagd. 1 18 6 7 3/4 Do. Baize 6 7 10 8 6 4 Leather viz. 7 Calf Skins 3 12 4 228 lb. Sole Leath. 10 9 - 14 1 4 Carrd. over£ 11474 17 6	armourer forged from bar. Every tool for the masons, carpenters, coopers, smiths and farmers had to be shipped from England and kept on hand against breakage. The Company held tools in reserve for years rather than risk its works stopping for want of a saw or an axe. The croze stock and croze irons were coopers' tools for cutting the groove inside the ends of a cask's staves, into which the head was fitted. The wool cards were paired wire brushes for combing wool before spinning. With the sheep shears kept in store, they suggest that sheep were kept on the island and their wool spun at home on a small scale. Kersey was a coarse, ribbed woollen cloth and baize a soft, napped woollen used for linings and table covers. Cast backs were the heavy iron plates set behind a forge fire to protect the brickwork from the heat.
312	305	1768 Brought Over£ 11474 17 6 Lead viz. 10 Yds. two Inc. Pipe 4 15 6 -.. 2.. 23 Small Shott Cwt. qrs. lb. " 16 5 5 11 11 Masts viz. 1 Teak Top Mast 1 Bowsprit 8 10 6 1 Fore Top Mt. 15½ Inc. Diam. 49 feet long 7 10 - 3 Do. 15 Do. 56 Do. 27 16 6 2 Do. 11 Do. 32 Do. 6 1 - 1 Shers Mast 18 " " 74 18 - Nails viz. 2.. 2.. 9 lb. 2d. Cwt. qrs. lb. 12 6 10½ 9.. 3.. 10 .. 3 41 6 6 7.. 3.. 18 .. 4 26 15 3½ 3.. 3.. 23 .. 6 12 9 2½ 3.. -.. 12 .. 10 7 19 6 3.. -.. 15 .. 20 6 12 1 3.. 2.. 11 .. 40 11 15 1½ 1.. -.. 10 Scupper Nails 3 6 1 -.. 3.. 27 Coopr. Rivets 2 10 10½ -.. 1.. 22 Glazing Brads 1 3 4 -.. 1.. 16 Barr. Nails " 14 8 1.. 1.. 19 Flooring Brads 3 6 3 1.. -.. 20 Spikes 2 1 3 -.. 2.. 12 Clinch Nails 1 11 2 -.. -.. 13 Coppr. Rivets 1 3 10 1.. -.. 7 8d. Nails 2 15 - 2.. 3.. 16 Deg. Do. 8 1 10	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,474 17s 6d. Brought forward, £11,474 17s 6d Lead 10 yards of two-inch lead pipe, £4 15s 6d 2 quarters 23 pounds of small shot, £0 16s 5d Total for lead, £5 11s 11d Masts 1 teak topmast, £7 0s 0d 1 bowsprit, £8 10s 6d 1 [...] mast, 15¾ inches in diameter and 49 feet long, £7 10s 0d 3 [...] masts, 15 inches in diameter and 56 feet long, £27 16s 6d 2 [...] masts, 11 inches in diameter and 32 feet long, £6 1s 0d 1 sheer mast, £18 0s 0d Total for masts, £74 18s 0d Nails 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 9 pounds of twopenny nails, £12 6s 10½d 9 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 pounds of threepenny nails, £41 6s 6d 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 18 pounds of fourpenny nails, £26 15s 3½d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 pounds of sixpenny nails, £12 9s 2¼d 3 hundredweight 12 pounds of tenpenny nails, £7 19s 6d 3 hundredweight 15 pounds of twentypenny nails, £6 12s 1d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 11 pounds of fortypenny nails, £11 15s 1½d 1 hundredweight 10 pounds of copper nails, £8 6s 1d 3 quarters 27 pounds of coopers' rivets, £2 10s 10½d 1 quarter 22 pounds of glazing brads, £4 3s 4d 1 quarter 16 pounds of board nails, £0 14s 8d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 19 pounds of flooring brads, £3 6s 3d 1 hundredweight 20 pounds of spikes, £2 1s 3d 2 quarters 12 pounds of clinch nails, £1 11s 2d 13 pounds of copper rivets, £1 3s 10d 1 hundredweight 7 pounds of eightpenny nails, £2 15s 0d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 pounds of dog nails, £8 1s 10d Total for nails, £148 18s 10d Carried forward, £11,704 6s 3d **Interpretations** The masts in store, worth nearly £75, were held for ships arriving damaged. An East Indiaman that had lost a topmast or bowsprit in a gale off the Cape could be refitted at St Helena before facing the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		148 18 10 Carrd. Over£ 11704 6 3	Atlantic. The island had no trees large enough to make such spars. Teak, shipped from India, resisted rot and was prized for masts and ship timbers. The sheer mast was a single tall spar used with a second to form sheer legs, the A-frame lifted over a ship's side to step or remove its masts. The nail stock ran to more than 40 hundredweight in all sizes. Copper nails and copper rivets were kept for boat work, since copper did not rust in seawater and stain or weaken the planking as iron did. Clinch nails were soft nails whose points were bent over after driving, used to fasten the overlapping planks of a clinker-built boat. Dog nails had large heads and were used for heavy strap hinges and ironwork on gates and doors.
313	306	The 17 October Brought Over£ 11704 6 3 Oars viz. 1 Oar 16 feet long " 4 - 18 Do. 24 Do. 4 19 - 5 3 - Oil viz. 10 Doz. 5 Bott. Florence 21 17 6 28½ Gall. Oil of Turpent. 7 6 1 29 Do. Do. 9 2 6 38 6 1 Paint viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 4.. -.. 19 Whiting " 19 5½ 1.. -.. 18 Umber 1 12 6 1.. -.. 12 Stone Oak. mixd. 2 16 10 -.. -.. 20 Do. Dry " 8 10 -.. 3.. 18 Indico 8 18 6 14.. -.. 14 White Lead dry 24 14 1½ 2.. -.. 24 Stone Col. 4 19 2 1.. 2.. 20 Olive Do. 16 12 11 -.. 2.. 12 Verd. 13 6 4 1.. -.. 10 Pearl Col. 2 10 10 -.. 1.. 26 Chocolate Colour 1 11 6 1.. 1.. 6 Span. Red mixd. 3 9 11½ -.. 3.. 17 Y. Oak. Do. 1 5 3 -.. 1.. 21 Copperas 2 6 11½ 4.. -.. 25 Brimstone 4 18 6½ 2.. 2.. 17 Red Lead 3 8 -¾ -.. 2.. - Log Wood " 11 7 4.. -.. - Chalk " 9 4 -.. 3.. 12 Blue Paint 10 12 - -.. 2.. 21 Black Lead 4 6 7½ -.. 1.. 19 Blue Black 1 7 5¾	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,704 6s 3d. Brought forward, £11,704 6s 3d Oars 1 oar, 16 feet long, £0 4s 0d 18 oars, 24 feet long, £4 19s 0d Total for oars, £5 3s 0d Oil 10 dozen 5 flasks of Florence oil, £21 17s 6d 28½ gallons of oil of turpentine, £7 6s 1d 29 [...] of [...] oil, £9 2s 6d Total for oil, £38 6s 1d Paint 4 hundredweight 19 pounds of whiting, £0 19s 5½d 1 hundredweight 18 pounds of umber, £1 12s 6d 1 hundredweight 12 pounds of stone ochre, mixed, £2 16s 10d 20 pounds of stone ochre, dry, £0 8s 10d 3 quarters 18 pounds of indigo, £8 18s 6d 14 hundredweight 14 pounds of white lead, dry, £24 14s 1½d 2 hundredweight 24 pounds of stone colour, £4 19s 2d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds of olive colour, £16 12s 11d 2 quarters 12 pounds of verdigris, £10 6s 4d 1 hundredweight 10 pounds of pearl colour, £2 10s 10d 1 quarter 26 pounds of chocolate colour, £1 11s 6d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 6 pounds of Venetian red, mixed, £3 9s 11½d 3 quarters 17 pounds of yellow ochre, mixed, £1 5s 3d 1 quarter 21 pounds of copperas, £2 6s 11½d 4 hundredweight 25 pounds of brimstone, £4 18s 6¾d 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 17 pounds of red lead, £3 8s 0¾d 2 quarters of logwood, £0 11s 7d 4 hundredweight of chalk, £0 9s 4d 3 quarters 12 pounds of blue paint, £10 12s 0d 2 quarters 21 pounds of black lead, £4 6s 7½d 1 quarter 19 pounds of blue black, £1 7s 5¾d 10 dozen pans of blacking, £2 19s 7½d 3[...] of Prussian blue, £6 1s 6d Paint carried forward, £120 2s 1½d Carried forward, £11,747 15s 4d **Interpretations** The paint store held more than 14 hundredweight of white lead, the base for almost every colour mixed on the island. Around it were ready-ground tints in a dozen shades. The quantity showed how much painting the Company's buildings, batteries, gun carriages and boats required in a climate where salt air and damp attacked bare wood and iron. Several tints, among them stone colour, olive, pearl

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		103 Pound. Blacking 2 19 7½ 3.. 3 Pruss. Blue 6 1 6 Paint Carrd. Over£ 120 2 1½ Carrd. over£ 11747 15 4	and chocolate, were prepared house paints for walls and joinery. Two of the colouring materials were relatively new or exotic. Prussian blue was the first modern synthetic pigment, discovered in Berlin early in the century. It was a strong, deep blue and much dearer than other paints. Logwood was the heartwood of a Central American tree, shipped in chips and used to make black, purple and grey dyes and ink. Its presence suggests cloth or leather was dyed on the island, perhaps for the soldiers' clothing.
314	307	1768 Brought Over£ 11747 15 4 Paint brought Over£ 120 2 1½ 5 lb. Distilld Verdegrease 2 15 7 3 lb. Flake White " 8 - 7 lb. Allum " " 3 -.. 1.. 2 Yell. dry Cwt. qrs. lb. " 6 10½ 123 12 10 Pumps 1 12 13 5 Pewter viz. 8 Quart Funnels " 18 8 7 Do. Pots 1 1 - 3 Half Gall. Pots 1 8 5 4 Gall. Do. 1 16 6 1 Ewer " 16 11 1 Worm Tub & Still 10 12 4 4 Cullenders 1 12 9 8 Basons " 18 4 20 Water Plates 5 " 10 4 Pint Pots " 8 2 24 13 11 Pitch & Tar viz. 1½ Barrl. Pitch 2 2 4 1¾ Do. Tar 2 16 8 1 Do. Turpent. 2 11 4 7 10 4 Pease & Beans viz. 7 3/8 Bush. Pease 3 13 3 20¾ Do. Do. Damag. 5 3 9 10 5/8 Do. Beans Do. 2 7 7 11 4 7 Sope 14.. 2.. 16 Cwt. qrs. lb. 44 2 11 Starch -.. 2.. 9 1 18 11 Salt 82¼ Bushels 9 17 2 Shalloon 4 Ps. 37¼ Yds. Col. 14 1 10 Carrd. over£ 11997 17 3	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,747 15s 4d. Brought forward, £11,747 15s 4d Paint brought forward, £120 2s 1½d 3 [...] of distilled verdigris, £2 15s 7d 3 [...] of flake white, £0 8s 0d 7 [...] of alum, £0 0s 3d 1 quarter 2 pounds of yellow ochre, dry, £0 6s 10½d Total for paint, £123 12s 10d 1 pump, £12 13s 5d Pewter 8 quart funnels, £0 18s 8d 7 quart pots, £1 1s 0d 5 half-gallon pots, £1 8s 5d 4 gallon pots, £1 16s 6d 1 ewer, £0 16s 11d 1 worm, tub and still, £10 12s 4d 4 colanders, £1 12s 9d 8 basins, £0 15s 4d 20 water plates, £5 0s 10d 4 pint pots, £0 8s 2d Total for pewter, £24 13s 11d Pitch and tar 1½ barrels of pitch, £2 2s 4d 1¾ barrels of tar, £2 16s 8d 1 barrel of turpentine, £2 11s 4d Total for pitch and tar, £7 10s 4d Pease and beans 7¾ bushels of pease, £3 13s 3d 20¾ bushels of damaged pease, £5 3s 9d 10⅞ bushels of beans, £2 7s 7d Total for pease and beans, £11 4s 7d 14 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 pounds of soap, £44 2s 11d 2 quarters 9 pounds of starch, £1 18s 11d 52¼ bushels of salt, £9 17s 2d 4 pieces and 37¼ yards of coloured shalloon, £14 1s 10d Carried forward, £11,997 17s 3d **Interpretations** The pewter still, with its tub and coiled worm, was the most notable single item on the page, valued at more than £10. Vapour from the heated still passed through the worm, a spiral pipe set in a tub of cold water, where it condensed. Such apparatus could distil spirits and medicinal waters for the doctor's shop. At sea and on islands short of water, a still could also be used to draw fresh water from sea water, though slowly and at great cost in fuel. Distilled verdigris was a purified, crystalline form of verdigris, giving a brighter green than the common sort. Flake white was the finest grade of white lead, made in thin flakes and used for best-quality paintwork. Alum was a mineral salt used as a mordant to fix dyes in cloth, in tanning and in medicine. With the logwood listed on the previous page, it supports the suggestion that some dyeing was carried out on the island. The pump was perhaps held for the Castle's water supply or for a ship whose own pump had failed.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
315	308	The 17 October Brought Over£ 11997 17 3 Serge viz. 1½ Ps. Fustian 2 18 - 24¼ Yds. Serge Blue 6 4 5 16¾ Do. Duffle 5 8 3 4/8 Do. Do. Scarlet " 8 5 49½ Do. Sagathy Do. 7 6 5 21½ Do. Do. Green 2 14 8 25 - 2 Scales & Weights viz. 2 Beams 14 6 - 1 Pr. Scale Boards 3 19 8 18 5 8 Shirts viz. 504 Cent. Shirts 114 12 6 2 Serjeants Do. " 13 6 4½ Yds. Irish Linen 6 19 - 17 Rollers 5 15 4 43 Yds. Brown Holland 3 18 10 131 19 2 Sailors Cloaths viz. 160 Mens & Boys Shirts 21 1 9 87 Do. & Do. Jackets 8 Do. Do. Damaged 82 Pr. Mens & Boys Breeches 4 Do. Do. Damagd. 37 1 11 45 Dutch Caps 3 6 - 61 9 8 Soldiers Cloaths viz. 23 Cent. Coats 25 Pr. Do. Breech. 36 12 7 1 Drummr. Coat 3 8 - 40 " 7 Carrd. Over£ 12274 12 6	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £11,997 17s 3d. Brought forward, £11,997 17s 3d Serge and woollens 1½ pieces of fustian, £2 18s 0d 24¼ yards of blue serge, £6 4s 5d 16¾ yards of blue duffel, £5 8s 3d [...] yards of scarlet duffel, £0 8s 5d 49½ yards of scarlet sagathy, £7 6s 5d 21½ yards of green sagathy, £2 14s 8d Total for serge and woollens, £25 0s 2d Scales and weights 2 scale beams, £14 6s 0d 1 pair of scale boards, £3 19s 8d Total for scales and weights, £18 5s 8d Shirts and shirting 504 soldiers' shirts, £114 12s 6d 2 sergeants' shirts, £0 13s 6d 4½ pieces of Irish linen, £6 19s 0d 17 [...] of [...], £5 15s 4d 43 yards of brown holland, £3 18s 10d Total for shirts and shirting, £131 19s 2d Sailors' clothing 160 men's and boys' shirts, £21 1s 9d 87 men's and boys' jackets, 8 damaged jackets, 82 pairs of men's and boys' breeches and 4 damaged pairs, together £37 1s 11d 45 Dutch caps, £3 6s 0d Total for sailors' clothing, £61 9s 8d Soldiers' clothing 25 soldiers' coats and 25 pairs of soldiers' breeches, together £36 12s 7d 1 drummer's coat, £3 8s 0d Total for soldiers' clothing, £40 0s 7d Carried forward, £12,274 12s 6d **Interpretations** The 504 soldiers' shirts held in store were roughly one for every man in the garrison. Only 132 had been sold during the quarter. The stock was a full replacement issue held in reserve against the time when the men's shirts wore out together, or a new draft of recruits arrived without proper clothing. The 25 soldiers' coats and breeches served the same purpose for recruits enlisted on the island. Three such suits were issued to new men in the quarter. The sailors' clothing, with nearly 250 shirts, jackets and pairs of breeches and 45 Dutch caps, was far more than the Company's boatmen could wear out. It was held chiefly to supply the crews of the Company's ships, whose men often arrived in rags after a long voyage, or for seamen discharged or shipwrecked on the island. Fustian was a sturdy cloth woven from linen and cotton, used for working clothes and linings.
316	309	1768 Brought Over£ 12274 12 6 Shoes viz. 3 Pr. Mens fine Shoes " 16 6 22 Pr. Do. Do. Pumps 5 10 - 121 Pr. Do. Ordy. Shoes 30 3 6 3 Pr. Womens Calf Leat. Do. " 7 6 11 Pr. Do. Calim. Do. 2 2 2 4 Pr. Girls Do. Do. " 12 - 11 Pr. Do. Calf Do. 1 2 - 8 Pr. Boys Do. 1 5 4 2 Pr. Childr.	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £12,274 12s 6d. Brought forward, £12,274 12s 6d Shoes 3 pairs of men's fine shoes, £0 16s 6d 22 pairs of men's fine pumps, £5 10s 0d 121 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £30 3s 6d 3 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £0 7s 6d 11 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £2 2s 2d 4 pairs of girls' calimanco shoes, £0 12s 0d 11 pairs of girls' calf shoes, £1 2s 0d 8 pairs of boys' shoes, £1 5s 4d 2 pairs of pattens, £0 5s 2d Total for shoes, £42 4s 2d Twine 9 [...] of marline, £0 2s 3d 1 hundredweight 18 pounds of twine, £6 10s 0d 23 pounds of [...] twine, £1 7s 7d 23 pounds of cotton wick, £3 10s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		" 5 2 42 4 2 Twine viz. 9 Sk. Marline " 2 3 1.. -.. 18 Twine Cwt. qrs. lb. 6 10 - 23 lb. Fine Do. 1 7 7 23 lb. Cotty. Wick 3 10 10 11 10 8 Ticking 109 Yds. 16 18 4 Thread viz. 91 lb. Col. 14 5 2 106 Whd. Brown 33 18 6 3 oz. No. 26 " 3 3 1 lb. No. 30 1 6 8 1 lb. 12 oz. No. 36 @ 2/1 2 18 4 7 lb. 7 oz. No. 38 7 11 5 60 3 4 Tin Ware viz. -.. 3.. 19 Solder 4 14 5 14 Canisters " 19 3 1 Gall. Funnel " 2 3 3 Quart Do. " 1 3 3 Pudding Pans " 3 9 1 Watering Pot " 3 - 3 Lant. Leaves " " 6¾ 2 Globe Lamps " 19 3 Tin Ware Carrd. over£ 7 3 7½ Carrd. over£ 12405 9 -	Total for twine, £11 10s 8d 109 yards of ticking, £16 18s 4d Thread 9 pounds of coloured thread, £14 5s 2d 106 pounds of whited brown thread, £33 18s 6d [...] of nuns' thread, number 26, £0 3s 3d 1 [...] of nuns' thread, number 30, £1 6s 8d 1 [...] 12 [...] of nuns' thread, number 36, at 2s 1d, £2 18s 4d 7 [...] 7 [...] of nuns' thread, number 38, £7 11s 5d Total for thread, £60 3s 4d Tinware [...] 19 pounds of solder, £4 14s 5d 14 canisters, £0 19s 3d 1 gallon funnel, £0 2s 3d 1 quart funnel, £0 1s 3d 3 pudding pans, £0 3s 9d 1 watering pot, £0 3s 0d 3 lantern leaves, £0 0s 6¾d 2 globe lamps, £0 19s 5d Tinware carried forward, £7 [...] Carried forward, £12,405 9s [...] **Interpretations** Pattens were overshoes made of a wooden sole raised on an iron ring, strapped over ordinary shoes to keep them out of mud and wet. They were worn mainly by women on unpaved streets and farm paths. On St Helena they would have served on the wet ground of the uplands in the rainy season. Marline was a light, two-stranded line of tarred hemp, used by seamen to bind the ends of ropes and to wrap cables against chafing. Lantern leaves were thin sheets of horn or tin used as the panels of a lantern. Globe lamps were hanging lamps with a round glass shade, used to light rooms and passages in the Castle. The solder, by far the largest item in the tinware, was the tin-and-lead alloy used to join and mend tin vessels and to seal the lids of canisters holding tea and other goods.
317	310	The 17 October Brought Over£ 12405 9 - Tin Ware brought Over£ 7 3 7¼ 3 Glass Lanthorns 1 19 8 4 Half Gall. Sauce Pans " 2 9 2 Sheets Tin " 1 4 41 Lamps 1 9 10¾ 6 Sylab. " 18 - 73 Ground Tin 3 10 -½ 15 5 4 Turners Ware viz. 2 Scrubing Brushes " 4 - 4 Salesmans Yokes " 6 - 19 Ox Bows 1 5 9 3 Skimming Dishes " 1 7 99 Shoe Brushes 36 Do. Do. damaged 4 13 5	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £12,405 9s 0d. Brought forward, £12,405 9s 0d Tinware brought forward, £7 3s 7¼d 3 glass lanterns, £1 19s 8d 4 half-gallon saucepans, £0 2s 9d 2 sheets of tin, £0 1s 4d 41 lamps, £1 9s 10¾d 6 [...], £0 18s 0d 7 [...] of grain tin, £3 10s 0½d Total for tinware, £15 5s 4d Turners' ware 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 0d 4 [...] yokes, £0 6s 0d 19 ox bows, £1 5s 9d 3 skimming dishes, £0 1s 7d 79 shoe brushes and 36 damaged shoe brushes, together £4 13s 5d 10 pump boxes, £1 14s 7d 4 labourers' baskets, £0 4s 7d 1 clothes brush, £0 1s 1d 133 paint brushes, £3 6s 6d 62 plasterers' brushes and 5 damaged plasterers' brushes, together £3 12s 7d 1 [...] basket lined with tin, £0 5s 5d 4 damaged hair sieves, £2 10s 6d Total for turners' ware, £18 6s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 Pump Boxes 1 14 7 4 Labour. Baskets " 4 7 1 Cloth Brush " 1 1 133 Paint Do. 3 6 6 62 Plaist. Do. 5 Do. Do. Damaged 3 12 7 1 Plate Basket lin'd w. Tin " 5 3 4 Hair Sieves Damaged 2 10 6 18 6 - India Goods viz. Challow 114¼ Pr. 47 12 1 Arrack 1545 Gall. 3/6½ 260 14 4 Coffee 23 lb. " 19 2 Pepper 139 lb. 3 9 6 Tea viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 11.. -.. - Bohea 45 16 8 3.. 1.. 26 Congo 24 7 6 3.. 1.. 20 Singlo 24 " - 94 4 2 Carrd. Over£ 12845 19 7	India goods 114¼ pieces of chelloes, £47 12s 1d 1,545 gallons of arrack at 3s 4½d a gallon, £260 14s 4d 23 pounds of coffee, £0 19s 2d 139 pounds of pepper, £3 9s 6d Tea 1 hundredweight 1 quarter of Bohea tea, £45 16s 8d [...] of Congo tea, £24 7s 6d [...] of Hyson tea, £24 0s 0d Total for India goods, £94 4s 2d Carried forward, £12,545 19s 7d **Interpretations** The 1,545 gallons of arrack, worth more than £260, were the largest stock of any single India good. It supplied the spirit ration of the Company's slaves, the boat crews and the labourers in the stores. It was also the base of punch at the Company's table and was sold to the inhabitants. Arrack came cheaply from Batavia and the Indian coast in the Company's returning ships, and the island drank it in place of the costlier brandy and rum. Grain tin was pure tin cast in small bars or granules, used by the armourer and tinsmith for soldering and tinning copper vessels to stop them poisoning their contents. Pump boxes were the valved pistons of a ship's or well pump, which wore out and had to be replaced. The yokes were shaped wooden shoulder pieces for carrying a pair of buckets or pails. They were probably used to bring water up from the springs to houses and gardens.
318	311	1768 Brought Over£ 12845 19 7 China Ware viz. 3 Round Meat Dishes 24 Do. Do. Plates " 17 10 28 Soup Dishes 8 5 8 28 Round Soup Plates 1 16 7 56 Enaml. Do. Do. 1 15 - 13 Tureens 11 Do. dishes 3 12 - 51 Octn. Meat Do. 154 Do. Do. Plates 10 16 - 370 Do. Soup Do. 9 8 3 6 Basons 13 Guglets 1 13 3 8 Tea Pots " 6 8 4 Sauce Boats " 1 8 40 Strip Snuff. " 13 4 7 Chamb. Pots " 14 - 36 Bowls 1 10 - 4 Milk Ewers " 4 - 41 14 3 Candles 20.. 3.. 19 Cwt. qrs. lb. 253 16 6 Long Cloth viz. 35 Ps. I	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £12,845 19s 7d. Brought forward, £12,845 19s 7d China 3 round meat dishes and 24 round meat plates, together £0 17s 10d 28 soup dishes, £8 5s 8d 28 round soup plates, £1 16s 7d 56 enamelled round soup plates, £1 15s 0d 13 tureens and 11 tureen dishes, together £3 12s 0d 51 octagonal meat dishes and 154 octagonal meat plates, together £10 16s 0d 370 octagonal soup plates, £9 8s 3d 6 basins and 13 guglets, together £1 13s 3d 8 teapots, £0 6s 8d 4 sauce boats, £0 1s 8d 40 [...], £0 13s 4d 7 chamber pots, £0 14s 0d 36 bowls, £1 10s 0d 4 milk jugs, £0 4s 0d Total for china, £41 14s 3d 20 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 pounds of candles, £253 16s 6d Longcloth 135 pieces marked I, £171 10s 0d 35 pieces marked D, £44 17s 6d 41½ pieces marked Z, £16 6s 3d 8 pieces marked C, £26 4s 8d ½ piece marked [...] 5, £1 0s 7d ½ piece marked H, £1 4s 9d 12 pieces marked A, £41 14s 0d 26 pieces marked [...] 1, £23 7s 0d 80 pieces marked W6, £107 6s 8d ¾ piece marked Y, £1 0s 8d Total for longcloth, £539 12s 1d Carried forward, £13,681 2s 5d **Interpretations**

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		171 10 - 35 Ps. D 141 17 6 4½ Ps. 2 16 6 3 8 Ps. C 26 4 8 ½ Ps. No. 5 1 " 7 ½ Ps. H 1 4 9 12 Ps. A 41 14 - 26 Ps. No. 1 23 7 - 80 Ps. W. 6 107 6 8 ¾ Ps. X 1 " 8 539 12 1 Carrd. Over£ 13681 2 5	The stock of candles, more than 20 hundredweight worth over £250, was the island's reserve of light. Candles lit the Castle, the guard rooms, the hospital, the magazines and every household after dark. They could not be made locally in quantity for lack of tallow and wax. A shortage would have left the garrison and the town in darkness through the long nights of the southern winter. The longcloth held in store was worth more than £539, much more than the cloth sold in a quarter. It came in many grades, each marked with its letter, so the storekeeper could supply anything from coarse cloth for slaves' clothing and sacking to fine calico for the officers' shirts and the Castle's table linen. Longcloth was the cheapest and most versatile textile the Company could bring from India. That made it the staple fabric of the island.
319	312	[Right-hand money column partly cut off at the edge of the image.] The 17 October Brought Over£ 13681 2 [...] Sugar & Candy viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 316.. -.. 11 Sugar 442 10 9 114.. -.. 25 Candy 1.. 3.. 6 Do. damaged 284 5 3 726 16 - Rice & Paddy viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 537.. -.. - Rice 199 2 9 194.. 1.. - Paddy 46 18 10 246 1 7 European and India Goods Amounts to£ 14654 - [...] Errors Excepted (signed) Mattw. Purling St. Helena 30 Sept. 1768 Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of September last, which is as follows viz.	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouses continued from a running total of £13,681 2s 5d and closed with the total value of the stock. Brought forward, £13,681 2s 5d Sugar and sugar candy 316 hundredweight 11 pounds of sugar, £442 10s 9d 114 hundredweight 25 pounds of sugar candy and 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds of damaged sugar candy, together £284 5s 3d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £726 16s 0d Rice and paddy 537 hundredweight of rice, £199 2s 9d 194 hundredweight 1 quarter of paddy, £46 18s 10d Total for rice and paddy, £246 1s 7d Total value of European and India goods in store, £14,654 0s 0d Purling signed the inventory at St Helena on 30 September 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of September. **Interpretations** The stores remaining in the warehouses were valued at £14,654 0s 0d. Goods sold, issued and charged during the quarter came to only a few thousand pounds. The island therefore held several years' supply of most imported goods. The Company kept St Helena heavily stocked because a ship from England might take many months to arrive, and a convoy could be lost or diverted in wartime. Running short of flour, salt meat or cordage could have left the garrison unfed and passing ships unrepaired. Holding a large reserve tied up capital, but it protected both the island and the shipping it served. The inventory was signed by Purling, the accountant, not by James Powell, the storekeeper who had signed the account of sales and issues. Having a second officer take stock of the warehouses provided an independent check on the storekeeper. Any gap between what Powell's accounts showed and what Purling counted on the shelves would come to light. The cash in the treasury was then counted in the same way by the Council itself.
320	313	Cash Dr. 1768 Sept. 1st To Balance remaining£ 10464 5 " 5th To Exchange for five Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors payable as follows viz. One Set to Mrs. Mary Hall 215 10 -	The Council's account of the Company's cash for September 1768 set out the money received and paid. Received 1 September 1768, balance remaining, £10,464 5s 0d

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		One Do. to Mr. Robert Dallas 30 " - One Do. to Capt. Thos. Riddell 300 " - One Do. to Capt. Jno. Williams 350 " - One Do. to Jno. Purling Esq. 120 " - 1015 10 - 8 To Ship Greenwich 109 7 8 11 To Ship Egmont 68 11 7 30 To Rents 599 16 11½ To Jams. Powell recd. of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this Day 2018 5 6 To Licences for Publick Houses 11 " " To Plantation for Provision Sold 30 15 1 To Mundens Battery for Lime Sold 1 11 3 To Tiles Sold " 5 6 Fines recd. of Hugh Jones & Thos. Yates 12 10 - £ 14331 18 6½ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Sept. 30 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c. in the Quart. ending this day£ 3978 6 4 By Balance remaining viz. In Specie 9813 17 2½ In Cash Notes 539 15 - £ 14331 18 6½	5 September 1768, received in exchange for five sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, payable as follows: One set to Mrs Mary Hall, £215 10s 0d One set to Mr Robert Dallas, £30 0s 0d One set to Captain Thomas Riddell, £300 0s 0d One set to Captain John Williams, £350 0s 0d One set to John Purling, £120 0s 0d Total for the bills, £1,015 10s 0d 8 September 1768, received from the ship *Greenwich*, £109 7s 8d 11 September 1768, received from the ship *Egmont*, £68 11s 7d 30 September 1768, rents, £599 16s 11½d Received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending 30 September, £2,018 5s 6d Licences for public houses, £11 0s 0d From the plantation for provisions sold, £30 15s 1d From Munden's Battery for lime sold, £1 11s 3d Tiles sold, £0 5s 6d Fines received from Hugh Jones and Thomas Yates, £12 10s 0d Total received, £14,331 18s 6½d Paid 30 September 1768, advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £3,978 6s 4¼d Balance remaining in coin, £9,813 17s 2¼d Balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £14,331 18s 6½d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange showed how the island raised cash. A ship's commander or traveller paid coin into the treasury at St Helena. In return the Council gave a bill drawn on the Court of Directors, which the holder or their agent cashed at East India House in London. Captain Riddell, who had sold the Company his stores from the *Admiral Pocock* in August, and Captain Williams together supplied £650 this way. The island gained coin without any being shipped out. The commanders gained a safe means of sending their profits home without carrying specie on the voyage. The rents of £599 16s 11½d matched the rent roll of 30 September 1768 exactly. The £2,018 5s 6d paid in by James Powell was the cash from the quarter's warehouse sales. The payment to the paymaster was the £3,978 6s 4¼d entered in Kirkpatrick's account, confirming that the paymaster's single receipt was drawn from the treasury at the quarter's close. The fines from Hugh Jones and Thomas Yates were probably imposed by the court. The licences for public houses came from the five punch houses allowed to trade from 4 July 1768. The balance carried forward was £9,813 17s 2¼d in coin and £539 15s 0d in cash notes. At the end of August the coin had stood at £9,924 10s 0d, with the same £539 15s 0d in notes. The quarter's large wage bill had thus been met almost entirely from the warehouse sales, rents, ship payments and bills of exchange. The reserve of coin fell by only about £110 over the month.
321	314	The 17 October Messrs. Gabriel Harper and John Worrall this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Gabl. Alexr. Harper Sheweth That there is a Piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land lying in the West Division of the said Island adjoining your	Gabriel Alexander Harper and John Worrall each presented a petition to the Council on 17 October 1768. Harper addressed his petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He explained that a piece of the Company's waste land lay in the West Division, next to land he already held. He wished to take it and asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease for it. He signed the petition on 17 October 1768. The Council ordered the land to be inspected before deciding.

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		Petitioners Land which he is desirous of hiring, humbly requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Gab. Alexr. Harper 17th Oct. 1768 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Worrall Execut. to the last Will & Testament of James Torbett Decd. Sheweth That your Petitioner has a Lease belonging to the	Worrall also petitioned the Governor and Council, acting as executor under the will of the late James Jobbett. He set out that he held a lease belonging to the estate. **Interpretations** The Council did not grant Harper's lease on the strength of his petition alone. It first ordered the land to be viewed. Inspection let the Council establish the boundaries and quality of the waste land and fix a fair rent. It could also confirm that the ground was truly unused and not claimed by a neighbour or needed for the Company's own plantations, pastures or water. Waste land adjoining an existing holding was the usual way a planter enlarged his farm. The Company kept control of every addition by insisting on a survey before any lease was drawn. John Worrall appeared on the quarter's pay list as an overseer of the Company's slaves, paid £15 0s 0d. As executor he was responsible for settling Jobbett's affairs, including any lease the dead man had held from the Company. A lease could not simply pass to an heir or be sold without the Council's consent. An executor therefore had to petition before the land could be transferred, surrendered or kept in the estate.
322	315	1768 said Decd. for a piece of Ground lying in James's Valley expired, humbly requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray 17th October 1768 (signed) Jno. Worrall Granted It having been represented to Us that many Idle young Persons and inferior Company's Servants keep Horses upon the Commons to the prejudice of the Publick and contrary to the Rules and Regulations made the 12 December 1757. We agreed to publish the following Advertizement viz. Island St. Helena 17th October 1768 Whereas many People make a common practice of keeping Horses that are not Intitled to that Indulgence agreable to the Regulation made the 12 December 1757 which directs that no Person is to keep a Horse that do not possess ten Acres of Land, and that no Horses or Mares be permitted at any Season of the Year under any pretence whatsoever to Graze on the Honorable Company's Waste Land This is therefore Strictly to forbid any Person keeping Horses or Mares except such as are Intitled to so doing by the aforesaid Regulation under any pretence whatsoever after the 17 of Novemr. next upon penalty of paying ten pounds half of which Money to be given to the Informer & the	John Worrall's petition continued with the details of the lease. The lease, which had belonged to the late James Jobbett, covered a piece of ground in James's Valley and had now expired. Worrall asked the Governor and Council to renew it. He signed the petition on 17 October 1768. The Council granted the renewal. The Council was told that many idle young people and junior Company servants were keeping horses on the commons. This harmed the public and broke the rules made on 12 December 1757. The Council agreed to publish a notice, dated at St Helena on 17 October 1768. The notice stated that many people had made a habit of keeping horses without being entitled to do so. Under the regulation of 12 December 1757, no one holding less than ten acres of land could keep a horse. No horse or mare could graze on the Company's waste land at any season, whatever the excuse. The notice therefore strictly forbade anyone to keep horses or mares after 17 November 1768 unless the regulation entitled them to. Anyone breaking the order would pay a fine of £10, half of which would go to the informer. **Interpretations** The ten-acre rule tied the right to keep a horse to the holding of land. Only a planter with enough ground to feed his own animals could keep one. Horses turned loose on the commons and the Company's waste land ate grazing the Company wanted for its own cattle. They also stripped ground the Council meant to let out on lease. The complaint named idle young men and junior servants as the offenders. Keeping a horse was a mark of standing, and the Council meant to stop those without land from claiming it at the Company's expense. The penalty depended on informers for its force. Half of each £10 fine went to whoever reported the offender. The Council used this common device of the period to enforce the order without paying watchmen to patrol the commons. The one-month delay to 17 November 1768 gave owners time to sell their horses or find lawful grazing before the penalty applied.
323	316	The 17 October remainder to be paid into the Honble. Company's Cash, And the Owners of all Horses that are hereafter found Grazing upon the Honble. Company's	The notice on horses and grazing went on to say that the other half of each £10 fine would be paid into the Company's treasury. Owners whose horses were found grazing on the Company's waste land would also be fined 20s for every trespass. That

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		Waste Land will be fined in the Sum of twenty shillings for every Trespass which Money will be paid to the Person that Informs upon their duly proving the same And Whereas the aforesaid Regulation Prohibited all Persons keeping Sheep upon the Commons that do not possess Land, This is therefore Strictly to forbid any Person or Persons keeping Sheep that are not intitled thereto according to the aforesaid Regulation upon Penalty of paying five Shillings for each Sheep to be paid to the Informer as aforesaid And this is further to give Notice that the Grazing upon every part of the Honble. Company's Waste Land is prohibited from the 1st of February in every Year until Notice is given by the Church Wardens to the Governor & Council that the said Waste Lands are in a Condition for Cattle to Graze upon Per Order of Council (signed) Mattw. Bazett Secy. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	money would go to the informer once the offence was proved. The regulation of 12 December 1757 also barred people who held no land from keeping sheep on the commons. The notice therefore strictly forbade anyone not entitled under that regulation from keeping sheep. Offenders would pay 5s for each sheep, again to the informer. The notice further declared that all grazing on the Company's waste land was banned from 1 February each year. The ban would last until the churchwardens told the Governor and Council that the land was fit for cattle to graze again. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The yearly ban on grazing from 1 February gave the waste land time to recover. Animals were kept off the commons from late summer into autumn. The Council did not fix a date for reopening the land. Instead it left the decision to the churchwardens, who would report when the grass had grown back. Using parish officers in this way gave the church a practical part in managing the island's land. The churchwardens were local men who knew the state of the ground and could judge it better than a fixed calendar date. The notice set out a graded scale of penalties aimed at different offences. A £10 fine fell on anyone keeping a horse without the right to do so. A 20s fine applied to each trespass by a horse on the waste land, and 5s to each sheep kept unlawfully. Every fine was enforced by informers. The rules were designed to keep the commons for landholders and to protect the waste land the Company hoped to lease. The minutes were signed by only three members of the Council: the Governor, Purling and Kirkpatrick. Daniel Corneille had resigned as Lieutenant Governor on 21 July 1768 and sailed in the *Admiral Pocock* on 14 August 1768. Kirkpatrick had returned to the Board on 26 September 1768 after his illness. The Council had sat as a body of three since Corneille's departure, and Kirkpatrick's return was needed to make up its number.
324	317	The 24 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of October 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, & signed dated the 17th October 1768 Saturday the 22d Stephen John Centinel was drowned at Banks's by Accident The Storekeeper this day brought in his Account of Waste upon Store Goods for the Year ending the 30th September last, he declaring the same to be real and unavoidable, we ordered it to be Entered which is as follows viz. Profit and Loss Dr. To 19.. 5 lost by Leakage, Wastage, Short Weight and Measure by drawing by the Gallon &c. by Weighing by the Pound &c. in the Year ending 30 Sept. 1768 viz. Leather 20½ lb. Sole " 18 6½ Oil viz. 11¾ Gall. Linsed " 2 7 1½ Do. Train " 4 2 3 Do. Oil of Turpent.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 October 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 17 October 1768 were read, approved and signed. On Saturday 22 October 1768 Stephen John, a private soldier, drowned by accident at Banks's. The storekeeper presented his account of waste on the stores for the year ending 30 September 1768. He declared that the losses were genuine and could not have been avoided. The Council ordered the account to be entered in the record. Charged to profit and loss: goods lost through leakage, wastage and short weight and measure, from drawing off by the gallon and weighing out by the pound, in the year ending 30 September 1768 20½ pounds of sole leather, £0 18s 6½d Oil 1¾ gallons of linseed oil, £0 2s 7d 1¼ gallons of train oil, £0 4s 2d 3 gallons of oil of turpentine, £0 15s 4½d Total for oil, £1 2s 1½d Paint ¾ [...] of umber, £0 0s 2¼d 9½ pounds of Venetian red, mixed, £0 4s 3d 1½ [...] of stone ochre, mixed, £0 0s 8¼d 7 pounds of pearl colour, £0 2s 11d 9½ [...] of yellow ochre, mixed, £0 2s 3¾d Paint carried forward, £0 10s 4¼d Carried forward, £2 [...]

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		" 15 4½ 1 2 1½ Paint viz. ¾ lb. Umber " " 2¼ 9½ lb. Span. Red mixd. " 4 3 1½ Stone Oaker Do. " " 8¼ 7 lb. Pearl Colour " 2 11 9½ Y. Oaker mixd. " 2 3¼ Paint Carrd. over£ " 10 4¼ Carrd. Over£ 2 - 8[...]	**Interpretations** Goods bought in bulk and sold by the gallon or the pound always lost some quantity in handling. Oil leaked through the staves of its casks, paint dried out or stuck to the measures, and leather shrank as it dried. The storekeeper was answerable for every item entered in his charge. He therefore had to declare that the losses were real and unavoidable before the Council would write them off to profit and loss. Without that declaration he could have been made to pay for the shortfall himself. Stephen John was a private in the Fourth Company, listed among the men on the quarter's pay roll. His death at Banks's probably happened while he was working on the battery or bathing or fishing from the rocks there. Under the practice seen with James Long and Thomas Naylor, his pay would have been reckoned to the day of his death.
325	318	The 24 October Brought Over£ 2 - 8 Paint brought Over£ " 10 4¼ 18¼ Span. Red dry " 4 6¾ 29 Chalk " " 7¼ 19 Pound. Blacking " 9 10¼ 2½ Blue Paint " 5 6¼ 11 Stone Colour " 4 4¼ 1 15 3½ Pease 1¼ Bushel " 11 9 Starch 6 lb. " 2 4½ Sope 2.. 3.. 5½ Cwt. qrs. lb. 8 9 7 Turners Ware 1 Watter Crock " 1 1 Cordage 4.. -.. 24¾ Cwt. qrs. lb. 7 17 7 Glass Ware viz. 10 Wine Glasses " 4 3½ 2 Quart Decanters " 5 - 6 Sq. Glass 10 by 12 " 6 7½ 9 Do. Do. 10½ by 13¾ " 12 - 1 7 11 Arrack 97 Gall. 10 6 8 Pepper 6½ lb. " 3 3 Candles 1.. 1.. 19½ Cwt. qrs. lb. 17 5 7 Sugar & Candy viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 6.. -.. 7 Sugar 8 9 10 2.. 3.. 7 Candy 7 6 6¾ 15 16 4 Rice & Paddy viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 2.. 3.. 12 Rice " 10 - 9.. 2.. 21 Paddy 2 12 7 3 2 7 Carrd. Over£ 69 - 8	The storekeeper's account of waste on the stores continued from a running total of £2 0s 8¼d. Brought forward, £2 0s 8¼d Paint brought forward, £0 10s 4¼d 18¼ pounds of Venetian red, dry, £0 4s 6¾d 29 pounds of chalk, £0 0s 7¼d 19 pans of blacking, £0 9s 10¼d 2½ pounds of blue paint, £0 5s 6¼d 11 pounds of stone colour, £0 4s 4¼d Total for paint, £1 15s 3¼d 1¼ bushels of pease, £0 11s 9d [...] pounds of starch, £0 2s 4½d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 5½ pounds of soap, £8 9s 7d 1 [...] brush, £0 1s 1d 4 hundredweight 24¾ pounds of cordage, £7 17s 7d Glassware 10 wine glasses, £0 4s 3½d 2 quart decanters, £0 5s 0d 6 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 6s 7½d 9 panes of window glass, 10½ by 13¾ inches, £0 12s 0d Total for glassware, £1 7s 11d 97 gallons of arrack, £10 6s 8d 6½ pounds of pepper, £0 3s 3d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 19½ pounds of candles, £17 5s 7d Sugar and sugar candy 6 hundredweight 7 pounds of sugar, £8 9s 10d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 pounds of sugar candy, £7 6s 6¾d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £15 16s 4d Rice and paddy 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds of rice, £0 10s 0d 9 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 pounds of paddy, £2 12s 7d Total for rice and paddy, £3 2s 7d Carried forward, £69 0s 8d **Interpretations** The losses showed which goods suffered most in store on the island. Arrack lost 97 gallons in the year, through leakage from casks and evaporation as it was drawn off by the gallon. Candles, sugar and soap lost several hundredweight each. Damp softened and melted them, and insects and rats ate into sugar and tallow in the warehouses. Paddy and rice shrank as they dried out and were picked over by vermin. The breakage of glass was a matter of handling. Set against a stock valued at £14,654 0s 0d, losses of about £69 by this stage of the account were modest. The Council accepted the storekeeper's declaration that the waste was genuine. The figures suggest the warehouses were reasonably well kept.

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			The losses were what could be expected from goods sold out in small measures over a whole year.
326	319	1768 Brought Over£ 69 - 8 China Ware viz. 2 Soup Dishes " 11 10 13 Octagon Meat Plates " 6 6 1 Sauce Boat " " 5 " 18 9 £ 69 19 5 Excepted (signed) James Powell Storekeepr. St. Helena 30 Sept. 1768 Messrs. John Desfountain, Willm. Henry and Simon Whaley this day Petitioned for the same Piece of Land that Mr. Harper petitioned for last Monday To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Desfountain Execut. to the last Will & Testament of Onesi. Gurlings Orps. Sheweth That there is a small piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land adjoining to the Lands of Onesi. Gurlings Orps. near their House lying in the West Division of the said Island which they are desirous of hiring humbly	The storekeeper's account of waste on the stores closed with losses of china. Brought forward, £69 0s 8d China 2 soup dishes, £0 11s 10d 13 octagonal meat plates, £0 6s 6d 1 sauce boat, £0 0s 5d Total for china, £0 18s 9d Total charged to profit and loss, £69 19s 5d James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 30 September 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. John Desfountain, William Henry and Ann Whaley each petitioned the Council the same day for the piece of land that Harper had asked for the previous Monday. Desfountain addressed his petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council as executor under the will of the late Ones[...] Gurling. He explained that a small piece of the Company's waste land lay next to Gurling's lands, near the house, in the West Division. The estate wished to take it and asked for a lease. **Interpretations** The Council's order of 17 October 1768 to inspect the land before granting Harper's lease left the ground open to rival claims. Within a week three more people had asked for the same piece. The decision to survey first gave time for neighbours with a stronger interest to come forward. The Council could then weigh which holding the land best fitted, rather than granting it to whoever asked first. Each claimant held land next to the plot, and each could argue it was a natural extension of their own farm. Desfountain's petition was made for an estate, not for himself, as Worrall's had been for Jobbett's. An executor could take up a new lease on behalf of the heirs to enlarge the property before it passed to them. The Desfountain family was established on the island. Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain served in the First Company and had played his part in exposing Kirkpatrick's charges against Corneille in July 1768.
327	320	The 24 October requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to Grant them a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) John Desfountain Exect. 24th Oct. 1768 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governour of the Island St. Helena &c. in Council The humble Petition of Wm. Young Sheweth That your Petitioner being informed that a piece of Waste Land belonging to the Honble. Company has been on Monday last, petitioned for by Mr. Gab. Alexan. Harper takes the liberty of representing to your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council the Detriment and Inconveniency that must result to him should such Petition be Granted That the Situation of your present Petitioner's Land is such that it embraces the other on two Sides, and that, as in one part it lies perfectly under it, the best Fences will be in a manner useless, rendered so, by the natural Descent or fall, and your Petitioner consequently exposed to the perpetual	Desfountain asked the Governor and Council to grant the estate a lease of the waste land. He signed the petition as executor on 24 October 1768. William Young also petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council. He had learned that Gabriel Alexander Harper had asked for a piece of the Company's waste land the previous Monday. Young wished to explain the harm and inconvenience he would suffer if Harper's request were granted. His own land enclosed the waste ground on two sides. In one place his land lay directly below it. Because of the natural fall of the ground, even the best fences there would be almost useless. He would be exposed to constant trespass by a neighbour's cattle coming down the slope. Granting the land to anyone else would therefore harm him, since he could not keep up proper fences and would find it awkward to reach his own ground. Young hoped the Governor would not allow a lease to another person that would inevitably cause him such damage. Young argued that his land bordered the plot on two sides. Given that and other circumstances, he believed he had a better claim to it than anyone else. He left the matter to the Council's judgement. **Interpretations** Young's petition rested on the lie of the land rather than on any prior grant or payment. His holding wrapped round the waste ground on two sides, and part of it sat below the plot on a slope. If a neighbour farmed the ground above and grazed cattle there, the beasts would drift downhill into Young's

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		incursions of his Neighbours Cattle. That as an Alienation of that piece of waste Land will not only detriment your Petitioner by the Impracticability of keeping up Fences, but will render Access to his own Land inconvenient, he hopes therefore your Worship will not condescend to the Injury which the letting of the said Piece of Land to any other than your Petitioner, must Unavoidably expose him to That your Petitioner expects that, from his double Vicinity to the said Piece of Land and from other Circumstances, he has, of all others, a Preferable right thereto, which he humbly submits to your Candor and	fields, and no fence could hold them on so steep a fall. On an island of sharp ridges and valleys, the shape of the ground decided whether a boundary could be defended. Young's case was that the land had value to him as protection, not just as pasture. His objection showed why the Council had chosen to inspect the land before granting Harper's lease on 17 October 1768. A grant made on the first petition could have damaged an established tenant. A view of the ground would show whose fences, access and slopes were affected. With four claimants now before it, the Council had to decide which allocation best suited the existing holdings.
328	321	1768 Judgement, hoping You'll please to take his Case into Consideration, and deem him a fit Tenant for the above mentioned Premisses; and he will, as in duty bound, ever pray &c. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Simon Whaley Sheweth That there is a small piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land lying in the West Division of the said Island adjoining to your Petitioners Land called the Water Fall Plain, which your Petitioner requests you'll be pleased to grant him a Lease for And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Simon Whaley 24th Oct. 1768 Ordered the said piece of Land to be Viewed Messrs. James Greentree and Orlando Bagley Jun. likewise presented the following Petitions viz.	Young ended by asking the Council to consider his case and to judge him a fit tenant for the land. Simon Whaley also petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council. He explained that a small piece of the Company's waste land lay in the West Division next to his own land, known as the Water Fall Plain. He asked for a lease of it. He signed the petition on 24 October 1768. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. James Greentree and Orlando Bagley junior also presented petitions. **Interpretations** The Council treated all the claims on the West Division waste land in the same way. It ordered Whaley's piece to be inspected, just as it had Harper's on 17 October 1768, rather than deciding between the petitioners on paper. The claimants each held land on a different side of the ground. A single inspection could fix where the waste lay in relation to Harper's, Young's, Gurling's and Whaley's holdings and how it might be divided. The Council could then let a part to more than one neighbour if that served the island better than granting the whole to one man. Young's closing appeal to be judged "a fit tenant" pointed to the qualities the Council looked for in a leaseholder. These were the ability to fence and work the land, to pay the rent, and to live peaceably with neighbours. A lease of Company land was a privilege granted at the Council's discretion, not a right owed to the first or nearest applicant.
329	322	The 24 October To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esq. Govr. &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of James Greentree Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land called Thompson's Hill which adjoins to your Petitioner's Land, he therefore requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) James Greentree 24th Oct. 1768 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Govr. &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Orl. Bagley Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honble. Compys. Waste Land lying in Dog Wood Gully Valley adjoining to your Petitioners Land, which he is desirous of hiring, humbly requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray	James Greentree petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council for a piece of the Company's waste land called Thompson's Hill, which bordered his own land. He asked for a lease of it and signed the petition on 24 October 1768. Orlando Bagley junior also petitioned the Governor and Council. A piece of the Company's waste land lay in Dogwood Valley next to his own land, and he wished to take it. He asked for a lease and signed the petition on 24 October 1768. The Council ordered both pieces of land to be inspected. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Within a single week the Council received petitions for waste land from Harper, Desfountain, Young, Whaley, Greentree and Bagley. The rush followed the notice of 17 October 1768, which allowed only those holding at least ten acres to keep a horse. It also banned all horses and sheep from the Company's waste land. A planter just short of ten acres, or one who had grazed his animals on the commons, now had good reason to enlarge his holding by lease. The Council's own regulation had probably driven up demand for the waste land it was trying to protect. James Greentree had been promoted from cadet to lieutenant in the Fourth Company on 9 August 1768, after Henry De Laune's death. Within three months he

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		(signed) Orl. Bagley Junr. 24th Oct. 1768 Ordered the said Lands to be Viewed John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	was seeking to add Thompson's Hill to land he already held. Officers on St Helena commonly held farms alongside their commissions. Their military pay was modest, and land offered both income and standing on an island where most wealth came from leases of the Company's ground.
330	323	The 31 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st day of Oct. 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 24 Oct. 1768 Messrs. Thomas Harper and William Seale Senr. this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Govern. &c. Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of Thos. Harper Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for a piece of Ground which his House stands upon in this Valley expired, humbly requests that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Thos. Harper 31st Oct. 1768 Granted To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of Willm. Seale Senr. Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land lying	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 31 October 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 24 October 1768 were read, approved and signed. Thomas Harper and William Seale senior each presented a petition. Harper petitioned the Governor and Council about a piece of ground in the valley on which his house stood. His lease of it had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. He signed the petition on 31 October 1768. The Council granted the renewal. Seale also petitioned the Governor and Council. He explained that a piece of the Company's waste land lay **Interpretations** The Council renewed Harper's lease at once, without the inspection it had ordered for every new claim on waste land over the previous fortnight. A renewal concerned ground already surveyed, fenced and occupied, with its boundaries recorded in the original lease. A new grant of waste land touched the interests of neighbours and the Company's own reserves. The two kinds of petition were handled differently. Settled tenants were confirmed quickly, while fresh enclosures were held back until the ground had been viewed. Harper's house stood on the land in question. Refusing renewal would have meant turning a family out of its home. In practice the Council almost always renewed leases to tenants who had built on and improved their ground. Security of tenure encouraged them to invest in houses and fences on Company land, and the improvements in turn raised the value of the Company's estate.
331	324	The 31 October in Dog Wood Valley adjoining to your Petitioners Land which said Land would be very convenient to your Petitioner with respect to shortening his Fence, he therefore requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same, but as the said Piece of Land is very indifferent hopes he shall have it at a low Rent And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Willm. Seale 31st Oct. 1768 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed Mr. Matthew Purling reports that the Honorable Company's General Books of Accounts are Balanced to the 30 September last. We Ordered them to be Copied as fast as possible John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Seale's petition concerned a piece of the Company's waste land in Dogwood Valley, next to his own land. Taking it would suit him well, since it would shorten the line of fence he had to keep up. He asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease. Because the ground was very poor, he hoped he might have it at a low rent. He signed the petition on 31 October 1768. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. Purling reported that the Company's general account books had been balanced to 30 September 1768. The Council ordered them to be copied as quickly as possible. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Seale's reasons showed what made waste land worth leasing even when the soil was poor. Taking in the strip would straighten his boundary and cut the length of fence he had to build and repair. On an island where timber for posts and rails had to be imported, that was a real saving. His request for a low rent recognised that the land had little value for crops or grazing. The Council's inspection would allow it to judge the quality of the ground and fix the rent accordingly. Orlando Bagley junior had also asked for waste land in Dogwood Valley on 24 October 1768. The two petitions may have concerned neighbouring or overlapping ground. Inspecting the valley would let the Council decide between them as it had with the land Harper sought.

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			The general books of account, balanced to the end of the quarter, were the main record the Court of Directors used to check the island's finances. The Council ordered them copied quickly so the duplicate could go home in the first ship to sail. The original stayed on St Helena, while the copy carried the island's accounts to London.
332	325	The 7 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of November 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 31st Oct. 1768 Mr. Purling Reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for by Mr. Gabriel Harper, and Opposed in subsequent Petitions by Messrs. William Young, John Desfountain in behalf of Ones. Gurlings Orphans and Simon Whaley as Neighbours adjoining and having a greater Vicinity with the said Land. It appears to him that letting that Land will not be prejudicial to the Company. That it also appears to him that the last Petitioners Willm. Young, John Desfountain for Gurlings Orps. and Simon Whaley have a better right to a Lease of the said Land than the first Petitioner Gabriel Harper for the following reasons That Mr. Willm. Young Joins to that Land in a long Fence up the Hill, and also a considerable way down the Gut. That the Lands of Ones. Gurlings Orps. joins also that in a long Fence at the Bottom of the Gut, and from the situation it will be very difficult to make a Fence Sufficient to prevent Cattle Grazing on the side of the Hill from trespassing on the Lands they now possess, was that Land Occupied by any other person but themselves, consequently detrimental to those two Neighbours In the lower part of the said Land there is a small Gore or Slip contiguous to Mr. Simon Whaley's Land which he Petitioned for, and which Mr. Purling thinks may be Granted to the said Whaley without hurt to any of the Neighbours That as the first Petitioner Mr. Gabl. Harper joins a long way on the Summit of the Hill to the Land in question and having no Party Fence at present between him and the said Land, Mr. Purling thinks that for the conveniency of Fencing Harper may be allowed without Injury to any of the partys concerned to have a Grant of the Flat on the Top of the Hill from the end of his Inner Fence to Simon Whaley's Ditch, and run his Fence to the	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 November 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 31 October 1768 were read, approved and signed. Purling reported on his inspection of the land Gabriel Harper had asked for. Later petitions had opposed Harper's claim. They came from William Young, from John Desfountain on behalf of the orphans of Ones[...] Gurling, and from Simon Whaley, all of whom held land next to the plot and lay closer to it. Purling found that letting the land would not harm the Company. He also judged that Young, Desfountain for the Gurling orphans and Whaley had a better claim to a lease than Harper, for several reasons. Young's land met the plot along a long fence running up the hill and some distance down the gut. The Gurling land also met it with a long fence at the bottom of the gut. Because of the lie of the ground, it would be very hard to build a fence strong enough to stop cattle grazing on the hillside from straying on to their land. If anyone else held the plot, the two neighbours would suffer for it. At the lower end of the plot lay a small grove or strip next to Whaley's land, which he had asked for. Purling thought it could be granted to Whaley without harming any neighbour. Harper's land ran for a long way along the top of the hill beside the plot, with no boundary fence between them. For ease of fencing, Purling thought Harper could be granted the flat ground on the hilltop, without harm to anyone. The grant would run from the end of Harper's own fence to Simon Whaley's ditch, and Harper would carry his fence along to it. **Interpretations** Purling's report set aside the obvious course of granting the land to Harper, who had asked first. Instead it divided the ground among the neighbours according to how each holding met it. The deciding factor was fencing on steep ground. Young and the Gurling estate lay below and beside the slope, where cattle from above could not be kept out. They received the hillside to protect their own fields. Whaley took the small strip at the bottom next to his land. Harper, whose ground ran along the ridge, was given the flat top, where a fence could easily be carried along to Whaley's ditch. Each part went to the neighbour who could enclose it and whose land would suffer most if someone else held it. The inspection was carried out by a member of the Council in person. Purling walked the ground himself instead of sending a surveyor, so his report carried the Council's authority and could be acted on at once. A gut, in St Helena usage, was a steep ravine cut by a stream, and many of the island's boundaries followed these natural lines. The Gurling claim was pressed on behalf of orphans. Desfountain, as executor, was protecting the value of land held for children who could not act for themselves. The Council's readiness to favour the estate showed its concern that the heirs should not lose by having their fences outflanked while their affairs were in an executor's hands.
333	326	The 7 November	Harper was to carry his fence down to the slope of the hill facing the Gurling land, just far enough to

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		declivity of the Hill Facing Gurlings Land just sufficient to make a Bank Fence between him and Gurlings Orps. Respecting the Rent to be paid to the Company for the said Land he gives it as his opinion. That Mr. Willm. Young who is adjacent to the upper part thereof which is well Grassed at present, and improveable by Grubing out the Furze now growing thereon that he do pay the full Rent of five shillings p Acre, That Onesips. Gurlings Orps. who well join to Mr. Young, do in consideration that part of the said Land adjoining to them is but indifferent pay only two shillings p Acre, and that Mr. Simon Whaley and Mr. Gabriel Harper for the same reason pay the like Rent of two shillings p Acre Upon which we Agreed to Rent the said piece of Land Agreable to the above Report Further Complaint being made by the Engineer against Peter Merot the Carpenters Mate for his neglect of business in the Shop, We agreed to dismiss him the Company's Service from this day, and have appointed James Hogg Soldier agreable to a former resolution Carpenters Mate in his stead at the Usual Salary he having engaged to serve in that employ for the term of five Years John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	make a bank fence between his ground and that of the Gurling orphans. Purling also gave his opinion on the rent the Company should charge. William Young held the land next to the upper part of the plot. That ground was already well grassed and could be improved by grubbing out the furze growing there, so Young should pay the full rent of 5s an acre. The orphans of Onesiphorus Gurling held land beside Young's. The part of the plot next to them was poor, and they should pay only 2s an acre. For the same reason Simon Whaley and Gabriel Harper should also pay 2s an acre. The Council agreed to let the land on the terms Purling had set out. The engineer made a further complaint against Peter Mariot, the carpenter's mate, for neglecting his work in the shop. The Council dismissed Mariot from the Company's service from that day. Under an earlier decision, it appointed James Hogg, a soldier, as carpenter's mate in his place at the usual salary. Hogg undertook to serve in that post for five years. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The rents were set by the quality of each portion, not at one rate for the whole plot. Young's upper ground was already grassed and could be cleared of furze for good pasture, so it bore the full 5s an acre. The poorer slopes and strips granted to the Gurling orphans, Whaley and Harper were let at 2s. The graded rent reflected what each tenant would actually gain. It also brought into use ground that would have yielded nothing as waste. Furze was a spiny shrub that spread over neglected pasture on the island and had to be grubbed out by the roots before grass could take hold. Mariot's dismissal ended a delay that had run through the quarter. The Council had earlier resolved to send him off the island for stealing a lock and had named James Hogg to succeed him. Yet Mariot drew the carpenter's mate's pay for the full quarter, and Hogg stayed on the soldiers' roll. The engineer's fresh complaint of neglect gave the Council a firm ground to act. Hogg's five-year engagement matched the term for which soldiers enlisted. The Company thus secured a trained man for as long as it would have held him in the ranks.
334	327	The 14 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of Novem. 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 7 Novem. 1768 Wednesday the 9 Died Charles Newstead Soldier The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of October last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. Artillery Stores expended in October 1768 Guns fired, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, Powder Expend. lb, Powder Expend. oz 25th Guns fired to Celebrate his Majest. Access. to the Throne: Guns fired 21, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 16, Powder Expend. lb 21, Powder Expend. oz 8 Powder expended in Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 426, Powder Expend. oz 15 Total: Guns fired 21, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 1, 2 Pr 16, Powder Expend. lb 448, Powder Expend. oz 7 Handspikes for Sundry Services 31 Tallow for Do.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 November 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 7 November 1768 were read, approved and signed. Charles Newstead, a soldier, died on Wednesday 9 November 1768. The gunner's and steward's accounts for October were presented. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. Artillery stores used in October 1768 25 October, salute to mark the anniversary of His Majesty's accession: 21 guns fired, comprising 4 [...]-pounders, 1 [...]-pounder and 16 [...]-pounders, with 21 pounds 8 ounces of powder Powder used in various services, 426 pounds 15 ounces Total: 21 guns fired, with 448 pounds 7 ounces of powder 31 handspikes for various services 21 pounds of tallow for various services 2 pounds of lead ball for shooting goats 16 fathoms of white rope 6 rammers and sponge staves for Lemon Valley 6 sponge heads for Lemon Valley 6 tompions for Lemon Valley 5½ quires of paper Archibald Mitchell signed the account.

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		21 lb. Lead Ball to shoot Goats 2 lb. White Rope 16 Fathm. Rammer & Sponge Staves for Lemon Valley 6 Sponge Heads for Do. Do. 6 Tompions for Do. 6 Paper 5½ Qrs. (signed) Ar. Mitchell	**Interpretations** The 21-gun salute on 25 October marked the anniversary of King George III's accession to the throne. Royal anniversaries were kept with the same ceremony on St Helena as at any garrison in England. The salute reminded the inhabitants and any ships in the road that the island was held for the Crown as well as for the Company. Powder used on ceremonial occasions was entered separately, so the Court could see what had gone on display as against service and practice. The lead ball for shooting goats pointed to the wild goats that ran across the island. They browsed the young trees and stripped the vegetation from the hillsides. The Company paid for powder and shot to have them killed. Wild goats damaged the pasture and timber the Council was trying to protect through its rules on grazing. The rammers, sponge staves, sponge heads and tompions were for the new guns at Lemon Valley, showing that the battery there was being fitted out. A rammer drove the charge and shot home. A sponge on a long staff was dipped in water and used to clean the barrel and put out sparks between rounds. Tompions were wooden plugs fitted into the muzzles to keep out rain and salt spray. Charles Newstead had been a private in the Third Company and appeared on the quarter's pay roll.
335	328	The 14 November Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in October 1768 12 Bottles Port Wine " 18 - 18 Do. Lisbon 1 7 - 12 Do. Mountain " 18 - 28 Gall. Arr. 7 " - 182 lb. Beef 3 7 6 200 lb. Mutton 4 3 4 4 Lambs 2 " - 12 Fowls " 18 - 3 Turkeys " 15 - 30 lb. Butter 1 10 - 100 lb. Candy 2 2 8 350 lb. Flour 3 5 7½ 12 Bottles Beer " 2 6 £ 28 7 7½ We this day sent for Robinson the Master Carpenter to attend Council and informed him that as there would be constant employment in that Shop about the Company's business for some Years, the said Shop would therefore require his whole Attention to that branch of business only and that it is expected he would daily attend and superintend the Work in that Shop Lieutenant Thomas Leech of the Artillery Company having been suspended for six Months by a General Court Martial held on the 7 and 8 instant for neglect of Duty, We appointed Serjeant John Shirtley to do the duty and receive the pay of Lieutenant in the said Company during	Sundries used at the Company's table in October 1768 12 bottles of port wine, £0 18s 0d 18 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 7s 0d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 28 gallons of [...], £7 0s 0d 162 pounds of beef, £3 7s 6d 200 pounds of mutton, £4 3s 4d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 30 pounds of butter, £1 10s 0d 100 pounds of sugar candy, £2 2s 8d 350 pounds of flour, £3 5s 7½d 12 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d Total, £28 7s 7½d The Council summoned John Robinson, the master carpenter, to attend. It told him that the Company's work would keep his shop fully employed for several years. The shop would therefore need his whole attention, and he was to give himself to that work alone. He was expected to attend every day and supervise the work in the shop himself. A general court martial held on 7 and 8 November 1768 suspended Lieutenant Thomas Leech of the Artillery Company for six months for neglect of duty. The Council appointed Sergeant John Shirley to perform Leech's duties and draw a lieutenant's pay during the suspension. Captain Mitchell had recommended Shirley. **Interpretations** The Council's instruction to Robinson implied that the master carpenter had been taking private work alongside his Company duties. Craftsmen in the Company's pay often did so on a small island where skilled men were few. With Lemon Valley, Munden's Point and the boats all needing carpentry for years to come, the Council could not afford to share him. It chose to tell him plainly to give the Company his whole time, rather than dismiss or replace him. A trained master carpenter could not easily be found on St Helena. Leech's suspension did not leave the Artillery Company short of an officer. Sergeant John Shirley was raised to act as lieutenant and drew the higher pay for the six months. The Company paid one salary for the post, as it had done when Greentree followed

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		the said Leechs suspension, he being recommended by Capt. Mitchell	De Laune. A capable non-commissioned officer gained both experience and reward. The court martial had judged Leech's neglect serious enough to remove him from duty, but not to dismiss him. The table account showed that fresh meat for the Castle came from the island's own farms. Mutton, lambs and butter were all local produce. They pointed to the sheep and dairy cattle kept on the planters' land and at Plantation House. The Council's regulations on grazing and sheep were meant to protect that farming.
336	329	1768 well qualified to do that Duty Lieutenant Nathan Campell this day presented the following Memorial viz. To the Worshipfull Jno. Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. and Council of the Island St. Helena The Memorial of Nathan Campell Lieutenant in the Artillery Company humbly Sheweth That your Memorialist is under the disagreable Necessity of representing to your Honours, that by Reason of his great Age (being now in his Sixty Second Year) and other Infirmities, he finds himself unable any longer to undergo the Fatigue to which he is liable in the Execution of his Duty as Lieutenant of Artillery, which he has hitherto endeavoured to discharge with Fidelity and Diligence, for the truth of which he flatters himself he may appeal to your Honours, as well as to his present Captain. That having served the Honble. Company for the space of Thirty seven Years, and finding himself now worn out in the Service, and unfit for further Duty, He therefore hopes your Honours will be pleased to take his Case into Consideration, and permit him to retire, for the remaining Part of his Life, with such an Allowance for his Maintenance and support, as your Honours shall judge proper And your Memorialist as in Duty bound, shall ever pray &c. &c. (signed) Nathan Campell Island St. Helena 14th November 1768	Captain Mitchell had also judged Shirley well able to carry out the duty. Lieutenant Nathan Campell presented a memorial to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Campell, a lieutenant in the Artillery Company, regretted that he had to report his condition. He was in his 62nd year, and his age and other infirmities left him unable to bear the strain of his duties as a lieutenant of artillery any longer. He believed he had carried out those duties faithfully and carefully until then. He was content to appeal to the Council and to his present captain to confirm it. Campell had served the Company for 37 years. He now found himself worn out in its service and unfit for further duty. He asked the Council to consider his case and to allow him to retire for the rest of his life, with whatever allowance for his keep and support it thought proper. He signed the memorial at St Helena on 14 November 1768. **Interpretations** The Company had no fixed pension for its officers on the island. A man worn out after a lifetime's service could only ask the Council for an allowance at its discretion. Campell made his case through his 37 years of service and the support he expected from his captain, not on any right to a pension. The sum he received, if any, would depend on the Council's view of his record and on what the Court of Directors would sanction. John Lawrence, the invalid soldier kept on 9d a day, showed how the Company had provided for men in the ranks in the same position. Campell's request came on the same day the Council dealt with Leech's suspension. If his retirement were granted, the Artillery Company would lose both its lieutenants at once, one for six months and one permanently. That would leave Captain Mitchell with only an acting officer raised from the sergeants. Mitchell was also stretched as engineer, with three batteries under construction. The Council's answer to Campell had to take account of how thinly officered the artillery had become.
337	330	The 14 November Upon considering the above Memorial of Lieut. Campell we think on Account of his long and diligent Service in this Garrison, as well as on Account of his Age and Infirmitys that he is justly entitled to a pension and we agreed to recommend him to the Company in Order to obtain it, and for the present have allowed him to retire upon Half Pay, and have appointed Corporal Robert Gibson strongly recommended by his Captain to do his duty as Lieutenant to the Artillery Company upon the other half Pay untill the Honble. Company's pleasure is known Mr. Purling Reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for by Mr. Orlando Bagley, the letting of which appears to him will not be	The Council considered Lieutenant Sempill's memorial. It judged that his long and careful service in the garrison, together with his age and infirmity, gave him a fair claim to a pension. The Council agreed to recommend him to the Company so that he might obtain one. In the meantime it allowed him to retire on half pay. It appointed Corporal Robert Gibson, whom his captain strongly recommended, to perform Sempill's duty as lieutenant of the Artillery Company on the other half of the pay until the Company's wishes were known. Purling reported on his inspection of the land Orlando Bagley had asked for. Letting it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbouring tenants. Part of the ground was barren and stony, so he thought a rent of 2s an acre matched its value. Purling also reported on the land William Seale had asked for. Part of it had been sown with grass at public expense. Letting any of that ground would defeat the purpose of the improvement and would strongly discourage such work in future, which ought

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		prejudicial either to the Honble. Company or the Neighbourhood, and in consideration that part of the said Land is both barren and Rocky he thinks that a Rent of two shillings p Acre will be equal to the Value of the said Land He further Reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for by Mr. William Seale and finds that part of it has been planted with Grass at the expence of the Publick, letting therefore any part of those Lands he apprehends is contrary to the meaning and intent of such improvement and will tend greatly to discourage the same which certainly should be avoided, as the Utility of planting Grass on the barren Commons is very obvious from the benefit which already Accrued to the Inhabitants in general by that improvement: however as part of the Land Mr. Seale requested a Lease for has not been planted by the Publick, Mr. Purling thinks that that part may be Granted him without detriment to the Company or the Neighbourhood; And as part of the said Land is very indifferent, and will be attended with a great deal of Expence in Fencing it, he is of opinion from these considerations that a Rent of two Shillings p Acre will be sufficient to be paid for the said Land November 14th 1768 **Margin Notes:** [...] 21 [...]	to be avoided. The benefit already gained by the inhabitants showed plainly how useful it was to sow grass on the barren commons. Part of the land Seale wanted, however, had not been sown by the public. Purling thought that part could be granted to him without harm to the Company or the neighbourhood. Because it was poor ground and would cost a great deal to fence, he judged a rent of 2s an acre sufficient. The report was dated 14 November 1768. **Interpretations** The Council did not grant Sempill a pension itself, although it agreed he deserved one. A permanent pension was a charge on the Company that only the Court of Directors could approve. The Council therefore recommended him to London and gave him half pay as a stopgap. The other half went to Corporal Robert Gibson for acting as lieutenant. The arrangement cost the Company nothing extra while it awaited the Court's answer. Sempill had an income at once, and the post was still filled. Within a single meeting both of the Artillery Company's lieutenants were replaced by men from the ranks. Sergeant John Shirley stood in for the suspended Leech and Corporal Robert Gibson for the retiring Sempill. Both men had appeared on the quarter's pay list among the artillery's non-commissioned officers. Mitchell's recommendation carried the decision in each case. The Company relied on experienced gunners rather than waiting for officers to arrive from England. Purling's report on Seale's petition set aside the easy course of letting the whole plot. Part of the commons had been sown with grass at public cost to improve grazing for all the inhabitants. Letting that ground to one man would have turned a shared investment into a private benefit and discouraged any future scheme of the kind. The Council therefore granted Seale only the unimproved portion. The sown commons were kept for public use.
338	331	1768 We Agreed to Let the two Parcels of Land on the terms abovementioned, and came to a Resolution not to Grant Leases for any part of the barren Commons that have been improved by the publick on any pretence whatsoever John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st day of November 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 14 November 1768 Counted and examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of October last, which is as follows viz.	The Council agreed to let both pieces of land on the terms Purling had proposed. It also resolved never to grant leases for any part of the barren commons that had been improved at public expense, whatever reason might be given. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 November 1768. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 14 November 1768 were read, approved and signed. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of October. **Interpretations** The resolution went beyond the single case of Seale's petition and became a standing rule. Purling had shown that letting sown commons would undo a public improvement. The Council chose to bind itself for the future rather than judge each later request on its own merits. A fixed rule spared it the pressure of petitioners who would argue that their own plot was a special case. It also assured the inhabitants that land improved for everyone's grazing would stay common. The rule also protected the Company's investment, since grass sown at public cost could only pay for itself if the commons stayed open to all.
339	332	Cash Dr. 1768 Oct. 1st To Balance remaining£ 10353 12 2½ £ 10353 12 2½ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Oct. 31st By Balance remaing. viz. In Specie 9813 17 2½ In Cash Notes	The Company's cash account for October 1768 showed no money received or paid during the month. Received 1 October 1768, balance remaining, £10,353 12s 2½d Total, £10,353 12s 2½d Paid

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		539 15 - 10353 12 2½ £ 10353 12 2½	31 October 1768, balance remaining in coin, £9,813 17s 2½d 31 October 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £10,353 12s 2½d **Interpretations** The treasury stood untouched through October. The balance at the end of the month was exactly the same as at the beginning. The Company's day-to-day spending did not pass through the treasury month by month. Wages, workmen and contingent bills were paid by the paymaster and settled in one advance when his quarterly account was closed. Receipts came in mainly at the quarter's end as well: rents, warehouse takings and licences. In a month with no bills of exchange drawn and no payments from ships in the road, the cash therefore lay idle in the chest. The Council's monthly count served simply to confirm that nothing had gone missing.
340	333	1768 It appearing upon taking the Inventory of Stores in Sept. last that the following Goods were Damaged, We Ordered an Advertizement to be Published for the said Damaged Goods to be exposed to publick Auction on Monday next for ready Money Damaged Goods remaining in the Stores 30th Sept. 1768 Broad Cloth viz. 3½ Yds. Blue 3½ Do. Light Brown 4½ Do. French Grey Bunting viz. 19¼ Yds. Red 15¼ Do. Blue Pork 1 Tierce Bengall Earthen Ware 2 Close Stool Pans Hosiers Ware viz. 3 Pr. Mens Knit Stockings 13 Pr. Girls Do. 4 Pr. Womens Do. 6 Pr. Boys Do. 3 Pr. Scarlet Breeches 2 Pr. Crimson Do. 1 Pr. Buff Do. Iron Ware 1 Gard. Rake Kersey 11¼ Yds. Pease & Beans viz. 20¾ Bush. Pease 10 5/8 Do. Beans Sailors Cloaths viz. 8 Mens Jackets 4 Pr. Do. Breeches	The September inventory had shown that some of the stores were damaged. The Council ordered a notice to be published announcing that the damaged goods would be sold at public auction the following Monday, for cash. Damaged goods remaining in the stores on 30 September 1768 Broadcloth 3½ yards of blue broadcloth 3½ yards of light brown broadcloth 4½ yards of French grey broadcloth Bunting 19¾ yards of red bunting 15¼ yards of blue bunting 1 hogshead of Bengal pork 2 earthenware close-stool pans Hosiery 3 pairs of men's knitted stockings 13 pairs of girls' stockings 4 pairs of women's stockings 6 pairs of boys' stockings 3 pairs of scarlet breeches 2 pairs of crimson breeches 1 pair of buff breeches 11 garden rakes 11¼ yards of kersey Pease and beans 20¾ bushels of pease 10⅞ bushels of beans Sailors' clothing 8 men's jackets 4 pairs of men's breeches **Interpretations** The Council chose to sell the damaged goods at auction instead of keeping them in store or issuing them to the garrison and slaves at their book value. Damaged cloth, spoiled pease and moth-eaten stockings would only deteriorate further on the shelves. Charging them out at full price would have overstated the value of the issues. An open auction let the market set what the goods were worth and turned them into cash before they lost all value. It also cleared them from the inventory. The condition that bidders pay in ready money mattered on an island where credit among the inhabitants was common and debts were slow to collect. Selling for cash ensured the Company received the proceeds at once. It would not have to pursue small debts for a few yards of cloth or a bushel of pease. The auction proceeds would then appear in the treasury's receipts alongside the other quarterly takings.
341	334	The 21 November Turners Ware viz. 36 Shoe Brushes	Turners' ware 36 shoe brushes 5 plasterers' brushes

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		5 Plaist. Do. 4 Hair Sieves Candy 1.. 3.. 6 Cwt. qrs. lb. Mr. William Seale Senr. this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of William Seale Senr. Sheweth That as your Worship and Council do not think proper to Lease your Petitioner the whole of that piece of Land he lately Petitioned for, as part of it had been planted with Grass by the Publick, he therefore requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to let him exchange a piece of his for the beforementioned Land of the Honble. Company's which will be of no difference to the Publick, and of great conveniency to your Petitioner with respect to his Fence And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Willm. Seale 21st November 1768 In consideration of what the above Petitioner sets forth We agreed to the exchange as it will be of great conveniency to him	4 hair sieves 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds of sugar candy William Seale senior presented a further petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. The Council had decided not to let him the whole piece of land he had recently asked for, because part of it had been sown with grass at public expense. He therefore asked to be allowed to exchange a piece of his own land for the Company's ground in question. The exchange would make no difference to the public but would greatly help him with his fence. He signed the petition on 21 November 1768. The Council considered Seale's reasons and agreed to the exchange, since it would be a great convenience to him. **Interpretations** Seale's proposal let the Council help him without breaking the resolution it had passed only a week earlier, on 14 November 1768. The Council had sworn never to lease any part of the commons improved at public cost. A straight exchange of land did not lease that ground away. Seale gave up a piece of his own holding of equal use to the public and received in return the piece that straightened his fence. The total area open to common grazing was unchanged, and its value to the inhabitants was kept. The Council could therefore accept an exchange where it had refused a lease. The damaged goods listed for auction included sugar candy and the hair sieves. The sieves had already been shown as damaged in the inventory. The candy had been entered among the waste charged to profit and loss. The auction gave the Company a last return on stock it had already written down.
342	335	1768 on Account of Fencing the said Land, and that piece he throws out of equal service to the Publick in Commonage Mr. Purling Reports that he has viewed the piece of Land Petitioned for by Mr. James Greentree and that the letting of it will be of no prejudice to the Honble. Company or Neighbourhood, and as part of it is both barren and Rocky he thinks 2/6 p Ac. a Rent sufficient for the said Land Agreed to Let the said Land on the above Terms John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The exchange was granted because it would help Seale fence his land. The piece he gave up in return would serve the public equally well as common grazing. Purling reported on his inspection of the land James Greentree had asked for at Thompson's Hill. Letting it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbouring tenants. Part of the ground was barren and rocky, so he thought a rent of 2s 6d an acre would be enough. The Council agreed to let the land on those terms. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Over these weeks the Council built up a scale of rents for waste land according to its quality. Young's grassy upper ground was let at 5s an acre. The barren and stony plots granted to the Gurling orphans, Whaley, Harper, Bagley and Seale were let at 2s. Greentree's land at Thompson's Hill fell between the two at 2s 6d, being partly rocky but not wholly barren. Purling's inspections allowed each rent to match the land's real worth. A flat charge would have overburdened the poorest ground and undervalued the best. The condition attached to Seale's exchange showed the Council holding to its rule of 14 November 1768. The land Seale surrendered had to be of equal use to the public as common grazing. The commons were thus kept whole in value, even though their boundary had moved.
343	336	The 28 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th day of November 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Govern. Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Coun. The last Consultation was read approved & signed dated the 21st November 1768	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 28 November 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 21 November 1768 were read, approved and signed. Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice presented a petition to the Governor and Council. A small piece of the Company's waste ground lay in the valley next to a house of his. Taking it would suit him well, and

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		Lieut. Solomon St. Maurice this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Sol. St. Maurice Sheweth That there is a small piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Ground lying in this Valley adjoining to a House of your Petitioners which would be very convenient to him, humbly requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Sol. St. Maurice 28th November 1768 Ordered the said Ground to be Viewed	he asked for a lease. He signed the petition on 28 November 1768. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. **Interpretations** St Maurice was a lieutenant in the First Company and drew a lieutenant's salary, diet money and house rent on the quarter's pay list. Like Greentree before him, he was seeking to add Company land to property he already held. The Council made no exception for an officer. It sent his request for inspection exactly as it had for the planters. Every petitioner, whatever his rank, passed through the same survey before the ground could be let. The petition placed the land "in the valley", meaning Jamestown valley, where the town stood. Waste ground there lay close to houses and to the town's water and paths. An inspection mattered all the more for a plot that might affect the public way or a neighbour's door.
344	337	1768 As we find that the Rats and Mice increase considerably upon the Island (notwithstanding all endeavours to keep them under by Traps &c.) and do an infinite deal of mischief to the Honble. Company's Stores and Grains as likewise to the Houses and Gardens of the Inhabitants in General, and being in hopes that the small reward of an half Penny for killing a Rat & a farthing for a Mouse will be a means of destroying a great number of them we Ordered the following Advertisement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 28th November 1768 As Rats and Mice considerably increase and do great Mischief to the Honble. Company and Inhabitants in General This is to give Notice that whatever Inhabitant Soldier or Black that shall kill either Rat or Mouse in this Valley and carry the same to the Constable shall receive the reward of an half Penny for each Rat & a farthing for a Mouse to be paid them by the Constable aforesaid, who is required daily in presence of the Marshal to see that the Heads of the said Rats & Mice are cut off in Order to prevent impositions and afterwards buried, burnt or thrown into the Sea. The like reward will be given for Rats and Mice destroyed by any Person either White or Black in the Country, and it is required that the Masters or Mistresses of such Slaves that cannot Conveniently bring or send them to the Constable shall take an Account of what they so destroy and send the said Account to the Constable Weekly and the said Masters or Mistresses are desired to see that they are effectually destroyed as beforementioned to prevent the imposition of their being twice paid for The Company is to pay one half of the said reward and the	The Council found that rats and mice were multiplying fast on the island, despite every effort to keep them down with traps and other means. They did great damage to the Company's stores and gardens and to the houses and gardens of the inhabitants. The Council hoped that a small reward of a halfpenny for each rat and a farthing for each mouse killed would lead to large numbers being destroyed. It ordered a notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 28 November 1768. The notice stated that rats and mice were increasing fast and causing great harm to the Company and the inhabitants alike. Any inhabitant, soldier or black person who killed a rat or mouse in Jamestown valley and took it to the constable would be paid a halfpenny for each rat and a farthing for each mouse. The constable would pay the reward. In the marshal's presence he was to see the heads cut off, to prevent anyone claiming twice. The bodies were then to be buried, burned or thrown into the sea. The same reward would be paid for rats and mice killed in the country by anyone, white or black. Owners of slaves who could not easily bring or send the dead animals to the constable were to keep a count of what their slaves killed and send it to him each week. Owners were asked to make sure the animals were properly destroyed in the manner described, so that none was paid for twice. The Company would pay half of the reward, and the **Interpretations** The Council chose a bounty over the default course of simply buying more traps. Traps had already been tried and, as the minute admitted, had failed to check the rats' increase. The quarter's warehouse records showed spring rat traps and mousetraps bought by servants, planters and the Company itself. By paying a small sum for every animal killed, the Council turned the whole population, free and slave, into rat-catchers at very little cost. The halfpenny and farthing rewards were low enough that the scheme would not become expensive however many were brought in. The rules for cutting off heads before the marshal and disposing of the bodies were designed to stop fraud. Without them the same carcass could have been presented again and again, or brought in from a neighbour's kill. The weekly count required from slave owners in the country placed the duty of honesty on the masters. A slave who killed rats on a remote farm could not walk to the constable each time. The owner was trusted to record the numbers and answer for them.

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			The Company agreed to pay only half the reward. The rats damaged the inhabitants' houses and gardens as well as the Company's stores, so the cost was to be shared. The other half would presumably be met by the inhabitants, perhaps through a charge on the island's households.
345	338	The 28 November Inhabitants the other Per Order of Council (signed) Mattw. Bazett Secy. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th day of December 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 28 Novemr. 1768 Lieut. Samuel Desfountain and Lieut. Thomas Leech this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Gover. &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Saml. Desfountain Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for a piece of Ground in this Valley, humbly request your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Saml. Desfountain 5th Decemr. 1768 Granted	The inhabitants were to pay the other half of the reward. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 5 December 1768. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 28 November 1768 were read, approved and signed. Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain and Lieutenant Thomas Leech each presented a petition. Desfountain petitioned the Governor and Council about a piece of ground in Jamestown valley. His lease of it had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. He signed the petition on 5 December 1768. The Council granted the renewal. **Interpretations** The division of the rat bounty between the Company and the inhabitants confirmed that the Council treated vermin as a shared public problem. The Company's stores and gardens suffered, but so did every household's food and crops. Requiring the inhabitants to fund half made those who gained from the destruction of rats bear part of its cost. It also kept the Company's own outlay to half of what a fully paid scheme would have cost. Leech was still under the six months' suspension imposed by the court martial of 7 and 8 November 1768 when he came before the Council with a petition. A suspended officer kept his place on the island and his civil rights as a tenant or inhabitant. Only his military duties and pay were taken from him for the term of the sentence.
346	339	1768 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena The Petition of Lieut. Thomas Leech Humbly Sheweth That as the Lease of the piece of Land which your Petitioner holds in Right of his Mother the late Eleanor Leech, being expired the first of this instant, Humbly begs Leave to Renew the same And your Petitioner as in duty Bound shall for your Worships Ever pray 5th Decemr. 1768 Granted The piece of Ground that Lieut. St. Maurice Petitioned for on Monday last having been viewed and found of no prejudice to the Honble. Company or Neighbourhood, We agreed to Grant him a Lease for the same at 5/ p Ann. In Order that all Orphans when they come of Age may have the clearest and fullest Accounts of all such Effects that are left them by their Decd. Parents or Friends, we thought proper to publish the following Advertizement viz. Island St. Helena 5th December 1768 This is to give Notice to all Executors who have within this twelvemonth past or may hereafter make sale of any Orphans Effects they	Lieutenant Thomas Leech also petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He held a piece of land by right of his late mother, Eleanor Leech. The lease had expired on 1 December, and he asked permission to renew it. He signed the petition on 5 December 1768. The Council granted the renewal. The ground Lieutenant St Maurice had asked for the previous Monday had been inspected. It was found that letting it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbours. The Council agreed to grant him a lease at a rent of 5s a year. The Council wished to ensure that every orphan, on coming of age, would receive the clearest and fullest account of the property left by dead parents or friends. It therefore decided to publish a notice, dated at St Helena on 5 December 1768. The notice was addressed to all executors who had sold any orphan's property within the past twelve months, or who might do so in future. **Interpretations** The notice on orphans' property followed directly from the cases before the Council in the previous weeks. Executors such as John Worrall for Jobbett's estate and John Desfountain for the Gurling orphans managed land, leases and goods on behalf of heirs too young to act. An executor who sold an orphan's effects held the proceeds in trust. Without a public demand for accounts, the money could be misused or lost before the child came of age. By calling executors to account for every sale, the Council used its authority to protect those least able to protect themselves.

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			Leech's renewal was granted although he was under suspension from his military duties. His lease came to him through his mother. A court martial's sentence touched only his place in the Artillery Company. His rights as a tenant and heir were a separate matter, and the Council treated them as such. St Maurice's ground was let at a fixed 5s a year, not at a rate per acre. The plot lay beside a house in the valley and was evidently too small to measure in acres. A flat annual rent suited a town garden or yard better than the acreage rents set for the larger country plots.
347	340	The 5 December have had or may have under their charge, that they are Required to render a true Account properly attested to the Secretary's Office as soon as possible after such Sales are made in order that the said Orphans or any other Person or Persons it may concern may have recourse to the said Office for any information they require relative to the said Sales Per Order of Council (signed) Mattw. Bazett Secy. We this day executed the Renewal of two Leases. One to Mr. Thomas Harper for a piece of Ground containing forty feet in Depth & sixty feet in Front at 10/ p Annum And one to Mr. John Worrall Executor to the last Will and Testament of James Torbett Decd. for a piece of Ground containing twenty one feet in front eighty feet in Depth & fifty feet in back at 12/ p Ann., both lying in this Valley John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The notice required executors who had held, or would hold, orphans' property to send a true account of every sale, properly witnessed, to the Secretary's Office as soon as possible afterwards. The orphans, or anyone else concerned, could then consult the office for any information they needed about the sales. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. The Council completed the renewal of two leases that day. The first was to Thomas Harper, for a piece of ground 40 feet deep with a 60-foot frontage, at a rent of 10s a year. The second was to John Worrall, executor under the will of the late James Jobbett, for a piece of ground with a 21-foot frontage, 80 feet deep and 50 feet wide at the back, at a rent of 12s a year. Both plots lay in Jamestown valley. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council made the Secretary's Office a public register for orphans' affairs. An executor's account kept only in his own papers could be lost, altered or withheld when the heir came of age. Lodging a witnessed copy with the secretary placed it beyond the executor's control. An orphan, a guardian or a creditor could later check what had been sold and for how much. The arrangement cost the Company nothing and relied on a record it already kept. It turned the secretary's routine of filing documents into a safeguard for those too young to look after their own interests. The two renewed leases were town plots, measured in feet rather than acres. Their rents were fixed sums of 10s and 12s a year. Worrall's plot narrowed from 50 feet at the back to 21 feet at the front, a shape typical of the crowded ground of Jamestown, squeezed between the steep valley sides. The difference in rent probably reflected position as much as size, since frontage on the town's street carried value for houses and trade.
348	341	The 12 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of December 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 5 Decem. 1768 The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of November last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz. Artillery Stores Expended in November 1768 Powder expended in sundry services 135 lb. 3 oz. Sponge Staves for the Rakers & Combe Forks 10 Tallow for the Long Boats &c. 14 lb. Copper Cloads for the Carriages at Mitchells Line	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 12 December 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 5 December 1768 were read, approved and signed. The gunner's and steward's accounts for November were presented. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. Artillery stores used in November 1768 Powder used in various services, 135 pounds 3 ounces Sponge staves for the [...], 10 Tallow for the longboats, 14 pounds [...] cleats for the gun carriages at Mitchell's Line, 8 Lead ball for shooting goats, 7 pounds 7 ounces Handspikes for the longboats, 1 Handspikes used at Mitchell's Line, 1 Handspikes used at the Lemon Valley fortification, 4 Cartridge paper for the office, 12 quires

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		8 Lead Ball to shoot Goats 7 lb. 7 oz. Handspikes for the Long Boats 1 Do. expend. at Mitchells Line 1 Do. Do. at Lemon Valley Fortificat. 4 Cartridge Paper for the use of the Office 12 Qrs. (signed) Ar. Mitchell Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in November 1768 6 Bottles Port Wine " 9 - 12 Do. Lisbon " 18 - 6 Do. Mountain " 9 - 12 Do. Beer " 2 6 24 Gall. Arr. 6 " - Carrd. Over£ 7 18 6	Archibald Mitchell signed the account. Sundries used at the Company's table in November 1768 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 12 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 18s 0d 6 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 9s 0d 12 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d 24 gallons of [...], £6 0s 0d Carried forward, £7 18s 6d **Interpretations** Mitchell's Line was a defensive work named after the engineer himself, just as the battery at Banks's had been renamed Purling's Battery after the councillor. Naming the island's fortifications after its officials honoured them in a lasting way and marked the works as their achievement. Gun carriages were already mounted at Mitchell's Line, so it was an established position, distinct from the new batteries still under construction. The lead ball issued for shooting goats rose from 2 pounds in October to more than 7 pounds in November. The campaign against the wild goats was evidently being stepped up. It ran alongside the bounty on rats and mice published on 28 November 1768 and the rules on grazing of 17 October 1768. Over these weeks the Council was moving on several fronts to protect the island's pasture, crops and stores from animals that damaged them. The Company's table used noticeably less wine and drink in November than in October. In the absence of ships in the road during the month, there were fewer visiting commanders to entertain at the Castle.
349	342	The 12 December Brought Over£ 7 18 6 172 lb. Beef 3 12 10 200 Mutton 4 3 4 4 Lambs 2 " - 12 Fowls " 18 - 1 Turkey " 5 - 30 lb. Butter 1 10 - 100 lb. Candy 2 1 8 400 lb. Flour 3 15 - £ 26 4 4 Lieut. John Shirtley and Mr. John Robinson this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Jno. Shirtley Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for a piece of Ground lying in James's Valley, humbly begs leave that your Worship & Council will be pleased to Grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) John Shirtley 12th December 1768 Granted	The account of sundries used at the Company's table in November continued from a running total of £7 18s 6d. Brought forward, £7 18s 6d 175 pounds of beef, £3 12s 10d 200 pounds of mutton, £4 3s 4d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 30 pounds of butter, £1 10s 0d 100 pounds of sugar candy, £2 1s 8d 400 pounds of flour, £3 15s 0d Total, £26 4s 4d Lieutenant John Shirley and John Robinson each presented a petition. Shirley petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council about a piece of ground in James's Valley. His lease of it had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. He signed the petition on 12 December 1768. The Council granted the renewal. **Interpretations** The minutes now called Shirley "Lieutenant", only a month after the Council appointed him on 14 November 1768 to act in that rank during Leech's suspension. He had been listed among the artillery sergeants on the September pay roll. The title gave him the standing of an officer in all his dealings with the Council, not merely on parade. An acting commission on St Helena carried the full rank and its respect for as long as it lasted, as well as the pay. The Company's table cost £26 4s 4d in November, against £28 7s 7½d in October. The fresh meat, fowls, butter and flour were bought in almost the same quantities each month. The saving came mainly from the smaller amount of wine and drink served.
350	343	1768 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Jno. Robinson Sheweth	John Robinson petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council. A small piece of the Company's waste land lay next to his own land in the East Division of the island, and he asked for a lease of it. The Council ordered the land to be inspected.

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		That there is a small piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners Land lying in the East Division of the Island; your Petitioner therefore requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Jno. Robinson Ordered the said Land to be Viewed Serjeant Thomas Payne this day presented the following viz. To the Worshipful the Governor and Council on the Island St. Helena December the 12th 1768 I Thomas Payne Serjeant Overseer and Clerk of the Honorable Companies Works on the said Island am in duty bound to Inform them the Honorable Company by acquainting you the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the following particulars As the Expences of Repairs has been Charged to the Castle and Plant. House more than ought to have been done if the following Informations can be proved I presume to lay before you the said Informations as I received them. There was	Sergeant Thomas Payne presented a written statement to the Governor and Council, dated 12 December 1768. Payne served as sergeant, overseer and clerk of the Company's works. He held it his duty to inform the Governor and Council, on the Company's behalf, of certain matters. More had been charged to repairs at the Castle and Plantation House than should have been, if the information he had received could be proved. He felt obliged to set that information before the Council exactly as it had reached him. **Interpretations** Payne brought his report as the clerk of the works, the man who kept the daily record of labour and materials used on the Company's buildings. That position let him see where charges did not match the work actually done. He framed his statement carefully. He claimed only to pass on information he had received, and he made the charge conditional on proof. This protected him if the allegations failed, at a time when the Council had only recently censured Kirkpatrick for bringing false charges against Corneille. A sergeant reporting irregularities in the accounts was taking a real risk. The repairs at the Castle and Plantation House were overseen by men senior to him, and an accusation of overcharging touched their honesty and the Council's own supervision. By addressing the Governor and Council directly, Payne placed the matter on the record. It could then not be quietly set aside. Robinson's petition for waste land in the East Division followed the Council's instruction of 14 November 1768 that he give his whole attention to the Company's carpentry shop. Holding a farm alongside his post was common among the island's craftsmen. The land would still need inspection before any lease was granted.
351	344	The 12 December a great quantity of Stone and Dirt Collected to build a Hospital for the Honorable Companies Slaves and great part of the said Stone and Dirt is now missing from the Places where Lodged in and about the Black Square, Thomas Yates who was then an Assistant Overseer in Collecting the said Stone and Dirt has informed me Payne that he Yates saw part of the aforesaid Dirt made into Mortar and Carried to build a Billiard House. Jno. Granger who was at that time Emp. for the Honorable Company and Worked in the Carpenters Shop has informed me Payne that he Granger did himself work up part of the Honble. Compys. Timber and has known Isaac Day and Jos. Chamberlain as also the Black Carpenters to be employed in fitting up Timber for the Billiard House for a considerable time, and that he Granger made sundry Door and Window Frames for the said Billiard House whilest he Granger was paid out of the Honorable Compys. Cash for his daily Work, John Dobson Informed me Payne that he Dobson had an order from Capt. Mitchell to make use of four Bars of Iron the Property of the Honorable Company and that Capt. Mitchell ordered him Dobson to carry or get carryed on the Iron Work for the said Billiard House what ever stood therein Besides William Brown Matross in the Artillery Company has informed me Payne that he Brown has known 100 Bushels of Lime burnt from English Stone and 100	Sergeant Payne's statement continued with the details of what he had been told. A large quantity of stone and earth had been gathered to build a hospital for the Company's slaves. Much of it was now missing from where it had been stored in and around the Black Square. Thomas Yates had been assistant overseer when the stone and earth were collected. He told Payne that part of the earth had been made into mortar and taken to build a billiard house. John Grainger had been in the Company's pay at the time, working in the carpenters' shop. He told Payne that he had himself worked up part of the Company's timber. He had seen Isaac Day, Joseph Chamberlain and the slave carpenters employed for a long time preparing timber for the billiard house. Grainger had also made several door and window frames for it while drawing day wages from the Company's cash. John Dobson told Payne that Captain Mitchell had ordered him to use four bars of the Company's iron. Mitchell had also ordered Dobson to make, or have made, whatever further ironwork the billiard house needed. William Brown, a matross in the Artillery Company, told Payne that he knew of 140 bushels of lime burned from English stone and 100 bushels of island lime being used at the billiard house. Payne had collected a number of animal hides and some hair and had them prepared to make size and glue, with the hair intended for the mortar at the Castle and Plantation House. These too had been used there. Brown further said that beer grounds kept by William Holbrook, the master mason, for making mortar for Plantation House or the Castle had been used at the billiard house.

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		Bushels of this Island Lime to be used at the Billiard House, as also several Beasts Hides and Hair which I Payne got Tanned by Capt. Mitchells Orders to make Size and Glue and the Hair for Mortar for the Castle and Plant. House. He Brown further informed me Payne that there was used some Grounds of Beer which Wm. Holbrook Master Mason had in his Care to make Tarrass Mortar for the Plant. House or Castle. If these Informations are true the Honorable Company has been greatly injured and that justice to them the Honorable may be done I most humbly lay before your Worship and Council the aforesaid and leave it to your Candid consideration. I further most Humbly beg that the following Informers may be Called viz. Thomas Yates John Granger William Brown John Dobson William Holbrooke Thomas Powers Thomas Jones Joseph Chamberlain and John Robinson Master Carpr. (signed) Thomas Payne Clerk of the Works	If the information was true, the Company had suffered serious loss. Payne laid it before the Governor and Council so that justice might be done to the Company and left the matter to their consideration. He asked that the following informants be called: Thomas Yates, John Grainger, William Brown, John Dobson, William Holbrook, Thomas Powers, Thomas Jones, Joseph Chamberlain and John Robinson, the master carpenter. Payne signed the statement as clerk of the works. **Interpretations** Payne's charge was that Company materials and labour had been diverted to build a private billiard house, while the cost was entered as repairs to the Castle and Plantation House. The stone and earth had been gathered for a hospital for the Company's slaves. The timber, iron, lime, hair and glue were Company stores. The carpenters, including slaves owned by the Company, were on the Company's daily pay. Hiding the diversion under the heading of repairs to two official buildings would have passed unnoticed in the accounts. Only the clerk of the works, who saw where materials actually went, was placed to notice it. The most serious part of the allegation named Captain Mitchell. He was the engineer, captain of the Artillery Company and the officer responsible for all the island's building works. Dobson's evidence placed the order for Company iron directly in Mitchell's hands. If proved, the charge would implicate the most senior technical officer on St Helena, not a junior clerk. It also cast new light on the Council's instruction of 14 November 1768 that Robinson, the master carpenter, give the Company's shop his whole attention. Robinson now appeared among the witnesses. Hair, size, glue and beer grounds were all ingredients of good lime mortar and plaster in the period. Hair bound the plaster and stopped it cracking. Size and glue strengthened finishing coats. Fermented liquids such as beer grounds were thought to improve the setting of mortar. Their diversion showed a building finished to a high standard, beyond the plain work of a soldier's or labourer's dwelling.
352	345	1768 Upon which we sent for Capt. Mitchell and read to him the above Paper, who said that he was Conscious of his own innocence and desired that all the Persons mentioned in Paynes Paper might be examined and the Affair strictly Scrutinized into As Captn. Bazett was jointly concerned with Capt. Mitchell in Building the Billiard House and consequently a proprietor we likewise sent for him to be present at the examinations of the several Evidences produced by Payne in support of his Charge and then proceeded to take the following Depositions viz. John Robinson Master Carpenter being duly Sworn and asked whether he informed Serjeant Payne that any of the Company's Timber was used at the Billiard House without being paid for and whether any of the Company's Artificers where employed at that Work. Deposeth that he never informed Payne of any such thing and that he never knew any of the Carpenters employed by the Company to Work at the Billiard House except the Black Boys and his own apprentice sometimes at their leisure Hours, and that he knew Granger had made a Door and	The Council sent for Captain Mitchell and read Payne's paper to him. Mitchell said he knew himself to be innocent. He asked that everyone named in Payne's paper be examined and that the whole affair be strictly investigated. Captain Bazett had joined Mitchell in building the billiard house and was therefore a part-owner. The Council sent for him as well, so that he could be present while the witnesses Payne had named were heard. It then took the following sworn statements. John Robinson, the master carpenter, was sworn and asked whether he had told Payne that Company timber had been used at the billiard house without payment, or that any of the Company's workmen had been employed there. Robinson stated that he had never told Payne anything of the kind. He knew of none of the Company's carpenters working at the billiard house except the slave boys and his own apprentice, who sometimes worked there in their spare hours. He knew that Grainger had made a door case and a window case, and Grainger had told him Captain Mitchell had paid him for them. Robinson added that any wood borrowed from the Company had been properly returned. This applied in particular to eight [...] timbers obtained for building the slaves' hospital. They were not needed at the time and were lent out, but were later replaced and now formed part of the roof of the carpenters' shop. The Governor stated that Mitchell had asked him for the loan of those timbers. They were not

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		Window Case which he Granger had told this Deponent that Capt. Mitchell had paid him for. This Deponent further declares that if any pieces of Wood was borrowed of the Company that they were regularly returned to them particularly 8 Scaffolding Sticks that were got to build the Blacks Hospital but not being at that time wanted where afterwards replaced and are now in the Roof of the Carpenters Shop The Governor observes that Capt. Mitchell had applyed to him for the Loan of the aforesaid Sticks and they not being then wanted and expecting to come by the lent them to Capt. Mitchell which were duly returned again to the Company John Grainger having heard what Payne had set forth in his information relative to him and being duly Sworn Deposeth that he had made	then needed and were spoiling where they lay, so he had lent them to Mitchell, and they had since been properly returned to the Company. John Grainger had heard what Payne said about him. He was sworn and stated that he had made three **Interpretations** The Council did not simply accept or dismiss Payne's charge. It chose to hear sworn evidence from each named witness in the presence of the two officers accused. Mitchell's own request for a full investigation made that course natural. Bringing in Captain Bazett as part-owner ensured that both men who stood to lose by the charge could hear and answer the evidence. Formal depositions under oath turned hearsay passed to Payne into testimony that could be weighed and, if false, punished. The first two witnesses shifted the case at once. Robinson flatly denied telling Payne anything. He accounted for the timber as borrowed and returned, and for the frames as paid for by Mitchell himself. The Governor then confirmed that he had personally lent the timbers to Mitchell because they were spoiling. The loan had been authorised from the top, so it was not a theft. The Governor's own statement left Payne's case harder to sustain. It also showed how informally Company stores could pass to officers for private use, so long as they were later made good. The billiard house was a private building put up by two senior officers, Mitchell and Bazett, for their own recreation and perhaps for the island's gentlemen. Billiards was a fashionable game among officers and gentry of the period. A billiard room was a mark of polite society even on a remote island garrison.
353	346	The 12 December three Door Cases out of the Company's Timber John Robinson being asked what Door Cases those were says they were made for the Blacks Hospital that two of them were now in being in the Blacks House and one was lent to Capt. Mitchell for which he had received a Double Deal long since to make a Door Case to repay the Company Grainger being further asked whether he had Voluntarily given that information to Payne or whether Payne had asked him any Questions about it declares that on Friday last Payne sent for him into his Room and asked him what Work he had done when in the Shop and whether he had ever done any work at the Billiard House Payne then asked Grainger whether he did not know that Chamberlain had made a Door for the Billiard House replyed that he had seen Chamberlain help to make a Door in the Shop for that Building John Robinson says that Chamberlain who was then Carpenters Mate was allowed at that time to do any Work at his leisure Hours and did make the aforesaid Door partly in the Shop and partly at his own House Joseph Chamberlain late Carpenters Mate being duly sworn and asked whether he was employed in making any Door Cases for the Billiard House, declares that he had made all the Door & Window Cases for that Building at his own House and in his own time and used often to Work until late at Night, but remembers that he partly fitted up a Door in	Grainger stated that he had made three door cases from the Company's timber. John Robinson was asked what door cases those were. He said they had been made for the slaves' hospital. Two of them were now in place in the slaves' house. The third had been lent to Captain Mitchell, who had long since given a double deal board to make a new door case and so repay the Company. Grainger was then asked whether he had given his information to Payne of his own accord, or whether Payne had questioned him. He stated that on the previous Friday Payne had called him into his room. Payne had asked him what work he had done in the shop and whether he had ever worked at the billiard house. Payne then asked Grainger whether he did not know that Chamberlain had made a door for the billiard house. Grainger replied that he had seen Chamberlain helping to make a door in the shop for that building. John Robinson said that Chamberlain, who was then carpenter's mate, had been allowed to do any work he liked in his spare hours. He had made the door partly in the shop and partly at his own house. Joseph Chamberlain, formerly carpenter's mate, was sworn and asked whether he had been employed to make door cases for the billiard house. He stated that he had made all the door and window cases for that building at his own house, in his own time, often working late into the night. He did remember partly fitting up a door in the shop. He had done this when there was no pressing work there, since he was allowed to do odd jobs at such times because his salary was so small. Chamberlain was then asked whether he knew if any Company timber had been used in the building. **Interpretations** Grainger's answer weakened Payne's case on a point of method. Payne had presented his witnesses

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		the Shop which he did when the Work there was not urgent and was allowed to do any odd jobbs at those times as his Salary was so very small, being asked if he knew whether any of the Company's Timber had been used at that	as men who had come forward with information. Grainger now said that Payne had summoned him and questioned him about his work and the billiard house. The evidence had been drawn out by the accuser, not volunteered. This made it look less like spontaneous complaint and more like a case Payne had set out to build. The testimony of Robinson and Chamberlain brought to light a long-standing custom of the Company's workshops. Craftsmen on small salaries were allowed to take private work in their spare hours, and even to use the shop when the Company's work was slack. The Company tolerated the practice in place of higher wages. It also blurred the line between private jobs done in the shop and Company materials and time used without leave. The Council's instruction to Robinson on 14 November 1768 to give the shop his whole attention suggests it had already begun to see the risks of that arrangement. The door case lent to Mitchell and repaid with a double deal board showed the same informal system at work. Officers borrowed Company materials for private use and made them good later. So long as the stock was replaced, the loan was treated as legitimate. Payne's charge depended on showing that such materials had been taken and never repaid.
354	347	1768 Building declares that there was not any John Dobson being Sworn & hearing read what Payne declared he told him, That he did not tell him what Payne has represented but acknowledges he told him he had done some Work for the Billiard House. That Mr. Robinson had told him to make four Bars about fourteen Inches long for a Cellar Window the value of which was about 3/ which were made of the Company's Iron and replaced the same out of his own Iron which Bars he made at the Billiard House and is Confident that not any of the Company's Iron were used for that Building and further says that he had received of Capt. Mitchell and Bazett, for Iron Work done for that House £5.. 1.. 3 he being asked by Capt. Mitchell whether he had ever given him Orders to use four Bars of the Company's Iron for any Work done at the Billiard House or had ordered him to supply the Work to any of the Company's declares that he never had received any Orders from Capt. Mitchell about it Thomas Yates having heard what Payne had said relative to what he had told him being duly Sworn Deposeth that he was Overseer about this time three Years when Stones and Dirt for Mortar were collected for a Black Hospital that some time after he saw some of those Stones removed from the Place they were gathered and carried to the Billiard House that Goody who was employed by Capt. Mitchell and Bazett to oversee that Work told him that he had Capt. Mitchells Orders to take them, he believes he told Payne this circumstance about two Years past Captn. Mitchell asked Yates whether he knew if those Stones were not replaced, says he does not know whether they were or not Captn. Bazett says that he received an Account from Goody of several barrows of Stones and Dirt which were borrowed, and were afterwards	Chamberlain stated that no Company timber had been used. John Dobson was sworn and read what Payne claimed he had said. He denied telling Payne what Payne had reported. He admitted telling Payne that he had done some work for the billiard house. Robinson had asked him to make four bars, about 14 inches long, for a cellar window, worth about 3s. They were made from Company iron, but Dobson had replaced it from his own iron. He had made the bars at the [...] house and was sure that none of the Company's iron had been used in the building. He had received £5 1s 3d from Captains Mitchell and Bazett for the ironwork he did there. Captain Mitchell asked Dobson whether he had ever ordered him to use four bars of the Company's iron, or to have the work done by any of the Company's men. Dobson stated that he had never received any orders from Mitchell about it. Thomas Yates had heard what Payne said about him. He was sworn and stated that about three years earlier he had been overseer when stones and earth for mortar were collected for a hospital for slaves. Some time afterwards he saw some of the stones taken from where they had been gathered and carried to the billiard house. Goudy, whom Mitchell and Bazett employed to oversee that work, told him he had Mitchell's orders to take them. Yates believed he had told Payne this about two years before. Mitchell asked Yates whether he knew if the stones had been replaced. Yates said he did not know either way. Captain Bazett said he had received an account from Goudy of several barrows of stones and earth that had been borrowed and later replaced. He had paid the workmen employed under Goudy for collecting them. **Interpretations** Dobson's evidence removed the most damaging part of Payne's charge. Payne had claimed that Mitchell personally ordered Company iron to be used. Dobson now swore that the order for the window bars came from Robinson, not Mitchell. The iron had been replaced from his own stock, and Mitchell and Bazett had paid him over £5 for the ironwork. The payment showed the two officers meeting the building's costs from their own pockets, which ran against the picture of a house built at the Company's expense.

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		replaced, and he paid the Workmen for Collecting them who were employed under Goody	Yates's testimony carried the case back some three years, to about 1765. His information had reached Payne roughly two years before Payne raised it. Yates could say only that stones were moved on Goudy's report of Mitchell's orders. He could not say whether they had been replaced. Bazett then supplied the answer: the stones and earth had been borrowed, replaced and paid for. The allegations were old, second-hand and, on the officers' account, already settled. The delay in raising them would naturally lead the Council to ask why Payne had chosen this moment to bring them forward.
355	348	1768 Building declares that there was not any John Dobson being Sworn & hearing read what Payne declared he told him, That he did not tell him what Payne has represented but acknowledges he told him he had done some Work for the Billiard House. That Mr. Robinson had told him to make four Bars about fourteen Inches long for a Cellar Window the value of which was about 3/ which were made of the Company's Iron and replaced the same out of his own Iron which Bars he made at the Billiard House and is Confident that not any of the Company's Iron were used for that Building and further says that he had received of Capt. Mitchell and Bazett, for Iron Work done for that House £5.. 1.. 3 he being asked by Capt. Mitchell whether he had ever given him Orders to use four Bars of the Company's Iron for any Work done at the Billiard House or had ordered him to supply the Work to any of the Company's declares that he never had received any Orders from Capt. Mitchell about it Thomas Yates having heard what Payne had said relative to what he had told him being duly Sworn Deposeth that he was Overseer about this time three Years when Stones and Dirt for Mortar were collected for a Black Hospital that some time after he saw some of those Stones removed from the Place they were gathered and carried to the Billiard House that Goody who was employed by Capt. Mitchell and Bazett to oversee that Work told him that he had Capt. Mitchells Orders to take them, he believes he told Payne this circumstance about two Years past Captn. Mitchell asked Yates whether he knew if those Stones were not replaced, says he does not know whether they were or not Captn. Bazett says that he received an Account from Goody of several barrows of Stones and Dirt which were borrowed, and were afterwards replaced, and he paid the Workmen for Collecting them who were employed under Goody	Chamberlain stated that no Company timber had been used. John Dobson was sworn and read what Payne claimed he had said. He denied telling Payne what Payne had reported. He admitted telling Payne that he had done some work for the billiard house. Robinson had asked him to make four bars, about 14 inches long, for a cellar window, worth about 3s. They were made from Company iron, but Dobson had replaced it from his own iron. He had made the bars at the [...] house and was sure that none of the Company's iron had been used in the building. He had received £5 1s 3d from Captains Mitchell and Bazett for the ironwork he did there. Captain Mitchell asked Dobson whether he had ever ordered him to use four bars of the Company's iron, or to have the work done by any of the Company's men. Dobson stated that he had never received any orders from Mitchell about it. Thomas Yates had heard what Payne said about him. He was sworn and stated that about three years earlier he had been overseer when stones and earth for mortar were collected for a hospital for slaves. Some time afterwards he saw some of the stones taken from where they had been gathered and carried to the billiard house. Goudy, whom Mitchell and Bazett employed to oversee that work, told him he had Mitchell's orders to take them. Yates believed he had told Payne this about two years before. Mitchell asked Yates whether he knew if the stones had been replaced. Yates said he did not know either way. Captain Bazett said he had received an account from Goudy of several barrows of stones and earth that had been borrowed and later replaced. He had paid the workmen employed under Goudy for collecting them. **Interpretations** Dobson's evidence removed the most damaging part of Payne's charge. Payne had claimed that Mitchell personally ordered Company iron to be used. Dobson now swore that the order for the window bars came from Robinson, not Mitchell. The iron had been replaced from his own stock, and Mitchell and Bazett had paid him over £5 for the ironwork. The payment showed the two officers meeting the building's costs from their own pockets, which ran against the picture of a house built at the Company's expense. Yates's testimony carried the case back some three years, to about 1765. His information had reached Payne roughly two years before Payne raised it. Yates could say only that stones were moved on Goudy's report of Mitchell's orders. He could not say whether they had been replaced. Bazett then supplied the answer: the stones and earth had been borrowed, replaced and paid for. The allegations were old, second-hand and, on the officers' account, already settled. The delay in raising them would naturally lead the Council to ask why Payne had chosen this moment to bring them forward.
356	349	1768 Thomas Jones being duly Sworn and asked what he knows	Thomas Jones was sworn and asked what he knew about the lime used at the billiard house, beyond what had already been said. He stated that he

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		relative to the Lime expended about the Billiard House declares, that he was employed with William Brown, White washing the House neither did he know where the Lime came from or whether it was paid for. Other than that William Holbrook Master Mason being Sworn Deposeth that he never made use of any Grounds of Beer for the Billiard House but produced the following Paper viz. July 24th 1768 Thomas Stowers came and said, Master I have something to reveal, which I will do, and declares, that he was part of digging the Stones on the Hill and afterwards was employed, by Capt. Mitchell, to wheel the Stones brought, for the use, of the Hospital for Blacks, and dirt likewise, into the Yard of the Billiard Room Thomas Stowers being Sworn denies that he worked Holbrook that he was employed by Capt. Mitchell to wheel Stones or Dirt brought for the use of the Blacks Hospital into the Billiard House but acknowledges that he had taken a barrow or two of Corner Stones Thomas Payne desired that Holbrook might be asked whether he did not hear Dobson say that Capt. Mitchell ordered him to take four Bars of the Company's Iron & to prefer the Work of the Billiard House to all other. Replies that he heard Dobson say that he had made use of four bars of the Comp. Iron but denies that he heard him say he had Capt. Mitchells Orders for it, or any thing about preferring that Work to any other, being further asked if he was near enough to have heard Dobson say so replies that he was	had worked with William Brown whitewashing the house. He did not know where the lime came from or whether it had been paid for. William Holbrook, the master mason, was sworn and stated that he had never used any beer grounds for the billiard house. He then produced a written note, dated 24 July 1768. It recorded that Thomas Powers had come to him and said he had something to reveal and would do so. Powers had declared that he helped dig stones at the hill. Afterwards Captain Mitchell employed him to wheel the stones gathered for the slaves' hospital, and the earth as well, into the yard of the billiard room. Thomas Powers was sworn. He denied telling Holbrook that Mitchell had employed him to wheel the stones or earth gathered for the slaves' hospital into the billiard house. He admitted that he had taken a barrow or two of cornerstones. Thomas Payne asked that Holbrook be questioned on a further point. Had he not heard Dobson say that Mitchell ordered him to take four bars of the Company's iron and to complete the ironwork for the billiard house? Holbrook replied that he had heard Dobson say he had used four bars of the Company's iron. He denied hearing Dobson say that he had Mitchell's orders for it, or anything about completing the work. Asked further whether he had been near enough to hear Dobson say so, Holbrook replied that he had been. **Interpretations** Holbrook's written note of 24 July 1768 was the one piece of documentary evidence offered in support of Payne's case. The master mason had taken the trouble to write down Powers's statement at the time. Holbrook treated it as a matter that might later need proof. Yet Powers now denied the substance of what the note recorded, admitting only to a barrow or two of cornerstones. A written record made months earlier was set directly against the witness's sworn word. The Council would have to judge which to believe. Payne's own question to Holbrook backfired on him. He hoped Holbrook would confirm that Dobson had spoken of Mitchell's orders. Holbrook instead confirmed only what Dobson had already admitted: four bars of Company iron had been used. He denied any mention of Mitchell. By establishing that he had stood near enough to hear, Holbrook strengthened his own denial. If he had been in earshot and heard nothing of Mitchell, Payne's version lost further ground. Each witness so far had either denied telling Payne what he reported, or reduced the alleged wrong to a small loan later made good. The charge against Mitchell rested more and more on hearsay that the men themselves would not repeat under oath.
357	350	The 12 December Thomas Townsend being Sworn deposeth that he heard Dobson say that he had worked up four Bars of Real Iron for the use of the Billiard House; that when he carried his Bill to Capt. Mitchell amounting to £8.. he cut him off three pounds but denies that he heard Dobson say he had Capt. Mitchells Orders for using that Iron or that he told him to go on with the Work of the Billiard Room in preference to any other On duly weighing and considering the examinations of the several Persons mentioned in that Paper which Serjeant Payne laid this day before Us, We are of opinion that he has not proved any part of his allegations, nor	Thomas Townsend was sworn and stated that he had heard Dobson say he had worked up four bars of rod iron for the billiard house. When Dobson took his bill, for £8, to Captain Mitchell, Mitchell had cut £3 from it. Townsend denied hearing Dobson say that he had Mitchell's orders to use the iron, or that Mitchell had told him to put the billiard room's work ahead of any other. The Council weighed the evidence of everyone named in the paper Sergeant Payne had laid before it that day. It concluded that Payne had proved no part of his allegations and that the Company had suffered no loss of any kind. It judged the whole of his spiteful and impudent accusations to be entirely unjust and without foundation. They had been prompted only by malice and a reckless spirit. Such conduct must be deeply offensive to gentlemen of good character in the Company's service. The

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		that the Company hath in any respect been injured and that therefore the whole of his malevolent and audacious accusations is altogether unjust and without foundation dictated only by a malicious and licentious spirit and as such proceedings must be extremely disgusting to Gentlemen of Character in the Company's Service We think it highly incumbent on Us to discourage such unjust Attempts as well as to prevent the innocent suffering by the insiduous practice of a base designing Man we resolved immediately to dismiss the said Serjeant Payne from the Company's Service and to send him to England by the first opportunity John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Council considered it its clear duty to discourage such unjust attacks and to protect the innocent from the scheming of a base and designing man. It therefore resolved to dismiss Sergeant Payne from the Company's service at once and to send him to England by the first opportunity. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council could have reprimanded Payne or simply dismissed his charges as unproved. Instead it chose the harshest course open to it: dismissal from the Company's service and removal from the island. Its stated reason was deterrence. It wished to discourage any future attack on "gentlemen of character" and to protect the innocent from false accusers. The severity came from the rank of those accused. Payne had charged the engineer and a captain, and by implication the Governor, who had himself lent the timber. The Council treated an unproved accusation by a sergeant against senior officers as a threat to the authority of the whole establishment. The contrast with the case of Captain Kirkpatrick is striking. On 19 July 1768 the Council found that Kirkpatrick had brought false charges against Lieutenant Governor Corneille, and he was only censured. Kirkpatrick kept his captaincy, his seat on the Council and his pay. Now he sat in judgment on a sergeant whose charges had likewise failed, and joined in sending the man out of the island. A false accusation by a councillor against a superior was met with a reprimand. One by a sergeant against officers ended in ruin. The difference lay in rank, not in the offence. The evidence did not wholly clear the builders of the billiard house. Several witnesses admitted that Company iron, stone, timber and a door case had been used and later replaced. Holbrook's note of 24 July 1768 recorded a statement that Powers afterwards withdrew. Townsend's evidence that Mitchell had cut Dobson's bill from £8 to £5 confirmed that the officers paid for the work themselves. The Council chose to treat borrowing and repayment as no injury to the Company. It placed the whole weight of blame on the man who had raised the matter.
358	351	The 19 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of December 1768 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 12 Decem. 1768 Tuesday the 13th Died George Young Inhabitant Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 19th December 1768 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 28 instant an exact signed Account of their number of Cattle each of them have for Slaughter for the year 1769 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	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 December 1768. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 12 December 1768 were read, approved and signed. George Young, an inhabitant, died on Tuesday 13 December 1768. The Council ordered a notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 19 December 1768. It required every planter on the island to send to the Secretary's Office, by 28 December, an exact and signed account of the cattle each held for slaughter in 1769. Each planter would be expected to supply those cattle without fail. If any of the beasts met with an accident, the owner was to send a written report to the Secretary's Office within three days. If he failed to do so, no excuse would be accepted and he would have to supply another beast in its place. The notice further required the planters to send in, by the same date, an account of the horses they kept, listed by type. They were also to report their stocks of sheep and goats and how many sheep they meant to offer for sale. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. **Interpretations** The cattle return set up a system of planned supply for the coming year. Each planter's declared

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		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.	number of beasts for slaughter became a commitment to deliver them to the Company, which needed fresh beef for the garrison, the Castle table and the ships in the road. The rule on accidents closed an obvious loophole. A planter could not later claim a beast had died or fallen from a cliff unless he had reported it within three days. Otherwise he had to replace it from his own herd. The burden of proof lay on the planter, and the Company's meat supply was protected against excuses. The demand for a count of horses by type followed directly from the regulation of 17 October 1768, which allowed only holders of at least ten acres to keep a horse. A full register of horses and their owners would let the Council check who was entitled to keep them and identify those keeping animals unlawfully. The count of sheep and goats, and of the sheep intended for sale, would show how much mutton the island could supply. Mutton was already a regular part of the Castle's table.
359	352	The 19 December Captn. Mitchell this day presented the following Letter viz. To the Worshipfull Jno. Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen As you have already thought proper to express your Resentment at the very extraordinary Accusation preferred against me last Council day by Serjt. Payne, by his immediate Dismission from the service, and by an Order for his being sent to Europe by the first opportunity, without waiting for any Reply or Vindication on my Part, I shall not therefore take up much more of your time by entering into any minute Discussion of the several Accusations he has so industriously collected against me, from the Information of Persons, all of whom I have at different times been Obliged to take Cognizance of and some to dismiss from their Employments, for bad Behaviour, & who were therefore sufficiently disposed to furnish their Contingent towards this Accusation: Such a Discussion is the less necessary, not only because the principal Allegations contained in it were plainly refuted by the very Evidence he brought to support them, but as I had occasion once before to vindicate my Character from the same infamous Accusation, given in to my Honble. Masters by Mr. Bland I shall therefore confine this Address to a bare Recapitulation of the principal charges contained in Serjt. Payne's Paper, with a few Remarks on each of them, in Order to evince to my Honble. Masters the Extreme Falsehood and Malignity of this daring Attack upon my Character, and not by way of Justification to you Gentlemen, who have already sufficiently expressed your opinion of my Innocence and your Resentment at the Persecution I have met with, owing perhaps in Part to a too rigid Discharge of my Duty, as well as to other causes, which I shall find myself more at liberty to explain to my Honble. Masters, on some future Occasion, than I do at present	Captain Mitchell presented a letter to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. Mitchell wrote that the Council had already shown its anger at the extraordinary charge Sergeant Payne brought against him at the last meeting. It had dismissed Payne at once and ordered him sent to Europe by the first opportunity, without waiting for any reply or defence from Mitchell. He would therefore not take up much of the Council's time with a detailed discussion of the many accusations Payne had so busily gathered against him. Payne had drawn them from men whom Mitchell had at various times been obliged to discipline, and some of whom he had dismissed from their posts for bad conduct. Such men were naturally ready to contribute their share to a charge against him. A full discussion was less needed, Mitchell argued, for two reasons. The main allegations had been plainly disproved by the very evidence Payne produced to support them. And Mitchell had once before had to clear his name of the same disgraceful charge, which a Mr Bland had laid before the Court of Directors. He would therefore limit his letter to a brief summary of the main charges in Payne's paper, with a few remarks on each. His purpose was to show the Court of Directors how false and malicious this bold attack on his character had been. He did not write to justify himself to the Council, which had already declared its belief in his innocence and its anger at the provocation he had suffered. That provocation, he suggested, arose partly from his own strictness in carrying out his duty. It also had other causes, which he would feel freer to explain to the Court on some future occasion than he did at present. **Interpretations** Mitchell's letter was written for London more than for the Council. The Council had already cleared him and punished his accuser. But the minutes, Payne's paper and the depositions would all go home to the Court of Directors. A charge of using Company materials for a private billiard house would sit in the record there whatever the island's verdict. Mitchell's account of the charges, entered beside them, was meant to shape how the Directors read the case. The letter revealed that the same accusation had been made before, by a Mr Bland, and sent directly to the Court. A charge that recurred from two different sources was harder to dismiss as the work of one disappointed man. Mitchell's answer was to attack the witnesses' motives. They were men he had disciplined or dismissed, with reason to bear him a grudge. He also hinted at "other causes" he preferred not to

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			name, suggesting that someone else stood behind Payne. Mitchell himself noted that the Council had punished Payne without waiting for any reply from him. The speed of the decision served Mitchell well. But the Council had passed sentence before the accused officer had spoken in his own defence, and the haste might later look like partiality to readers in London.
360	353	1768 The Intention of Serjt. Payne's Accusation was to make it appear, or rather to insinuate, that in the Construction of a Billiard Room, built about three Years ago, at the joint expence of Capt. Bazett and myself, we made use of the Honble. Company's Materials, particularly Lime, Iron Timber and Stones, & sometimes of their Workmen, without leave, and without either paying or Accounting for the same As Capt. Bazett was at the trouble of superintending this Building, & kept a regular Account of the Disbursements on Account of it, which he has now in his possession, & in which the Expence of the Lime, Timber, Iron Work and Stones are particularly ascertained, a bare inspection of this Account will be a sufficient Refutation to this Worshipfull Board, of the infamous Insinuations contained in Serjt. Payne's Paper, I shall therefore only mention, for the information of my Honble. Masters, that it appears there was used in the Roof of the Billiard Room (the Walls being built wholly with Dirt Mortar) the Quantity of Ninety Three Bushels of Lime, which I had leave from the Governor at different times to purchase from the Company, & which was paid for regularly every Quarter, collected by Serjeant Payne himself, & Accounted for by me to Capt. Kirkpatrick the Paymaster, at the end of every Quarter With Regard to the Timber, Captn. Bazett purchased from the Ships what he imagined would be sufficient for the Building, but there being a small Deficiency towards compleating it, I had the Governor's Leave for taking out of the Honble. Company's Stores a piece of Riga Timber & some Deals, which were duly charged & paid for to the Storekeeper, as will appear by his Books, & which was a favour never refused to any Company's Servant, when there was more Timber in Store than was wanting for the service of the Current Year, which was the Case at that time. I ought likewise to mention that some Door Frames & Window Sashes, which were made about that time, for the Purpose of a Black Hospital, which was afterwards laid aside, were lent by the Governor, on condition of being replaced of the same Goodness, which has been long since done, & they now lie unemployed in the Carpenters Shop As to the Iron Work, which was but trifling, it was done (as all the Iron Work of the Island is & must be) in the Armourers Shop, it was done at their Leisure hours, & there was more than a sufficient Quantity of Old Iron given	Mitchell's letter went on to set out the charges. Payne's accusation was meant to show, or at least to suggest, that in building a billiard room some three years earlier, at the joint expense of Captain Bazett and Mitchell, the two officers had used the Company's materials without permission. These were chiefly lime, iron, timber and stone. They were also said to have used the Company's workmen at times, without paying for any of it or accounting for it. Captain Bazett had taken charge of the building and kept a proper account of all the money spent. He still held that account, which set out exactly what had been spent on lime, timber, ironwork and stone. A simple look at it would be enough to show the Council that the shameful suggestions in Payne's paper were false. For the information of the Court of Directors, Mitchell would mention only a few points. The walls of the billiard room were built entirely with earth mortar. Lime was used only for the roof, and the quantity was 23 bushels. The Governor had given him leave at various times to buy it from the Company. It had been paid for regularly every quarter. The money had been collected by Sergeant Payne himself and accounted for by Mitchell to Captain Kirkpatrick, the paymaster, at the end of each quarter. As for the timber, Captain Bazett had bought from the ships what he thought would be enough for the building. A small amount had been lacking to finish it. With the Governor's leave, he had taken a piece of Riga timber and some deals from the Company's stores. These were properly charged and paid to the storekeeper, as the books would show. Such a favour was never refused to any Company servant when the store held more timber than was needed for the year, as it did at that time. Mitchell also mentioned some door frames and window sashes made around then for a hospital for slaves, a plan later set aside. The Governor had lent them on condition that they be replaced with others of the same quality. That had been done long ago, and the replacements now lay unused in the carpenters' shop. The ironwork had been trifling. Like all ironwork on the island, it had to be done in the armourer's shop. It was done in spare hours, and more than enough old iron was given in return. **Interpretations** Mitchell's most telling point was that Payne himself had collected the payments for the lime each quarter. If the lime was paid for through the hands of the accuser, Payne could hardly claim ignorance that it had been bought. His charge that the officers used the Company's lime without paying looked either careless or dishonest. Mitchell also tied the payments to Kirkpatrick's quarterly accounts. Any lime used for the building could therefore be traced in the paymaster's books, which the Council could check for itself. The letter described a regular practice of officers buying surplus materials from the Company's stores with the Governor's leave. Timber, lime and deals were sold to servants when the warehouse held more than the year's needs required. In Mitchell's account, what Payne called theft was a recognised favour, granted openly, charged in the books and paid for. The dispute turned on whether the store records bore

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			that out. The Council's acceptance of Mitchell's version suggests it believed they did. All ironwork had to be done in the armourer's shop because the island had no other forge capable of it. Any private ironwork therefore passed through a Company workshop by necessity. Mitchell's point was that such work was done in spare hours and paid for with old iron of greater value. This was the same custom of private work in the Company's shops that Robinson and Chamberlain had described.
361	354	The 19 December him by Capt. Bazett to compleat what little was wanted. The abominable Falsehood of my having given an Order for four Bars of the Honble. Company's Iron & directed the Work for the Billiard Room to take the lead of every other, appears plainly from the Deposition of the then Armourer himself, from whom I had no Reason to expect Favour, as he was turn'd out of his Employment by the Governor & Council, at my Instance, for incapacity & neglect of duty. The four Bars of Iron mentioned in Payne's Accusation, called by the Armourer Real Bars, were no other than four Pieces of the Old Iron Rails taken down from before the Castle, & were made Use of by the Armourer of his own Accord, & not by any desire of mine With regard to the Stones mentioned by Payne, I remember a few were borrowed from those collected for the Black Hospital, in Order to finish the Billiard Room, as they were not wanted by the Company. I do not at this distance of time recollect the Particular Orders I gave about their being measured out and repaid; probably Payne himself, being the Overseer, was the Person employed for this purpose. Capt. Bazett however, who had more immediately the Direction of the Building, recollects having a written Account given him of the number of Wheel-barrow Loads borrowed, which were afterwards repaid. The whole Value of them could not exceed Forty shillings, Is it at all probable either Capt. Bazett or myself would, in so pitifull a Matter, put it in the power of any one to accuse us of embezzling the Honble. Company's Property I have now gone through the whole of the Accusation, & shall only add that there appears somewhat of a Hardship, that the Author of so daring and scandalous a Paper, who has likewise, I am informed, made his Boast among his acquaintances, of the Insult he intended me, should escape so easily as he has done, by being only discharged the service; which was probably what he wanted, being in desperate circumstances, & his Character utterly lost in this Island; I do not say this for my own sake, but for the sake of Example, it being, I apprehend, of the most dangerous tendency, that the Characters of Gentlemen in the service should be permitted to be attacked & traduced, with a Degree of Impunity, by Persons of Characters notoriously infamous & base, as is the present Accuser, for the truth of which I request the	The old iron had been given to the armourer by Captain Bazett to finish what little was still needed. Payne had made the outrageous false claim that Mitchell ordered four bars of the Company's iron to be used and told the armourer to put the billiard room's work ahead of everything else. The deposition of the armourer at that time plainly disproved it. That man had no reason to favour Mitchell, since the Governor and Council had dismissed him from his post at Mitchell's request for incompetence and neglect of duty. The four bars mentioned in Payne's charge were simply four pieces of the old iron railings taken down from in front of the Castle. The armourer had used them on his own initiative, not at Mitchell's wish. As for the stones Payne mentioned, Mitchell remembered that a few had been borrowed from those gathered for the slaves' hospital to finish the billiard room, since the Company did not need them. After so long a time he could not recall the exact orders he gave for measuring them out and replacing them. Payne himself, as overseer, was probably the man employed to do it. Captain Bazett, who had more direct charge of the building, remembered receiving a written account of the number of wheelbarrow loads borrowed, which had later been replaced. The whole value could not have been more than 40s. It was hardly likely that either Bazett or Mitchell would give anyone the chance to accuse them of embezzling the Company's property over so trivial a matter. Mitchell had now dealt with the whole of the accusation. He added only that it seemed somewhat unjust for the author of so bold and scandalous a paper to escape as lightly as he had, with mere dismissal from the service. He had been told that Payne had boasted among his friends of the insult he meant to offer Mitchell. Dismissal was probably what Payne wanted, since his circumstances were desperate and his reputation on the island entirely lost. Mitchell said this not for his own sake but for the sake of example. He thought it most dangerous that the characters of gentlemen in the service could be attacked and slandered without punishment by men of openly disgraceful and low character, such as the present accuser. He asked the Governor and Council to bear witness to the truth of this in the most **Interpretations** Mitchell turned the armourer's evidence to his own advantage. The man who had made the window bars was the same armourer the Council had dismissed at Mitchell's request. He was the witness least likely to protect Mitchell. Yet under oath he had denied receiving any order from him. Mitchell presented that as the strongest proof of his innocence. Testimony from a hostile witness carried more weight with readers in London than any favourable account from a friend. Mitchell judged the Council's sentence too lenient, even though it had just dismissed and banished his accuser. He argued that Payne, with his debts and his reputation ruined, may have wanted to leave the island all along. Being sent home at the Company's expense would then be a release rather than a punishment. Mitchell wanted a sentence severe

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		Governor and Council will be pleased to give their Testimony, in the	enough to deter any future attack on officers. His appeal for "example" echoed the Council's own language on 12 December 1768 and pressed it further. The whole quarrel, Mitchell insisted, concerned stones worth no more than 40s, borrowed and repaid. By stating so small a figure he made the charge of embezzlement look absurd. He also suggested that no officer of standing would risk his reputation for so trivial a sum.
362	355	1768 most publick Manner I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedt. and most humble Servant (signed) Ar. Mitchell Island St. Helena 19 December 1768 Mr. Willm. Beale this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Willm. Beale Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land situate in the East Division of this Island adjoining to the Land of Samuel Sharpe's Orphans, which piece of Land would be very convenient to the said Orphans with regard to shortening their Fence; Your Petitioner therefore requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant them a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Willm. Beale 19th Decr. 1768 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed	Mitchell asked the Governor and Council to give that testimony in the most public way. He signed the letter at St Helena on 19 December 1768. William Beale presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. A piece of the Company's waste land lay in the East Division next to the land of the orphans of Samuel Thorpe. It would suit the orphans well, since it would shorten their fences. Beale therefore asked the Governor and Council to grant them a lease of it. He signed the petition on 19 December 1768. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. **Interpretations** Mitchell asked for a public testimony, not merely an entry in the minutes. A declaration made openly by the Governor and Council would restore his standing on the island, where Payne's charge had evidently been talked about. It would also give him a document he could send to the Court of Directors to answer both Payne and the earlier accusation by Bland. An officer's reputation was his main asset in the Company's service. Mitchell meant to have his clearing made as conspicuous as the charge had been. Beale's petition was made on behalf of orphans, as Desfountain's had been for the Gurling children. Beale was probably acting as their guardian or executor, though the record did not say so. His request to shorten the orphans' fences repeated the argument other planters had used that autumn. Adding a strip of waste land could straighten an awkward boundary and save the cost of a longer fence. The Council again ordered an inspection before deciding, as it had with every new claim on waste land since 17 October 1768.
363	356	The 19 December The Governor and Mr. Purling having viewed the Land Petitioned for by Messrs. Matthew Bazett and John Desfountain in September last finds that letting the same will be of no inconveniency either to the Honble. Company or Neighbourhood and by dividing the said Land both their conveniency's may be answered Mr. Bazett for fencing and Mr. Desfountain for Water, & as the said Land is barren and very indifferent we think it not worth above 1/6 p Acre We this day Executed a Lease to Lieut. Sol. St. Maurice for a piece of Ground in James's Valley containing 60 feet in Width and 16 feet in Depth at 5/ p Ann. And likewise renewed a Lease to Lieut. Saml. Desfountain for a piece of Ground in James's Valley containing in depth on the South 40 feet and on the North 38 feet & in breadth on the East 9 feet & on the West 11 feet at 5/ p Ann. Counted and examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of November last, which is as follows viz.	The Governor and Purling had inspected the land that Matthew Bazett and John Desfountain had asked for in September. They found that letting it would cause no inconvenience to the Company or the neighbours. By dividing the land, both men's needs could be met: Bazett's for fencing and Desfountain's for water. Because the ground was barren and very poor, they judged it worth no more than 1s 6d an acre. The Council that day completed a lease to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice for a piece of ground in James's Valley, 60 feet wide and 16 feet deep, at a rent of 5s a year. It also renewed a lease to Lieutenant Samuel Desfountain for a piece of ground in James's Valley. The plot measured 40 feet deep on the south side and 8 feet on the north, and 9 feet wide on the east and 11 feet on the west. The rent was 3s a year. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of November. **Interpretations** The Governor and Purling resolved the two claims by dividing the land according to what each man needed from it. Bazett wanted part of it to complete his fencing. Desfountain wanted access to water. On St Helena, where streams ran in deep guts and many farms lacked a reliable supply, a share of ground reaching a spring or watercourse could matter more than its acreage. Splitting the plot gave each claimant the part that served his purpose, rather than

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			granting the whole to one and leaving the other without. The rent of 1s 6d an acre was the lowest the Council had set that autumn, below the 2s charged for the barren slopes granted in November. The scale now ran from 5s for good grassland down to 1s 6d for the poorest ground. The Governor took part in this inspection himself, alongside Purling. That reflected the standing of the two petitioners, the secretary and an executor of an established family. Desfountain's renewed plot, with its four uneven sides, showed how irregular town ground in James's Valley had become. Plots were fitted between earlier holdings, the street and the valley walls, and each boundary was recorded separately in the lease.
364	357	Cash Dr. 1768 Novem. 1st To Balance remaining£ 10353 12 2½ £ 10353 12 2½ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Novr. 30th By Balance remaining viz. In Specie£ 9813 17 2½ In Cash Notes 539 15 - 10353 12 2½ £ 10353 12 2½ John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The Company's cash account for November 1768 again showed no money received or paid during the month. Received 1 November 1768, balance remaining, £10,353 12s 2½d Total, £10,353 12s 2½d Paid 30 November 1768, balance remaining in coin, £9,813 17s 2½d 30 November 1768, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £10,353 12s 2½d Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** For a second month running the treasury stood exactly as it had at the close of September. On 21 November 1768 the Council had ordered the damaged stores to be sold at public auction for ready money the following Monday. No proceeds appeared in November's cash. The money from that sale, like the warehouse's ordinary takings, was evidently held by the storekeeper and paid into the treasury only when his quarterly account was closed. The treasury's monthly count showed only the large movements: the paymaster's quarterly advance, rents, bills of exchange and payments from ships. Small daily receipts passed through the hands of the officers who collected them.
365	358	The 2 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d day of January 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Govern. Mr. Matthew Purling of Council Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick Absent being Sick The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 19 Decemr. 1768 Wednesday the 21st Decemr. Died Danl. Fenn Matross Wednesday the 28 Do. Do. James Harris Centinel Friday the 30 Do. Do. Isaac Burden Do. Saturday the 31st Do. Do. Charles Montague Do. We this day received the following Letter from the Engineer viz. To the Worshipfull the Governor &ca. and Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In the Letter I had last the Honour of writing into the Board, relative to the Progress then made in the Fortifications, and the future employment of the Honble. Companys Workmen, of Date the 4 of October last, I acquainted you, that, having compleated the new Battery at Banks's, having also wrought up all the Materials that had been collected	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 2 January 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling present. Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was absent through illness. The minutes of the meeting of 19 December 1768 were read, approved and signed. Four deaths were recorded. Daniel Finn, a matross, died on Wednesday 21 December 1768. James Harris, a private, died on Wednesday 28 December. Isaac Burden, a private, died on Friday 30 December, and Charles Montague, a private, on Saturday 31 December. The Council received a letter from the engineer, addressed to the Governor and Council. Mitchell recalled his earlier letter of 4 October 1768 about the progress of the fortifications and the future employment of the Company's workmen. In it he had reported that the new battery at Banks's was complete. All the materials gathered for the very important work at Munden's Point had been used up. Preparations had also been made to build the defences of Lemon Valley, following the plan already shown to the Council and approved. He had then been about to begin work at Lemon Valley, while also gathering a second stock of materials to carry the battery at Munden's Point further forward. **Interpretations** Four soldiers died within eleven days at the turn of the year. Daniel Finn appeared on the September

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		towards the Construction of the very important Work at Mundens Point, and Preparations being likewise made for carrying into Execution the Defences of Lemon Valley, agreable to the Plan which had before been shewn, and approved of by You, I was then about to commence the Construction of the last-mentioned Work, in carrying on which, and in amassing a second Collection of Materials, towards the farther Progress of Mundens Point Battery,	roll among the Artillery Company's matrosses. James Harris and Charles Montague were privates in the Second and Third Companies. Combined with Kirkpatrick's renewed absence through illness, the cluster of deaths suggests sickness was spreading through the garrison. The record did not name a cause. The Council noted the deaths in order without comment, as it did every month. Mitchell opened his letter by restating his October report before turning to fresh business. Setting out what had already been finished and approved established the starting point for whatever he now wished to propose. It also reminded the Council, a fortnight after Payne's charges, that the engineer's works were proceeding to an agreed plan.
366	359	1769 the Employment of the Workmen, at the Fortifications, would principally consist, during the three Months then ensuing, which are now expired. I have now Gentlemen, to inform You, that in Conformity with the above Disposition of the Workmen, the greatest part of them have been employed, during the last three Months, in carrying on the Defences of Lemon Valley, which are now so far advanced, as to give me a prospect of compleating the whole of that Line, with its Ditch and Glacis, during the Course of the present Month, with Exception to the Platforms for the Guns, the laying of which it is necessary to defer for some time, in order to give the new formed Rampart of that Work time to settle. Besides this, great Labour has been bestowed, during the whole of last Quarter, in blowing away, and reducing to a Level, an immense Quantity of Rock, in order to form the Platform of the Battery at Munden's Point, which likewise answered the purpose of procuring Stones for its Construction; of which, as well as of all the other Materials for building, so large a Quantity has been collected, as will enable me to compleat the whole of this principal Work, without Interruption, as soon as Lemon Valley shall be finally accomplished. As the Completion of Munden's Point Battery, is the Period fixed for my Departure from this Settlement, being the only Work of Consequence remaining to compleat the Defences of this Island, I shall therefore lose no time in forwarding this principal Work; and hope to have a very considerable Progress made in its Construction, against the Expiration of the present Quarter. The confined Situation not permitting the whole Number of Workmen at present employed on the Fortifications, to be employed in this Work solely, it rests therefore with this Board to determine, as soon as Lemon Valley Defences shall be compleated, whether it will be most eligible, and most for the Interest of our Honble. Masters, to dismiss part of the Military now employed on the Fortifications, & employ the remaining Part solely at Munden's Point, which will be attended by an immediate Diminution of Expence. Or to continue the whole Number now employed, by carrying on the other Work	Mitchell had explained in October that, during the following three months, the workmen would mainly be employed on those tasks. That period had now ended. He reported that, as planned, most of the workmen had spent the last three months on the defences of Lemon Valley. The work was now so far advanced that he expected to finish the whole line, with its ditch and glacis, during the present month. The only exception was the platforms for the guns. These would have to wait for some time, so that the newly built rampart could settle. Besides this, a great deal of labour had gone into blasting away and levelling a huge mass of rock throughout the last quarter, to form the platform of the battery at Munden's Point. The work had also supplied stone for building the battery. A large stock of that stone, and of all the other building materials, had been gathered. It would allow him to complete the whole of this main work without a break as soon as Lemon Valley was finished. The completion of the battery at Munden's Point had been fixed as the time of Mitchell's departure from the island. It was the only work of importance still needed to complete the island's defences. He would therefore lose no time in pressing it forward and hoped to make very considerable progress by the end of the present quarter. The site at Munden's Point was too cramped for all the workmen now on the fortifications to work there at once. Once the Lemon Valley defences were finished, it would be for the Council to choose between two courses. It could discharge part of the soldiers now employed on the fortifications and keep the rest working only at Munden's Point, which would bring an immediate saving. Or it could keep the whole number employed by going on with the other work still to be done, the rebuilding of the two demi-bastions in James's Valley, alongside Munden's Point. That way the remaining work on the island's defences would **Interpretations** Mitchell laid a clear choice before the Council instead of deciding it himself. Discharging part of the soldiers from the works would cut costs at once, since every man on the fortifications drew extra daily pay on top of his military wage. Keeping them all at work on the demi-bastions in James's Valley as well as Munden's Point would cost more each quarter but finish the island's defences sooner. The engineer's role was to set out the options and their consequences. Weighing economy against speed was a matter of policy for the Council and, through it, for the Court of Directors. The letter showed the order in which the works were being carried through. A newly built rampart of earth and rubble had to settle before heavy guns could be mounted on it, or the platforms would crack and tilt under the weight and recoil. The glacis was the gentle slope of earth outside the ditch, cleared so

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		remaining, namely the rebuilding the two Demi-Bastions in James's Valley, in Conjunction with that of Munden's Point, whereby the Completion of what remains to be done to the Defences of the Island,	that attackers approaching the line would be exposed to fire. At Munden's Point the blasting served two purposes. It levelled the cliff-top for the gun platform and quarried the stone to build it. Mitchell's departure had been tied to the completion of Munden's Point, which he expected around the middle of 1769. With the engineer's stay limited, the Council had reason to finish as much of the defences as possible before he left. That argued for keeping the full workforce, whatever the extra cost.
367	360	The 2 January will be the sooner accomplished I have the Honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servant (signed) Ar. Mitchell Island St. Helena 2 January 1769 We are well convinced that the Works the last Quarter have been prosecuted with all the diligence and application possible & likewise are of opinion that as soon as Lemon Valley is Compleated it will be most conducive to the Honorable Company's Interest to set about the two Demi Bastions in James's Valley and to employ such Men thereon as the Engineer thinks that he has no occasion for at Mundens Point, and gave him directions to prosecute those two Works together accordingly We this day appointed Mr. George Bazett Writer Clerk of the Works at 1/6 p day the allowance Thomas Payne late Clerk had for that employment Whereas some of the Inhabitants have had a Claim on the Honble. Company a long time past for Lime on Account of Labour sent to burn Lime for which they were to have according to Agreement one Bushel of Lime for each Days Labour, and the Engineer informing Us that there is a sufficient quantity now burnt over and above what will be	The work, Mitchell concluded, would be finished all the sooner. He signed the letter at St Helena on 2 January 1769. The Council was fully satisfied that the works had been carried on during the last quarter with every possible diligence and effort. It judged that, once Lemon Valley was finished, the Company's interests would be best served by starting on the two demi-bastions in James's Valley. Any men the engineer did not need at Munden's Point would be put to work on them. The Council instructed Mitchell to carry on the two works together. The Council appointed George Bazett, a writer, as clerk of the works at 1s 6d a day. This was the same allowance Thomas Payne had received in that post. Some of the inhabitants had long held a claim on the Company for lime, owed for labour they had sent to burn it. Under the agreement, they were to receive one bushel of lime for each day's labour. The engineer reported that enough lime had been burned beyond what would be needed at once **Interpretations** The Council chose the faster and costlier of the two courses Mitchell had offered. It kept the whole workforce employed by starting the demi-bastions in James's Valley alongside Munden's Point, rather than discharging part of the soldiers to save money. Its stated reason was the Company's interest. With Mitchell's departure fixed for the completion of Munden's Point, finishing both works while the engineer remained made sense. The Council's warm opening praise of his diligence, less than a month after Payne's accusations, also served as a public mark of its confidence in him. The clerkship Payne had lost went at once to George Bazett, at the same rate of pay. George Bazett had been made a writer on 25 July 1768 and belonged to the same family as Matthew Bazett, the secretary, and Captain Henry Bazett, who had built the billiard house with Mitchell. The post that had given Payne his view of the works' materials and accounts thus passed to a member of the family whose captain had been named in the case. The Council saw nothing improper in the appointment. The inhabitants' claim for lime showed the Company paying for labour in kind. Planters had sent men, probably their slaves, to burn lime at the Company's kilns, and were owed a bushel of lime for each day's work rather than wages. Payment in lime suited both sides. The Company saved coin, and the planters received a building material they could not easily make for themselves.
368	361	1769 immediately required for the Fortifications, We Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 2d January 1769 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island that have any Claims on the Honble. Company for Lime, that they are hereby	The engineer reported that more lime had been burned than the fortifications needed at once. The Council therefore ordered a notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 2 January 1769. It required every inhabitant with a claim on the Company for lime to send an authenticated account of it to the Secretary's Office by the following Monday. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. Governor John Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes.

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		required to send an Authentick Account of the same on or before Monday next to the Secretary's Office Per Order of Council (signed) Matthew Bazett Secy. John Skottowe Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of January 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 2 Jany. 1769 The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of December last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 9 January 1769. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 2 January 1769 were read, approved and signed. The plantation account for the quarter, together with the gunner's and steward's accounts for December, was presented. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. **Interpretations** The Council paid off the lime debt only once the engineer confirmed a surplus beyond the needs of the fortifications. Settling the inhabitants' claims earlier would have drawn on lime the works still required. Waiting until the kilns had produced more than the batteries could use let the Company meet its obligation without slowing the building. The short deadline of one week and the demand for authenticated accounts would then fix the total owed. Only claims properly supported could be paid from the surplus. Kirkpatrick had returned to the Board after his absence through illness on 2 January 1769. The Council was back at its full strength of three. It needed all three members to approve the quarter's accounts and carry on business with authority.
369	362	The 9 January Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. from the 1st of October to the 31st December 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 Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Asses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remg. 1st Octr.: Neat Cattle Bulls 6, Neat Cattle Cows 120, Neat Cattle Calves 92, Neat Cattle Yearlings 42, Neat Cattle Heifers 26, Neat Cattle Steers 71, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 375, Sheep Ewes 368, Sheep Weathers 167, Sheep Lambs 87, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 634, Goats Ewes 164, Goats Weathers 67, Goats Kids 41, Goats Rams 10, Goats Total 282, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 7, Hogs Pigs 6, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Horses Horses 4, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 10, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 135, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 38, Poultry Geese 7 Encreas.: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 19, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 19, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 58, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 58, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 54, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 54, 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 Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 62, Poultry Ducks 20, Poultry Turkeys 35, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 6, Neat Cattle Cows 120, Neat Cattle Calves 111, Neat Cattle Yearlings 42, Neat Cattle Heifers 26, Neat Cattle Steers 71, Neat Cattle Oxen 18, Neat Cattle Total 394, Sheep Ewes 368, Sheep Weathers 167, Sheep Lambs 145, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 692, Goats Ewes 164, Goats Weathers 67, Goats Kids 95, Goats Rams 10, Goats Total 336, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 7, Hogs Pigs 6, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 11, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 197, Poultry Ducks 44, Poultry Turkeys 73, Poultry Geese 7	Account of the Company's stock of cattle and other animals from 1 October to 31 December 1768 Remaining on 1 October 1768 Cattle: 6 bulls, 120 cows, 92 calves, 42 yearlings, 26 heifers, 71 steers, 18 oxen, total 375 Sheep: 368 ewes, 167 wethers, 87 lambs, 12 rams, total 634 Goats: 164 nannies, 67 wethers, 41 kids, 10 billies, total 282 Pigs: 2 sows, 7 shoats, 6 piglets, 1 boar, total 16 Horses: 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 Asses: 1 jack, total 1 Poultry: 135 fowls, 24 ducks, 38 turkeys, 7 geese Increase during the quarter Cattle: 19 calves, total 19 Sheep: 58 lambs, total 58 Goats: 54 kids, total 54 Horses: 1 horse, total 1 Poultry: 62 fowls, 20 ducks, 35 turkeys, 0 geese Total Cattle: 6 bulls, 120 cows, 111 calves, 42 yearlings, 26 heifers, 71 steers, 18 oxen, total 394 Sheep: 368 ewes, 167 wethers, 145 lambs, 12 rams, total 692 Goats: 164 nannies, 67 wethers, 95 kids, 10 billies, total 336 Pigs: 2 sows, 7 shoats, 6 piglets, 1 boar, total 16 Horses: 5 horses, 6 mares, total 11 Asses: 1 jack, total 1 Poultry: 197 fowls, 44 ducks, 73 turkeys, 7 geese Killed for the Company's table Cattle: 1 calf, total 1 Sheep: 2 ewes, 31 wethers, 14 lambs, total 47 Goats: 6 kids, total 6 Poultry: 72 fowls, 14 turkeys Killed for the market and the table Cattle: 2 heifers, total 2 Killed for the market and the hospital Sheep: 28 ewes, total 28 Goats: 2 nannies, 4 wethers, total 6 Killed for the slaves Cattle: 1 cow, 1 ox, total 2 Goats: 2 nannies, 13 wethers, total 15 Goats shot Goats: 5 nannies, 1 kid, total 6 Died Cattle: 1 cow, 1 calf, 3 yearlings, 1 steer, total 6 Sheep: 4 ewes, 2 wethers, total 6 Goats: 3 nannies, 4 kids, total 7

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		Kil. for the Table: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 31, Sheep Lambs 14, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 47, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 6, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 6, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 72, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 14, Poultry Geese 0 Kil. for the Markt. & Table: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 2, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Kill. for the Markt. & Hospital: 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 28, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 28, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Weathers 4, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 6, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Do. for the Slaves: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Weathers 13, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 15, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Goats Shot: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 5, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 6, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses 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 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 6, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 2, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 3, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 4, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 7, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 4, Hogs Pigs 3, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 7, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 13, Poultry Ducks 7, Poultry Turkeys 9, Poultry Geese 0 Remg. 31 Decr.: Neat Cattle Bulls 6, Neat Cattle Cows 118, Neat Cattle Calves 109, Neat Cattle Yearlings 39, Neat Cattle Heifers 24, Neat Cattle Steers 70, Neat Cattle Oxen 17, Neat Cattle Total 383, Sheep Ewes 334, Sheep Weathers 134, Sheep Lambs 131, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 611, Goats Ewes 152, Goats Weathers 50, Goats Kids 84, Goats Rams 10, Goats Total 296, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 3,	Pigs: 4 shoats, 3 piglets, total 7 Poultry: 13 fowls, 7 ducks, 9 turkeys Remaining on 31 December 1768 Cattle: 6 bulls, 118 cows, 109 calves, 39 yearlings, 24 heifers, 70 steers, 17 oxen, total 383 Sheep: 334 ewes, 134 wethers, 131 lambs, 12 rams, total 611 Goats: 152 nannies, 50 wethers, 84 kids, 10 billies, total 296 Pigs: 2 sows, 3 shoats, 3 piglets, 1 boar, total 9 Horses: 5 horses, 6 mares, total 11 Asses: 1 jack, total 1 Poultry: 112 fowls, 37 ducks, 50 turkeys, 7 geese Slaves born: 1 boy, named Jupiter Yams used for the slaves, 43,305 [...] Yams used for the stock, 5,100 [...] Total yams used, 48,405 [...] John Worrall, the overseer, signed the account. **Interpretations** The birth of a slave child was entered at the foot of the livestock account, beneath the cattle, sheep and poultry. The Company treated its slaves as property to be counted alongside its herds. A child born to one of its slave women was recorded as an increase of stock, in the same ledger and by the same overseer who counted the calves and lambs. The account showed how unequally the Company's meat was shared out. In the quarter, 47 sheep, 6 kids, 72 fowls and 14 turkeys were killed for the Castle table. Only two cattle and 15 goats were killed for the slaves. The slaves' staple was yams, more than 43,000 units of which were issued in three months, with salt Bengal meat from the stores. Fresh mutton and poultry went almost entirely to the officials' table, the market and the hospital. The flocks and herds were large for so small an island, with nearly 400 cattle, over 600 sheep and almost 300 goats. Losses from death were modest, but the overall numbers of sheep and goats fell during the quarter because slaughter outpaced the lambing and kidding. The goats shot were wild animals running loose on the Company's land. Their number was recorded separately from those deliberately killed for food.

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		Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 9, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 11, Asses Asses 1, Asses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 112, Poultry Ducks 37, Poultry Turkeys 50, Poultry Geese 7 Slaves Born 1 Boy named Pepper Yams exp. for the Slaves 43.305 Bad Do. Do. for the Stock 5.100 48.405 (signed) Jno. Worrall Overseer	
370	363	1769 Artillery Stores expended in December 1768 Powder expended in Sundry Services 231 lb. 3 oz. Tallow for the Long Boats 11 lb. Do. for the Castle 6 lb. Do. for the Stores at Mundens Point 3 lb. Do. for Gun Carriages at the Main Fort 8 lb. Bulls & Barrels for Mitchel's Line 3 lb. Linstocks without Cocks 3 Lead Ball to shoot Goats 2 lb. 2 oz. Handspikes for the Fortification at Lemon Valley 4 Do. expended in the Line 2 Sconces Do. Do. 1 Copper Cloads for Gun Carriages 36 Cartridge Paper for the Rocks 22 Qrs. Guns expended from the Curtaine 2 lbs. 16 Carriages for Do. 16 Bolts for Do. 16 Levers for Do. 32 (signed) Ar. Mitchell Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Compys. Table in December 1768 2 Bottles Port Wine " 3 - 12 Do. Lisbon " [...] 6 Do. Mountain " 9 - 12 Do. Beer " 2 6 24 Gall. Arr. 6 " - 148 lb. Beef 3 1 8 208 Mutton 4 6 8 3 Lambs 1 10 - 3 Turkeys " 15 - Carrd. Over£ 17 5 10	Artillery stores used in December 1768 Powder used in various services, 231 pounds 2 ounces Tallow for the longboats, 11 pounds Tallow for the carts, 6 pounds Tallow for the sheers at Munden's Point, 3 pounds Tallow for the gun carriages at the [...] work, 8 pounds [...] at Mitchell's Line, 5 pounds Linstocks without cocks, 3 Lead ball for shooting goats, 2 pounds 2 ounces Handspikes for the fortification at Lemon Valley, 4 Handspikes used on the Line, 2 Sponges used on the Line, 1 Copper cleats for gun carriages, 36 Cartridge paper for the [...], 22 quires Guns [...] from the curtain, 2 [...], 16 Carriages for the same guns, 16 Bolts for the same guns, 16 Levers for the same guns, 32 Archibald Mitchell signed the account. Sundries used at the Company's table in December 1768 2 bottles of port wine, £0 3s 0d 12 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 18s 0d 6 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 9s 0d 12 bottles of beer, £0 2s 6d 24 gallons of [...], £6 0s 0d 148 pounds of beef, £3 1s 8d 208 pounds of mutton, £4 6s 8d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d Carried forward, £17 5s 10d **Interpretations** The 16 guns taken from the curtain, together with 16 carriages, 16 sets of bolts and 32 levers, marked a major shift of artillery during December. The curtain was the straight stretch of wall between two bastions. The Council had agreed on 2 January 1769 to rebuild the two demi-bastions in James's Valley. Moving the guns off that line was the first step, clearing the wall for rebuilding and allowing the pieces to be remounted elsewhere. Each gun needed its own carriage, its bolts and a pair of levers to work it into position. A linstock was a forked staff holding a lighted slow match, used to fire a cannon from a safe distance. Those listed "without cocks" lacked the clamp that held the match in place. The tallow issued for the sheers at Munden's Point greased the hoisting gear used to raise stone and guns on the cliff there. The copper cleats were fittings on the gun carriages to which the tackle was made fast. Copper did not rust in the salt air. The mutton for the Company's table in December, 208 pounds, matched the sheep recorded as killed for the table in the plantation account for the quarter. Most of the Castle's fresh meat came from the Company's own flocks and herds.

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371	364	The 9 January Brought Over£ 17 5 10 12 Fowls " 18 - 31 lb. Butter 1 11 - 100 Candy 2 1 8 300 Flour 2 16 3 £ 24 12 11 Mr. Purling Reports that he has viewed the two pieces of Land Petitioned for by John Robinson and William Beale, and thinks that letting the said Land will not be prejudicial either to the Honble. Company or the Neighbourhood, That as both the said parcels of Land are not only very Steep, but in part Rocky and barren; He is of opinion that a Rent of One Shilling and Sixpence p Acre adequate to the Value thereof That there is a small Slip of Land containing about half an Acre part of the Land petitioned for by William Beale adjoining to the Land of Mr. John Desfountain, who upon my viewing the above Land requested I would represent to the Governor and Council that it would be very convenient to him, if they would be pleased to allow him to take in the said small piece of Land merely for the Advantage of Fencing, on which Account Mr. Purling thinks Mr. Desfountain has a better plea thereto than the Petitioner William Beale Jany. the 9th 1769 Upon which we Agreed to let the said Lands at 1/6 p Acre, & likewise to grant Mr. John Desfountain a Lease for the small Slip of Land Mr. Purling mentions upon the same terms Mr. James Whaley this day presented the following Petition viz.	The account of sundries used at the Company's table in December continued from a running total of £17 5s 10d. Brought forward, £17 5s 10d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 31 pounds of butter, £1 11s 0d 100 pounds of sugar candy, £2 1s 8d 300 pounds of flour, £2 16s 3d Total, £24 12s 11d Purling reported that he had inspected the two pieces of land John Robinson and William Beale had asked for. Letting them would harm neither the Company nor the neighbours. Both plots were very steep, and parts of them were rocky and barren, so he judged a rent of 1s 6d an acre to be a fair value. A small strip of about half an acre, part of the land Beale had asked for, adjoined John Desfountain's land. While Purling was inspecting the ground, Desfountain asked him to tell the Governor and Council that the strip would be very useful to him. He wanted to take it in purely for the sake of his fencing. For that reason Purling thought Desfountain had a better claim to it than Beale. The report was dated 9 January 1769. The Council agreed to let both pieces of land at 1s 6d an acre. It also granted John Desfountain a lease of the small strip on the same terms. James Whaley presented a petition. **Interpretations** The Council did not simply grant Beale everything he had asked for. It took half an acre out of the land Beale had requested for the Thorpe orphans and gave it to Desfountain, who had not petitioned but had spoken to Purling on the ground. The reason was fencing, the test the Council had applied to every waste-land claim that autumn. The strip mattered more for closing Desfountain's boundary than for adding to the orphans' holding. A neighbour's informal request made during an inspection was enough to change how the land was divided, which showed how much weight the Council gave to the councillor's own view of the ground. The rent of 1s 6d an acre matched the lowest rate the Council had set, on 19 December 1768 for the poor ground divided between Matthew Bazett and Desfountain. Steep, rocky slopes in the East Division were valued in the same way as the barren plots in the West. Purling's inspections were turning the island's waste land into a graded rent roll, with each plot priced by its quality.
372	365	1769 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor and Council &ca. The humble Petition of James Whaley Sheweth That your Worships Petitioner having a House and eleven Acres of Leasehold Land of his property, and is willing to dispose of the same unto Mr. William Hayes Senr. Innholder would be glad if your Worship and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Council will grant him the Liberty of disposing of the same unto the above William Hayes. And your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever Pray (signed) James Whaley Granted Mr. Simon Whaley this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Simon Whaley Sheweth	James Whaley petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He owned a house and 11 acres of leasehold land and wished to sell them to William Hayes senior, an innkeeper. He asked the Governor and Council for permission to make the sale. The Council granted it. Simon Whaley also presented a petition to the Governor and Council. A piece of the Company's waste land lay next to his own land in the West Division of the island. He wished to take it and asked the Governor and Council to **Interpretations** Whaley could not sell his house and land without the Council's leave, even though he called them his property. The land was held on lease from the Company, and a leaseholder had no right to pass it to a buyer of his own choosing. Requiring consent let the Council approve each new tenant and keep the rent roll accurate. It could also block a sale to anyone it judged unfit to hold Company land. The buyer, William Hayes, was one of the five men allowed to keep a punch house when the Council cut their number on 4 July 1768. An innkeeper with a licensed house in Jamestown was now buying a country holding of 11 acres. The size

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		That there is a piece of the Honble. Company's Waste Land adjoining your Petitioners Land lying in the West Division of this Island, which he is desirous of hiring humbly request that your Worship and Council	mattered. Under the rule of 17 October 1768, only a holder of at least ten acres could keep a horse, so the purchase gave Hayes that right as well as a farm.
373	366	The 9 January will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Simon Whaley 9th Jany. 1769 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed Agreable to the Advertizement published on Monday last the following Persons brought in their Accounts of Lime due to them from the Honble. Company viz. The Honble. Compy. to Elizth. Purling Dr. Sent to the Lime Kiln in Sandy Bay by Two in the Year 1742 60 days Labour. Work, for which she was to have 30 Bushels of Lime Bushels 30 Recd. at times in part 5 due 25 Bushels Do. Eliz. Purling The Honble. Compy. to James Greentree To 24 Bushels of Lime in Consideration of 24 days Work of my Blacks of which I received 6 Bushels remaining 18 Bushels (signed) James Greentree The Honorable Company To the Estate of John Bazett Decd. Dr. To 60 days Labourers Work in the Year 1742 at the Lime Kiln at Sandy Bay for which the Company were to give a Bushel of Lime for each days Work 60 Bushels Recd. to the best of my knowledge since 8 Do. due Bushels 52 (signed) Mattw. Bazett	Simon Whaley asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of the land. He signed the petition on 9 January 1769. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. In answer to the notice published the previous Monday, the following people submitted their accounts of lime owed to them by the Company. Owed by the Company to Elizabeth Purling Labourers sent by her to the lime kiln at Sandy Bay in 1742, 30 days' work, for which she was to receive 30 bushels of lime Received at various times in part payment, 5 bushels Due, 25 bushels The account was signed on her behalf by Purling. Owed by the Company to James Greentree 24 bushels of lime for 24 days' work by his slaves Received, 6 bushels Due, 18 bushels Greentree signed the account. Owed by the Company to the estate of the late John Bazett 60 days of labourers' work at the lime kiln at Sandy Bay in 1742, for which the Company was to give 1 bushel of lime for each day's work, 60 bushels Received since, as far as known, 8 bushels Due, 52 bushels Matthew Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The claims went back to 1742, more than 26 years earlier. The Company had then hired the planters' slaves and labourers to burn lime at Sandy Bay, promising a bushel of lime for each day's work. It had paid only a fraction since. The debt had passed down to widows and heirs, as with John Bazett's estate. The Council honoured it now only because Mitchell's kilns had produced a surplus beyond the needs of the fortifications. Payment in kind had let the Company put off settling for a generation, until it had lime to spare. Two of the three claimants were close to the Council itself. Elizabeth Purling's account was signed for her by Purling. The Bazett claim was put in by Matthew Bazett, the secretary who had issued the notice. The families that ran the island's government were also among its oldest creditors. They stood first in line when the Company finally had the means to pay.
374	367	1769 The Honorable Company To the Estate of the late Francis Wrangham Senr. Decd. Dr. To 90 Days Work at the Lime Kiln in the Year 1742 which was to be paid in Lime at 1 Bushl. each day 90 Bushl. Lime Errors Excepted (signed) p William Wrangham Honble. Compy. to the Estate of John Desfountain Dr. 1744 To 9 Bushels Lime, besides some that Lieut. Barton took Account of As we find the above returns do not Exceed a quantity of Lime, but what can be well spared, We agreed to pay the several Claimants their demands We this day Executed the Renewal of two Leases. One to Lieut.	Owed by the Company to the estate of the late Francis Wrangham senior 90 days' work at the lime kiln in 1742, to be paid in lime at 1 bushel for each day, 90 bushels William Wrangham signed the account, reserving the right to correct any errors. Owed by the Company to the estate of John Desfountain 1744, 9 bushels of lime, besides some that Lieutenant Barton took account of The Council found that the lime claimed in these accounts did not exceed the quantity that could be spared. It agreed to pay each claimant what was owed. The Council that day completed the renewal of two leases. The first was to Lieutenant Thomas Leech, for a piece of ground with a 60-foot frontage and 60 feet deep, at a rent of 12s a year. The second was to Lieutenant John Shirley, for a piece of ground with a 43-foot frontage and 60 feet deep, at a rent of

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		Thomas Leech for a piece of Ground containing sixty feet in Front and & sixty feet in Depth at 12/ p Ann. And one to Lieut. John Shirtley for a piece of Ground containing forty three feet in Front and sixty feet in Depth at 10/ p Ann. both lying in James's Valley John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	10s a year. Both plots lay in James's Valley. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council paid the claims in full without testing each one against the Company's own records. The accounts rested on work done in 1742 and 1744, and several claimants admitted they could not say exactly what had been received since. Desfountain's estate even referred to lime that a Lieutenant Barton had taken account of, which no one present could verify. The Council's only test was whether the total could be spared from the surplus. A debt so old could hardly be checked, and the families concerned were among the island's most established. Settling generously ended a long-standing grievance at little real cost, since the lime was already burned and not needed for the works. William Wrangham, who signed for his father's estate, was the factor and assistant to the Governor on the September pay list. The largest single claim, 90 bushels, came from his family. As with the Purling and Bazett accounts, the claims that the Council accepted were mainly those of families holding posts in the island's government.
375	368	The 16 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th day of January 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 9 Jany. 1769 The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections & the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st of October and ending the 31st Day of December 1768 which were examined, & approved & are as follows viz. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware Houses from 1st Oct. to 31st Decemr. 1768 Sold to the Company's Servants at 10 p Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 6406 lb. Sugar 93 8 5 976 lb. Candy 24 8 - 117 16 5 Flour viz. 2616 lb. Flour 24 9 4 414.. 3.. 8 Do. Baked Cwt. qrs. lb. 387 3 4 411 12 8 Tea viz. 188 lb. Bohea 7 16 8 151 lb. Singlo 10 11 9 225 Congo 15 9 4 33 17 9 Salt 18 7/8 Bushels 3 4 11 Sope 288½ lb. 8 9 6 Carrd. Over£ 575 1 3	The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1768. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 16 January 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 9 January 1769 were read, approved and signed. Goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouses, 1 October to 31 December 1768 Sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent above cost Sugar and sugar candy 6,406 pounds of sugar, £93 8s 5d 976 pounds of sugar candy, £24 8s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £117 16s 5d Flour 2,616 pounds of flour, £24 9s 4d 414 hundredweight 3 quarters 8 pounds of flour issued as baked bread, £387 3s 4d Total for flour, £411 12s 8d Tea 18 pounds of Bohea tea, £7 16s 8d 15¼ pounds of Hyson tea, £10 11s 9d 22½ pounds of Congo tea, £15 9s 4d Total for tea, £33 17s 9d 18⅞ bushels of salt, £3 4s 11d 288½ pounds of soap, £8 9s 6d Carried forward, £575 1s 3d **Interpretations** The bread sold to the servants rose sharply against the previous quarter. Between July and September 1768 the bakery used 269 hundredweight of flour, worth £251 11s 0d. Between October and December it used almost 415 hundredweight, worth £387 3s 4d. The increase came while the garrison was heavily engaged on the works at Lemon Valley and Munden's Point. The men labouring on the fortifications drew more bread from the Company's bakery, and the Company recovered the cost through the extra daily pay it gave them for that work. Other comforts moved the other way. Sugar candy fell from 2,263 pounds in the previous quarter to 976, and tea from £54 17s 6d to £33 17s 9d. Sugar itself was almost unchanged. The servants evidently spent the same on necessities but less on candy and tea in the last months of the year. No store ship had arrived to refresh the warehouse's stock of those

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			goods since the *Greenwich* and the *Egmont* called in August and September.
376	369	1769 Brought Over£ 575 1 3 Leather viz. 153½ lb. Sole 7 13 7½ 1 Calf Skin " 11 6½ 8 5 2 Candles 46 lb. 5 11 2 Twine viz. 41 Sk. Twine 1 5 7½ 1¼ lb. Cotton Wick " 3 10½ 1 9 6 Starch 4½ lb. " 3 - Hats viz. 2 Mens Hats 1 18 8 1 Boys Do. " 6 9 2 5 5 Shalloon 45 Yds. Col. 4 11 10 Challow 9 Pr. 4 2 6 Rice & Paddy viz. 1040 lb. Rice 3 7 4 632 lb. Paddy 1 10 1 5 7 5 Arrack 48½ Gall. 12 1 3 Buckram 18½ Yds. " 17 2 Cordage 98½ lb. 1 16 9 Oil viz. 1/8 Gall. Oil of Turpen. " 6 6½ 10 Bott. Florence 1 18 6½ 2 5 1 Pepper 2 lb. " 1 1 Earthen Ware 3 Milk Pans " 4 6 Flannel 4½ Yds. " 8 2 Canvas viz. 32½ Yds. Eng. Canvas 1 15 - 21½ Do. Ticklenb. 1 1 11 13½ Do. Oznabrigs " 11 9 3 8 8 Lead 1½ lb. Shot " " 11 Carrd. Over£ 628 - 10	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £575 1s 3d. Brought forward, £575 1s 3d Leather 153½ pounds of sole leather, £7 13s 9½d 1 calf skin, £0 11s 4½d Total for leather, £8 5s 2d 46 pounds of candles, £5 11s 2d Twine 41¼ pounds of twine, £1 5s 7½d 1¼ pounds of cotton wick, £0 3s 10½d Total for twine, £1 9s 6d 4½ pounds of starch, £0 3s 0d Hats 2 men's hats, £1 18s 8d 1 boy's hat, £0 6s 9d Total for hats, £2 5s 5d 45 yards of coloured shalloon, £4 11s 10d 9 pieces of chelloes, £4 2s 6d Rice and paddy 1,040 pounds of rice, £3 7s 4d 632 pounds of paddy, £1 10s 1d Total for rice and paddy, £5 7s 5d 48¼ gallons of arrack, £12 1s 3d 18¼ yards of buckram, £0 17s 2d 98½ pounds of cordage, £1 16s 9d Oil 1⅛ gallons of oil of turpentine, £0 6s 6½d 10 flasks of Florence oil, £1 18s 6½d Total for oil, £2 5s 1d 2 pounds of pepper, £0 1s 1d 3 earthenware milk pans, £0 4s 6d 4¼ yards of flannel, £0 8s 2d Canvas 32¼ yards of English canvas, £1 15s 0d 21½ yards of tecklenburgs, £1 1s 11d 13½ yards of osnaburgs, £0 11s 9d Total for canvas, £3 8s 8d 1¼ [...] of short corks, £0 0s 11d Carried forward, £628 0s 10d **Interpretations** Arrack sold to the servants rose tenfold against the previous quarter, from under 5 gallons between July and September to more than 48 gallons between October and December. The quarter took in the Christmas season, when punch was drunk freely in island households. The stock in the warehouse was also ample, with over 1,500 gallons recorded in the September inventory. The punch houses cut to five on 4 July 1768 had reduced the places where spirits could be bought by the glass. Servants may have turned instead to buying arrack from the Company's stores to mix punch at home.
377	370	The 16 January Brought Over£ 628 - 10 Beef & Pork viz. 2592 lb. Beef 259 4 - 3125 Do. Pork 312 10 - 571 14 - Kersey 16½ Yds.	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £628 0s 10d. Brought forward, £628 0s 10d Beef and pork 2,592 pieces of beef, £259 4s 0d 3,125 pieces of pork, £312 10s 0d Total for beef and pork, £571 14s 0d 16½ yards of kersey, £1 5s 4d

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		1 5 4 Thread viz. 7½ lb. Whd. Brown 2 16 3 10½ lb. Col. 1 15 10 3 oz. No. 38 " 4 4 4 oz. 36 " 4 7 2 oz. 30 " 3 8 5 4 8 Shoes viz. 11 Pr. Mens Pumps 3 " 6 2 Pr. Do. fine Shoes " 12 3 2 Pr. Womens Calimc. " 8 6 4 Pr. Girls Do. " 13 2 2 Pr. Womens Calf Leat. Do. " 5 6 4 Pr. Boys Do. " 14 - 5 13 11 Haberdashery viz. 33 Sk. Silk " 19 3 9 Do. Mohr. " 4 6 ½ Gro. White Waist. Buttons " 1 3 1 ½ Gro. Shirt Do. " 4 1½ 7 Doz. Gilt Coat Do. " 10 6 14½ Doz. Gilt Br. Do. " 8 11 5½ Yds. White Buckram " 6 7½ 18 Ps. Tape " 11 3 2 Doz. Mohr. Ct. Buttons " 1 6 4½ Doz. Do. Br. Do. " 1 10 ¼ Gro. Horn Moulds " " 7 3 10 7 Carrd. Over£ 1215 9 4	Thread 7½ pounds of whited brown thread, £2 16s 3d [...] of coloured thread, £1 15s 10d 2 ounces of nuns' thread, number 38, £0 4s 4d [...] ounces of nuns' thread, number 36, £0 4s 7d 2 ounces of nuns' thread, number 30, £0 3s 8d Total for thread, £5 4s 8d Shoes 11 pairs of men's pumps, £3 0s 6d 2 pairs of men's fine shoes, £0 12s 3d 2 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £0 8s 6d 4 pairs of girls' calimanco shoes, £0 13s 2d 2 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £0 5s 6d 4 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 14s 0d Total for shoes, £5 13s 11d Haberdashery 33 skeins of silk, £0 19s 8d 9 skeins of mohair, £0 4s 6d ½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 3d 1½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 4s 1½d 7 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 10s 6d 14½ dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 8s 11d 5½ yards of white buckram, £0 6s 7½d 18 pieces of tape, £0 11s 3d 2 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 1s 6d 4½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 10d ¼ gross of horn button moulds, £0 0s 7d Total for haberdashery, £3 10s 7d Carried forward, £1,215 9s 4d **Interpretations** Sales of salt meat to the servants rose markedly over the previous quarter. Between July and September they bought 1,882 pieces of beef and 2,435 of pork, worth £431 14s 0d. Between October and December the figures were 2,592 and 3,125, worth £571 14s 0d. The plantation account for the same three months showed only a handful of the Company's cattle killed for anyone outside the Castle table. With the garrison hard at work on Lemon Valley and Munden's Point, the men and their households depended more heavily on salt provisions from the warehouse. The rise matched the increase in baked bread recorded on the first page of this account.
378	371	1769 Brought Over£ 1215 9 4 Paint viz. 33 lb. Whiting " 2 -½ 3 lb. Indico " 5 9 5 lb. White Lead dry " 1 9 17 lb. Stone Colour " 7 5½ 3 Verdg. " 15 - 8 Pound. Blacking " 4 6 8 lb. Chalk " 1 11 3 lb. Span. Red mixd. " 1 10 1 18 3 Iron Ware viz. 4 Iron rim'd Locks 1 1 -	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,215 9s 4d. Brought forward, £1,215 9s 4d Paint 33 pounds of whiting, £0 2s 0¾d 3 pounds of indigo, £0 5s 9d 5 pounds of white lead, dry, £0 1s 9d 17 pounds of stone colour, £0 7s 5½d 3 pounds of verdigris, £0 10s 0d 8 pans of blacking, £0 4s 6d 8 pounds of chalk, £0 1s 11d 3 pounds of Venetian red, mixed, £0 1s 10d Total for paint, £1 18s 3d Ironware 4 iron-rimmed locks, £1 1s 0d 3 stock locks, £0 9s 6d 2 chest locks, £0 8s 3d 3 padlocks, £0 5s 0d 3 plate locks, £0 1s 7½d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 1s 8d 1 cupboard lock, £0 3s 1½d 15 plank dogs, £0 10s 4d

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		3 Stock Do. " 9 6 2 Chest Do. " 3 3 3 Pad Do. " 5 - 3 Splint. Do. " 1 7½ 1 Pr. Sheep Shears " 1 8 1 Cupd. Lock " 3 1½ 15 Blank Keys " 10 4 3 Small Frying Pans " 11 3 1 lb. Iron'd Wire " 1 3 1 Iron Shovel " 1 11¾ 2 Spades " 8 3 2 Chafing Dishes " 13 2 2 Curry Combs & Brushes " 4 - 2 Claw Hammers " 3 -½ 2 Files " 1 1½ 7 Doz. Brass Chair Nails " 1 - 1 Rag Stone " " 1½ 1 Scyth. Do. " " 2½ 3 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 6 4½ 2 Plaist. Trowels " 3 1 13 Plate Iron " 6 2¼ 6 " 3 Carrd. Over£ 1223 7 10	5 small frying pans, £0 11s 3d ¼ pound of round-headed tacks, £0 1s 3d 1 iron shovel, £0 4s 11¼d 2 spades, £0 8s 3d 2 chafing dishes, £0 13s 2d 2 curry combs and brushes, £0 4s 0d 2 claw hammers, £0 3s 4d 2 files, £0 1s 1d 9 dozen brass chair nails, £0 1s 0d 1 bag needle, £0 0s 1½d 1 sail needle, £0 0s 2½d 3 pairs of H-L hinges, £0 6s 4½d 2 plasterers' trowels, £0 3s 7d 13 pounds of plate iron, £0 6s 2¾d Total for ironware, £6 0s 3d Carried forward, £1,223 7s 10d
379	372	The 16 January Brought Over£ 1223 7 10 Broad Cloth viz. 2½ Yds. Scarlet 2 7 5 1¾ Do. Green 1 11 8 9¼ Do. Blue 9 3 3 1 1/8 Do. Buff 1 " 4 14 2 10 Long Cloth viz. 19½ Ps. No. 6 28 16 1 10 Ps. I 10 15 - 3 Ps. D 13 19 - 2 Ps. C 7 4 4 2 Ps. A 7 13 - 68 7 5 Cutlery Ware viz. 11 Buckl. Combs " 3 8 9 Horn Do. " 2 -¼ 4 Fine Ivory Do. " 9 5	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,223 7s 10d. Brought forward, £1,223 7s 10d Broadcloth 2½ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £2 7s 5d 1¾ yards of green broadcloth, £1 11s 8d 9¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £9 3s 3d 1⅛ yards of buff broadcloth, £1 0s 4d Total for broadcloth, £14 2s 10d Longcloth 19½ pieces marked W6, £28 16s 1d 10 pieces marked I, £10 15s 0d 3 pieces marked G, £13 19s 0d 2 pieces marked C, £7 4s 4d 2 pieces marked A, £7 13s 0d Total for longcloth, £68 7s 5d Cutlery and small wares 11 buckle combs, £0 3s 8d 9 horn combs, £0 2s 0¼d 4 fine ivory combs, £0 9s 5d 1 cased fleam, £0 3s 0¼d 1 pair of shoe buckles, £0 0s 7d Total for cutlery and small wares, £0 18s 9d Serge and woollens 5½ yards of brown duffel, £2 1s 11d 12¾ yards of blue serge, £3 7s 2d 16 yards of scarlet sagathy, £2 12s 0d Total for serge and woollens, £8 1s 1d Shirts and shirting 18 yards of brown holland, £1 16s 5d

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		1 Case Fleams " 3 -¼ 1 Pr. Shoe Buckles " " 7 " 18 9 Serge viz. 5½ Yds. Brown Duffle 2 1 11 12¾ Do. Blue Serge 3 7 2 16 Do. Scarl. Sagathy 2 12 - 8 1 1 Shirts viz. 18 Yds. Brown Holland 1 16 5 12 Cent. Shirts 3 " - 4 16 5 Hosiers Ware viz. 4 Pr. Mens fine India Cott. Stockings 1 17 - 3 Pr. Do. Worst. Do. " 12 - 12 Pr. Do. Ordy. Thread Do. 1 18 9 4 7 9 Carrd. Over£ 1324 2 1	12 soldiers' shirts, £3 0s 0d Total for shirts and shirting, £4 16s 5d Hosiery 4 pairs of men's fine Indian cotton stockings, £1 17s 0d 3 pairs of women's stockings, £0 12s 0d 12 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £1 18s 9d Total for hosiery, £4 7s 9d Carried forward, £1,324 2s 1d **Interpretations** The servants bought only 12 soldiers' shirts and 12 pairs of thread stockings this quarter, against 132 shirts and 134 pairs of stockings between July and September. No ordinary men's shoes appeared at all, where 592 pairs had been sold in the previous quarter. The garrison had evidently drawn its yearly clothing in the third quarter of 1768. Purchases in the last three months were only the odd replacement. The pattern fits a single annual issue of necessaries to the soldiers, charged against their pay, and not a steady quarterly supply.
380	373	1769 Brought Over£ 1324 2 1 Turners Ware viz. 10 Paint Brushes " 5 1½ 2 Plaist. Do. " 2 4½ 3 Shoe Do. " 2 6 " 10 6 Glass Ware viz. 1 Tumbler " " 10½ 1 Quart Decanter " 2 10¾ 9 Wine Glasses " 4 4 1 Sq. Glass 11½ by 18½ " 1 3½ 2 Sq. Do. 11 by 18 " 2 11 6 Sq. Do. 10 by 14 " 7 3 3 Sq. Do. 6 by 8 " 1 1½ 1 Sq. Do. 11 by 16 " 1 6½ 1 2 4 Tin Ware viz. 2 Half Gall. Saucepans " 1 6 1 Pudding Pan " 1 5 " 2 11 Nails viz. 2 lb. 2d. " 1 10½ 12 .. 3 " 10 - 13 .. 4 " 8 8 3 .. 10 " 1 6 17 .. 6 " 10 7½ 2 .. 20 " " 10½	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,324 2s 1d. Brought forward, £1,324 2s 1d Turners' ware 10 paint brushes, £0 5s 1½d 2 plasterers' brushes, £0 2s 5½d 3 shoe brushes, £0 2s 6d Total for turners' ware, £0 10s 6d Glassware 1 tumbler, £0 0s 10½d 1 quart decanter, £0 2s 10¾d 9 wine glasses, £0 4s 4d 1 pane of window glass, 11½ by 18½ inches, £0 1s 3½d 2 panes of window glass, 11 by 18 inches, £0 2s 11d 6 panes of window glass, 10 by 14 inches, £0 7s 3d 3 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 1s 1½d 1 pane of window glass, 11 by 16 inches, £0 1s 6¼d Total for glassware, £1 2s 4d Tinware 2 half-gallon saucepans, £0 1s 6d 1 pudding pan, £0 1s 5d Total for tinware, £0 2s 11d Nails 2 pounds of twopenny nails, £0 1s 10½d 12 pounds of threepenny nails, £0 10s 0d 13 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 8s 8d 3 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 1s 6d 17 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 10s 7½d 2 pounds of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 10½d 9 pounds of coopers' rivets, £0 2s 0½d Total for nails, £1 15s 7d Fish hooks and lines 8 dozen number 2 lines, £1 10s 8d 5¾ dozen number 3 lines, £1 5s 4½d 1 dozen number 4 lines, £0 4s 11½d 5 Hamburg lines, £0 8s 9d 175 number 1 hooks, £0 9s 11d 235 number 9 hooks, £0 10s 0½d Hooks and lines carried forward, £4 9s 9½d Carried forward, £1,337 13s 5d

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		9 Coppr. Rivets " 2 -½ 1 15 7 Hooks & Lines viz. 8 Doz. No. 2 Lines 1 10 8 5½ Do. 3 Do. 1 5 4½ 1 Do. 4 Do. " 4 11½ 5 Hambro Do. " 8 9 175 No. 1 Hooks " 9 11 335 .. 9 Do. " 10 -½ Hooks & Lines Carrd. Over£ 4 9 9 Carrd. Over£ 1327 13 5	
381	374	The 16 January Brought Over£ 1327 13 5 Hooks & Lines brought Over£ 4 9 9 150 No. 11 Hooks " 2 7½ 275 .. 12 Do. " 4 7 35 .. 14 Do. " " 3 875 .. 16 Do. " 5 1½ 5 2 4 China Ware viz. 9 Snakes " 3 4½ 6 Bowls " 5 6 5 Chamb. Pots " 10 11 1 Milk Ewer " 1 1½ 3 Round Meat Dishes 24 Do. Do. Plates " 19 7 2 Sets Octg. Dishes & Plates 2 12 10 12 Soup Plates " 6 9 1 Tureen & Dish " 6 7 5 6 8 Books 2 Spells. " 1 10 Pewter viz. 1 Quart Tankd. " 2 7 1 Cullend. " 9 - " 11 7 £ 1338 15 10 Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent viz. Challow 1 Pr. " 10 5 Shalloon 4½ Yds. " 10 4 Flannel 1½ Do. " 3 1 Thread viz. 3 lb. Col. " 11 9 1 Whd. Brown " 8 6 1 " 3 Carrd. Over£ 2 4 1	The record of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from a running total of £1,327 13s 5d and closed with the total for the quarter, and the record then opened the sales to the planters. Brought forward, £1,327 13s 5d Hooks and lines brought forward, £4 9s 9d 150 number 11 hooks, £0 2s 7½d 275 number 12 hooks, £0 4s 7d 25 number 14 hooks, £0 0s 3d 875 number 16 hooks, £0 5s 1½d Total for hooks and lines, £5 2s 4d China 9 saucers, £0 3s 4½d 6 bowls, £0 5s 6d 5 chamber pots, £0 10s 11d 1 milk jug, £0 1s 1½d 3 round meat dishes and 24 round meat plates, together £0 19s 7d 2 sets of octagonal dishes and plates, £2 12s 10d 12 soup plates, £0 6s 9d 1 tureen and dish, £0 6s 7d Total for china, £5 6s 8d 2 spelling books, £0 1s 10d Pewter 1 quart funnel, £0 2s 7d 1 colander, £0 9s 0d Total for pewter, £0 11s 7d Total sold to the Company's servants, £1,338 15s 10d Sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost 1 piece of chelloes, £0 10s 5d 4½ yards of shalloon, £0 10s 4d 1½ yards of flannel, £0 3s 1d Thread 3 [...] of coloured thread, £0 11s 9d 1 [...] of whited brown thread, £0 8s 6d Total for thread, £1 0s 3d Carried forward, £2 4s 1d **Interpretations** The servants spent £1,338 15s 10d at the warehouse in the last quarter of 1768, against £1,866 11s 9d between July and September. Spending on bread and salt meat had risen. The fall came almost entirely from clothing. The previous quarter had included the garrison's yearly issue of shoes, shirts and stockings, which alone came to well over £150, and longcloth and broadcloth sales were also far lower. With the wage bill roughly unchanged, less of the soldiers' pay returned to the Company through the stores this quarter.
382	375	1769 Brought Over£ 2 4 1	The planters' purchases at 25 per cent above cost continued from a running total of £2 4s 1d, and the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Long Cloth viz. 4 Ps. No. 6 6 14 2 4 Ps. I 4 17 6 1 Ps. A 4 6 10 1 Ps. D 5 5 8 21 4 2 Shoes viz. 2 Pr. Womens Calf " 9 7 1 Pr. Girls Calf " 2 6 " 12 1 Shirts 2 Yds. Brown Holland " 4 7 Serge viz. 8 Yds. Blue Serge 2 7 8 2½ Do. Scarl. Sagathy " 9 3 2 16 11 Broad Cloth viz. 1¼ Yds. Blue 1 7 5 3 Do. Light Brown 3 2 6 4 9 11 Hosiers Ware 1 Pr. Mens Worst. Stockings " 4 6 Sold at 40 p Cent viz. Sugar & Candy viz. 316 lb. Sugar 6 11 8 68 Candy 2 2 6 8 14 2 Flour 353 lb. 4 15 3 Tea viz. 21 lb. Bohea 1 2 9 58 Congo 5 1 6 27 Singlo 2 7 3 8 11 6 Cordage 4 Cwt. 2 qrs. 4 lb. 1 1 4 Sope 10 lb. " 7 11 Salt 1½ Bushel " 6 9 Twine 1 Sk. " " 9 Carrd. Over£ 55 13 11	record then turned to the sales at 40 per cent above cost. Brought forward, £2 4s 1d Longcloth 4 pieces marked W6, £6 14s 2d 4 pieces marked I, £4 17s 6d 1 piece marked A, £4 6s 10d 1 piece marked G, £5 5s 8d Total for longcloth, £21 4s 2d Shoes 2 pairs of women's calf shoes, £0 9s 7d 1 pair of girls' calf shoes, £0 2s 6d Total for shoes, £0 12s 1d 2 yards of brown holland for shirts, £0 4s 7d Serge and woollens 8 yards of blue serge, £2 7s 8d 2½ yards of scarlet sagathy, £0 9s 3d Total for serge and woollens, £2 16s 11d Broadcloth 1¼ yards of blue broadcloth, £1 7s 5d 3 yards of light brown broadcloth, £3 2s 6d Total for broadcloth, £4 9s 11d 1 pair of men's worsted stockings, £0 4s 6d Sold at 40 per cent above cost Sugar and sugar candy 316 pounds of sugar, £6 11s 8d 68 pounds of sugar candy, £2 2s 6d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £8 14s 2d 353 pounds of flour, £4 15s 3d Tea 2¼ pounds of Bohea tea, £1 2s 9d 5⅝ pounds of Congo tea, £5 1s 6d 2¾ pounds of Hyson tea, £2 7s 3d Total for tea, £8 11s 6d 42¾ pounds of cordage, £1 1s 4d 10 pounds of soap, £0 7s 11d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 6s 9d 1 pound of twine, £0 0s 9d Carried forward, £55 13s 11d
383	376	The 16 January Brought Over£ 55 13 11 Candles 4 lb. " 12 4 Pepper 1 " " 9 Paint viz. 12 lb. Whit. " 1 - 4 lb. Stone Col. " " 10 4 Span. Red mixd. " " 9½ 2 Pound. Blackg. " 1 6½ " 4 2 Iron Ware viz.	The sales at 40 per cent above cost continued from a running total of £55 13s 11d. Brought forward, £55 13s 11d 4 pounds of candles, £0 12s 4d 1 pound of pepper, £0 0s 9d Paint 12 pounds of whiting, £0 1s 0d 1 pound of chocolate colour, £0 0s 10d 1 pound of Venetian red, mixed, £0 0s 9½d 2 pans of blacking, £0 1s 6½d Total for paint, £0 4s 2d Ironware 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £0 17s 0d 1 plate lock, £0 0s 8d 3 pairs of H-L hinges, £0 8s 0d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 3d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 10d

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		2 Iron rim'd Locks w. Brass Knobs " 17 - 1 Splint. Do. " " 8 3 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 8 - 1 Scythe Stone " " 3 1 Small Frying Pan " 2 10 150 Brass Chair Nails " 2 1 1 10 10 Nails viz. 6 lb. 3d. " 6 6 22 .. 4 " 18 9½ 24 .. 6 " 19 6 33 .. 10 1 " 7½ 14 .. 20 " 7 10 ½ Glazg. Brads " 1 2 3 14 5 Glass Ware viz. 1 Tumbler " 1 1½ 6 Wine Glasses " 3 8½ 5 Sq. Glass 10 by 12 " 8 3 " 13 1 China Ware viz. 1 Set Octg. Dishes & Plates 1 13 9 1 Chamb. Pot " 2 10 1 16 7 Carrd. Over£ 64 6 1	150 brass chair nails, £0 2s 1d Total for ironware, £1 10s 10d Nails 6 pounds of threepenny nails, £0 6s 6d 22 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 18s 9½d 24 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 19s 6d 33 pounds of tenpenny nails, £1 0s 7½d 14 pounds of twentypenny nails, £0 7s 10d ½ pound of glazing brads, £0 1s 2d Total for nails, £3 14s 5d Glassware 1 tumbler, £0 1s 1½d 6 wine glasses, £0 3s 8½d 5 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 8s 3d Total for glassware, £0 13s 1d China 1 set of octagonal dishes and plates, £1 13s 9d 1 chamber pot, £0 2s 10d Total for china, £1 16s 7d Carried forward, £64 6s 1d
384	377	1769 Brought Over£ 64 6 1 Hooks & Lines viz. 150 No. 1 Hooks " 10 9 25 .. 9 Do. " 1 - 125 .. 11 Do. " 2 9¾ 25 .. 12 Do. " " 6½ 100 .. 14 Do. " 1 4 100 .. 15 Do. " 1 -¾ 450 .. 16 Do. " 3 4½ 18 .. 2 Lines " 7 4½ 18 .. 3 Do. " 8 6½ 2 Hambro " 4 6 2 1 3 Cutlery Ware 2 Buckg. Combs " " 10 Braziers Ware 1 Three Quart Tea Kettle " 17 4 Turners Ware viz. 1 Paint Brush " " 9 1 Plaist. Do. " 1 7	The sales at 40 per cent above cost continued from a running total of £64 6s 1d and closed with their total, and the record then listed the damaged goods sold at auction. Brought forward, £64 6s 1d Fish hooks and lines 150 number 1 hooks, £0 10s 9d 25 number 9 hooks, £0 1s 0d 125 number 11 hooks, £0 2s 9¾d 25 number 12 hooks, £0 0s 6½d 100 number 14 hooks, £0 1s 4d 100 number 15 hooks, £0 1s 0¾d 450 number 16 hooks, £0 3s 4½d 18 number 2 lines, £0 7s 4½d 18 number 3 lines, £0 8s 6½d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £2 1s 3d 2 buckle combs, £0 0s 10d 1 three-quart tea kettle, £0 17s 4d Turners' ware 1 paint brush, £0 0s 9d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 7d Total for turners' ware, £0 2s 4d Total sold at 40 per cent above cost, £67 7s 10d Damaged goods sold at auction Bunting 9¾ yards of white bunting, £0 1s 6d 19¾ yards of red bunting, £0 3s 4d 15¼ yards of blue bunting, £0 2s 1d Total for bunting, £0 6s 11d Broadcloth 3½ yards of blue broadcloth, £2 6s 0d 3½ yards of light brown broadcloth, £2 12s 0d

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		" 2 4 £ 67 7 10 Damaged Goods Sold at Auction viz. Bunting viz. 9¾ Yds. White " 1 6 19¼ Do. Red " 3 4 15¼ Do. Blue " 2 1 " 6 11 Broad Cloth viz. 3½ Yds. Blue 2 6 - 3½ Do. Light Brown 2 12 - 4½ Do. French Grey 3 10 - 8 8 - Pork 1 Hhd. Bengal 1 6 - Earthen Ware 2 Close Stool Pans " 2 - Carrd. Over£ 10 2 11	4½ yards of French grey broadcloth, £3 10s 0d Total for broadcloth, £8 8s 0d 1 hogshead of Bengal pork, £1 6s 0d 2 earthenware close-stool pans, £0 2s 0d Carried forward, £10 2s 11d **Interpretations** The auction showed how much value the damaged stock had kept. The broadcloth sold well, the French grey fetching £3 10s 0d against the £4 0s 8d at which the September inventory had valued it. Cloth spoiled at the edges or faded in part could still be cut into coats. The bunting fetched only a few pence a yard, since cloth too weak for flags had little other use. Selling for ready money, as the Council had ordered on 21 November 1768, turned most of the written-down stock back into cash.
385	378	The 16 January Brought Over£ 10 2 11 Hosiers Ware viz. 3 Pr. Mens Knit Stockings " 1 3 13 Pr. Girls Do. " 3 - 4 Pr. Womens Do. " 2 9 6 Pr. Boys Do. " 6 - 2 Pr. Crimson Breeches " 9 - 3 Do. Scarlt. Do. 1 10 - 4 Do. Buff Do. 1 9 - 4 1 - Pease & Beans viz. 20¾ Bushl. Pease 1 10 - 10 5/8 Do. Beans 1 2 - 2 12 - Iron Ware 1 Gard. Rake " 1 4 Kersey 11¼ Yds. " 12 - Candy 1.. 3.. 6 Cwt. qrs. lb. 2 10 - Sailors Cloaths viz. 8 Mens Jackets 4 Pr. Mens Breeches 1 16 - Turners viz. 36 Shoe Brushes " 3 3 5 Plaist. " 1 6 4 Hair Sieves " 5 1 " 9 10 £ 22 5 1 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of October to the 31st Decr. 1768 viz. Arrack 135¾ Gall. for Sundry Men Emp. in ye Stores & Doct. Shop 24 " 9 Coals 155 Bushels for ye Armour. Shop 8 7 11	The list of damaged goods sold at auction continued from a running total of £10 2s 11d and closed with its total, and the record then opened the issues charged to the Company's general expenses for the quarter. Brought forward, £10 2s 11d Hosiery 3 pairs of men's knitted stockings, £0 1s 3d 13 pairs of girls' stockings, £0 3s 0d 4 pairs of women's stockings, £0 2s 9d 6 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 6s 0d 2 pairs of crimson breeches, £0 9s 0d 3 pairs of scarlet breeches, £1 10s 0d 1 pair of buff breeches, £1 9s 0d Total for hosiery, £4 1s 0d Pease and beans 20¾ bushels of pease, £1 10s 0d 10⅞ bushels of beans, £1 2s 0d Total for pease and beans, £2 12s 0d 11 garden rakes, £0 1s 4d 11¼ yards of kersey, £0 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds of sugar candy, £2 10s 0d 8 men's jackets and 4 pairs of men's breeches, together £1 16s 0d Turners' ware 36 shoe brushes, £0 3s 3d 5 plasterers' brushes, £0 1s 6d 4 hair sieves, £0 5s 1d Total for turners' ware, £0 9s 10d Total for damaged goods sold at auction, £22 5s 1d Charged to general expenses: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 135¾ gallons of arrack, issued to various men working in the stores and to the doctor's shop, £24 0s 9d 155 bushels of coal for the armourer's shop, £8 7s 11d Carried forward, £32 8s 8d **Interpretations** The auction of damaged goods raised £22 5s 1d in all. The Company had already written much of this stock down, and the sugar candy had partly been charged to profit and loss in October. Every shilling raised was therefore a gain against goods that would otherwise have rotted or been thrown away. The breeches, cloth and pease found buyers readily, while worn brushes and torn bunting fetched almost nothing.

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		Carrd. Over£ 32 8 8	The arrack charged to general expenses rose from 80½ gallons in the previous quarter to 135¾. Much of it went as the customary dram to men labouring in the stores. The quarter's heavy issues of salt meat, bread and building materials for the works at Lemon Valley and Munden's Point meant more hauling of casks and bales. The doctor's shop also drew its share for medicines in a quarter when sickness was evident in the garrison, with four soldiers dying in the last eleven days of December.
386	379	1769 Brought Over£ 32 8 8 Iron & Steel viz. 1104 lb. Iron for the Armour. Shop 11 10 - 72 lb. Blist. Steel 2 3 1 44 Germ. Do. " 14 8 14 7 9 Nails viz. 6 lb. 4d. for the Coopers Use " 3 7½ 21 Coopr. Rivets " 9 7½ " 13 3 Twine 4 Sk. Store use & Castle " 2 - Iron Ware viz. 1 Screw Plate for the Armour. Use " 4 - 1 Hand Vice " 1 10 4 Files " 1 11 1 Hdt. Saw Do. " 1 8½ 2 lb. Flour Emery " 3 6 7 Sheets Sand Paper " " 5¼ 15 Do. Emery Do. " 1 7 2 Chafing Dishes Castle " 12 - 3 Small frying Pans Armour. Shop & Castle " 6 -½ 7 Bags Horse Carpent. use " 2 4 4 Doz. Wood Screws Castle " 1 4 1 lb. Borax Armour. use " 3 8 1 Stock Lock Do. " 2 10½ 57 lb. Rod Iron Do. " 11 10½ 5 Blank Keys for the Secrs. Office & " 3 1½ Armour. Shop & Stores " 4 1½ 3 Claw Hammrs. Carpnt. use " 3 6 4 lb. Iron binding Wire Armour. Do. " " 7 1 Pr. Steel Compasses Carpnt. Do. " 2 9¼ 1 Auger Do. Do. " 2 7½ 1 Joining Gauge Do. Do. " 4 6½ 1 Iron Stand Armour. Do.	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £32 8s 8d. Brought forward, £32 8s 8d Iron and steel, for the armourer's shop 11 hundredweight of iron, £11 10s 0d 72 pounds of blistered steel, £2 3s 1d 44 pounds of German steel, £0 14s 8d Total for iron and steel, £14 7s 9d Nails, for the coopers' use 6 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 3s 7½d 21 pounds of coopers' rivets, £0 9s 7½d Total for nails, £0 13s 3d 4 pounds of twine for the stores and the Castle, £0 2s 0d Ironware 1 screw plate for the armourer's use, £0 4s 0d 1 hand vice for the armourer's use, £0 1s 10d 4 files for the armourer's use, £0 1s 11d 1 saw file for the armourer's use, £0 1s 8½d 2 pounds of flour emery for the armourer's use, £0 3s 6d 7 sheets of sandpaper for the armourer's use, £0 0s 5¾d 1⅝ pounds of corn emery for the armourer's use, £0 1s 7d 2 chafing dishes for the Castle, £0 12s 0d 3 small frying pans for the armourer's shop and the Castle, £0 6s 0¾d 7 ragstones for the carpenters' use, £0 2s 4d 4 dozen wood screws for the Castle, £0 1s 4d 1½ pounds of borax for the armourer's use, £0 3s 8d 1 stock lock for the armourer's use, £0 2s 10½d 57 pounds of rod iron for the armourer's use, £0 11s 10½d 3 blank keys for the Secretary's Office, £0 3s 1½d [...] for the armourer's shop and the stores, £0 4s 1½d 3 claw hammers for the carpenters' use, £0 3s 6d ¼ pound of iron binding wire for the armourer's use, £0 0s 7d 1 pair of compasses for the carpenters' use, £0 2s 9¼d 1 auger for the carpenters' use, £0 2s 7½d 1 turning gouge for the carpenters' use, £0 4s 6½d 1 [...] for the armourer's use, £0 0s 11d 1 farrier's rasp for the armourer's use, £0 1s 1½d 2 [...] for the stores, £0 10s 0½d 2 smiths' hammers for the armourer's use, £0 [...] Total for ironware, £4 8s 8d Carried forward, £52 0s 4d **Interpretations** The armourer's shop drew 11 hundredweight of bar iron and well over 100 pounds of steel in a single quarter, far more than in the previous three months. The forge was supplying the ironwork for three sets of fortifications at once: the new line at Lemon Valley, the battery at Munden's Point and the guns moved off the curtain in James's Valley. Gun carriages needed bolts, cramps and fittings, and the masons' picks and chisels had to be constantly re-steeled against the island's hard rock. The issue of

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		" " 11 1 Farriers Rasp Do. Do. " 1 1½ 2 Mouse Traps Store Do. " 10 -¾ 2 Smiths Hammrs. Armour. Do. 4 8 8 Carrd. Over£ 52 - 4	steel, emery and borax shows the armourer making and hardening tools as much as repairing them.
387	380	The 16 January Brought Over£ 52 " 4 Long Cloth viz. 4 Ps. No. 7 for Curtains Stuffing 3 18 - 2 Ps. 6 & Side Boards Castle 2 13 8 6 11 8 Tin Ware viz. 13 lb. Solder for tinng. Castl. Furniture " 10 9 ½ Salam. " 1 6 " 12 3 Braziers Ware viz. 2 Flat Cand. Sticks " 6 10 2 Pr. Steel Snuffers " 6 - 1 Sauce Pan " 13 9 1 Hash Do. w. Cover 1 7 1 2 13 8 Pork 4 lb. for Clean. Small Arms " 10 9 Hooks & Lines viz. 100 No. 1 Hooks for the Govern. Fisher. " 5 1 50 .. 12 Do. " " 9 50 .. 14 Do. " " 3½ 18 .. 2 Lines " 6 10½ 2 Hambro Do. Do. " 4 9 3 Log Do. " 3 - 1 " 11 Oil viz. 1 Bott. Flor. for Clean. Arms " 3 6 1½ Gall. Drought for the Castle & Do. " 8 11 " 12 5 Candles 291 lb. for the Govern. & Coun. Mr. Beancroft, Doct. Shop & Baker Ho. 31 10 6 Haberdashery viz. 2 Ps. Tape for ye Castle " 1 1 1 Skain Silk " " 6 " 1 7 Deals viz. 1 Coff. to make a Ladder " 3 2 2 Baulks for ye Saw Pit " 17 8 1 " 10 Carrd. Over£ 96 17 11	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £52 0s 4d. Brought forward, £52 0s 4d Longcloth, for stuffing curtains and for the sideboards at the Castle 4 pieces marked I, £3 18s 0d 2 pieces marked W6, £2 13s 8d Total for longcloth, £6 11s 8d Tinware, for tinning pots and fittings 13 pounds of solder, £0 10s 9d ½ pound of sal ammoniac, £0 1s 6d Total for tinware, £0 12s 3d Braziers' ware, for the Castle 2 flat candlesticks, £0 6s 10d 2 pairs of steel snuffers, £0 6s 0d 1 saucepan, £0 13s 9d 1 stewpan with a cover, £1 7s 1d Total for braziers' ware, £2 13s 8d 4 pieces of pork for cleaning small arms, £0 10s 9d Fish hooks and lines, for the Governor's fisherman 100 number 1 hooks, £0 5s 1d 50 number 12 hooks, £0 0s 9d 50 number 14 hooks, £0 0s 3½d 18 number 2 lines, £0 6s 10½d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 9d 3 long lines, £0 3s 0d Total for hooks and lines, £1 0s 11d Oil 1 flask of Florence oil for cleaning arms, £0 3s 6d 1¼ gallons bought for the Castle, £0 8s 11d Total for oil, £0 12s 5d [...] of candles for the Governor and Council, Mr Bearcroft, the doctor's shop and the bake house, £31 10s 6d Haberdashery, for the Castle 2 pieces of tape, £0 1s 1d 1 skein of silk, £0 0s 6d Total for haberdashery, £0 1s 7d Timber 1 [...] to make a ladder, £0 3s 2d 2 baulks for the sawpit, £0 17s 8d Total for timber, £1 0s 10d Carried forward, £96 17s 11d **Interpretations** The candles issued to the Governor and Council, the chaplain William Bearcroft, the doctor's shop and the bake house cost £31 10s 6d for the quarter. That was the largest single charge on the page, larger than the rest combined. Free light was one of the perquisites of senior office on the island, alongside table allowances and house rent. Candles were costly imports, so the allowance added real value to the pay of the Governor, councillors and chaplain. The quarter covered the southern spring, when the nights were shortening. The amount suggests the allowance was a fixed ration rather than one adjusted to the season. Pork fat and Florence oil were issued to clean and grease the garrison's muskets against rust in the damp, salty air. Sal ammoniac, a salt of ammonia, was used as a flux in tinning copper pots and kitchen vessels. The tin coating stopped the copper poisoning food.

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388	381	1769 Brought Over£ 96 17 11 China Ware viz. 2 Sets Octn. Dishes & Plates Castle 2 8 8 8 Bowls " 6 8 2 Tureens & Dishes " 12 - 24 Octn. Soup Plates " 12 3 5 Guglets & Basons " 18 4 4 17 11 Sugar & Candy 23 lb. Sugar for the Groom, Gardent. & Doctrs. Shop " 5 9 80 Candy 1 15 - 2 " 9 Paint viz. 18 lb. Whitg. for the Castle " " 5 32 Chalk for Carpent. & Coopr. use " " 8 4 Indico for Linen " 7 - " 8 1 Turners Ware 1 Salesmans Yoke for the Bakers use " 1 6 Tea 9 lb. Bohea for ye Groom, Gard. and Smiths " 6 9 Broad Cloth 1 Yd. Green for the Cloak of the Crier " 18 6 Cordage 38 lb. for a Crane Rope " 12 8 Sope 100 lb. for Linen 2 14 2 Starch 17 lb. Do. " 10 3 Corks 6 Gro. for the Castle " 18 - Challow 1 Pr. Do. " 8 4 Thread 1 lb. Whd. Brown Do. " 6 10 Canvas 1 Yd. Oznab. Do. " " 10 Glass Ware 2 Quart Decant. Do. " 5 2 £ 111 5 8	The issues charged to the Company's general expenses continued from a running total of £96 17s 11d and closed with the account's total. Brought forward, £96 17s 11d China, for the Castle 2 sets of octagonal dishes and plates, £2 8s 8d 8 bowls, £0 6s 8d 2 tureens and dishes, £0 12s 0d 24 octagonal soup plates, £0 12s 3d 5 guglets and basins, £0 18s 4d Total for china, £4 17s 11d Sugar and sugar candy, for the groom, the gardener and the doctor's shop 23 pounds of sugar, £0 5s 9d 80 pounds of sugar candy, £1 15s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £2 0s 9d Paint 18 pounds of whiting for the Castle, £0 0s 5d 32 pounds of chalk for the carpenters' and coopers' use, £0 0s 8d 4 pounds of indigo for blueing linen, £0 7s 0d Total for paint, £0 8s 1d 1 carrying yoke for the bake house, £0 1s 6d 9 [...] of Bohea tea for the groom, the gardener and [...], £0 6s 9d 1 yard of green broadcloth for the clerk of the peace, £0 18s 6d 38 pounds of cordage for a crane rope, £0 12s 8d 100 pounds of soap for washing linen, £2 14s 2d 17 pounds of starch for linen, £0 10s 3d 6 gross of corks for the Castle, £0 18s 0d 1 piece of chelloes for the Castle, £0 8s 4d 1 pound of whited brown thread for the Castle, £0 6s 10d 1 yard of osnaburgs for the Castle, £0 0s 10d 2 quart decanters for the Castle, £0 5s 2d Total charged to general expenses, £111 5s 8d **Interpretations** The general expenses for the last quarter of 1768 came to £111 5s 8d, below the £136 2s 8d of the previous quarter. Most of the charge went on the Castle's household: candles, china, linen, soap and kitchen ware for the table where the Governor and senior servants dined. A smaller share went to the workshops and the doctor's shop. The figures show how much of the island's imported stock the Company consumed in simply running its own establishment. The groom and the gardener received sugar and tea at the Company's expense, a small allowance on top of their wages. The yard of green broadcloth for the clerk of the peace matched the cloth and trimmings issued earlier for the coats of the porter and crier of the court. Phillip Mahoney held that post on the September pay list. The Company dressed the officers of its court at its own cost, each in a coat that marked his office.
389	382	The 16 January Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of October to the 31 December 1768 viz. Paint viz. 21 lb. Whiting to Repair the Plant. House " " 9½ 12 lb. Span. Red mixd. " 6 9 2 lb. Red Lead " " 5½ 6 Pound. Blacking " 3 1½ ½ lb. White Lead dry " " 1½	The record then set out the stores issued for repairs between 1 October and 31 December 1768. Charged to repairs Paint, for repairing Plantation House 21 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 9½d 12 pounds of Venetian red, mixed, £0 6s 9d 2 pounds of red lead, £0 0s 5½d 6 pans of blacking, £0 3s 1½d ½ pound of white lead, dry, £0 0s 1½d Total for paint, £0 19s 6d Oil, for the same 1⅛ gallons of linseed oil, £0 5s 6d ¾ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 4s 0d Total for oil, £0 9s 6d 2 pounds of candles for the same, £0 4s 4d Turners' ware, for the same

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		" 10 6 Oil viz. 1/8 Gall. Drought Do. " 5 6 ¾ Do. Oil of Turpent. " 4 - " 9 6 Candles 2 lb. Do. " 4 4 Turners Ware viz. 4 Plaist. Brushes Do. " 4 4 2 Paint Do. " 1 - " 5 4 Glass Ware viz. 8 Sq. Glass 10 by 16 Do. " 10 6 12 Sq. Do. 6 by 8 " 4 - 6 Sq. Do. 10 by 12 " 6 10 1 1 4 Nails viz. 3 lb. 3d. 33 .. 6 19 .. 10 10 .. 20 12 .. 40 1 lb. Glazg. Brads Do. " 2 3 " 18 6½ " 8 8½ " 3 11½ " 4 6¼ " " 10 20 Dog Nails for repg. Wheel Barrows " 10 - 2 8 10 Carrd. Over£ 5 8 10	4 plasterers' brushes, £0 4s 4d 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 0d Total for turners' ware, £0 5s 4d Glassware, for the same 8 panes of window glass, 10 by 16 inches, £0 10s 6d 12 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 4s 0d 6 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 6s 10d Total for glassware, £1 1s 4d Nails, for the same 3 pounds of threepenny nails, £0 2s 3d 33 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 18s 6½d 19 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 8s 8½d 10 pounds of twentypenny nails, £0 3s 11½d 12 pounds of fortypenny nails, £0 4s 6¼d 1 pound of glazing brads, £0 0s 10d 20 dog nails for repairing wheelbarrows, £0 10s 0d Total for nails, £2 8s 10d Carried forward, £5 8s 10d **Interpretations** The repairs account for the quarter was taken up almost entirely with work on Plantation House. Every item was entered against the building it served. This was the same heading under which Sergeant Payne had claimed, on 12 December 1768, that charges for the Castle and Plantation House were inflated to hide the billiard house. Listing each pane, nail and brush by its destination gave the Council and the Court a way to test such a charge against the record. The detail did not prove the materials were used as stated, but it showed what the storekeeper had issued and for what purpose.
390	383	[Right-hand money column partly hidden in the binding.] 1769 Brought Over£ 5 8 10 Iron Ware viz. 3 Stock Locks for repg. Plant. House " 6 1½ 1 Pr. Cross Garnt. Hinges " 7 2 2 Pr. H.L. Hinges " 3 10 2 Doz. Wood Screws " " 8 2 Cupd. Locks " 5 8½ 1 3 9 Canvas 3 Yds. Eng. Canvas Do. " 3 6 Deals 2 Elm Boards for Repg. Wheel Barrows " 7 2 £ 7 3 3 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of October to the 31st December 1768 viz. Flour 15.. 3.. 5 Cwt. qrs. lb. 16 11 8 Arr. 76 Gall. 13 9 2 Beef & Pork viz.	The repairs account continued from a running total of £5 8s 10d and closed with its total, and the record then set out the stores issued for diet expenses between 1 October and 31 December 1768. Brought forward, £5 8s 10d Ironware, for repairing Plantation House 3 stock locks, £0 6s 1½d 1 pair of cross garnet hinges, £0 7s 2d 2 pairs of H-L hinges, £0 3s 10d 2 dozen wood screws, £0 0s 8d 2 cupboard locks, £0 5s 8½d Total for ironware, £1 3s 9d 3 yards of English canvas for the same, £0 3s 6d 2 elm boards for repairing wheelbarrows, £0 7s 2d Total charged to repairs, £7 3s 3d Charged to diet expenses 15 hundredweight 3 quarters 5 pounds of flour, £16 11s 8d 76 gallons of arrack, £13 9s 2d Beef and pork 38 pieces of beef, £6 10s 11d 85 pieces of pork, £11 10s 1d Total for beef and pork, £18 1s 0d Sugar and sugar candy 50 pounds of sugar, £0 12s 6d 797 pounds of sugar candy, £17 8s 8d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £18 1s 2d 16 pounds of pepper, £0 8s 0d 1⅜ bushels of salt, £0 4s 10d 1¼ bushels of pease, £0 11s 9d

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		38 Pr. Beef 6 10 11 85 Pr. Pork 11 10 1 18 7 - Sugar and Candy viz. 50 Sugar " 12 6 797 lb. Candy 17 8 8 18 1 2 Pepper 16 lb. " 8 - Salt 1 Bush. " 4 10 Pease 1¼ Do. " 11 9 Oil 12 Bott. Flor. 2 2 - Tea 4 lb. Singlo " 5 - Rice 485 lb. 1 15 3 £ [...]1 15 10	12 flasks of Florence oil, £2 2s 0d 4 ounces of Hyson tea, £0 5s 0d 485 pounds of rice, £1 15s 3d Total charged to diet expenses, £71 15s 10d **Interpretations** The Company's table drew far more arrack and sugar candy in the last quarter of 1768 than in the previous three months. Arrack rose from 42 gallons to 76, and nearly 800 pounds of sugar candy were issued where none had been charged to the table before. Both were the makings of punch. The quarter spanned the King's accession day on 25 October and the Christmas season, when the Governor entertained the officers and inhabitants at the Castle. The rise reflects that round of hospitality. It also shows why the punch bowl was so central to official life on the island.
391	384	The 16 January Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of October to the 31st Decemr. 1768 viz. Lines viz. 1 Hambro Line for Drum Cords " 1 7 42 No. 2 Lines for Whips " 12 - " 13 7 Beef & Pork viz. 6 Pr. Pork for an Invalid " 16 1 3 Do. Beef " 10 9 1 6 10 Candles 75 lb. for the Main Guard 8 2 6 Arr. 17 Gall. 3 - 2 Tea 36 lb. Bohea for the sevl. Guards 1 7 - Shirts 1 Cent. for a Recruit " 4 7 Iron Ware ¼ lb. Tin Tacks for Drums " " 7 Nails 6 lb. 6d. for Coffins " 3 5 Paint viz. 24 lb. Whiting to clean Accts. " 1 - 14 lb. Yell. dry " 3 3 " 4 3 Oil 5/8 Gall. for Banks's Guard " 2 4 £ 15 5 3 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of October to the 31st December 1768 viz. Beef & Pork viz. 57 lb. Pork 7 13 2 13 Do. Beef 2 6 10 1912 lb. Beng. Beef 318 15 8 328 15 8 Rice 21438 lb.	The record then set out the stores issued for the garrison and for the Company's slaves between 1 October and 31 December 1768. Charged to the garrison Lines 1 Hamburg line for drum cords, £0 1s 7d 42 number 2 lines for whips, £0 12s 0d Total for lines, £0 13s 7d Beef and pork, for an invalid 6 pieces of pork, £0 16s 1d 3 pieces of beef, £0 10s 9d Total for beef and pork, £1 6s 10d 75 pounds of candles for the main guard, £8 2s 6d 17 gallons of arrack, £3 0s 2d 3 pounds 6 ounces of Bohea tea for the various guards, £1 7s 0d 1 soldier's shirt for a recruit, £0 4s 7d ¼ pound of tinned tacks for the drums, £0 0s 7d 6 pounds of sixpenny nails for coffins, £0 3s 5d Paint, for cleaning the soldiers' equipment 24 pounds of whiting, £0 1s 0d 14 pounds of yellow ochre, dry, £0 3s 3d Total for paint, £0 4s 3d ⅝ gallon of oil for the guard at Banks's, £0 2s 4d Total charged to the garrison, £15 5s 3d Charged to the Company's slaves Beef and pork 57 pieces of pork, £7 13s 2d 18 pieces of beef, £2 6s 10d 1,912 [...] of Bengal beef, £318 15s 8d Total for beef and pork, £328 15s 8d 214 hundredweight 3 quarters 8 pounds of rice, £79 11s 8d 454¾ gallons of arrack, £77 5s 1d Carried forward, £485 12s 5d **Interpretations** The nails issued for coffins tie the garrison's stores to the deaths of December 1768. Daniel Finn, James Harris, Isaac Burden and Charles Montague died within eleven days at the end of the year. The Company provided the coffins for its soldiers as part of their burial, with the sexton's fee paid separately. The rations issued to the Company's slaves rose steeply over the previous quarter. Rice went from 82 hundredweight to more than 214, arrack from 284 gallons to over 450, and Bengal beef from £195 to nearly £320. Yams were still the slaves' staple, with more than 43,000 issued in the same three months. The extra rice, meat and spirits went chiefly to the slaves labouring on the fortifications at Lemon Valley

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		79 11 8 Arr. 454¾ Gall. 77 5 1 Carrd. Over£ 485 12 5	and Munden's Point. Heavy work at the batteries required heavier rations, and the arrack was the customary allowance for hard outdoor labour. The cost of keeping the Company's slaves rose with the pace of Mitchell's works. The garrison's guards were issued Bohea tea and candles at the Company's expense. Tea for men on night guard was a small comfort of the service. The 75 pounds of candles for the main guard lit the guardroom through the hours of darkness.
392	385	1769 Brought Over£ 485 12 5 Tea 115 lb. Bohea 4 5 6 Sugar 282 lb. 3 10 6 Flour 12 lb. for the Ary. Blacks " 1 10 Long Cloth viz. 4 Ps. No. 6 5 7 10 1/6 Ps. 7 " 3 3 5 11 1 Thread viz. 2 lb. Whd. Brown Castl. Servants " 13 7 4 lb. Col. " 12 6 1 6 1 Salt ½ Bushel for ye Ary. Blacks " 1 8 Pepper 3 lb. " 2 6 Shoes 55 Pr. Mens Ordy. 13 15 - Canvas 15 Yds. Oznab. for Aprons for the Black Artificers " 17 6 Iron Ware viz. 2 Small Fryg. Pans " 4 - 2 Stock Locks Blacks Square " 5 9 " 9 9 Challow 3 Pr. for the Govr. Servants 1 5 - Shirts 13 Pr. Irish Linen Castl. Do. " 9 11 £ 517 8 9 Malays Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Oct. to the 31 Decemb. 1768 viz. Rice 184 lb. " 7 3 Sugar 56 lb. " 14 - Arr. 7 Gall. 1 4 9 Sope 8 lb. " 4 4 Tea 4 lb. Bohea " 3 - Oil 1 Bott. Florence " 3 6 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens fine Pumps " 5 6 Carrd. Over£ 3 2 4	The stores issued for the Company's slaves continued from a running total of £485 12s 5d and closed with the account's total, and the record then opened the account for Mallay for the same quarter. Brought forward, £485 12s 5d 11½ pounds of Bohea tea, £4 5s 6d 282 pounds of sugar, £3 10s 6d 12 pounds of flour for the aged slaves, £0 1s 10d Longcloth 4 pieces marked W6, £5 7s 10d ½ piece marked I, £0 3s 3d Total for longcloth, £5 11s 1d Thread, for the Castle servants 2 pounds of whited brown thread, £0 13s 7d ¼ pound of coloured thread, £0 12s 6d Total for thread, £1 6s 1d ½ bushel of salt for the aged slaves, £0 1s 8d 3 pounds of pepper, £0 2s 6d 55 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £13 15s 0d 15 yards of osnaburgs for aprons for the slave craftsmen, £0 17s 6d Ironware 2 small frying pans, £0 4s 0d 2 stock locks for the Blacks' Square, £0 5s 9d Total for ironware, £0 9s 9d 3 pieces of chelloes for the Governor's servants, £1 3s 0d 13 yards of Irish linen for shirts for the Castle servants, £0 9s 11d Total charged to the Company's slaves, £517 8s 9d Charged to Mallay: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 124 pounds of rice, £0 7s 3d 56 pounds of sugar, £0 14s 0d 7 gallons of arrack, £1 4s 9d 8 pounds of soap, £0 4s 4d 4 [...] of Bohea tea, £0 3s 0d 1 flask of Florence oil, £0 3s 6d 1 pair of men's fine pumps, £0 5s 6d Carried forward, £3 2s 4d **Interpretations** The slaves' account distinguished between groups within the Company's labour force. The aged slaves, no longer fit for heavy work, received small issues of flour and salt. The Company kept its old slaves rather than turning them out, though their rations were meagre. The slave craftsmen were given osnaburg aprons for their trades, marking them out from the field and labouring gangs. The Castle servants and the Governor's servants received linen, thread and chelloes for better clothing. The 55 pairs of shoes went chiefly to the men working on the fortifications, where the stony ground wore out bare feet. The Blacks' Square was the enclosed compound where the Company's slaves were lodged. It was also the place where the stones for the slaves' hospital had been stored, according to Sergeant Payne's statement of 12 December 1768. The two stock locks issued for it suggest the compound was locked, whether to secure its stores or to confine its people at night. The total charge for the slaves in the quarter came to £517 8s 9d, against £438 3s 1d in the previous quarter. Most of the rise came from the

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			heavier rations of rice, meat and arrack for the slaves labouring on Mitchell's works.
393	386	The 16 January Brought Over£ 3 2 4 Pepper 2 lb. " 1 - Salt ¼ Bushl. " " 10 Beef 4 Pr. " 14 5 Flour 24 lb. " 4 6 Candles 8 lb. " 17 6 Tea 1 Singlo " 1 3 £ 5 1 10 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Oct. to the 31st Decemr. 1768 viz. Rice & Paddy viz. 911 Rice for the Steward Overs. & Poultry 2 18 4 3369 Paddy for Poult. & Horses 11 15 10 14 14 2 Beef & Pork viz. 14 Pr. Beef for the Steward & Sheep Shearers 2 10 5 7 Do. Pork " 18 10 3 9 3 Iron Ware viz. 5 Gar. Hoes for Plant. House Gardn. " 5 8¾ 3 Spades " 13 9 4 Gar. Rakes " 9 3 4 Pr. Do. Shears " 13 8 1 Iron rim'd Lock for Plt. Ho. " 4 9 8 Pr. Sheep Shears for Shearg. Sheep " 9 - 2 Rag Stones Do. " " 8 12 Spring Rat Traps Plant. House " 18 - 12 Mouse Do. Do. " 6 9 30 Scyth. Stones Do. " 5 7½ 4 Scythes Do. 1 2 9¾ 1 Pad Lock for Horse Point " 1 6 5 16 6 Carrd. Over£ 23 19 11	The stores charged to Mallay continued from a running total of £3 2s 4d and closed with the account's total, and the record then opened the plantation account for the quarter. Brought forward, £3 2s 4d 2 pounds of pepper, £0 1s 0d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 10d 4 pieces of beef, £0 14s 5d 24 pounds of flour, £0 4s 6d 8 pounds of candles, £0 17s 6d 1 [...] of Hyson tea, £0 1s 3d Total charged to Mallay, £5 1s 10d Charged to the plantation: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 Rice and paddy 9 [...] of rice for the steward, the overseer and the poultry, £2 18s 4d 5,369 pounds of paddy for the poultry and horses, £11 15s 10d Total for rice and paddy, £14 14s 2d Beef and pork, for the steward and the sheep shearers 14 pieces of beef, £2 10s 5d 7 pieces of pork, £0 18s 10d Total for beef and pork, £3 9s 3d Ironware 5 garden hoes for the Plantation House garden, £0 5s 8¾d 5 spades for the same, £0 18s 9d 4 garden rakes for the same, £0 9s 3d 4 pairs of garden shears for the same, £0 13s 8d 1 iron-rimmed lock for Plantation House, £0 4s 9d 8 pairs of sheep shears for shearing the sheep, £0 9s 0d 2 ragstones for the same, £0 0s 8d 12 spring rat traps for Plantation House, £0 18s 0d 12 mousetraps for the same, £0 6s 9d 30 scythe stones for the same, £0 5s 7½d 4 scythes for the same, £1 2s 9¾d 1 padlock for the horse pound, £0 1s 6d Total for ironware, £5 16s 6d Carried forward, £23 19s 11d **Interpretations** The sheep shears, ragstones and meat for the shearers marked the annual shearing of the Company's flock. On St Helena this fell between October and December, the southern spring and early summer, when the weather warmed and the sheep no longer needed their fleeces. The flock numbered more than 600 at the start of the quarter. Shearing them required extra hands, who were fed salt meat from the stores for the work. The wool was presumably spun on the island, which would explain the wool cards held in the warehouse. The 12 spring rat traps and 12 mousetraps issued for Plantation House came in the same quarter as the bounty on rats and mice published on 28 November 1768. The Company used both methods at once on its own estate: traps at Plantation House and a reward for every animal brought to the constable. The scythes and scythe stones were for mowing hay. Grass was cut in the warm months to feed the horses and cattle through the dry season.
394	387	1769 Brought Over£ 23 19 11 Cordage 106½ lb. for Thatchg. in Long Wood & Taught Horses 1 15 6 Arrack 10 Gall. for Hay Makers Thatchers & Sheep Shearers	The plantation account continued from a running total of £23 19s 11d and closed with its total, and the record then set out the stores issued to the hospital for the quarter. Brought forward, £23 19s 11d 106½ pounds of cordage for thatching in place of wood and for tethering the horses, £1 15s 6d

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		1 15 5 Sugar 12 lb. Do. " 3 - Turners Ware viz. 1 Skimming Dish for ye Dairy " " 4 12 Ox Bows for Oxen " 16 3 " 16 7 Long Cloth viz. ½ Ps. No. 7 for ye Dairy " 9 9 ½ Do. X " 2 4 " 12 1 Lines 12 No. 4 Gar. use " 4 6 Cutlery Ware 8 Pruning Knives Plant. House Garden " 8 4 £ 29 15 4 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Oct. to the 31st December 1768 viz. Sugar 320 lb. 4 " - Flour 320 lb. 3 " - Rice 320 lb. 1 2 3 Salt 2 Bushels " 6 5 Tea 33 lb. Bohea 1 4 9 Oil 14½ Gall. Drought 4 9 8 Iron Ware viz. 1 Wood Ax " 2 10 1 Ash Helve " " 7 4 Blank Keys " 2 6 " 5 11 £ 14 9 -	10 gallons of arrack for the haymakers, thatchers and sheep shearers, £1 15s 5d 12 pounds of sugar for the same, £0 3s 0d Turners' ware 1 skimming dish for the dairy, £0 0s 4d 1 pair of ox bows for the oxen, £0 16s 3d Total for turners' ware, £0 16s 7d Longcloth, for the dairy ½ piece marked [...], £0 9s 9d ½ piece marked Z, £0 2s 4d Total for longcloth, £0 12s 1d 12 number 4 lines for the garden, £0 4s 6d 8 pruning knives for the Plantation House garden, £0 8s 4d Total charged to the plantation, £29 15s 4d Charged to the hospital: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 320 pounds of sugar, £4 0s 0d 320 pounds of flour, £3 0s 0d 320 pounds of rice, £1 2s 3d 2 bushels of salt, £0 6s 5d [...] of Bohea tea, £1 4s 9d 14¼ gallons of linseed oil, £4 9s 8d Ironware 1 wood axe, £0 2s 10d 1 ash handle, £0 0s 7d 4 blank keys, £0 2s 6d Total for ironware, £0 5s 11d Total charged to the hospital, £14 9s 0d **Interpretations** The plantation used rope in place of wood for thatching. Thatched roofs were normally tied down to a frame of wooden laths and battens. On St Helena timber was scarce and costly, while cordage was held in large quantity for the shipping. Binding the thatch with rope saved the Company's imported timber for the batteries and boats. The thatchers, haymakers and shearers all worked at the plantation in the same season and shared a ration of arrack and sugar for their labour. The hospital's stores were the same as in the previous quarter, and almost to the shilling the same cost. Sugar, flour, rice and tea made up the diet of the sick, with oil for the lamps that burned through the night. The steady charge suggests a fixed allowance for the hospital, unaffected by the deaths in the garrison during December.
395	388	The 16 January Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of October to the 31st Decem. 1768 viz. Cordage 1283 lb. 21 7 8 Canvas 1 Ps. Eng. 2 5 6 Twine 18 Skeins " 9 - Turners Ware 1 Scrubg. Brush " 2 - Oars viz. 1 Large " 5 6 1 Small " 4 - " 9 6 Oil viz. 6 Gall. Lind. 1 17 9 ¼ Oil of Turpen. " 1 4 1 19 1 Pitch & Tar viz. 1½ Barrl. Pitch 2 2 4 3½ Gall. Tar	The record then set out the stores issued for the Company's boats between 1 October and 31 December 1768. Charged to the boats 1,283 pounds of cordage, £21 7s 8d 1 bolt of English canvas, £2 5s 6d 18 pounds of twine, £0 9s 0d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 0d Oars 1 large oar, £0 5s 6d 1 small oar, £0 4s 0d Total for oars, £0 9s 6d Oil 6 gallons of linseed oil, £1 17s 9d ¼ gallon of oil of turpentine, £0 1s 4d Total for oil, £1 19s 1d Pitch and tar 1½ barrels of pitch, £2 2s 4d [...] of tar, £1 14s 3d 49 pounds of turpentine, £1 2s 5d Total for pitch and tar, £4 19s 0d Nails 6 pounds of twopenny nails, £0 5s 1½d 11 pounds of threepenny nails, £0 8s 3d 18 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 10s 1½d 89 pounds of tenpenny nails, £2 0s 9½d 12 pounds of fortypenny nails, £0 4s 6d 10 spikes, £0 3s 1½d

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		1 14 3 49 lb. Turp. 1 2 5 4 19 - Nails viz. 6 lb. 2d. " 5 1½ 11 .. 3 " 8 3 18 .. 6 " 10 1½ 89 .. 10 2 " 9½ 12 .. 40 " 4 6 10 Spikes " 3 1½ 3 11 11 Iron Ware viz. 10 Bolt Rope Needles " 1 -½ 2 Packing Do. " " 3½ 1 Pad Lock " 1 6 " 2 10 Deals viz. 1 Elm Board " 3 7 3½ Ps. Wainst. Do. 1 1 - 1 4 7 Carrd. Over£ 36 11 1	Total for nails, £3 11s 11d Ironware 10 bolt rope needles, £0 1s 0½d 2 packing needles, £0 0s 3½d 1 padlock, £0 1s 6d Total for ironware, £0 2s 10d Timber 1 elm board, £0 3s 7d 3½ wainscot boards, £1 1s 0d Total for timber, £1 4s 7d Carried forward, £36 11s 1d **Interpretations** The boats drew far fewer stores in the last quarter of 1768 than in the previous one. Cordage fell from 55 hundredweight to under 12, and timber from more than £20 to little over £1. Between July and September the longboats had been heavily repaired, perhaps rebuilt, and their rigging renewed. This quarter's issues were for routine upkeep: caulking with pitch and tar, painting with linseed oil and replacing a couple of oars. Fewer ships called in the road during the period, so the boats did less heavy work carrying cargo ashore.
396	389	1769 Brought Over£ 36 11 1 Leather 3½ lb. Sole " 3 3 Paint 1 Pound. Blacking " " 6 Braziers Ware 1 Bottling Cock " 3 5 Arr. 9¾ Gall. for Men Employed Haulg. up & Launchg. the Ld. Boats 1 14 6 Iron Pots 1 Wt. 75 lb. " 14 - £ 39 6 9 Lemon Valley Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Oct. to the 31st Decemr. 1768 viz. Iron Ware viz. 2 Wood Axes " 5 8 7 Ash Helves " 4 1 1 Large Frying Pan " 4 2½ 6 Iron Shovels 1 7 3 3 Pick Axes " 10 - 6 Bricklay. Trowels " 6 9½ 2 18 - Tin Ware viz. 1 Watg. Pot " 3 - 1 Lamp " " 9 " 3 9 Cordage 118 lb. 1 19 4 Deals viz. 1 Baulk " 8 10	The stores issued for the boats continued from a running total of £36 11s 1d and closed with the account's total, and the record then opened the account for the fortifications in Lemon Valley. Brought forward, £36 11s 1d 3½ pounds of sole leather, £0 3s 3d 1 pan of blacking, £0 0s 6d 1 bib tap, £0 3s 5d 9¾ gallons of arrack for the men employed hauling up and launching the boats, £1 14s 6d 1 iron pot weighing 75 pounds, £0 14s 0d Total charged to the boats, £39 6s 9d Charged to the fortifications in Lemon Valley: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 Ironware 2 wood axes, £0 5s 8d 7 ash handles, £0 4s 1d 1 large frying pan, £0 4s 2½d 6 iron shovels, £1 7s 3d 3 pickaxes, £0 10s 0d 6 bricklayers' trowels, £0 6s 9½d Total for ironware, £2 18s 0d Tinware 1 watering pot, £0 3s 0d 1 lamp, £0 0s 9d Total for tinware, £0 3s 9d 118 pounds of cordage, £1 19s 4d Timber 1 baulk, £0 8s 10d 4 [...], £0 12s 8d Total for timber, £1 1s 6d Nails 1 pound of threepenny nails, £0 0s 9d 8 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 4s 10d 26 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 14s 7½d 16 pounds of tenpenny nails, £0 7s 4d 10 pounds of twentypenny nails, £0 3s 11½d 16 pounds of fortypenny nails, £0 6s 0d 12 spikes, £0 3s 2d Total for nails, £2 0s 8d Carried forward, £8 3s 3d **Interpretations**

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		4 Coffers " 12 8 1 1 6 Nails viz. 9 lb. 3d. " 9 - 7 .. 3 " 4 10 8 .. 4 " 14 7½ 26 .. 6 " 7 4 16 .. 10 " 3 11½ 12 .. 20 " 6 - 16 .. 40 " 3 2 12 Spikes 2 " 8 Carrd. Over£ 8 3 3	The boats were hauled up the beach and launched again by hand, and the men who did it received a ration of arrack for the work. With no harbour or slipway at Jamestown, the longboats could not lie safely afloat when heavy swells rolled into the road. They were dragged clear of the surf and run back into the water when a ship needed unloading. The work was heavy and frequent, and the spirit ration was the usual reward for labour of that kind. The stores for Lemon Valley showed the work moving from digging towards building. Bricklayers' trowels, timber and nails of every size now joined the shovels and pickaxes of the previous quarter. Mitchell reported on 2 January 1769 that the line, its ditch and glacis would be finished during that month, leaving only the gun platforms until the rampart had settled.
397	390	The 16 January Brought Over£ 8 3 3 Lines 16 No. 4 " 6 - Iron 217 lb. 2 5 2 Candles 8 lb. " 17 4 Glass Ware 2 Sq. 11½ by 18 " 1 4 Cutlery Ware 1 Shoe Knife " " 4 £ 11 13 5 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Oct. to the 31st Decem. 1768 viz. Blocks 2 Snatch for Sandy Bay 1 7 6 Cordage 70¼ lb. for hoistg. & Lowerg. the Cartl. & Do. 12 4 8 Thread 3 lb. Col. for mendg. Bags & Artillery use " 15 7 Twine 3 lb. Fine " 2 6 Iron Ware viz. 1 Pr. Cross Garnt. Hing. for Banks's " 7 2 3½ Iron binding Wire for Sandy Bay " 4 10 1 Clock Lock for ye Guard Shed " 2 10 " 14 10 Nails viz. 6 lb. 6d. 10 .. 3 22 .. 20 1 .. 40 for Banks's and Fastening Stores on the Curtain " 3 4½ " 7 6½ " 8 8½ " " 4½ 1 " - Paint viz. 1 lb. Whitg. for Sandy Bay " " ½ 12 White Lead dry " " 1½ " " 2 Candles ½ lb. for Waxg. Thread to mend Linen Bags " 1 1	The stores for Lemon Valley continued from a running total of £8 3s 3d and closed with the account's total, and the record then opened the general account for the fortifications. Brought forward, £8 3s 3d 16 [...] of number 4 lines, £0 6s 0d 217 pounds of iron, £2 5s 2d 8 pounds of candles, £0 17s 4d 2 panes of window glass, 11½ by 18 inches, £0 1s 4d 1 shoe knife, £0 0s 4d Total charged to the fortifications in Lemon Valley, £11 13s 5d Charged to the fortifications in general: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 2 snatch blocks for Sandy Bay, £1 7s 6d 7 hundredweight 1 quarter of cordage for hoisting and lowering the guns on the curtain, £12 4s 8d 3 pounds of coloured thread for mending bags and for the artillery's use, £0 15s 7d 3 pounds of twine, £0 2s 6d Ironware 1 pair of cross garnet hinges for Banks's, £0 7s 2d 3½ pounds of iron binding wire for Sandy Bay, £0 4s 10d 1 stock lock for the gunner's stores, £0 2s 10d Total for ironware, £0 14s 10d Nails, for Banks's and for fastening the sheers on the curtain 6 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 3s 4½d 10 pounds of threepenny nails, £0 7s 6½d 22 pounds of twentypenny nails, £0 8s 8½d 1 pound of fortypenny nails, £0 0s 4½d Total for nails, £1 0s 0d Paint, for Sandy Bay [...] of whiting, £0 0s 0½d [...] of white lead, dry, £0 0s 1½d Total for paint, £0 0s 2d ½ pound of candles for waxing thread to mend sandbags, £0 1s 1d Oil, for Sandy Bay ⅝ gallon of linseed oil, £0 2s 4d 1 flask of Florence oil, £0 3s 6d Total for oil, £0 5s 10d Carried forward, £16 12s 2d **Interpretations** The cordage and the nails for fastening sheers on the curtain matched the gunner's December account, which recorded 16 guns taken down from the curtain with their carriages, bolts and levers. Lowering heavy iron guns from a high wall needed sheers, tall paired spars lashed at the top, with blocks and strong rope

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		Oil viz. 5/8 Gall. Drought for Sandy Bay " 2 4 1 Bott. Florence " 3 6 " 5 10 Carrd. Over£ 16 12 2	rigged from them. More than 7 hundredweight of cordage was used in the operation. The guns came down to clear the way for rebuilding the two demi-bastions in James's Valley, which the Council had approved on 2 January 1769. The thread waxed with candle grease was used to mend sandbags. Sandbags were stacked on the batteries to protect the gunners and to repair breaches quickly. Waxing the thread made it stronger and kept out the damp. The issues to Sandy Bay, on the island's south coast, showed that the Company kept up its older defences there while the new works went forward elsewhere.
398	391	1769 Brought Over£ 16 12 2 Lines 7 No. 4 for Banks's " 2 8 Arrack 4½ for Men emp. Getg. Guns on the Curtain " 15 11 £ 17 10 9 Mundens Point Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Oct. to the 31st December 1768 viz. Iron Ware viz. 73 Ash Helves 2 2 -½ 7 Iron bindg. Wire " 6 1½ 4 Stone Saws 1 " 7 1 Two feet Rule " 1 - 1 Stock Lock " 2 10½ 1 Gimblet " " 2½ 3 13 - Oars 17 Large 4 13 6 Nails viz. 9 lb. 4d. " 5 5½ 13 .. 6 " 7 3¾ " 12 9 Cordage 54 lb. 9 1 - Deals 1 Coffer " 3 2 Leather 10½ lb. Sole " 9 7 Oil ½ Gall. Lind. " 3 2 Lines 1 No. 4 " " 4 Candles ½ lb. " 1 1 £ 18 17 7 Errors Excepted (signed) p James Powell Storekeepr. St. Helena 31st December 1768	The general account for the fortifications continued from a running total of £16 12s 2d and closed with its total, and the record then set out the stores issued for Munden's Point for the quarter. Brought forward, £16 12s 2d 7 number 4 lines for Banks's, £0 2s 8d 4½ gallons of arrack for the men lowering the guns on the curtain, £0 15s 11d Total charged to the fortifications in general, £17 10s 9d Charged to Munden's Point: stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1768 Ironware 73 ash handles, £2 2s 0½d 7 pounds of iron binding wire, £0 6s 1½d 4 stone saws, £1 0s 7d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 0d 1 stock lock, £0 2s 10½d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 2½d Total for ironware, £3 13s 0d 17 large oars, £4 13s 6d Nails 9 pounds of fourpenny nails, £0 5s 5¼d 13 pounds of sixpenny nails, £0 7s 3¾d Total for nails, £0 12s 9d 543 pounds of cordage, £9 1s 0d 1 [...], £0 3s 2d 10½ pounds of sole leather, £0 9s 7d ½ gallon of linseed oil, £0 3s 2d 1 number 4 line, £0 0s 4d ½ pound of candles, £0 1s 1d Total charged to Munden's Point, £18 17s 7d James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 31 December 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The 17 large oars charged to Munden's Point suggest that much of the material for the battery went there by sea. The Point lay on a steep headland north of Jamestown, awkward to reach with carts over the island's paths. Boats loaded at the landing could carry stone, lime and timber round the coast and land them beneath the work, where the cordage, blocks and sheers already issued would hoist them up the cliff. The stone saws cut the blocks quarried from the rock blasted away to form the battery's platform. The arrack issued to the men lowering the guns from the curtain completed the record of that operation, which also appeared in the gunner's December account. As with the boatmen, heavy and dangerous hauling earned a spirit ration.
399	392	The 16 January List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Commencing from the 1st of Octob. and ending the 31st day of December 1768 John Skottowe Esq. Governor Saly.£ 125 - - Do. Allowance for Servants as usual	The list of the Company's officers and employees on St Helena, with their salaries, table allowances and other pay for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1768, was entered as follows. Governor John Skottowe, salary, £125 0s 0d Governor John Skottowe, usual allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d Total for Governor Skottowe, £156 14s 9d Matthew Purling, councillor, salary, £15 0s 0d

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		31 14 9 156 14 9 Matthew Purling of Council Saly. 15 - - Do. Allowc. 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. Gratuity 15 - - 62 10 - Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Counl. 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 Beancroft Chapl. Saly. 40 - - Do. Diet Money 15 - - 55 - - Matthew Bazett Secrety. Saly. 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - James Powell Storekpr. Saly. 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - William Wrangham Fact. Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Assist. to the Govr. 10 - - 30 - - Jonathan Dowlon Fact. Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. Assist. Storekpr. 5 - - 22 10 - Bartholomew Wright Fact. Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 - - John Goodwin Writer Saly. 5 - - Do. Diet Money 10 - - 15 - - Carrd. Over£ 519 4 9	Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, table allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Total for Matthew Purling, £62 10s 0d Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, councillor, salary, £7 10s 0d Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Captain 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 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 Carried forward, £519 4s 9d **Interpretations** The Governor, Purling and Kirkpatrick together drew £229 4s 9d this quarter. In the previous quarter the entries above Mitchell had come to £249 7s 5d. The difference of about £20 was Daniel Corneille's pay as Lieutenant Governor, which ceased with his resignation on 21 July 1768. No successor had been appointed. The Council ran with three members, and the Company saved the post's salary until the Court of Directors filled it. Purling drew far more than his fellow councillor. Besides his council salary and table allowance, he was paid as accountant and received a gratuity of £15 0s 0d for the quarter. Kirkpatrick drew only £7 10s 0d as councillor and his house rent, since his main income came from his captaincy of the First Company. The gratuity rewarded Purling for the extra work that fell on him after Corneille's departure, including the inspections of waste land and the stocktaking of the warehouses. The Governor's allowance for servants was a fixed sum paid on top of his salary to maintain his household staff. Together with his share of the Company's table and the candles issued to him, it made the governorship by far the best-paid post on the island.
400	393	1769 Brought Over£ 519 4 9 George Bazett Writer Saly. 5 - -	The list of officers and employees continued from a running total of £519 4s 9d. Brought forward, £519 4s 9d George Bazett, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d

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		Do. Diet Money 10 - - 15 - - Robert Barclay Surgeons Saly. 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 Saly. 12 10 - Do. School Master 7 10 - 20 - - Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 22 10 - Thomas Bazett Superintd. 13 15 - John Bazett Do. of the Compys. Blacks 10 - - Samuel Alexander Overseers 7 10 - John Worrall 15 - - William Holbrook Mast. Mason 30 - - John Preston Masons Mate 20 - - John Robinson Carpentr. 25 - - Peter Merot Do. Mate 38 days @ £12.. 10 p Yr. 5 4 1½ James Hogg Do. Do. 54 Do. @ £12.. 10 p Yr. 7 5 10½ John Drawwater Cooper 8 15 - John Robins Armour. 15 - - Sol. St. Maurice Mast. at Arms 6 5 - Thomas Payne Overseer of ye Compys. Watermen 72 days @ 1/6 p day 5 9 6 Robert Leech Compys. Steward 7 10 - Thomas Yates Clerk of the Church 5 - - John Joyce Clerk & Instrmt. Cleaner 1 5 - Robert Allen Groom 2 - - John Cogswell Patroon of the L.J. Boats 7 10 - John Price Marshall & Goaler 7 10 - To the Drum Major for instructg. the Young Drumrs. 1 - - John Lemon an Invalid 92 days 3 9 - 226 16 6 Carrd. Over£ 822 1 3	George Bazett, table allowance, £10 0s 0d Total for George Bazett, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Barclay, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Pritchard, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £12 10s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £7 10s 0d Total for Richard Beale, £20 0s 0d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £22 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, superintendent, £13 15s 0d John Bazett, superintendent of the Company's slaves, £10 0s 0d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d John Worrall, overseer, £15 0s 0d William Holbrook, master mason, £30 0s 0d John Preston, mason's mate, £20 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Peter Mariot, carpenter's mate, for 38 days at £12 10s 0d a quarter, £5 4s 1½d James Hogg, carpenter's mate, for 53 days at £12 10s 0d a quarter, £7 5s 10½d John Drawwater, cooper, £8 15s 0d John Robins, armourer, £15 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d Thomas Payne, overseer of the Company's works, for 73 days at 1s 6d a day, £5 9s 6d Robert Leech, the Company's steward, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, clerk of the church, £5 0s 0d John Joyce, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Robert Allen, groom, £2 0s 0d John Corfield, patroon of the Company's boats, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d The drum major, for teaching the young drummers, £1 0s 0d John Lawrence, invalid, for 92 days, £3 9s 0d Total for the page, £226 16s 6d Carried forward, £822 1s 3d **Interpretations** The quarter's pay recorded the outcome of two of the Council's decisions to the day. Peter Mariot was paid for 38 days, from 1 October to 7 November 1768, the day the Council dismissed him for neglecting his work in the carpenters' shop. James Hogg took over the post from the next day. Thomas Payne was paid as overseer of the works for 73 days, up to 12 December 1768, the day the Council dismissed him for his charges against Mitchell and Bazett. His allowance as clerk of the works passed to George Bazett at the same daily rate. The surgeon was now Robert Barclay. The salary, diet money and house rent were the same as in the previous quarter. The post had changed hands at the same rate of pay, and the record gave no explanation. Solomon St Maurice appeared here as master at arms, the officer responsible for drill and the discipline of the guard. He was also a lieutenant of the First Company. As with Beale, Thomas Bazett and others, a single officer held a military rank and a separate paid post, each drawing its own allowance.
401	394	The 16 January Brought Over£ 822 1 3 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Capt. Saly. 45 12 6	The pay list continued from £822 1s 3d with the officers and men of the First Company. Brought forward, £822 1s 3d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d

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		Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Samuel Desfountain Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjt. Saly. 29 13 1½ Serjeants Thomas Payne disch. 12th Decem. 6 1 8 Henry Howell 7 13 4 William Rowlands 7 13 4 John Allum 7 13 4 Thomas Townsend 19 Days 1 11 8 Do. Corpl. 73 Do. 4 5 2 34 18 6 Corporals George Rose 5 7 4 George Seale 5 7 4 Thomas Mears 5 7 4 William Smitt 19 Days 1 2 2 Do. Centl. 73 Do. 3 " 10 20 5 - Drummers John Martin 5 7 4 Richard Pleffert 5 7 4 Joseph Peerham 5 7 4 16 2 - Centinels James Avery 3 16 8 James Armstrong 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. Over£ 7 13 4 Carrd. Over£ 1023 16 1½	Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Solomon St Maurice, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Desfountain, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, adjutant, salary, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Thomas Payne, sergeant, discharged 12 December, £6 1s 8d Henry Howell, sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Rowlands, sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Allman, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Thomas Townsend, sergeant, for 19 days, £1 11s 8d Thomas Townsend, as corporal for 73 days, £4 5s 2d Total for the sergeants, £34 18s 6d Corporals George Roe, corporal, £5 7s 4d George Seale, corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Mears, corporal, £5 7s 4d William Small, corporal, for 19 days, £1 2s 2d William Small, as private for 73 days, £3 0s 10d Total for the corporals, £20 5s 0d Drummers John Martin, drummer, £5 7s 4d Richard Stafford, drummer, £5 7s 4d Joseph Peckham, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £16 2s 0d Private soldiers James Avery, private, £3 16s 8d James Armstrong, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £7 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,023 16s 1½d **Interpretations** Payne's dismissal on 12 December 1768 cost him his sergeant's place in the First Company as well as his post as overseer of the works. His pay as sergeant stopped on the same day. Thomas Townsend was promoted from corporal to fill the vacancy from 13 December, and William Small moved up from private to take Townsend's place as corporal. The chain of promotion followed the same pattern as Bannister's death in August. Townsend was one of the witnesses heard on 12 December. His evidence that he never heard Dobson speak of Mitchell's orders helped clear Mitchell and Bazett and sink Payne's case. He received Payne's sergeancy the next day. The record does not say whether his testimony played any part in his promotion. He was the obvious candidate as senior corporal in the same company. Still, the man whose evidence told against the accuser stepped into the accuser's rank at once.
402	395	1769 Brought Over£ 1023 16 1½ Centinels brought Over£ 7 13 4 John Buchanan 3 16 8 Moses Boffey 3 16 8 John Bell 3 16 8 John Barns 3 16 8 Timothy Bryan 3 16 8 Emanuel Bunner 3 16 8 William Benson 3 16 8 Benjamin Barclay	The First Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £7 13s 4d. Brought forward, £1,023 16s 1½d Private soldiers brought forward, £7 13s 4d John Brockhurst, private, £3 16s 8d Moses Biffen, private, £3 16s 8d John Brill, private, £3 16s 8d John Barnes, private, £3 16s 8d Timothy Bryan, private, £3 16s 8d Emmanuel Bunner, private, £3 16s 8d William Benson, private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Barclay, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Brown, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Brewick, private, £3 16s 8d William Bunn, private, £3 16s 8d John Bacon, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Cocker, private, £3 16s 8d William Clissold, private, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 8 Richard Brown 3 16 8 Thomas Berwick 3 16 8 William Bunn 3 16 8 John Blavin 3 16 8 Edward Caker 3 16 8 William Clifford 3 16 8 Patrick Conner 3 16 8 Andrew Conner 3 16 8 John Charlton 3 16 8 William Coppin 3 16 8 John Davis 3 16 8 John Dove 3 16 8 James Drake 3 16 8 Thomas Durham transf. 9th Novemr. 1 12 6 James Dunn 3 16 8 George Dyce 3 16 8 Adam Evans 3 16 8 Henry Everton 3 16 8 Cornelius Fish 3 16 8 William French 3 16 8 William Foster 3 16 8 William Greenwood 3 16 8 John Granger 3 16 8 William Henderson 3 16 8 John Hourston 3 16 8 Edward Haddock 3 16 8 William Holmes Centl. Carrd. Over£ 139 12 6 Carrd. Over£ 1023 16 1½	Patrick Conner, private, £3 16s 8d Andrew Conner, private, £3 16s 8d John Charlton, private, £3 16s 8d William Coppen, private, £3 16s 8d John Davis, private, £3 16s 8d John Dean, private, £3 16s 8d James Drakes, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Durham, private, transferred 9 November, £1 12s 6d James Dunn, private, £3 16s 8d George Dyer, private, £3 16s 8d Adam Evans, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Cowdrey, private, £3 16s 8d Cornelius Fish, private, £3 16s 8d William French, private, £3 16s 8d William Fisher, private, £3 16s 8d William Greenwood, private, £3 16s 8d John Grainger, private, £3 16s 8d William Henderson, private, £3 16s 8d John Houston, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Haddock, private, £3 16s 8d William Holmes, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £139 12s 6d Carried forward, £1,023 16s 1½d **Interpretations** John Grainger, who gave evidence in the inquiry of 12 December 1768, drew a private's pay in the First Company for the full quarter. He had told the Council he worked in the carpenters' shop and was in the Company's pay at the time the billiard house was built. Like James Hogg, he was a soldier with a trade, put to work in the Company's shops while remaining on the military roll. Such men could be called as witnesses on the Company's works because they had laboured on them in person.
403	396	The 16 January Brought Over£ 1023 16 1½ Centl. brought Over£ 139 12 6 Owen Howard transf. 22 Decemr. 3 8 4 Phillip Hayes 3 16 8 John Hammond 3 16 8 John Hill 3 16 8 Sutton Isaac 3 16 8 William Jones 3 16 8 Duncan McLaren 3 16 8 William Mumford 3 16 8	The First Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £139 12s 6d and closed with their total. Brought forward, £1,023 16s 1½d Private soldiers brought forward, £139 12s 6d Owen Howard, private, transferred 22 December, £3 8s 4d Phillip Hayes, private, £3 16s 8d John Hammond, private, £3 16s 8d John Hill, private, £3 16s 8d Sutton Isaacs, private, £3 16s 8d William Jones, private, £3 16s 8d Duncan McLaren, private, £3 16s 8d William Mumford, private, £3 16s 8d John McAllister, private, £3 16s 8d James Miller, private, £3 16s 8d William Mudge, private, £3 16s 8d Mathew Palmer, private, £3 16s 8d William Page, private, £3 16s 8d

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		John McAllister 3 16 8 James Miller 3 16 8 William Mudge 3 16 8 Mathew Oalmen 3 16 8 William Page 3 16 8 Thomas Roberts 3 16 8 William Robinson 3 16 8 Silvanus Rolf 3 16 8 Thomas Rogers 3 16 8 Anthony Reynolds 3 16 8 William Swaby 3 16 8 John Springthorpe 3 16 8 John Skeans 3 16 8 John Steward 3 16 8 Edward Silverton 3 16 8 James Swanson 3 16 8 Joseph Tracy 3 16 8 William Tapper 3 16 8 John Fanton 3 16 8 Joseph Valentine 3 16 8 John Whittingdale 3 16 8 Benjamin Wise 3 16 8 Thomas Windall 3 16 8 John Weston 3 16 8 George Wall 3 16 8 265 14 2 Carrd. Over£ 1289 10 3½	Thomas Roberts, private, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, private, £3 16s 8d Silvanus Rolfe, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rosser, private, £3 16s 8d Anthony Reynolds, private, £3 16s 8d William Swaby, private, £3 16s 8d John Springthorpe, private, £3 16s 8d John Rains, private, £3 16s 8d John Stewart, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Stevenson, private, £3 16s 8d James Swanson, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Storey, private, £3 16s 8d William Tipper, private, £3 16s 8d John Tanker, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Valentine, private, £3 16s 8d John Whittingdale, private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Wise, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Windall, private, £3 16s 8d John Weston, private, £3 16s 8d George Wall, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the First Company's private soldiers, £265 14s 2d Carried forward, £1,289 10s 3½d **Interpretations** The First Company's private soldiers cost £265 14s 2d this quarter, against £278 15s 0d between July and September. The fall came from the men who left the roll: Thomas Durham transferred on 9 November, Owen Howard on 22 December and William Small promoted to corporal. The recruits John Hill and John Tanker, who joined part-way through the previous quarter, now drew full pay. No new man had been enlisted to fill the gaps. The company was left a few men short at the year's end, while the works at Lemon Valley and Munden's Point drew heavily on the garrison's labour.
404	397	1769 Brought Over£ 1289 10 3½ Second Company Henry Bazett Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Michael Groot 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 13 4 Stephen Payor	The pay list continued from £1,289 10s 3½d with the officers and men of the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,289 10s 3½d Second Company Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Michael Frost, £27 11s 10½d John Mare Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Mare Welch, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Mare Welch, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Mare Welch, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Bazett, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Stephen Rogers, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Robert Stephenson, sergeant, for 87 days, £7 5s 0d Robert Stephenson, as corporal for 5 days, £0 5s 10d John Salisbury, sergeant, for 40 days, £3 6s 8d John Salisbury, as corporal for 52 days, £3 0s 8d Total for the sergeants, £29 4s 10d

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		7 13 4 Robert Hopkinson 87 days 7 5 - Do. Corpl. 5 Do. " 5 10 John Salsbury 40 Do. 3 6 8 Do. Corpl. 52 Do. 3 - 8 29 4 10 Corporals Samuel Parker 5 7 4 William Merrick 5 7 4 Francis Seale 3 1 6 Do. Centl. " 4 2 Joseph Whaley 2 6 8 Do. Centl. 2 3 4 20 10 4 Drummers John Brown 5 7 4 Patrick Edwington 5 7 4 10 14 8 Centinels Robert Allum 3 16 8 Joseph Banks 3 16 8 William Birch 3 16 8 William Brooks 3 16 8 Jacob Brown 3 16 8 Robert Brown 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. Over£ 23 - - Carrd. Over£ 1450 16 4½	Corporals Samuel Parker, corporal, £5 7s 4d William Merrick, corporal, £5 7s 4d Francis Seale, corporal, for 87 days, £5 1s 6d Francis Seale, as private for 5 days, £0 4s 2d Joseph Whaley, corporal, for 40 days, £2 6s 8d Joseph Whaley, as private for 52 days, £2 3s 4d Total for the corporals, £20 10s 4d Drummers John Brown, drummer, £5 7s 4d Patrick Etherington, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Private soldiers Robert Allen, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Banks, private, £3 16s 8d William Birch, private, £3 16s 8d William Brooks, private, £3 16s 8d Jacob Brown, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Bowey, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £23 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,450 16s 4½d **Interpretations** Two sergeants' places in the Second Company fell vacant during the quarter. John Fish and John Sabourin, who served as sergeants in September, no longer appeared on the roll. The vacancies were filled from below, as before. Robert Stephenson was promoted from corporal on 6 October and John Salisbury on 22 November. Francis Seale and Joseph Whaley moved up from the ranks to take their places as corporals on the same days. Each man's pay was divided at the date of his step up, so the Company paid exactly for the rank he held each day.
405	398	The 16 January Brought Over£ 1450 16 4½ Centl. brought Over£ 23 - - Nicholas Bushel 3 16 8 Daniel Burge 3 16 8 James Byrne 3 16 8 Jonathan Burden 3 16 8 William Conquest 3 16 8 John Crawley 3 16 8 William Carfree 3 16 8 William Carter 3 16 8 John Cunningham 3 16 8 Robert Dickens 3 16 8 William Drummond 3 16 8 John Dayley 3 16 8 Mathew Dunhill transf. 15th Novemr. 1 17 6 Peter Ellam	The Second Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £23 0s 0d. Brought forward, £1,450 16s 4½d Private soldiers brought forward, £23 0s 0d Nicholas Bustell, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Pye, private, £3 16s 8d James Byron, private, £3 16s 8d Jonathan Bartley, private, £3 16s 8d William Conquest, private, £3 16s 8d John Crowley, private, £3 16s 8d William Carter, private, £3 16s 8d William Carder, private, £3 16s 8d John Cunningham, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Dickson, private, £3 16s 8d William Devereux, private, £3 16s 8d John Dayley, private, £3 16s 8d Mathew Burchell, private, transferred 15 November, £1 17s 6d Peter Allam, private, £3 16s 8d John Forbes, private, £3 16s 8d William Fulford, private, £3 16s 8d John Fish, private, for 87 days, £3 12s 6d John Fish, as sergeant for 5 days, £0 8s 4d John Glossop, private, £3 16s 8d John Gray, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Green, private, £3 16s 8d James Gates, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Golding, private, £3 16s 8d William Harris senior, private, £3 16s 8d William Harris junior, private, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 8 John Forbes 3 16 8 William Fullwood 3 16 8 John Fish 87 days 3 12 6 Do. Serjt. 5 Do. " 8 4 John Goldsole 3 16 8 John Gray 3 16 8 Robert Green 3 16 8 James Gates 3 16 8 Charles Goulding 3 16 8 William Harris Senr. 3 16 8 William Harris Junr. 3 16 8 Abraham Harding 3 16 8 Samuel Hiles 3 16 8 John Holbrook 3 16 8 Thomas Haylis 3 16 8 James Hudson 3 16 8 James Hogg 3 16 8 John Ham 3 16 8 William Hunt 3 16 8 Samuel Instone 3 16 8 William Johnson 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. Over£ 151 11 8 Carrd. Over£ 1450 16 4½	Abraham Harding, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Hiles, private, £3 16s 8d John Holbrook, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hayter, private, £3 16s 8d James Hudson, private, £3 16s 8d James Hogg, private, £3 16s 8d John Hart, private, £3 16s 8d William Hunt, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Jesson, private, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £151 11s 8d Carried forward, £1,450 16s 4½d **Interpretations** John Fish served as sergeant for only the first 5 days of the quarter and was then paid as a private for the remaining 87. He had been reduced to the ranks on 6 October 1768. On the same day Robert Stephenson was promoted to sergeant and Francis Seale to corporal. The record gave no reason for the demotion. Reduction to the ranks was the usual punishment for a non-commissioned officer found drunk on duty or guilty of some breach of discipline, and Fish's pay fell from 20d to 10d a day at once. James Hogg drew a private's pay for the whole quarter, even though he had been carpenter's mate since 8 November 1768 at £12 10s 0d a quarter. He kept his place and pay as a soldier alongside the civil post. A soldier with a trade lost nothing by taking up skilled work for the Company, which made such men willing to serve in its shops.
406	399	1769 Brought Over£ 1450 16 4½ Centl. brought Over£ 151 11 8 John Jacks 3 16 8 Thomas James 3 16 8 John James 3 16 8 Francis Jackson 3 16 8 Samuel Kirkham 3 16 8 Henry Ketcham 3 16 8 John Kemp 3 16 8 Henry Miller 3 16 8 John Morris 3 16 8 John McCullen 3 16 8 William Mackbeth 3 16 8 Abraham Miller 3 16 8 Joseph McCartney 3 16 8 Thomas Mathews	The Second Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £151 11s 8d and closed with their total. Brought forward, £1,450 16s 4½d Private soldiers brought forward, £151 11s 8d John Jacks, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas James, private, £3 16s 8d John James, private, £3 16s 8d Francis Jackson, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Kitteridge, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Kirkham, private, £3 16s 8d John King, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Miller, private, £3 16s 8d John Morris, private, £3 16s 8d John McCallum, private, £3 16s 8d William Macbeth, private, £3 16s 8d Abraham Miller, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph McCartney, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Mitchell, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Morgan, private, £3 16s 8d Reeves Osborn, private, £3 16s 8d George Oliver, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Perry, private, £3 16s 8d John Povey, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Palmer, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Richards, private, £3 16s 8d William Richardson, private, £3 16s 8d John Christopher Shefe, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Seaver, private, £3 16s 8d Gregory Southernwood, private, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 8 Thomas Morgan 3 16 8 Reeves Osborn 3 16 8 George Oliver 3 16 8 Samuel Perry 3 16 8 John Perry 3 16 8 Thomas Palmer 3 16 8 Thomas Richards 3 16 8 William Richardson 3 16 8 Jno. Christr. Rufe 3 16 8 Thomas Stowers 3 16 8 Gregory Southernwood 3 16 8 Frederick Shaffer 3 16 8 George Street 3 16 8 John Sabourin 40 days 1 13 4 Do. Serjt. 52 Do. 4 6 8 John Tucker 3 16 8 John Vaughan 3 16 8 John Whyatt 3 16 3 272 11 8 Carrd. Over£ 1723 8 -½	Frederick Sheffer, private, £3 16s 8d George Street, private, £3 16s 8d John Sabourin, private, for 40 days, £1 13s 4d John Sabourin, as sergeant for 52 days, £4 6s 8d John Tucker, private, £3 16s 8d John Vaughan, private, £3 16s 8d John Whyrell, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the Second Company's private soldiers, £272 11s 8d Carried forward, £1,723 8s 0½d **Interpretations** John Sabourin, promoted to sergeant on George Freeman's discharge in August 1768, held the rank only until 21 November. He served the last 40 days of the quarter as a private. His fall opened the place John Salisbury filled from 22 November, with Joseph Whaley rising to corporal behind him. Both of the Second Company's sergeants' vacancies this quarter thus came from demotions, not deaths or discharges. Fish was broken on 6 October and Sabourin seven weeks later. The record gave no reasons, but two reductions in one company within a quarter point to a firm hand on discipline under Captain Henry Bazett.
407	400	The 16 January Brought Over£ 1723 8 -½ Third Company Richard Beale Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Serjeants William Roberts 7 13 4 William Clifton 7 13 4 Samuel Johnson 7 13 4 Thomas Pearce 7 13 4 30 13 4 Corporals John Hilliard 5 7 4 David Scott 5 7 4 Richard Ashford 5 7 4	The pay list continued from £1,723 8s 0½d with the officers and men of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,723 8s 0½d Third Company Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Lambert, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants William Roberts, sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Clifford, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Samuel Johnson, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Thomas Pearce, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Total for the sergeants, £30 13s 4d Corporals John Hilliard, corporal, £5 7s 4d David Reid, corporal, £5 7s 4d Richard Ashford, corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Taylor, corporal, for 91 days, £5 6s 2d Thomas Taylor, as private for 1 day, £0 0s 10d Total for the corporals, £21 9s 0d Drummers John Swale, drummer, £5 7s 4d George Varney, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Private soldiers James Anderson, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Brown, private, £3 16s 8d Jacob Bell, private, £3 16s 8d Mark Wells, private, £3 16s 8d Frederick William Beard, private, £3 16s 8d

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		Thomas Taylor 91 Days 5 6 2 Do. Corpl. 1 Do. " " 10 21 9 - Drummers John Francis 5 7 4 George Varney 5 7 4 10 14 8 Centinels James Anderson 3 16 8 Henry Brown 3 16 8 Jacob Bull 3 16 8 Mark Bolls 3 16 8 Fredk. Wm. Bird 3 16 8 John Bloxham 3 16 8 William Caleb Baldwin 3 16 8 Abel Wagnel 3 16 8 John Cook 3 16 8 Robert Davis 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. Over£ 38 6 8 Carrd. Over£ 1887 1 3½	John Blackhorn, private, £3 16s 8d William Caleb Baldwin, private, £3 16s 8d Abel Bagnall, private, £3 16s 8d John Goff, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Davis, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £38 6s 8d Carried forward, £1,887 1s 3½d **Interpretations** The Third Company had served the whole of the previous quarter without a single change among its non-commissioned officers. This quarter one corporal's place changed hands on the first day. John Shirland, a corporal in September, no longer appeared. Thomas Taylor, previously a private in the same company, was paid as private for 1 October only and as corporal from the 2nd. The vacancy must have opened at the very end of September or on the first day of the new quarter. The Company filled it within a day, keeping the company's establishment of four corporals complete.
408	401	1769 Brought Over£ 1887 1 3½ Centl. brought Over£ 38 6 8 Edward Dudley 3 16 8 James Donavan 3 16 8 William Edwards 3 16 8 Charles Edgels 3 16 8 William Foster 3 16 8 John Foxon 3 16 8 William Ford 3 16 8 Archibald Grayham 3 16 8 Richard Gregory 3 16 8 William Greenup 3 16 8 Felix Hyder 3 16 8 William Hill 3 16 8 William Hopkins 3 16 8 Thomas Hilbrook 3 16 8 Mannord Hayes 3 16 8 Joseph Holloway 3 16 8 Robert Hardie 3 16 8 Peter Higgins 3 16 8 William Hamilton 3 16 8	The Third Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £38 6s 8d. Brought forward, £1,887 1s 3½d Private soldiers brought forward, £38 6s 8d Edward Dudley, private, £3 16s 8d James Dornahan, private, £3 16s 8d William Edwards, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Edgels, private, £3 16s 8d William Foster, private, £3 16s 8d John Ferson, private, £3 16s 8d William Ford, private, £3 16s 8d Archibald Grayham, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Gregory, private, £3 16s 8d William Greenup, private, £3 16s 8d Felix Hyler, private, £3 16s 8d William Hill, private, £3 16s 8d William Hopkins, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hillock, private, £3 16s 8d Maynard Hayes, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Holloway, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Hardie, private, £3 16s 8d Peter Higgins, private, £3 16s 8d William Hamilton, private, £3 16s 8d Josiah Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Johnston, private, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d James Kemp, private, £3 16s 8d John Long, private, £3 16s 8d Edward Lamburn, private, £3 16s 8d Bryan Lynch, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Little, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Montague, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Moyle, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Morton, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Minns, private, £3 16s 8d John Miller, private, £3 16s 8d Abraham Major, private, £3 16s 8d James Moyse, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £172 10s 0d Carried forward, £1,887 1s 3½d

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		Josiah Johnson 3 16 8 Richard Johnson 3 16 8 Robert Johnston 3 16 8 William Johnson 3 16 8 James Kemp 3 16 8 John Long 3 16 8 Edward Lambert 3 16 8 Bryan Lynch 3 16 8 Thomas Little 3 16 8 Charles Montague 3 16 8 Richard Moyse 3 16 8 Joseph Martin 3 16 8 Thomas Morris 3 16 8 John Miller 3 16 8 Abraham Major 3 16 8 James Moyse Centl. Carrd. Over£ 172 10 - Carrd. Over£ 1887 1 3½	**Interpretations** Charles Montague drew a full quarter's pay although he died on Saturday 31 December 1768. His death fell on the last day of the quarter, so the rule of paying a soldier to the day of his death gave him the whole 92 days. The sum became part of his estate, like the wages of James Long and Thomas Naylor before him.
409	402	The 16 January Brought Over£ 1887 1 3½ Centl. brought Over£ 172 10 - Thomas Mathews 3 16 8 William Medcalf 3 16 8 Charles Morriss 3 16 8 James Mannington 3 16 8 Charles Newstead Decd. 8th Novemr. 1 12 6 Thomas Perry 3 16 8 Henry Pinchin 3 16 8 David Patten 3 16 8 William Perkins 3 16 8 James Proctor 3 16 8 William Robinson 3 16 8 Robert Sack 3 16 8 Arthur Skill 3 16 8 Adam Scott 3 16 8 William Smith 3 16 8 John Sherland 91 days 3 15 10 Do. Corpl. 1 Do. " 1 2 John Thompson 3 16 8 George Fennes 3 16 8 Richard Vincent	The Third Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £172 10s 0d and closed with their total, and the list then opened the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £1,887 1s 3½d Private soldiers brought forward, £172 10s 0d Thomas Matthews, private, £3 16s 8d William Medcalf, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Morris, private, £3 16s 8d James Mannington, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Newstead, private, died 8 November, £1 12s 6d Thomas Penny, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Puffin, private, £3 16s 8d David Paton, private, £3 16s 8d William Parkes, private, £3 16s 8d James Proctor, private, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, private, £3 16s 8d Robert Stack, private, £3 16s 8d Arthur Shill, private, £3 16s 8d Adam Scott, private, £3 16s 8d William Smith, private, £3 16s 8d John Shirland, private, for 91 days, £3 15s 10d John Shirland, as corporal for 1 day, £0 1s 2d John Thompson, private, £3 16s 8d George Towns, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Vincent, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ward, private, £3 16s 8d George Warrington, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Wellington, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Webb, private, £3 16s 8d James York, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Masterson, private, £3 16s 8d Hatton Walker, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the Third Company's private soldiers, £269 19s 6d Fourth Company John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d James Greentree, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Greentree, £27 11s 10½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 Thomas Ward 3 16 8 George Washington 3 16 8 Thomas Wiffington 3 16 8 Samuel Word 3 16 8 James York 3 16 8 Daniel Masterson 3 16 8 Holton Walker 3 16 8 269 19 6 Fourth Company John Howard Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 James Greentree Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carrd. Over£ 2230 5 2-	Carried forward, £2,230 5s 2d **Interpretations** John Shirland had not left the Third Company. He was reduced from corporal to private after the first day of the quarter and served the remaining 91 days in the ranks. Thomas Taylor took his place as corporal from 2 October. Three non-commissioned officers were broken within the quarter: Fish and Sabourin in the Second Company, and Shirland in the Third. Each demotion came early in the posting or in a sudden step. Together they suggest a period of stricter discipline in the garrison during the final months of 1768, while the men were heavily employed on the works. Greentree now appeared alone as lieutenant of the Fourth Company, drawing a full quarter's pay. In the previous quarter the post had been divided between him and Henry De Laune, who died on 8 August 1768. His first full quarter at the rank brought him the salary, diet money and house rent of a lieutenant, the same as the other officers of that grade.
410	403	1769 Brought Over£ 2230 5 2 Serjeants John Fleming 7 13 4 John Moore 7 13 4 Joseph West 7 13 4 John Dale 47 days 3 18 4 Do. Corpl. 45 Do. 2 12 6 29 10 10 Corporals Thomas Hilliard 5 7 4 Thomas Williams 5 7 4 John Terry 68 days 3 19 4 Do. Centl. 24 Do. 1 " " Thomas Blake 47 Do. 2 14 10 Do. Centl. 45 Do. 1 17 6 20 6 4 Drummers George Hill 5 7 4 John Sampson 5 7 4 10 14 8 Centinels John Allen 3 16 8 William Allen 3 16 8 Daniel Armon 3 16 8 George Bennett 3 16 8 Joseph Blackwell 3 16 8 John Beauchamp 3 16 8 John Bewler	The Fourth Company's list continued with its sergeants, corporals, drummers and private soldiers. Brought forward, £2,230 5s 2d Sergeants John Fleming, sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Moore, sergeant, £7 13s 4d Joseph West, sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Deale, sergeant, for 47 days, £3 18s 4d John Deale, as corporal for 45 days, £2 12s 6d Total for the sergeants, £29 10s 10d Corporals Thomas Hilliard, corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Williams, corporal, £5 7s 4d John Terry, corporal, for 68 days, £3 19s 4d John Terry, as private for 24 days, £1 0s 0d Thomas Blake, corporal, for 47 days, £2 14s 10d Thomas Blake, as private for 45 days, £1 17s 6d Total for the corporals, £20 6s 4d Drummers George Wells, drummer, £5 7s 4d John Sampson, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Private soldiers John Allen, private, £3 16s 8d William Allen, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Armin, private, £3 16s 8d George Bennett, private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Blackwell, private, £3 16s 8d John Beauchamp, private, £3 16s 8d John Bowler, private, £3 16s 8d William Blackman, private, £3 16s 8d James Bullett, private, £3 16s 8d William Blavin, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Bayley, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Bickerstaff, private, £3 16s 8d William Cathery, private, £3 16s 8d Herman Campion, private, £3 16s 8d James Collister, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Close, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £61 6s 8d Carried forward, £2,290 17s 0d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company lost a sergeant and a corporal during the quarter. James Fox and John Woods, both on the September roll, no longer appeared. John Deale moved up from corporal to sergeant on 15 November. John Terry rose from private to corporal on 25 October and Thomas Blake

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 William Blackman 3 16 8 James Bullett 3 16 8 William Blevin 3 16 8 Thomas Bailey 3 16 8 Richard Bickerstaff 3 16 8 William Corkney 3 16 8 Duncan Cameron 3 16 8 James Cubbins 3 16 8 Richard Close Centl. Carrd. Over£ 61 6 8 Carrd. Over£ 2290 17 -	on 15 November. Blake had transferred into the company from the First on 2 August 1768. Within four months of the move he held a corporal's rank, showing that a transfer between companies could open a quicker path to promotion.
411	404	[Ends of some lines at the left-hand edge partly hidden in the binding.] The 16 January Brought Over£ 2290 17 - Centl. brought Over£ 61 6 8 Josiah Cummings 3 16 8 John Clennon 3 16 8 John Custon 3 16 8 Charles Field 3 16 8 Francis Flinn 3 16 8 Thomas Ferris 3 16 8 Henry Friendly 3 16 8 George Green 3 16 8 John Gilmore 3 16 8 Edward German 3 16 8 Henry Hevenburgh 3 16 8 James Harris Decd. 28 Decr. 3 14 2 Roger Haydon 3 16 8 John Harper 3 16 8 Stephen John Decd. 21st Oct. " 17 6 Christr. Johnson 3 16 8 Thomas Johnson 3 16 8 John Joyce 3 16 8 [...]James Jordan 3 16 8 Richard Kimpton 3 16 8 Thomas Kyleck 3 16 8 Thomas Lyne 3 16 8 Charles Lewellen 3 16 8 Murdk. McLeod 3 16 8 John Mayer 3 16 8	The Fourth Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £61 6s 8d. Brought forward, £2,290 17s 0d Private soldiers brought forward, £61 6s 8d Josiah Cummings, private, £3 16s 8d John Cleman, private, £3 16s 8d John Custon, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Field, private, £3 16s 8d Francis Flinn, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Fines, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Friendly, private, £3 16s 8d George Gibson, private, £3 16s 8d John Gilmore, private, £3 16s 8d Edward German, private, £3 16s 8d Henry Harbaugh, private, £3 16s 8d James Harris, private, died 28 December, £3 14s 2d Peter Hayden, private, £3 16s 8d John Harper, private, £3 16s 8d Stephen John, private, died 21 October, £0 17s 6d Christian Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Johnson, private, £3 16s 8d John Joyce, private, £3 16s 8d James Jordan, private, £3 16s 8d Richard Kempton, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Kinlock, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lyne, private, £3 16s 8d Charles Lewellen, private, £3 16s 8d Murdoch McLeod, private, £3 16s 8d John Mayor, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas McDiarmon, private, £3 16s 8d Robert May, private, £3 16s 8d John Nelson, private, £3 16s 8d James Newport, private, £3 16s 8d John Oswald, private, £3 16s 8d John Pluck, private, £3 16s 8d Daniel Patrick, private, £3 16s 8d Stephen Phipps, private, £3 16s 8d William Parker, private, £3 16s 8d Private soldiers carried forward, £188 11s 8d Carried forward, £2,290 17s 0d **Interpretations** Two of the deaths recorded in the Council's minutes fell in this company. Stephen John, who drowned by accident at Banks's, was paid for 21 days of the quarter. James Harris, one of the four men who died at the turn of the year, was paid to 28 December. Both sums were reckoned to the day and became part of their estates. John Joyce drew a full private's pay here and also appeared on the civil list as cleaner of clocks and instruments at £1 5s 0d a quarter. Like Thomas Yates the matross and church clerk, he held a small civil post on top of his soldier's pay.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas McClearman 3 16 8 Robert Nay 3 16 8 John Newton 3 16 8 James Nesbitt 3 16 8 John Oswald 3 16 8 John Pluck 3 16 8 Daniel Patrick 3 16 8 Stephen Papps 3 16 8 William Parker 3 16 8 Centl. Carrd. Over£ 188 11 8 Carrd. Over£ 2290 17 - **Margin Notes:** [...]	
412	405	1769 Brought Over£ 2290 17 - Centl. brought Over£ 188 11 8 Thomas Pritchard 3 16 8 John Pink 3 16 8 Benjamin Poole 3 16 8 James Richardson 3 16 8 Thomas Rutherford 3 16 8 John Shaw 3 16 8 William Scotman 3 16 8 John Slade 3 16 8 William Sedman 3 16 8 William Sharpe 3 16 8 James Sep 47 Days 1 19 2 Do. Serjt. 45 Do. 3 15 - John Tetchell 3 16 8 Jeremh. Worrall 3 16 8 William Waite 3 16 8 Thomas Watts 3 16 8 James Willson 3 16 8 John Word 3 16 8 John White 3 16 8 John Words 68 days 2 16 8 Do. Corpl. 24 Do. 1 8 - James Walter 3 16 8 Samuel Willson 3 16 8 271 7 2 Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell Capt. Saly. 45 12 6	The Fourth Company's private soldiers continued from a running total of £188 11s 8d and closed with their total, and the list then opened the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £2,290 17s 0d Private soldiers brought forward, £188 11s 8d Thomas Pritchard, private, £3 16s 8d John Pink, private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Poole, private, £3 16s 8d James Richardson, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rutherford, private, £3 16s 8d John Shaw, private, £3 16s 8d William Seaman, private, £3 16s 8d John Slade, private, £3 16s 8d William Stedman, private, £3 16s 8d William Sharpe, private, £3 16s 8d James Fox, private, for 47 days, £1 19s 2d James Fox, as sergeant for 45 days, £3 15s 0d John Tolledell, private, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Thorrell, private, £3 16s 8d William Varley, private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Watts, private, £3 16s 8d James Wilson, private, £3 16s 8d John Worth, private, £3 16s 8d Peter White, private, £3 16s 8d John Woods, private, for 68 days, £2 16s 8d John Woods, as corporal for 24 days, £1 8s 0d James Walker, private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Wilson, private, £3 16s 8d Total for the Fourth Company's private soldiers, £271 7s 2d Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sempill, lieutenant, for 45 days, £13 12s 2d Nathan Sempill, half pay for 46½ days, £6 19s 10¼d Robert Gibson, acting lieutenant on half pay for 46½ days, £6 19s 10¼d Total for the lieutenancy, £27 11s 10½d Robert Gibson, as corporal for 45 days, £3 7s 6d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, for 39 days, £11 15s 10½d John Shirley, acting lieutenant, for 53½ days, £15 16s 0d Total for the lieutenancy, £27 11s 10½d John Shirley, as sergeant for 39 days, £3 18s 0d Carried forward, £2,670 5s 11d **Interpretations** James Fox and John Woods had not left the Fourth Company. Both were broken to the ranks. Woods lost his corporal's stripes on 25 October and Fox his sergeant's rank on 15 November, and John

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Nathan Campell Lieut. 45 Days 13 12 2 Do. Half Pay 46½ Do. 6 19 10¼ Robert Gibson Do. 46½ Do. 6 19 10¼ 27 11 10½ Do. Corpl. 45 days 3 7 6 Thomas Leech Lieut. 39 days 11 15 10½ John Shirtley Do. 52½ Do. 15 16 - 27 11 10½ Do. Serjt. 39 days 3 18 - Carrd. Over£ 2670 5 11	Terry, Thomas Blake and John Deale were promoted into the places. Across the four foot companies five non-commissioned officers were reduced to private in a single quarter: Fish, Sabourin, Shirland, Woods and Fox. Only Bannister's death had opened a sergeant's place in the previous quarter. The wave of demotions coincided with the heavy labour on the fortifications in the last months of 1768, when sergeants and corporals oversaw gangs of soldiers at the works. The artillery's lieutenancies were divided exactly as the Council had ordered on 14 November 1768. Sempill drew full pay to his retirement and then half pay. Robert Gibson received the other half as acting lieutenant, together with his corporal's pay up to his appointment. Leech was paid to the start of his suspension on 8 November. John Shirley drew the rest of the lieutenant's pay from the following day, with his sergeant's pay for the days before. In each case the Company paid one salary for each post and split it between the holders by the day.
413	406	The 16 January Brought Over£ 2670 5 11 Serjeants John Whitehurst 9 4 - Adam Watson 9 4 - Thomas Collins 9 4 - Nicholas Hodson 53 days 5 6 - Do. Corpl. 39 Do. 2 18 6 35 16 6 Corporals John Turner 6 18 - John Jack 6 18 - James Pickett 53 days 3 19 6 Do. Bombr. 39 Do. 2 18 6 David Dennis 47 Do. 3 10 6 Do. Bombr. 45 Do. 3 7 6 27 12 - Bombardiers Thomas Tyler 6 18 - Samuel Smith 6 18 - Thomas Jones 53 days 3 19 6 Do. Gunner 39 Do. 2 12 - William Stapleford 47 Do. 3 10 6 Do. Gunr. 45 Do. 3 - - 26 18 - Gunners John Smith 6 2 8 Sedgwick Netherol 6 2 8 John Dobson 6 2 8 Charles Abraham 6 2 8 John Corfoot 6 2 8 Benjamin Holmes 87 days	The Artillery Company's list continued with its sergeants, corporals, bombardiers and gunners. Brought forward, £2,670 5s 11d Sergeants John Whitchurch, sergeant, £9 4s 0d Adam Watson, sergeant, £9 4s 0d Thomas Collier, sergeant, £9 4s 0d Nicholas Hoskin, sergeant, for 53 days, £5 6s 0d Nicholas Hoskin, as corporal for 39 days, £2 18s 6d Total for the sergeants, £35 16s 6d Corporals John Turner, corporal, £6 18s 0d John Jack, corporal, £6 18s 0d James Garfett, corporal, for 53 days, £3 19s 6d James Garfett, as bombardier for 39 days, £2 18s 6d David Dennis, corporal, for 47 days, £3 10s 6d David Dennis, as bombardier for 45 days, £3 7s 6d Total for the corporals, £27 12s 0d Bombardiers Thomas Tyler, bombardier, £6 18s 0d Samuel Smith, bombardier, £6 18s 0d Thomas Jones, bombardier, for 53 days, £3 19s 6d Thomas Jones, as gunner for 39 days, £2 12s 0d William Hopkinson, bombardier, for 47 days, £3 10s 6d William Hopkinson, as gunner for 45 days, £3 0s 0d Total for the bombardiers, £26 18s 0d Gunners John Smith, gunner, £6 2s 8d Sedgwick Wetherall, gunner, £6 2s 8d John Dobson, gunner, £6 2s 8d Charles Abraham, gunner, £6 2s 8d John Garfett, gunner, £6 2s 8d Benjamin Holmes, gunner, for 87 days, £5 16s 0d Benjamin Holmes, as matross for 5 days, £0 5s 0d John Osborne, gunner, for 53 days, £3 10s 8d John Osborne, as matross for 39 days, £1 19s 0d Thomas Yates, gunner, for 47 days, £3 2s 8d Thomas Yates, as matross for 45 days, £2 5s 0d Total for the gunners, £41 11s 8d Carried forward, £2,808 4s 1d **Interpretations** The two acting lieutenancies in the artillery each set off a chain of promotion reaching down to the matrosses. When Sergeant John Shirley stepped up on 9 November 1768, Nicholas Hoskin rose from corporal to sergeant, James Garfett from bombardier to corporal, Thomas Jones from gunner to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 16 - Do. Matross 5 Do. " 5 - John Osborne 53 Do. 3 10 8 Do. Matross 39 Do. 1 19 - Thomas Yates 47 Do. 3 2 8 Do. Matross 45 Do. 2 5 - 47 11 8 Carrd. Over£ 2808 4 1	bombardier, and John Osborne from matross to gunner. When Corporal Robert Gibson was raised on 15 November, David Dennis, William Hopkinson and Thomas Yates each moved up a step in the same way. A single vacancy at the top of the company thus rewarded four men below it. The Company kept every rank filled while its officers changed. Thomas Yates, the matross who also served as clerk of the church, was among those promoted to gunner. He was also the former assistant overseer who gave evidence at the inquiry of 12 December 1768. John Dobson, the gunner here, was the man who had made the window bars for the billiard house and told the inquiry he had replaced the Company's iron from his own stock.
414	407	1769 Brought Over£ 2808 4 1 Drummers George Gerrard 5 7 4 Joseph Purdey 5 7 4 10 14 8 Matrosses Benjamin Burton 4 12 - William Brown 4 12 - John Cope 4 12 - John Criswell 4 12 - Robert Cunningham 4 12 - Phillip Conaway 4 12 - Mathew Chelton 4 12 - William Durham 87 Days 4 7 - Do. Gunner 5 Do. " 6 8 Thomas Durham Entd. 9th Novemr. 2 13 - Mathew Dunhill Do. 15th Do. 2 7 - Daniel Fenn Decd. 21 Decr. 4 2 - Robert Fenwick 4 12 - John Fox 4 12 - Christr. Greenwald 4 12 - Thomas Gerrard 4 12 - Thomas Green 4 12 - John Glenney 4 12 - William Hodges 4 12 - William Halbert 4 12 - William Harper 4 12 - Owen Howard Entd. 22 Decemr. " 10 - William Jenkins 4 12 - John Lewis 4 12 - William Luke 4 12 - Daniel Maloney	The Artillery Company's list continued with its drummers and matrosses. Brought forward, £2,808 4s 1d Drummers George Chamitt, drummer, £5 7s 4d Joseph Purdey, drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for the drummers, £10 14s 8d Matrosses Benjamin Burton, matross, £4 12s 0d William Brown, matross, £4 12s 0d John Cope, matross, £4 12s 0d John Creswell, matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Cunningham, matross, £4 12s 0d Phillip Conaway, matross, £4 12s 0d Mathew Charlton, matross, £4 12s 0d William Durham, matross, for 87 days, £4 7s 0d William Durham, as gunner for 5 days, £0 6s 8d Thomas Durham, matross, joined 9 November, £2 13s 0d Mathew Burchell, matross, joined 15 November, £2 7s 0d Daniel Finn, matross, died 21 December, £4 2s 0d Robert Frankish, matross, £4 12s 0d John Fox, matross, £4 12s 0d Christopher Gronewald, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Gorall, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Green, matross, £4 12s 0d John Glenny, matross, £4 12s 0d William Hodges, matross, £4 12s 0d William Halsall, matross, £4 12s 0d William Harper, matross, £4 12s 0d Owen Howard, matross, joined 22 December, £0 10s 0d William Jenkins, matross, £4 12s 0d John Lewis, matross, £4 12s 0d William Luke, matross, £4 12s 0d Daniel Maloney, matross, £4 12s 0d George Marshall, matross, £4 12s 0d Jonathan Mallett, matross, £4 12s 0d Patrick Mahoney, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Nimble, matross, £4 12s 0d Matrosses carried forward, £124 13s 8d Carried forward, £2,818 18s 9d **Interpretations** The artillery again drew its recruits from the foot companies, each on the day a place fell vacant. Thomas Durham left the First Company and joined the matrosses on 9 November 1768, the day John Osborne was promoted to gunner. Mathew Burchell left the Second Company on 15 November, when Thomas Yates moved up. Owen Howard transferred from the First Company on 22 December, the day after Daniel Finn died. The infantry continued to serve as the artillery's reserve, and no matross's place stood empty for more than a day. William Durham, promoted from matross to gunner after McFarling's death in August, held the higher rank only until 5 October. He served the rest of the quarter as a matross again, and Benjamin

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 12 - George Marshall 4 12 - Jonathan Mullet 4 12 - Patrick Mahoney 4 12 - Thomas Nimble Matrosses Carrd. Over£ 124 13 8 Carrd. Over£ 2818 18 9	Holmes took his place as gunner. Durham's reduction made a sixth demotion in the garrison within the quarter. The higher pay and standing of a gunner could be lost as quickly as it was won.
415	408	The 16 January Brought Over£ 2818 18 9 Matrosses brought Over£ 124 13 8 John Moore 4 12 - Esau Nowland 4 12 - Martin Newman 4 12 - William Phillips 4 12 - William Robinson 4 12 - Samuel Bingrow 4 12 - Godfrey Smith 4 12 - William Stone 4 12 - Andrew Tedrick 4 12 - John Webley 4 12 - Richard Welman 4 12 - Thomas Wyatt 4 12 - Richard Waterhouse 4 12 - John Willson 4 12 - 189 1 8 £ 3008 " 5 **Margin Notes:** [...]	The Artillery Company's matrosses continued from a running total of £124 13s 8d, closing the quarter's pay list. Brought forward, £2,818 18s 9d Matrosses brought forward, £124 13s 8d John Moore, matross, £4 12s 0d Esau Nowland, matross, £4 12s 0d Martin Newman, matross, £4 12s 0d William Phillips, matross, £4 12s 0d William Robinson, matross, £4 12s 0d Samuel Bingrave, matross, £4 12s 0d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 12s 0d William Stone, matross, £4 12s 0d Andrew Tedrick, matross, £4 12s 0d John Webley, matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Wellman, matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Wyatt, matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Waterhouse, matross, £4 12s 0d John Wilson, matross, £4 12s 0d Total for the matrosses, £189 1s 8d Total for the quarter, £3,008 0s 5d **Interpretations** The pay list for the last quarter of 1768 came to £3,008 0s 5d, against £3,045 3s 2d for the quarter before. The saving of about £37 came almost entirely from the posts left unfilled or paid at reduced rates. No Lieutenant Governor had been appointed since Corneille's departure, and the extra days he had drawn in July no longer appeared. Lieutenant Sempill was on half pay, with the other half going to an acting officer. Several soldiers had died and not yet been replaced. The Company's habit of dividing each salary by the day meant that every vacancy, demotion or death reduced the bill at once, without any decision by the Council to cut costs.
416	409	Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. 1768 31 Decr. To Cash recd.£ 3723 10 5½ Carrd. Over£ 3723 10 5½ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Oct. 17th By Cash paid by Order of the Council One third Reward for apprehendg. a Run away Black of Mr. Isaack Dowlons £ 1 13 4 24th By Cash paid Mr. Powell Coroner for an Inquest held on the Body of Stephn. John Soldr. 1 5 - Decr. 31st By Cash paid Mr. John Desfountain for 20 Plasters 1 " - By Cash paid Willm. Jenkins for 117 Batch of Bread Baked this Quart. @ 20d. p Bh. 9 15 - By Cash paid Josh. Chamberlain for destroying Rats & Mice this Quart. 6 18 2 By Cash paid Saml. Parker for 92 days Work as Gard. this Quart. @ 1/ p day 4 12 - By Cash paid Nevg. Pinkhallam for 13 lb. Salt Meat left in the Stores this Quart. he being indulgd. wth. the Money to buy fresh 1 6 -	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster for the quarter recorded the cash he received and the payments he made from it. Received 31 December 1768, cash received, £3,723 10s 5½d Carried forward, £3,723 10s 5½d Paid 17 October 1768, by order of the Council, one-third of the reward for catching a runaway slave belonging to Mr Doveton, £1 13s 4d 24 October 1768, to Mr Bovell, coroner, for an inquest held on the body of Stephen John, soldier, £1 5s 0d 31 December 1768, to John Desfountain for 20 plasters, £1 0s 0d To William Jenkins for baking 117 batches of bread this quarter at 20d each, £9 15s 0d To Joseph Chamberlain for destroying rats and mice this quarter, £6 18s 2d To Samuel Parker for 92 days' work as gardener this quarter at 1s a day, £4 12s 0d To Henry Kirkham for 13 pieces of salt meat left in the stores this quarter, the money being allowed him instead to buy fresh, £1 6s 0d Carried forward, £26 9s 6d **Interpretations** The Company paid one-third of the reward for recapturing a runaway slave belonging to Mr

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carrd. Over£ 26 9 6	Doveton, a private owner. The remaining two-thirds presumably fell on the owner. By sharing the cost, the Company made the return of escaped slaves a public concern, not a private matter between owner and catcher. The arrangement encouraged inhabitants and soldiers to hunt down runaways. It also showed the Council using public money to uphold slave ownership across the whole island. Joseph Chamberlain received £6 18s 2d for destroying rats and mice, the first payment under the bounty published on 28 November 1768. At a halfpenny a rat, the sum represented well over 3,000 animals in a little over a month, or a mixture of rats and many more mice at a farthing each. The figure showed both the scale of the infestation and the response the reward drew. Chamberlain, the former carpenter's mate who gave evidence at the inquiry of 12 December 1768, may have collected the rewards for others and been paid in a single sum. A coroner's inquest was held on the body of Stephen John, who drowned at Banks's on 22 October 1768. Every sudden or accidental death required an inquest to establish the cause. The Company paid the coroner's fee, as it paid for the coffins of its soldiers.
417	410	The 16 January Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. To Cash brought Over£ 3723 10 5½ Carrd. Over£ 3723 10 5½	The receipts side of Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account carried its total forward with no further entries. Received Brought forward, £3,723 10s 5½d Carried forward, £3,723 10s 5½d **Interpretations** The paymaster's issue for the last quarter of 1768 was £3,723 10s 5½d, against £3,978 6s 4¼d for the quarter before. The pay list accounted for only £37 of the difference. The contingent payments, mainly the daily wages of soldiers and slaves working on the fortifications, would therefore come to about £715, compared with £933 in the previous quarter. The completion of the battery at Banks's in August 1768 had released labour that had cost the Company more than £180 in the third quarter. Lemon Valley and Munden's Point absorbed much of it, but not all.
418	411	1769 Per Contra Cr. Decr. 31st Brought Over£ 26 9 6 By Cash paid Nevg. Pinkhallam his Quart. Allowance from the Honble. Company 1 12 6 By Cash paid Do. for House Rent Do. 1 " - By Cash paid the Clerk of Assizes & the Crier of the Court " 12 6 By Cash paid Doct. Barclay for Sund. necessarys found the Sick Men in the Hospl. from May the 7 to this day 17 11 8 By Cash paid Do. for getting the sick Men fresh Provisions 8 - - By Cash paid Elisha Isaack for 9 Loads of Binders for the use of the Compys. Houses in L. J. Wood 1 2 6 By Cash paid Jno. Robinson as under p Bill 21 Rafters for the use of the Plant. House £ 1 1 - 53 Do. for the Compys. Houses in L. J. Wood 2 13 - 9 Loads of Laths for Do. 1 2 6 6 Do. of Binders for Do.	Captain Kirkpatrick's payments as paymaster continued from a running total of £26 9s 6d. Brought forward, £26 9s 6d 31 December 1768, to Henry Kirkham for his quarterly allowance from the Company, £1 12s 6d To Henry Kirkham for house rent, £1 0s 0d To the clerk of arraigns and the crier of the court, £0 12s 6d To Dr Barclay for various necessaries supplied to the sick men in the hospital, £17 11s 8d To Dr Barclay for getting the sick men fresh provisions, £8 0s 0d To Elisha Jeakes for 9 loads of binders for the Company's houses in James's Valley, £1 2s 6d To John Robinson, as on his bill, for: 21 rafters for Plantation House, £1 1s 0d 53 rafters for the Company's houses in James's Valley, £2 13s 0d 9 loads of laths for the same, £1 2s 6d 6 loads of binders for the same, £0 15s 0d Total for John Robinson's bill, £5 11s 6d To William Holbrook for 72 days' work by his apprentice this quarter at 1s a day, £3 12s 0d To Captain Bazett for 1 jar of oil, 30 gallons at 6s 3¾d a gallon, £9 8s 9½d To John Irvin, as on his bill, for goods bought for the Company's table: 3 pounds of spice at 13s 6⅔d a pound, £2 0s 8d 524 pounds of beef at 5d a pound, £10 18s 4d 5 pigs at 5s each, £1 5s 0d 6 geese at 5s each, £1 10s 0d

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		" 15 - 5 11 6 By Cash paid Wm. Holbrook for 72 days Work for his Apprent. this Quart. @ 1/ p day 3 12 - By Cash paid Capt. Bazett for 1 Jar of Oil 30 gall. @ 6/3½ p Gall. 9 8 9½ By Cash paid John Irvine for the following Articles Bought for the use of the Honble. Compys. Table as under p Bill 3 Spice @ 13/6 p lb. £ 2 " 8 524 Beef @ 5d. p lb. 10 18 4 5 Pigs @ 5/ ea. 1 5 - 6 Geese @ 5/ ea. 1 10 - 20 Doz. Eggs @ 1/6 p Doz. 1 10 - Pickles " 18 - 1 Pr. Shears for the Hospl. Taylor " 5 - 18 7 - By Cash paid John Price Sexton as under p Bill For the Burial of Stephn. John decd. 22 Oct. 1768 £ - 2 6 Do. Do. Chas. Newstead Do. 8 Nov. 2 6 Do. Do. Danl. Fenn Do. 21 Decr. 2 6 Do. Do. James Harris Do. 28 Do. 2 6 Do. Isac. Burden Do. 31 Do. 2 6 Do. Do. Chas. Montague Do. 31 Do. " 15 - Carrd. Over£ 94 2 11	20 dozen eggs at 1s 6d a dozen, £1 10s 0d Pickles, £0 18s 0d 1 pair of shears for the Company's tailor, £0 5s 0d Total for John Irvin's bill, £18 7s 0d To John Price, sexton, as on his bill, for burials: Stephen John, soldier, 22 October 1768, £0 2s 6d Charles Newstead, soldier, 9 November 1768, £0 2s 6d Daniel Finn, soldier, 21 December 1768, £0 2s 6d James Harris, soldier, 28 December 1768, £0 2s 6d Isaac Burden, soldier, 30 December 1768, £0 2s 6d Charles Montague, soldier, 31 December 1768, £0 2s 6d Total for John Price's bill, £0 15s 0d Carried forward, £94 2s 11d **Interpretations** The surgeon's bills pointed to serious sickness in the garrison during the quarter. Dr Barclay was paid more than £25 for necessaries and fresh provisions for the men in hospital, a large sum against the hospital's fixed stores of about £14 a quarter. The sexton buried six soldiers, four of them in the last eleven days of December. The Company bought fresh meat and other comforts for the sick in place of the salt rations issued in health, since salt provisions were thought to worsen fevers and scurvy. Binders, laths and rafters were the materials of thatched roofs. Laths were nailed across the rafters and the thatch was tied down with binders, flexible rods of cut brushwood. The Company's houses in James's Valley were still roofed with thatch, like the outbuildings at Plantation House. Robinson, the master carpenter, supplied the timber himself and was paid on his bill. The Council had told him on 14 November 1768 to give the Company's work his whole attention, but he evidently continued to sell it materials as a private supplier.
419	412	The 16 January Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. To Cash brought Over£ 3723 10 5½ £ 3723 10 5½ Island St.	Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster account for the quarter closed with its receipts totalled and posted to the island's general account. Received Brought forward, £3,723 10s 5½d Total received, £3,723 10s 5½d Posted to the Island account
420	413	1769 Per Contra Cr. 1768 Decr. 31st Brought Over£ 94 2 11 By Cash paid Mr. Powell Coroner for an Inquest held on the Body of Serjt. Smith Man Comn. 1 5 - By Cash paid for 2299 days Labour. Work @ Mund. Pt. @ 1/ p day 114 19 - By Cash paid for 781 days Stone Hewers Work @ Do. @ 1/6 p Do. 58 12 3 By Cash paid for 328½ Do. Masons Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 p Do. 24 12 4½ By Cash paid for 120 Do. Smiths Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 p Do. 9 - - By Cash paid for 91 Do. Limeburn. Do. @ Do. @ 1/6 p Do. 6 16 6 By Cash for 74¾ Do. Carpent. Do. at Do. @ 1/6 p Do. 5 12 1½	Captain Kirkpatrick's payments as paymaster continued from a running total of £94 2s 11d and closed with the quarter's pay list. Brought forward, £94 2s 11d 31 December 1768, to Mr Bovell, coroner, for an inquest held on the body of Josiah Smith, [...], £1 5s 0d For 2,299 days of labourers' work at Munden's Point at 1s a day, £114 19s 0d For 781 days of stone blowers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £58 12s 3d For 328¼ days of masons' work there at 1s 6d a day, £24 12s 4½d For 120 days of smiths' work there at 1s 6d a day, £9 0s 0d For 91 days of lime-burners' work there at 1s 6d a day, £6 16s 6d For 74¾ days of cooks' work there at 1s 6d a day, £5 12s 1½d For 41 days of overseers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £3 1s 6d For 81 days of overseers' work there at 1s a day, £4 1s 0d For 6,899 days of labourers' work at Lemon Valley at 1s a day, £344 19s 0d

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		By Cash paid for 41 Do. Overseers Do. at Do. @ 1/6 p Do. 3 1 6 By Cash paid for 81 Do. Do. at Do. @ 1/ p Do. 4 1 - By Cash paid for 6899 Do. Labour. at Lemon Valley @ 1/ Do. 344 19 - By Cash paid for 109 Do. Masons at Do. @ 1/6 Do. 8 3 6 By Cash paid for 126½ Do. Carpent. at Do. @ 1/6 Do. 9 9 9 By Cash paid for 123¾ Do. Overseers at Do. @ 1/6 Do. 9 5 7½ By Cash paid for 244¼ Do. Do. @ Do. @ 1/ Do. 12 4 3 By Cash paid for 3½ Do. Painters Do. @ 1/6 Do. " 5 3 By Cash paid for 120 Do. Smiths Work @ Do. @ 1/6 Do. 9 - - £ 715 10 -½ By the Amount of the Pay List 3008 " 5 £ 3723 10 5½ Helena 30th Decr. 1768 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick Paymastr. Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of December last, which is as follows viz.	For 109 days of masons' work there at 1s 6d a day, £8 3s 6d For 126½ days of carpenters' work there at 1s 6d a day, £9 9s 9d For 123¾ days of overseers' work there at 1s 6d a day, £9 5s 7½d For 244¼ days of overseers' work there at 1s a day, £12 4s 3d For 3½ days of painters' work there at 1s 6d a day, £0 5s 3d For 120 days of smiths' work there at 1s 6d a day, £9 0s 0d Total for the contingent payments, £715 10s 0½d For the amount of the pay list, £3,008 0s 5d Total paid, £3,723 10s 5½d Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster at St Helena on 30 December 1768, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of December. **Interpretations** The weight of the works shifted decisively during the quarter. Lemon Valley took 6,899 labourers' days, against only 841 in the previous three months. Munden's Point fell from more than 6,300 to under 2,300. This matched Mitchell's report of 2 January 1769 that most of the workmen had been at Lemon Valley, where the line, ditch and glacis were nearly finished. At Munden's Point the labour was now more specialised. The 781 days of stone blowers' work recorded the blasting of rock that Mitchell described, levelling the cliff for the gun platform and quarrying stone for the battery in a single operation. Cooks were paid at Munden's Point for nearly 75 days. The battery lay far enough from Jamestown that the working parties were fed on site, not sent back to their quarters for meals. Cooking for the gangs at the works saved the time lost in walking to and from the town over steep paths. The Company paid for a second inquest during the quarter, on Josiah Smith. Unlike Stephen John, he did not appear on the garrison's roll, and the record did not say how he died. The coroner's fee fell on the Company whenever a sudden death occurred on the island, whoever the dead man was.
421	414	Cash Dr. 1768 Decr. 1st To Balance remaining£ 10353 12 2½ To Henry De Laval Decd. Recd. the Amount of his Effects as p Consn. the 3 of Oct. last 52 13 3½ To James Powell recd. of him for Stores Sold in the Quart. endg. this day 1428 8 9 To Licences for publick Houses 11 " " To Plantn. for Provisn. Sold 36 8 3 To Mundens Battery recd. for Lime Sold 1 1 10½ £ 11883 4 4½ Per Contra Cr. 1768 Decr. 31st By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Saly. &c. the Quart. ending this day£ 3723 10 5½ By Balance remg. viz. In Specie 7619 18 11 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 8159 13 11 £ 11883 4 4½ **Margin Notes:** 16 January	The Company's cash account for December 1768 recorded the money received and paid at the close of the quarter. Received 1 December 1768, balance remaining, £10,353 12s 2½d From the estate of the late Henry De Laune, the value of his effects, as recorded in the consultation of 3 October 1768, £52 13s 3½d From James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending 31 December, £1,428 8s 9d Licences for public houses, £11 0s 0d From the plantation for provisions sold, £36 8s 3d From Munden's Battery for lime sold, £1 1s 10½d Total received, £11,883 4s 4½d Paid 31 December 1768, advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £3,723 10s 5½d Balance remaining in coin, £7,619 18s 11d Balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £8,159 13s 11d Total, £11,883 4s 4½d **Interpretations** The treasury's reserve of coin fell by about £2,194 over the quarter, from £9,813 17s 2½d to £7,619 18s 11d. In the previous quarter, rents, bills of

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			exchange and payments from the *Greenwich* and the *Egmont* had almost covered the paymaster's advance. This time no rents, no ships and no bills appeared. The warehouse takings of £1,428 8s 9d were also well below the £2,018 5s 6d paid in at the end of September, since the garrison's yearly clothing had been bought in the third quarter. The Company met most of the quarter's wages from its reserve. At that rate the coin on the island would last little more than a year without fresh specie from England or bills drawn on visiting ships. The £52 13s 3½d from Lieutenant De Laune's estate was the balance left after his effects were sold at auction for £84 14s 6d and his debts settled. The sum came into the treasury once his affairs were closed. The Company would then account for it to his heirs through its books in London.
422	415	1769 Mrs. Mary Burnham and John Preston this day presented the following Petitions viz. Island St. Helena January 16th 1769 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Governor and Councils Esqrs. The humble Petition of Mary Burnham Widow Sheweth That your Petitioner being desirous of disposing, of such part of a building in James's Valley situate near the Billiard Room and late in the possession of James Goody, but now in the full property of her the said Mary Burnham, do most humbly beg your Worships liberty, that she may dispose of it according to the tenour hereabove, and your Petitioner shall as in duty bound ever pray Granted To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esquire Govr. and Council of the Island St. Helena The humble Petition of Jno. Preston Mason on the said Island Sheweth That your humble Petitioner having a Family and House Rent being very dear most humbly begs your Worship and Council to give	Mary Burnham and John Preston each presented a petition on 16 January 1769. Mary Burnham, a widow, petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council. She wished to sell part of a building in James's Valley near the billiard room. It had previously been occupied by James Goafty but was now wholly her property. She asked permission to sell it under the terms of the lease. The Council granted her request. John Preston, a mason on the island, also petitioned the Governor and Council. He had a family to support, and house rent was very expensive. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to grant him **Interpretations** Mary Burnham's building stood near the billiard room, now familiar enough to serve as a landmark in describing property in Jamestown. Mitchell and Bazett's building had been the subject of the inquiry only a month earlier. Its use as a point of reference in a routine petition showed it was an established feature of the town. A widow could hold and sell property on St Helena, but only with the Council's consent, as any leaseholder could. The phrase "according to the tenure" reminded the Council that the building stood on Company ground. Any buyer would take it subject to the same lease and rent. Selling was often the only way for a widow without income from a trade to raise money. John Preston, the mason's mate, drew £20 0s 0d a quarter, one of the higher wages among the Company's craftsmen. His complaint that house rent was very dear showed the pressure on housing in Jamestown, where the narrow valley left little ground to build on. Even a well-paid tradesman with a family found rent a heavy burden.
423	416	The 16 January him a Lease for a small spot of Ground at the upper end of Lieut. St. Maurices Buildings close to the Hill, sixty feet in length & sixty in breadth to build a House upon at his leisure Hours as his Circumstances will admit and your Petitioner shall as in duty bound for ever pray Ordered the said Ground to be Viewed John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d day of January 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 16 Jany. 1769	John Preston asked for a lease of a small plot of ground at the upper end of Lieutenant St Maurice's buildings, close to the hill, 60 feet long and 60 feet wide. He meant to build a house on it in his spare hours, as far as his means allowed. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 January 1769. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 16 January 1769 were read, approved and signed. Henry Brown, a private, died on Thursday 19 January 1769. His Majesty's ship *Swallow* arrived from the Cape on Saturday 21 January. Kirkpatrick reported that he had inspected the ground John Preston asked for the previous Monday. Letting it would cause no inconvenience to the Company or the neighbours. The Council agreed to

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		Thursday the 19 Died Henry Brown Centinel Saturday the 21 Arrived his Majesty's Ship Swallow from the Cape Captn. Kirkpatrick Reports that he has viewed the piece of Ground Petitioned for last Monday by John Preston, finds it not inconvenient to the Honble. Company or Neighbourhood, we therefore agreed to Grant him a Lease for the same at the Rent of 15/ p Ann. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	grant Preston a lease of it at a rent of 15s a year. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Preston's petition offered the Council a practical answer to the high rents in Jamestown. Rather than asking for higher wages or a house from the Company, the mason proposed to build his own home in his spare time on a plot let to him at a modest rent. The Council granted it within a week. A craftsman housing himself cost the Company nothing and added a house to the town. The terms "as his circumstances will admit" recognised that the work would go slowly, paid for out of his own wages. The inspection of Preston's ground was carried out by Kirkpatrick, not Purling, who had viewed every plot of waste land that autumn. Kirkpatrick had been ill at the start of January. His return to the Board allowed the work of inspection to be shared again among the councillors. The *Swallow* was the first ship recorded in the road since the *Greenwich* and the *Egmont* in August and September 1768. As a King's ship rather than an East Indiaman, she brought no Company stores. Her arrival nevertheless gave the island its first chance in months to send letters home and to draw bills of exchange for fresh coin.
424	417	The 30 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th day of January 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 23 January 1769 Monday the 23 Died Jane Wife of William Holbroke Master Mason Yesterday passed by a Ship at a great distance We this day Executed a Lease to John Preston Mason's Mate, for a piece of ground lying in James's Valley, containing sixty feet in Front and sixty feet in depth at 15/ p Ann. One of the Honorable Company's Yawls was drove from her Moorings by a high Surf on Saturday night last & lost Mr. Isaac Dowlon this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Isaac Dowlon Sheweth That there is a small Gore of the Honorable Company's Waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners Land on Marches Ridge which said piece of Land would be very convenient to your Petitioner on Account of Fencing he therefore requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Isaac Dowlon 30th Jany. 1769 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed The piece of Land Petitioned for by Simon Whaley on the 9th instant	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 30 January 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 23 January 1769 were read, approved and signed. Jane, the wife of William Holbrook, the master mason, died on Monday 23 January 1769. On 29 January a ship passed the island far out to sea. The Council that day completed a lease to John Preston, the mason's mate, for a plot of ground in James's Valley with a 60-foot frontage and 60 feet deep, at a rent of 15s a year. On the night of Saturday 28 January a heavy surf tore one of the Company's yawls from its moorings, and the boat was lost. Isaac Doveton presented a petition to the Governor and Council, dated 30 January 1769. A small piece of the Company's waste land lay next to his own land on Merches Ridge. It would be very convenient to him for fencing, and he asked for a lease of it. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. The piece of land Simon Whaley had asked for on 9 January 1769 had **Interpretations** The loss of the yawl showed the danger of the open anchorage at Jamestown. Heavy swells known as rollers could sweep into the road without warning, even in fine weather, driving boats from their moorings and wrecking them on the rocks. This was why the Company's boatmen hauled the longboats up the beach and were paid arrack for the labour. A yawl left at its moorings overnight was exposed to exactly the kind of sea that took it. Replacing it would draw again on the timber, cordage and labour recorded in the boats' account. The ship that passed far out to sea did not call at the island. The lookouts at the outlying posts reported every sail sighted, whether or not it came in. A ship passing without stopping meant no letters, no stores and no bills of exchange. With the reserve of coin falling, as the December cash account showed, every vessel that sailed past was a lost chance to replenish the treasury.
425	418	The 30 January having been Viewed and found to Lie too near the Plantation House and therefore inconvenient	The ground Simon Whaley had asked for had been inspected and found to lie too close to Plantation House. Letting it would therefore be

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		we for this reason told him his Petition could not be granted John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of February 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 30th January 1769 The Engineer this day presented the following Letter together with a Plan of the Works in James's Valley and the Alterations proposed To the Worshipfull the Governor &ca. Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen Being now in readiness to enter upon the Alterations proposed for the Interior Line of James's Valley in Conjunction with the more	inconvenient, and the Council told him that his petition could not be granted. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 February 1769. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 30 January 1769 were read, approved and signed. The engineer presented a letter, together with a plan of the works in James's Valley and the changes he proposed. He addressed it to the Governor and Council. Mitchell wrote that he was now ready to begin the alterations proposed for the inner line of James's Valley, alongside the more important **Interpretations** Whaley's petition was the first request for waste land that the Council refused outright since the run of applications began in October 1768. Every earlier claim had been granted in whole or in part after inspection, often on generous terms. The reason here was the land's position, not its quality or a rival claim. Ground close to Plantation House was kept for the Company's own estate, the Governor's country residence with its gardens, dairy and pastures. Letting it to a private tenant would have placed a neighbour's fences and livestock against the Company's own land. The Council protected its estate even at the cost of disappointing a planter who had been granted land only two months earlier.
426	419	1769 important Work carrying on at Mundens Point, in Obedience to your late Orders on that subject, I therefore lay before you prior to its commencement, a Plan of the present Defences of this Valley, in which I have exhibited the Interior Line both in its present Form, and in the manner in which it will appear, when the intended improvements are carried into Execution; that the Board by comparing these, may be able to form a Judgement of the Advantages to be obtained, by the proposed Alterations Its principal Defect at present consists in the Weakness of its Flanks which (not to mention the Absurdity of their Form, which is self evident on inspecting the Plan) being constructed entirely with Dirt Mortar, without any Lime are capable of very little Defence & would easily be laid in Ruins As these Flanks are essential to the Defence of this Valley, and moreover are, or rather ought to be, the principal strength and Defence of the Interior Line; I therefore intend to rebuild the two Demi Bastions at the Extremity of this Line, in the substantial manner exhibited in the Plan which I apprehend their Importance renders Absolutely necessary. The Alterations in their Form will Appear, by the Plan, so evident an Improvement as to require no Illustration The other Improvements consist in rebuilding the whole of the Parapet of this Line, which is at present in a ruinous condition; and in laying a Sett of Platforms for its Guns, which have hitherto been altogether wanting I hope these will have the Honour of your Approbation I am Gentlemen	The more important work, Mitchell continued, was the battery being built at Munden's Point, as the Council had recently ordered. Before beginning, he laid before the Council a plan of the present defences of the valley. It showed the inner line both in its current form and as it would look once the intended improvements were carried out. By comparing the two, the Council could judge the advantages the alterations would bring. The chief weakness of the present line lay in its flanks. Mitchell would not dwell on their absurd shape, which the plan made plain. They were built entirely of earth mortar without any lime, could offer very little defence and would easily be knocked down. Yet these flanks were essential to the defence of the valley and ought to be the main strength of the inner line. He therefore intended to rebuild the two demi-bastions at either end of the line in the solid manner shown on the plan, which he considered absolutely necessary. The changes to their shape would appear from the plan as so obvious an improvement that they needed no explanation. The other improvements were to rebuild the whole parapet of the line, which was in a ruinous state, and to lay a set of platforms for the guns, which had until then been entirely lacking. Mitchell hoped the Council would approve. He signed the letter on 6 February 1769. **Interpretations** Mitchell's case against the old line rested on what it was made of. Walls of earth mortar without lime might stand up to the weather for a time, but they would crumble under cannon fire. A ship's broadside could bring down the flanks that were meant to sweep the face of the line with crossfire. The rebuilt demi-bastions would be laid in lime mortar, using the surplus lime the Council had begun paying out to the planters only weeks earlier. The new parapet and gun platforms would give the inner line its first proper firing positions. The guns taken down from the curtain in December 1768 had been removed to clear the way for this work. Without platforms, cannon had stood on bare earth or loose timber. Their recoil drove them backwards and out of line, and every shot had

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		your most Obedient and very humble Servant (signed) Ar. Mitchell 6th February 1769	to be re-aimed. Proper platforms of stone or planking held each gun steady and let a crew fire quickly and accurately. Mitchell presented the plan before starting work, although the Council had already approved the rebuilding on 2 January 1769. Showing the old and new lines side by side gave the Council a record of what it had authorised. It also gave the engineer a document he could send home to justify the cost to the Court of Directors.
427	420	The 6 February As the Alterations now proposed by the Engineer, appear evident to Us to be well calculated to strengthen the defences of this Valley, we gave him Orders to carry the same into Execution with all expedition Messrs. Richard Bagley and William Hayes Junr. this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The Humble Petition of Richard Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for a piece of Land containing Thirty Acres lying in Swanly Valley humbly request that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Richd. Bagley 6th February 1769 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The Humble Petition of William Hayes Junr. Sheweth That there is about one Acre of the Honble. Company's Waste Land, Adjoining to your Petitioners which said piece of Land would be extremely convenient to him on Account of Fencing, humbly request your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same	The Council judged that the engineer's proposed alterations were well designed to strengthen the defences of the valley. It ordered him to carry them out with all possible speed. Richard Bagley and William Hayes junior each presented a petition. Bagley petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council about 30 acres of land in Swanly Valley. His lease of it had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. He signed the petition on 6 February 1769. Hayes also petitioned the Governor and Council. About one acre of the Company's waste land lay next to his own land. It would be extremely useful to him for fencing, and he asked for a lease of it. **Interpretations** The Council approved Mitchell's plan for the inner line on the day he presented it, without asking for estimates or delaying for further discussion. Only eight weeks earlier it had cleared him of Payne's charges and praised the diligence of his works. Its swift agreement now showed the trust it placed in the engineer's judgement. The order to proceed "with all possible speed" reflected the time limit on Mitchell's stay. He was to leave the island when Munden's Point was finished, and the Council wanted the inner line rebuilt under his direction before then. William Hayes junior was probably the son of William Hayes senior, the innkeeper whose purchase of James Whaley's 11 acres the Council had approved on 9 January 1769. His request for an acre to complete his fencing followed the pattern set by the planters that autumn. A small strip of waste land could close an awkward boundary and save the cost of a longer fence.
428	421	1769 And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Willm. Hayes 6th February 1769 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of Febry. 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Govern. Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Coun. The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 6th Feby. 1769 Tuesday the 7 Died Mr. Sol. Jacob Adjutant Do. Do. Arrived the Valentine's Boat at Banks's half an Hour past twelve o'Clock at Noon Wednesday the 8 Arrived the Honble. Company's Ship Valentine from Bengal last from the Cape Yesterday was Drowned by Accident at Mundens Point Richd. Gregory Centinel The Ship Valentine brought Us the following Supplies viz.	Hayes signed the petition on 6 February 1769. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 13 February 1769. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 6 February 1769 were read, approved and signed. Solomon Jacobs, the adjutant, died on Tuesday 7 February 1769. On the same day, at half past twelve, a boat from the *Valentine* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Valentine* arrived the next day, Wednesday 8 February, from Bengal by way of the Cape. On 12 February Richard Gregory, a private, drowned by accident at Munden's Point. The *Valentine* brought the following supplies. **Interpretations** The *Valentine* sent a boat ahead to land at Banks's a day before she came into the road. A ship approaching St Helena had to make itself known before entering the anchorage, since the batteries were ordered to fire on any vessel that could not be identified. By sending a boat to the nearest battery, the commander confirmed his ship as a Company vessel and gave the Governor notice of her arrival. The landing at Banks's, on the coast beyond Jamestown, reflected the battery's role as a forward post guarding the approach to the road.

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			Richard Gregory, a private in the Third Company, was the second soldier to drown at the new works in four months. Stephen John had drowned at Banks's on 22 October 1768. Munden's Point stood on a cliff above the sea, and much of its material arrived by boat and was hoisted up the rock. Men working at the water's edge or in the boats were constantly exposed to the swell that had taken the Company's yawl only two weeks earlier. The death of Solomon Jacobs left the garrison without its adjutant, the staff officer responsible for drill, duty rosters and returns. He had drawn a separate salary of £29 13s 1½d a quarter. His duties would have to be covered at once while the Council chose a successor.
429	422	The 13 February Invoice of Ship Valentine Rice fine No. 1 a 60 60 Bags wt. 120 Bmds. @ 17.. 8 Srs. p Rs. 296 2 - Sugar fine No. 1 a 10 10 Bags wt. 20 Bmds. @ 8.. 4 p Md. 165 - - Wax Candles No. 1 @ 4 4 Chests wt. 8 Bmds. @ 76 p Md. 608 - - Paddy No. 1 a 15 15 Bags wt. 22.. 20 Bmds. 20 - - Batavia Arr. No. 1.. 2 2 Leag. @ 150 ea. 324 - - 1413 2 - Charges Merchandize 135 Gunny Bags @ 14 p % 22 6 9 2 Srs. Twine @ 4.. 8 p Md. " 5 6 4 Chests & Package 16 12 3 Colour " 2 9 130 Reed Matts 12 15 3 Dusts 1 5 3 Peons 2 2 6 Coolies 57 7 - Weighmen " 9 - Porters 1 " - Moolias 12 15 6 129 2 9 Current Rupees 1542 4 9 Errors Excepted (signed) p Charles Moyer Buxey	The *Valentine*'s invoice listed the goods she carried for the island. Invoice of the ship Valentine Fine rice, marked 1 to 60, 60 bags weighing 120 maunds at 2 rupees 7 annas 8 pies a maund, 296 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Fine sugar, marked 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 20 maunds at 8 rupees 4 annas 0 pies a maund, 165 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Wax candles, marked 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds at 76 rupees a maund, 608 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, marked 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers, 20 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, marked 1 to 2, 2 leaguers, 324 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Total for the goods, 1,413 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Charges on the goods 135 gunny bags at 14 rupees a hundred, 22 rupees 6 annas 9 pies Twine at 4 rupees 8 annas a maund, 0 rupees 5 annas 6 pies 4 chests for packing, 16 rupees 12 annas 3 pies Paint for marking, 0 rupees 2 annas 9 pies 150 mats, 12 rupees 15 annas 3 pies Coolies, 1 rupee 5 annas 3 pies Peons, 2 rupees 2 annas 6 pies Boat hire, 57 rupees 7 annas 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Porters, 1 rupee 1 anna 0 pies Leather workers, 12 rupees 15 annas 6 pies Total for the charges, 129 rupees 2 annas 9 pies Total in current rupees, 1,542 rupees 4 annas 9 pies Charles Meyer, paymaster, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The *Valentine* had been loaded in Bengal with provisions for St Helena, chiefly rice and paddy. The Company's slaves had drawn more than 214 hundredweight of rice in the last quarter of 1768 alone, against 82 in the quarter before. The island could not grow enough grain to feed its labour force, so a supply ship from Bengal was essential. Bengal rice was cheap, and the Company shipped it in bulk on vessels returning home by the Cape route, which called at St Helena on the way. The invoice was reckoned in current rupees, a money of account used in Bengal for bookkeeping rather than a coin in circulation. Each rupee divided into 16 annas, and each anna into 12 pies. The maund was the standard Indian weight, about 75 pounds in Bengal, and was divided into 40 seers. The fine sugar and wax candles were dearer goods. Wax candles burned cleaner and longer than tallow and were reserved for the Castle and the officials' houses. Batavia arrack was distilled in Java from rice and palm sap and was considered the best of the arracks. The charges added about 9 per cent to the cost of the goods. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven

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			from jute, used for rice and paddy. Peons were messengers and watchmen hired at the warehouse. Coolies and porters carried the goods, and weighmen checked the quantities. Boat hire was the largest charge, since everything had to be ferried down the river to the ship. The leather workers were probably hired to sew hides over the chests or bales, protecting them from damp on the long voyage.
430	423	1769 Mr. Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Valentine to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll are as follows viz. Muster Roll of Ship Valentine Chas. Purvis Commr. Robt. Fox Chief Mate John White 2d Do. Matt. Ward 3d Do. Thos. Hawks 4th Do. Hugh Harris 5 Do. Geo. Blackford Purser Andw. Whyte Surg. Jno. Domford Boatsn. Jno. Stirling Gunner Chs. Mitchell Carpr. Phil. Bentham Caulkr. Matt. Emerson Sailmakr. Jas. Taylor Capt. [...] Jno. Bell Capt. Stewd. Danl. Pern Do. Cook Jas. Lane Ships Do. Danl. Lawrence Butch. Chs. Sackenold Midshipn. & Coxs. Arthr. Stoker Midshipn. Thos. Lloyd Do. Jno. Sharp Do. Luke Davis Boats. Mate Jas. Atkins Gunrs. Do. Henry Hutchble Carpt. Do. William Cole Caulk. Do. Edwd. Bernard Coop. Do. Willm. Calloway Surg. Mate David Widney Jno. Davidson 2d Mate Saml. McNear Do. Willm. Wheke Seaman Nathl. Forbes J. C. Bean Alr. Park Thos. Leighton Jno. Chapman James Aisp Jno. Nation Nicho. Crook Jno. Anderson Willm. Bond Jno. Simpson Robt. Jeffreys Thos. Jenkins Jno. Dunn Lewis Davis Jams. Benfield Henry Hunn Willm. Cooper Robt. Carroll Franc. Milbourn Edwd. Day Robt. Sheakle Willm. Frazer Michl. Haley Robt. Stirling Alr. Glass Jams. Brown Seamn. Jno. Palmer Jean Newton	Purling reported that he had gone on board the *Valentine* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but found none. Her muster roll was entered as follows. Muster roll of the ship *Valentine* Charles Purvis, commander Robert Kerr, chief mate John White, second mate Matthew Wood, third mate Thomas Newte, fourth mate Hugh Harris, fifth mate George Blackford, purser Andrew Wright, surgeon John Dornford, boatswain John Stirling, gunner Charles Mitchell, carpenter Philip Bartham, caulker Michael Emerson, sailmaker John Taylor, cooper John Bell, captain's steward David Price, captain's cook John Lane, ship's cook Daniel Lawrence, butcher Charles [...], midshipman and coxswain Arthur Stokes, midshipman Thomas Lloyd, midshipman John Sharp, midshipman Luke Davis, quartermaster Joseph Atkins, gunner's mate Henry Hutchable, carpenter's mate William Colebeck, caulker's mate Edward Barnard, cooper's mate William Salloway, sailmaker's mate David Widney John Davidson, boatswain's mate James McNeur, boatswain's mate William White, seaman Nathaniel Forbes, seaman J. G. Brown, seaman Alexander Park, seaman Thomas Leighton, seaman John Chapman, seaman James [...], seaman John Nation, seaman Nicholas Crook, seaman John Anderson, seaman William Read, seaman John Simpson, seaman Robert Jeffreys, seaman Thomas Jenkins, seaman John Dunn, seaman Lewis Davis, seaman James Benfield, seaman Henry Owen, seaman William Cooper, seaman Robert Carroll, seaman Francis Melbourne, seaman Edward Day, seaman Robert [...], seaman William Frazier, seaman Nicholas Haley, seaman Robert [...], seaman Abel Glass, seaman James Brown senior, seaman John Palmer, seaman James Newton, seaman William Usher, seaman

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		Willm. Usher Luke Atherton Richd. Brown Saml. Stuart Jno. Adwell Richd. Cope Willm. Gofeth Jno. Robbyn Capt. Servt. Henry Sedgwick Do. Jno. Fergus Surg. Do. Geo. Calwell 2d Mates Do. Robt. McIntyre 1st Do. Do. Thos. Walter Gunners Do. Henry Brooker Seam. Willm. Barrow John Ballard Thos. Coggan Willm. Barker Jno. Dyke Jno. Hare Jno. Johnson Robt. Bell Jos. Spedwell Fran. Monkton Thos. Dykwell Danl. Fielding	Luke Atherton, seaman Richard Brown, seaman Samuel Stewart, seaman John Adwell, seaman Richard [...], seaman William Griffith, seaman John Ashley, captain's servant Henry Sedgwick, captain's servant John Fergus, surgeon's servant Joseph Calwell, second mate's servant Patrick McIntyre, first mate's servant Thomas Walter, gunner's servant Henry Booker, seaman William Brown, seaman John Ballard, seaman Thomas Coggan, seaman William Barker, seaman John Dyke, seaman John Hare, seaman John Johnson, seaman Robert Bell, seaman Joseph Spedwell, seaman Francis Monkton, seaman Thomas Dukwell, seaman Daniel Fielding, seaman **Interpretations** Purling did not muster the ship to check her crew for the owners. He went to look for deserters from the garrison. A soldier who wanted to escape the island had one real chance, which was to hide on board a homeward-bound ship and sail before he was missed. Every ship in the road was therefore searched. Her company was called over against the roll, so that any man who did not belong to it would be found. The *Valentine* was the first Company ship to call in five months, at a time of heavy labour on the works, frequent demotions and sickness in the garrison. A soldier would never have a better chance to stow away, so the search was all the more necessary. The roll also served as a check on the ship's own crew. A sailor could desert on the island just as a soldier could leave it. Recording each man by name and rank allowed the commander and the Council to account for every seaman when the ship sailed. They could also deal with any man who tried to stay behind or to sign on as a soldier.
431	424	1769 Jno. Bellings Seamn. Julio Augusta Peter Comeo Jos. Domingo Jerome Cornill Seamn. Adrian Johannes Jno. Hein. Hagelstein Henr. Johnson Pieter Loffman Seamn. Rinard Bye Adam Tod Jno. Johnson Passengers Mr. Bolts Mrs. Bolts Mr. Pindersley Mr. Owen Mr. Shaw Mr. Pritchard two Black maid Servants One Black Boy (signed) Chas. Purvis The Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of January last were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follows	The *Valentine*'s muster roll continued with the last of her crew and her passengers. John Billings, seaman Julio Augusta, seaman Peter Cornies, seaman John Domingo, seaman Jerome Cornillet, seaman Adrian Johannes, seaman John Hein Hagelstein, seaman Henry Johnson, seaman Pieter Lofsman, seaman Reinard Bye, seaman Adam Pick, seaman John Johnson, seaman Passengers Mr Bolts Mrs Bolts Mr Pindersley Mrs Owen Mr Shee Mr Pritchard Two black maidservants One black boy Charles Purvis signed the roll. The gunner's and steward's accounts for January were presented. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. Artillery stores used in January 1769

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		viz. Artillery Stores Expended in Jany. 1769 Guns fired, 6 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expend. lb, Powder Expend. oz 21st An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Arrd. his Majesty's Ship Swallow: Guns fired 15, 6 Pr 14, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 1, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 15, Powder Expend. oz 0 Do. Fired for Capt. [...] coming on Shore: Guns fired 15, 6 Pr 14, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 1, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 15, Powder Expend. oz 0 25 Do. for Do. going on Board: Guns fired 15, 6 Pr 14, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 1, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 22, Powder Expend. oz 8 Do. Depart. his Majesty's Ship Swallow: Guns fired 15, 6 Pr 14, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 1, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 22, Powder Expend. oz 8 29 An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns fired 6, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Powder for Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 143, Powder Expend. oz 5 Total: Guns fired 72, 6 Pr 56, 4 Pr 4, 3 Pr 4, 2 Pr 4, 1 Pr 4, Powder Expend. lb 242, Powder Expend. oz 5 Lead Ball to Shoot Goats 2 lb. 12 oz. Paper for the Works to make Cartridges 7 Qrs. 6 Copper Rivets for the Cooper 173 Tallow for ye Cooper 5 lb. Handspikes at the Alarm House 1 Worms for 4 lb. at Prosperous Bay 1 (signed) Ar. Mitchell	21 January, an alarm: 6 guns fired, comprising 2 [...]-pounders, 2 [...]-pounders and 2 [...]-pounders, with 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder Arrival of His Majesty's ship *Swallow*: 15 guns fired, comprising 14 [...]-pounders and 1 [...]-pounder, with 15 pounds 0 ounces of powder Salute for the captain coming ashore: 15 guns fired, comprising 14 [...]-pounders and 1 [...]-pounder, with 15 pounds 0 ounces of powder 25 January, salute for the captain going aboard: 15 guns fired, comprising 14 [...]-pounders and 1 [...]-pounder, with 22 pounds 8 ounces of powder Departure of His Majesty's ship *Swallow*: 15 guns fired, comprising 14 [...]-pounders and 1 [...]-pounder, with 22 pounds 8 ounces of powder 29 January, an alarm for a ship that passed the island: 6 guns fired, comprising 2 [...]-pounders, 2 [...]-pounders and 2 [...]-pounders, with 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder Powder used in various services, 143 pounds 5 ounces Total: 72 guns fired, with 242 pounds 5 ounces of powder Lead ball for shooting goats, 2 pounds 12 ounces Copper for making 6 [...], 7 pounds 6 ounces Copper rivets for the cooper, 173 Tallow for the carts, 5 pounds Handspikes used at the alarm house, 1 [...] for the 4-pounder at Prosperous Bay, 1 Archibald Mitchell signed the account. **Interpretations** The *Swallow* was saluted four times during her short stay: on arrival, when her captain came ashore, when he returned aboard and when she sailed. Each salute took 15 guns. The Company gave a King's ship the same ceremony it would have given a senior commander of its own. The salutes used 75 pounds of powder in four days. An island defended by the Company still owed formal respect to the Crown's navy, and the record entered every gun of that respect against the stores. Both alarms in January were fired for ships. The first, on 21 January, announced the *Swallow* as she approached. The second, on 29 January, marked the ship that passed far out to sea without calling. A ship sighted from the lookouts set off a signal of six guns. The guns warned the garrison to stand to arms until the vessel could be identified. They were fired whether the ship turned out to be friend, foe or a stranger sailing by. The *Valentine* carried several passengers with their own servants, including two black maidservants and a black boy. They were probably slaves or bonded servants travelling with their owners from Bengal. St Helena's Council kept a close watch on any slave landed on the island, since slaves could not be brought ashore or sold there without permission. Listing them on the roll ensured that every person who came in on the ship left on her again.
432	425	1769 Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in Jany. 1769 6 Bott. Port Wine " 9 - 14 Do. Lisbon 1 1 - 8 Do. Mountain " 12 - 24 Do. Beer " 5 - 24 Gall. Arr. 6 " - 225 lb. Beef 4 13 9 306 lb. Mutton	Sundries used at the Company's table in January 1769 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 14 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 1s 0d 8 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 12s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 24 gallons of arrack, £6 0s 0d 225 pounds of beef, £4 13s 9d 306 pounds of mutton, £6 10s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 6 fowls, £0 9s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 31 pounds of butter, £1 11s 0d 100 pounds of sugar candy, £2 1s 8d 300 pounds of flour, £2 16s 3d

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		6 10 - 1 Lamb " 10 - 2 Turkeys " 10 - 6 Fowls " 9 - 6 Ducks " 9 - 37 lb. Butter 1 11 - 100 lb. Candy 2 1 8 300 Flour 2 16 3 £ 27 17 8 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short recd. from Ship Valentine viz. Account of Stores short received from Ship Valentine viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 2.. -.. 16 Rice -.. 3.. 7 Paddy 1.. 2.. 10 Sugar -.. -.. 2 Candles Short weight Occasiond. by drying & Package Gall. 1 Leagr. Arr. Gage 141 wants to fill 8 Gall. 1 Do. Do. 145 Do. 8 Do. 286 16 16 Recd. 270 Gall. (signed) p James Powell Storekpr. St. Helena 13 Feby. 1769	Total, £27 17s 8d The storekeeper delivered an account of the stores that had arrived short from the *Valentine*. Account of stores received short from the ship *Valentine* Rice, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 16 pounds short Paddy, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 pounds short Sugar, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 pounds short Candles, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 pounds short Cause of the short weight: drying out and wastage in the packages 1 leaguer of arrack, gauged at 141 gallons, short of full by 8 gallons 1 leaguer of arrack, gauged at 145 gallons, short of full by 8 gallons Total gauged, 286 gallons Total short, 16 gallons Received, 270 gallons James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 13 February 1769. **Interpretations** The storekeeper weighed and gauged the *Valentine*'s cargo before taking it into the warehouse. He did not accept the quantities on the Bengal invoice. Rice and paddy lost weight as they dried on the long voyage, and sugar drained away through the sacking. The two leaguers of arrack had been invoiced at 150 gallons each but held only 270 gallons between them on arrival. Recording the shortfall protected Powell, who was answerable for every pound and gallon entered in his charge. It also gave the Council a figure to set against the invoice when the ship's account was settled. The Company's table drew more fresh meat in January than in any recent month: 306 pounds of mutton and 225 pounds of beef. The captain of the *Swallow* came ashore during her stay and was entertained at the Castle. The rise in meat and wine at the table matched the salutes fired for his landing and departure.
433	426	The 13 February Captain Purvis brought from the Cape on Account of the Honble. Company forty five Sheep, which we paid him for as p Bill, also for three Casks of Tar and one of Pitch purchased for him on the Company's Account The Honble. Company Dr. To Captain Purvis To 45 Sheep with Expence of Boat Hire Corn Hay &c. Lyme at 15/ £ 33 15 - To 3 Casks of Tar at 35/ 5 5 - To 1 Cask of Pitch at 35/ 1 15 - £ 40 15 - E. E. Contents Received (signed) C. Purvis We this day Granted the two following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors viz. One Set to Capt. Archd. Mitchell for £800.. payable to Alexr. Hume Esq. (or Order) And one Set to Mr. Willm. Wrangham for £87.. 15.. 3 payable to Hutcheson Mure Esq. (or Order) both drawn at ninety Days	Captain Purvis had brought 45 sheep from the Cape for the Company. The Council paid him for them on his bill. It also paid him for three casks of tar and one of pitch, which he had bought on the Company's account. Owed by the Company to Captain Purvis 45 sheep, with the cost of boat hire, corn, hay and labour, at 15s each, £33 15s 0d 3 casks of tar at 35s each, £5 5s 0d 1 cask of pitch at 35s, £1 15s 0d Total, £40 15s 0d Purvis signed the bill, acknowledging that he had received the money and reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council that day granted two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors. One set went to Captain Archibald Mitchell for £800 0s 0d, payable to Alexander Hume or his order. The other went to William Wrangham for £87 15s 3d, payable to Hutcheson Mure or his order. Both bills were payable 90 days after sight. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The 45 sheep from the Cape were bought to strengthen the Company's flock, not for slaughter on arrival. The plantation account for the last quarter of 1768 showed the flock falling, from 634 to 611 sheep, because more were killed than were born. Fresh stock from the Cape, where the Dutch ran large flocks, replenished the numbers and brought in new blood. At 15s a head, including the cost of feeding the

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		sight John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	animals at sea and landing them, the sheep were dear. A healthy flock, though, gave the island mutton for years. Mitchell's bill for £800 0s 0d was by far the largest the Council had drawn in many months. It was payable in London to Alexander Hume. Mitchell was evidently sending home a large part of his savings ahead of his departure, which was tied to the completion of Munden's Point. He paid the money into the treasury in coin and received a bill that Hume could cash at East India House. The bills relieved the island's shortage of coin. The December cash account had shown the reserve falling by more than £2,000 in a quarter with no ships calling. Mitchell's £800 and Wrangham's £87 15s 3d replaced part of that loss at once, without any specie having to come out from England. The Company would meet the bills in London 90 days after they were presented.
434	427	The 20 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th day of Febry. 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Coun. The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 13 Feby. 1769 Tuesday the 14 Sailed the Honble. Company's Ship Valentine for England This day passed by six Dutch Ships Messrs. Richd. Bagley, John Goodwin & Willm. Hayes this day presented the following Petitions viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Gover. &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Richd. Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for four Acs. & a Quarter of Land lying in the West Division of this Island known by the name of Moncks Valley, that as the said piece of Land lies at a distance from your Petitioners other Lands and in the middle of the Common there, is on that Account very inconvenient, Requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to exchange the said Land for the same quantity of the Honble. Company's Waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners on Thompson's Wood And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Richd. Bagley 20th Feby. 1769 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 February 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 13 February 1769 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Valentine* sailed for England on Tuesday 14 February 1769. Six Dutch ships passed the island on 20 February. Richard Bagley, John Goodwin and William Hayes each presented a petition. Bagley petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council about the lease he held of four and a quarter acres in the West Division, known as Monkey's Ridge. The land lay some distance from his other holdings, in the middle of the commons, which made it very awkward to manage. He asked the Governor and Council to exchange it for the same area of the Company's waste land next to his own land at Thompson's Wood. He signed the petition on 20 February 1769. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. **Interpretations** Bagley asked for an exchange rather than an extra grant, so the Company would gain back as much land as it gave. His plot at Monkey's Ridge stood isolated in the commons, and fencing and guarding a holding surrounded by common grazing was costly. Livestock pressed on it from every side. Swapping it for ground beside his main farm would let him enclose a single block. The Council had approved a similar exchange for William Seale on 21 November 1768, on condition that the public lost nothing. Bagley's offer of an equal acreage met the same test. The Monkey's Ridge plot, returned to the commons, would also remove a private enclosure from the middle of public grazing. The six Dutch ships passing the island were probably an outward or homeward fleet of the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch revictualled at the Cape and seldom needed to call at St Helena. Their passing was still reported, since every sail sighted from the lookouts had to be identified, and the British island would have watched a large foreign fleet closely.
435	428	The 20 February To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Goodwin Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease expired for five Acres & a Quarter of Land lying in the West Division of the said Island, humbly requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a	John Goodwin petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council about five and a quarter acres in the West Division. His lease of the land had expired, and he asked for it to be renewed. He signed the petition on 20 February 1769. The Council granted the renewal. William Hayes also petitioned the Governor and Council. He had recently bought the estate formerly held by James Whaley. He now wished to rent part of the land in Fisher's Valley that Matthew Bazett, the secretary, had lately rented. In return he offered to

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		Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Jno. Goodwin 20th Feby. 1769 Granted To the Worshipfull John Skottowe Esq. Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena The Petition of William Hayes Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner having purchased the Estate lately in the possession of James Whaley is desirous of Renting part of that piece of Land lately rented by Mr. Mattw. Bazett Secretary lying in Fishers Valley, and to change an Acre and half and Seven parts of an Acre of Free Land lying in Gillies Ground for as much of the abovementioned Land, your Petitioner humbly hopes this will meet with your Worships approbation & shall as in duty bound for your Worships Ever Pray 20th Feby. 1769 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed Counted and examined the Honble. Compys. Cash for the Month of Jany. last which is as follows viz.	give up an acre and a half, and some further parts of an acre, of his own land in [...] Ground, in exchange for the same amount of the land in Fisher's Valley. He hoped the Governor and Council would approve and signed the petition on 20 February 1769. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of January. **Interpretations** Hayes moved quickly to rearrange the holding he had bought. The Council approved his purchase of James Whaley's house and 11 acres only on 9 January 1769, and within six weeks he was asking to swap part of it for ground in Fisher's Valley. Like Bagley on the same day, he offered an exchange of equal area, which met the test the Council had applied to William Seale in November 1768. A new owner could reshape a farm to suit his own use, as long as the Company's estate and the public commons lost nothing in the process. The land Hayes wanted had lately been rented by Matthew Bazett. The secretary had evidently given up part of his holding in Fisher's Valley, leaving it free to let again. On an island where most good ground was already leased, land coming back to the Company was quickly sought by neighbours.
436	429	Cash Dr. 1769 Jany. 1st To Balance remaining£ 8159 13 11 £ 8159 13 11 Per Contra Cr. 1769 Jany. 31st By Balance remaining viz. In Specie 7619 18 11 In Cash Notes 539 15 - £ 8159 13 11	The Company's cash account for January 1769 showed no money received or paid during the month. Received 1 January 1769, balance remaining, £8,159 13s 11d Total, £8,159 13s 11d Paid 31 January 1769, balance remaining in coin, £7,619 18s 11d 31 January 1769, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £8,159 13s 11d **Interpretations** The treasury stood unchanged through January, as it had in October and November 1768. The *Swallow* called during the month, but as a King's ship she drew no bills on the Company and paid nothing into its chest. The bills of exchange granted to Mitchell and Wrangham on 13 February 1769 fell in the following month. The coin they brought in would therefore appear only in February's account. In the meantime the reserve rested at the low point reached after the December quarter's wages had been paid out.
437	430	The 20 February Mr. Purling Reports that he has viewed the two pieces of Land petitioned for by Mr. Isaac Dowlon and Mr. Willm. Hayes, and thinks that letting the same will not be prejudicial either to the Company or to the Neighbourhood Agreed to let the said pieces of Land at the Usual price of 5/ p Ac. We this day Executed the Renewal of a Lease to Mr. Richard Bagley for a piece of Land containing thirty Acres lying in Swanly Valley at 5/ p Acre John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Purling reported that he had inspected the two pieces of land Isaac Doveton and William Hayes had asked for. He found that letting them would harm neither the Company nor the neighbours. The Council agreed to let both pieces at the usual rent of 5s an acre. The Council that day completed the renewal of a lease to Richard Bagley for 30 acres in Swanly Valley, at 5s an acre. Governor John Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council called 5s an acre the "usual" rent for waste land, the full rate for ground of ordinary quality. Purling's report said nothing about the soil of Doveton's and Hayes's plots. Without a note of rocky or barren ground, the Council charged the standard figure. The reduced rents of 1s 6d to 2s 6d set during the autumn were exceptions, granted only where an inspection found the land poor. The default stayed at 5s, and a petitioner had to show cause for anything lower.

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			Bagley's 30 acres in Swanly Valley were renewed at the same rate. Old leases and new grants of average land paid alike, so the rent roll kept a consistent value for each acre of the Company's ground.
438	431	The 27 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of Febry. 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 20 Feby. 1769 Tuesday the 21 Arrived the Bute's Boat at Banks's half an Hour past three o'Clock in the Afternoon Do. Do. Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Bute from Bombay There being no Coffee in the Honble. Company's Stores, we sent Capt. Maitland the following Order viz. To the Honble. Patrick Maitland Commander of Ship Bute Sir You are hereby Ordered to send on Shore three half Bales of the Honorable Company's Coffee for the use of this Island We are Sir Your humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe Mattw. Purling Thoms. Kirkpatrick St. Helena 27th Feby. 1769	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 February 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 20 February 1769 were read, approved and signed. At half past three in the afternoon of Tuesday 21 February a boat from the *Bute* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Bute* arrived from Bombay on the same day. The Company's stores held no coffee, so the Council sent an order to Captain the Honourable Patrick Maitland, commander of the *Bute*. It instructed him to send ashore three half-bales of the Company's coffee for the island's use. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order at St Helena on 27 February 1769. **Interpretations** The Council did not buy coffee from a private trader or ask Maitland for a sale. It ordered him to land part of the Company's own cargo. The coffee in the *Bute*'s hold already belonged to the Company, bought at Mocha or Bombay for sale in London. Taking three half-bales at St Helena simply moved the goods from one department of the Company to another, without new money changing hands. The island was a station of the same company that owned the ship. Its Council could draw on any Company cargo passing through to supply a shortage, as long as the quantity was recorded and charged. The warehouse had held 23 pounds of coffee in September 1768. The Company's table and the servants had since drawn it down to nothing. Coffee came to St Helena only on ships returning from the Red Sea and western India. The arrival of the *Bute* from Bombay was the first chance in months to restock.
439	432	The 27th February Mr. Purling reports that he has viewed the piece of Land Mr. Richard Bagley requested to have in Exchange for a piece he Rents of the Honble. Company called Bedleys, the exchange he thinks may be admitted of, as the two pieces appear to him to be equally good, and transferring the Land now Occupied by Mr. Bagley from private Property will be an Advantage to the Public as it is a Small piece and situated in the middle of a large Common consequently injurious to the grazing Cattle on that Commonage He has also viewed the Land that William Hayes requested to exchange with the Company for a piece contiguous to his Land and is of Opinion that exchanging the same will be of Advantage to the Company as the Land he gives up is well wooded and Adjoins to the Long Wood, and from its vicinity thereto is extremely inconvenient to be possessed by any private person. That in Lieu of this small piece of Free Land containing One Acre and two thirds he thinks Hayes may be allotted an equality Adjoining to his Land and what may be over and above which he has Petitioned for may be Leased to him on the Usual terms, it appearing that the same may be Let without prejudice either to the Company or the Neighbourhood February 27th 1769	Purling reported that he had inspected the land Richard Bagley wanted in exchange for the piece he rented from the Company, known as Bagley's. He thought the exchange could be allowed, since the two pieces seemed equally good. Taking the land Bagley now held out of private hands would also benefit the public. It was a small plot in the middle of a large common, and so it hindered the cattle grazing there. Purling had also inspected the land William Hayes wished to exchange with the Company for a piece next to his own. He judged the exchange would be to the Company's advantage. The land Hayes was giving up was well wooded and adjoined the Long Wood. Being so close to it, the plot was very unsuitable to be held by any private person. In return for this small piece of wooded land, about one and two-thirds acres, Purling thought Hayes could be granted an equal area next to his own land. Any further land he had asked for beyond that could be let to him on the usual terms, since letting it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbours. The report was dated 27 February 1769. The Council agreed to both exchanges as Purling proposed. Any land granted beyond the acreage exchanged would be let at the usual rent of 5s an acre. Governor John Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Each exchange served a public purpose as well as the petitioner's convenience. Bagley's isolated plot stood in the middle of a large common, and its fences cut into grazing that all the inhabitants used. Returning it to the commons removed the obstruction. Hayes's land was more valuable to the

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		Upon which we Consented to the Exchanges Requested by Mr. Richd. Bagley and Willm. Hayes Agreeable to the above Report & whatever Land may be over the quantity of Acres so exchanged we agreed to Rent at the usual rate of 5/ p Acre John Skottowe Purling	Company still. It was wooded and lay beside the Long Wood, the largest surviving stand of trees on the island. Timber was so scarce on St Helena that the Company imported planks from the Baltic and rope to tie down thatch. Woodland next to the Long Wood was better kept in the Company's hands, where it could be protected, than left to a private owner who might clear it for pasture or fuel. Purling's report also set a rule for exchanges that turned out uneven. Hayes would receive an equal area to what he surrendered, and anything more would be let at the full rent. The arrangement stopped a petitioner from using an exchange to gain extra ground free of rent.
440	433	The 6 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of March 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 27 Feby. 1769 Tuesday the 28 Febry. Died Daniel Maloney Matross Thursday the 2 Passed by a Ship at a great distance Yesterday Arrived the Royal Captain's Boat at Banks's at six o'Clock in the Evening This day Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Royal Captain from Bombay brought Us the following Supplies viz. Invoice of Ship Royal Captain Rice Bealer fine 45 Bags of 300 Sr. Mds. viz. 44 Bags ea. 6¾ Sr. Mds. is 297 Mds. 1 .. 3 Do. 45 300 Sr. Mds. @ 22 Rupees p 18 Sr. Mds. 366 2 66 Batty 32 Bags ea. 3 Parahs 3.. 2 ea. 20 Rs. p Md. 76 3 20 Charges on Merchandize Hamallage 55 " 3 Lascars 1 3 20 Boat Hire 5 " 90 62 3 10 Rupees 506 - 96 Errors Excepted (signed) p Jams. Byby Accompt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 March 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 27 February 1769 were read, approved and signed. Daniel Maloney, a matross, died on Tuesday 28 February 1769. On Thursday 2 March a ship passed the island far out to sea. On 5 March, at six in the evening, a boat from the *Royal Captain* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Royal Captain* arrived from Bombay on 6 March and brought the following supplies. Invoice of the ship *Royal Captain* Fine rice, 44 bags at 6¾ Surat maunds each, 297 maunds Fine rice, 1 bag of 3 Surat maunds, 3 maunds Total fine rice, 45 bags weighing 300 Surat maunds at 22 rupees per [...], 366 rupees 2 quarters 66 reas Batty, 32 bags weighing 3 candies 2 maunds 20 pounds at [...], 76 rupees 3 quarters 20 reas Charges on the goods Porterage, 55 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas Lascars, 1 rupee 3 quarters 20 reas Boat hire, 5 rupees 0 quarters 90 reas Total for the charges, 62 rupees 3 quarters 10 reas Total, 506 rupees 0 quarters 96 reas James Ryley, accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The *Royal Captain*, like the *Valentine*, brought rice for the island, this time from the western side of India. The Bombay invoice used that presidency's own money and measures. The rupee divided into 4 quarters and each quarter into 100 reas. Rice was weighed in Surat maunds, which were lighter than the Bengal maund, and in candies of 20 maunds. Batty was the western Indian name for paddy, rice still in its husk. It was cheaper than cleaned rice and was fed to the Company's slaves and poultry. Two rice ships within a month showed how much the island now relied on India for its staple grain. The Company's slaves had consumed more than 214 hundredweight of rice in the last quarter of 1768 alone. Rice from Bengal and Bombay arrived in the holds of East Indiamen calling on the homeward voyage, so the island's food supply depended on the timing and number of ships passing the Cape. Porterage was the largest charge, the cost of carrying the bags from the warehouses in Bombay to the waterside. Lascars were Indian seamen, hired here to load the boats that ferried the cargo out to the ship.
441	434	The 6 March We this day received the following Letter from the Engineer as likewise a Plan of Lemon Valley Fortification To the Worshipfull John Skottowe Esq. Governor &ca. and Council of the Island St. Helena	The Council received a letter from the engineer, together with a plan of the fortifications in Lemon Valley. Mitchell wrote to Governor John Skottowe and the Council that the defences of Lemon Valley were now finished. Only the gun platforms remained, and

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		Gentlemen The Defences of Lemon Valley being now compleated, all but the laying of the Platforms, for which we must wait untill the Arrival of the Storeships, I therefore deliver in a Plan of that Work, in order to be transmitted to my Honble. Masters, & shall be happy to find, that the Manner in which those Defences have been executed, receives the Honor of your Approbation I am With the greatest respect Gentlemen Your most Obedt. & very humble Servant (signed) Ar. Mitchell St. Helena 6th March 1769 Agreed to visit the same Tomorrow and to transmit the said Plan together with our sentiments thereupon to the Honble. the Court of Directors John Skottowe Purling	these had to wait for the store ships to arrive. He therefore delivered a plan of the work to be sent home to the Court of Directors. He hoped the Council would approve of the way the defences had been built. He signed the letter at St Helena on 6 March 1769. The Council agreed to inspect the works the next day. It would then send the plan to the Court of Directors with its own opinion of them. Governor Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Mitchell had reported on 2 January 1769 that the platforms at Lemon Valley would wait until the new rampart had settled. He now gave a further reason: the store ships had not yet come. Gun platforms were laid with heavy planking, usually oak or Baltic timber, bolted down on sleepers. The September inventory had held only modest stocks of such timber. Much of it had since gone into the boats, the carts and the works at Banks's and Munden's Point. The platforms could not be built until fresh timber arrived from England. The Council chose to inspect the finished works in person before reporting to London, rather than simply forwarding the engineer's plan. The Court of Directors had paid for the works with thousands of pounds in labour and stores. A first-hand opinion from the Governor and Council would carry more weight than Mitchell's account alone. It would also show the Directors that the island's government had checked the engineer's work, only three months after Payne's charges had questioned his use of the Company's materials.
442	435	The 13 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of March 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 6 March 1769 Thursday the 9 Arrived the Kent's Boat at Banks's at half an Hour past six o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Kent from Bengal last from the Cape Friday the 10 Do. The Verelst Boat at Banks's at nine o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Verelst from Bengal last from the Cape Saturday the 11 Died Thomas Collier Serjeant The Kent and Verelst brought us the following Supply viz. Invoice of Ship Kent Fine Rice 60 Bags Wgt. F. M. 120 at Rs. 2.. 6 p M. 307 12 9 Fine Sugar 10 Bags Wgt. 20 7.. 12 Rs. 155 - - Paddy 15 Bags 22.. 20 1.. 39 p Rs. 23 1 - Wax Candles 4 Chests 8 @ 76 p M. 608 - - Batavia Arrack 2 Leagrs. at 130 each 283 12 9 1377 10 6 Carrd. Over 1377 10 6	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 13 March 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 6 March 1769 were read, approved and signed. At half past six in the morning of Thursday 9 March a boat from the *Kent* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Kent* arrived the same day from Bengal, by way of the Cape. At nine in the morning of Friday 10 March a boat from the *Verelst* landed at Banks's. The Company's ship *Verelst* arrived the same day, also from Bengal by way of the Cape. Thomas Collier, a sergeant, died on Saturday 11 March. The *Kent* and the *Verelst* brought the following supplies. Invoice of the ship *Kent* Fine rice, 60 bags weighing 120 maunds at [...] a maund, 307 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Fine sugar, 10 bags weighing 20 maunds at 7 rupees 12 annas a maund, 155 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers at [...], 23 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds at 76 rupees a maund, 608 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers of 150 gallons each, 283 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Total, 1,377 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Carried forward, 1,377 rupees 10 annas 6 pies **Interpretations** The *Kent*'s cargo matched the *Valentine*'s almost exactly: 60 bags of rice, 10 of sugar, 15 of paddy, four chests of wax candles and two leaguers of Batavia arrack. The Bengal council evidently packed a standard assortment for St Helena and loaded one on each homeward ship. Spreading the island's supplies across several vessels guarded against the loss of any single ship. It also meant a steady flow of rice through the season instead of one large delivery that might spoil in the warehouse. Three Company ships from India called within a week: the *Royal Captain*, the *Kent* and the *Verelst*. The homeward fleet left India at the turn of the year to

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			round the Cape in the southern summer. It reached St Helena from February to April. After the long quiet of the last months of 1768, the season now brought ships, stores and the chance to draw bills of exchange in quick succession. Thomas Collier was one of the artillery's four sergeants. His death opened a vacancy at the top of the company's non-commissioned ranks. It would set off another chain of promotion like those recorded on the last pay list.
443	436	The 13 March Brought over 1374 10 6 Charges Merchandize 160 Gunnys 24 3 - 2 Srs. Twine " 4 - 4 Mangoe Chests 18 4 - 60 Reed Matts 5 2 9 Dust 1 " - Moolias 11 3 - Boathire 4 5 3 Peons 2 5 3 Packages 1 1 - Weighmen " 9 - Sleepers 99 4 6 163 11 9 Curr. Rupees 1543 6 3 Errors Excepted (signed) p M. Harwood Subaco. Invoice of Ship Verelst Rice fine 60 Bags Wgt. F. M. 120 at Rs. 2.. 6 p M. 307 12 9 Fine Sugar 10 Bags Wgt. 20 at 7.. 12 Do. 155 - - Paddy 15 Bags Wgt. 22.. 20 1.. 39 p Rs. 23 1 - Wax Candles 4 Chests Wgt. 8 @ 76 p M. 608 - - Batavia Arr. 2 Leagrs. at 130 each 280 12 9 1374 10 6 Carrd. Over 1374 10 6	The *Kent*'s invoice continued with the charges on the goods. Brought forward, 1,374 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods 160 gunny bags, 24 rupees 3 annas 0 pies Twine, 0 rupees 4 annas 0 pies 4 [...] chests, 18 rupees 4 annas 0 pies 60 [...] mats, 5 rupees 2 annas 9 pies Paint, 1 rupee 0 annas 0 pies Coolies, 11 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Boatmen, 4 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Peons, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Packing, 1 rupee 1 anna 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Sloop hire, 99 rupees 4 annas 6 pies Total for the charges, 168 rupees 11 annas 9 pies Total in current rupees, 1,543 rupees 6 annas 3 pies M. Harwood, sub-accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. Invoice of the ship *Verelst* Fine rice, 60 bags weighing 120 maunds at 2 rupees 9 annas a maund, 307 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Fine sugar, 10 bags weighing 20 maunds at 7 rupees 12 annas a maund, 155 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers at [...], 23 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds at 76 rupees a maund, 608 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers of 150 gallons each, 280 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Total, 1,374 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Carried forward, 1,374 rupees 10 annas 6 pies **Interpretations** Sloop hire was by far the largest charge on the *Kent*'s goods, nearly 100 rupees out of 168. The great East Indiamen could not come up the Hooghly to Calcutta and lay downriver at Diamond Harbour or Kedgeree. Cargo had to be carried from the Company's warehouses to the ships in hired sloops over many miles of river. The *Valentine*'s invoice showed a smaller sum for boat hire. Freight costs depended on how far down the river each ship was lying when she loaded. The *Verelst*'s invoice was identical to the *Kent*'s in every quantity and price. Both ships carried the same standard assortment for the island. The Bengal council prepared the St Helena consignments as a fixed allotment and divided them evenly among the ships of the season.
444	437	1769 Brought Over 1374 10 6 Charges Merchandize 160 Gunny Bags 24 3 - 3 Srs. Twine " 7 - 4 Mangoe Chests 18 4 - 60 Reed Matts 5 2 9	The *Verelst*'s invoice continued with the charges on the goods. Brought forward, 1,374 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods 160 gunny bags, 24 rupees 3 annas 0 pies Twine, 0 rupees 7 annas 0 pies 4 [...] chests, 18 rupees 4 annas 0 pies 60 [...] mats, 5 rupees 2 annas 9 pies Paint, 1 rupee 0 annas 0 pies Boatmen, 4 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Coolies, 11 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Peons, 2 rupees 5 annas 3 pies

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		Dust 1 " - Boathire 4 5 3 Moolias 11 3 - Peons 2 5 3 Weighmen " 9 - Packages 1 1 - Sleepers 99 4 6 163 11 9 Curr. Rupees 1543 6 3 E. Excepted (signed) p M. Harwood Subaco. Mr. Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Bute & Royal Captain to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. Muster Roll of Ship Bute Patk. Maitland Commr. Willm. Lindsay Chief Mate Richd. Brady 2d Do. J. Watt. 3d Do. James Pewell 4th Do. Jams. Ferguson 5th Do. Thomas Robins Willm. Henderson Robt. Sinclair Surgeon Chas. Rich Gunner Samuel Bullen Carpent. Richd. Davies Caulkr. Jams. Halesam Coxswain Chas. Henderson Midshn. Jas. Chalmers Do. Thoms. Willingsby Do. Jno. Simpson Do. Jno. Bonnington 2d Mast. Thos. Spurges Sail Makr. Henry Lund Coopr. Thos. Walker Armour. Robt. Smith Ships Stewd. Wm. Bristand Cook Wm. Crawford Gunrs. Mate Wm. Ash Bo. 1st Do. Thos. Jones Bo. 2 Do. Thos. Edwards Carpt. 1 Do.	Weighmen, 0 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Packing, 1 rupee 1 anna 0 pies Sloop hire, 99 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Total for the charges, 168 rupees 11 annas 9 pies Total in current rupees, 1,543 rupees 6 annas 3 pies M. Harwood, sub-accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. Matthew Purling reported that he had gone on board the *Bute* and the *Royal Captain* to muster their crews and search for deserters, but found none. Their muster rolls were entered as follows. Muster roll of the ship *Bute* Patrick Maitland, commander William Lindsay, chief mate Richard Brady, second mate Francis Watts, third mate James Powell, fourth mate James Ferguson, fifth mate Thomas [...] William Robertson Robert Sinclair, surgeon Charles Rose, gunner Samuel Fuller, carpenter Richard Davies, caulker James Watson, coxswain Charles Henderson, midshipman J. Chalmers, midshipman Samuel Willoughby, midshipman John Simpson, midshipman John Warrington, quartermaster Thomas Sturges, sailmaker Henry Quint, cooper John Walker, armourer Robert Smith, ship's steward William Bisland, cook William Crawford, gunner's mate W. [...], boatswain's first mate Thomas Grove, boatswain's second mate Thomas Edwards, carpenter's first mate **Interpretations** Purling mustered the *Bute* and the *Royal Captain* as he had the *Valentine*. Each ship in the road was searched before she sailed. The homeward season was the time of greatest risk. Several East Indiamen lay at anchor together, their crews were busy loading water and stores, and boats came and went all day between the ships and the landing. A soldier could slip aboard among the casks and work parties. Every roll was called over man by man, so that no one stowed away while the island was distracted by the arrival of the fleet. The *Bute* carried officers of every grade found on a large East Indiaman: five mates, a surgeon, gunner, carpenter, caulker and sailmaker, and a cooper and armourer to maintain her casks and arms. A crew of this size, with its standing officers and their mates, could sail and fight the ship for the 18-month round voyage to India. The roll also allowed the Council to check that none of these skilled men stayed behind on the island, where a carpenter or cooper would have been welcome in the Company's shops.
445	438	The 13 March Richard Stubbs Carpt. 2d Mate Henry Jones Cooper Do. Geo. Smith Caulk. Do. Jos. Warren Butcher Peter Bond Bout. Ogilvie Geddes Capt. Serv. Roger Hughes Seamen Hilliard Shaw Michl. Grew Thos. Kent Willm. Gibson Josh. Hunter	The *Bute*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew and her passengers. Richard Stubbs, carpenter's second mate Henry Jones, cooper's mate George Smith, caulker's mate Joseph Warren, butcher Peter Bond, baker Ogilvie Geddes, captain's steward Roger Hughes, seaman William Shaw, seaman Michael Green, seaman Thomas Hurd, seaman William Gibson, seaman

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		Thos. Burns David Johnston Joseph Sutton David Murray Benjn. Webb Jno. Steel Bartho. Pohman Josh. Riley Jno. Coble John Ward Hestan Haggmen Willm. Bell John Hutwood Seamen Geo. Dudley Wm. Townsend Jno. Edwards Jno. Martin Jno. Taylor Alex. Smith Jno. Wilson Jno. Ballentyne Jno. Ketcham Jno. Chambers Jno. Burns Gray McCallum Thomas Capt. Capt. Taylor Vaughan Williams Do. Do. Jno. Hill Seamen Jno. Geddes James Reid Willm. Mills Antl. Costa Jno. Hooper Jams. Gray Robt. Every Jno. Simmons Seamn. Willm. Nash Fran. Harrison Wm. Farry Abraham Lee Thos. Hamilton Thos. Griffiths Patk. Corbett Thos. Forbes Jno. Brunner Wm. Baldwin Laurence Cassidee Willm. Scott Capt. Servt. Dav. Alston Do. Jno. Millar Chief Mates Do. Nathl. Butler Surg. Do. Jno. Arch. Steward Do. Thos. Ware Carpt. Do. Jno. Bute Capt. Cook Jno. Hatton Seamen Cato Second Mates Servt. Macha Gunners Do. Jno. Reid Seamen Passengers Mr. Graves let Super Cargoe Major Grant & Lady Capt. Scott & Lady Capt. Barr Miss Price Mr. Egerton Rachel Nice Kenneth Bayne Saml. Jones (signed) Pat. Maitland	Joseph Hunter, seaman Thomas Burns, seaman David Johnston, seaman James Sutton, seaman David Murray, seaman Benjamin Dodd, seaman Joseph Reid, seaman Bartholomew Pittman, seaman Joseph Paley, seaman John Cable, seaman John Ford, seaman Gustavus Hagquist, seaman William Neal, seaman John Hatwood, seaman George Dudley, seaman William Townsend, seaman John Edwards, seaman John Martin, seaman John Taylor, seaman Alexander Smith, seaman John Wilson, seaman John Ballantyne, seaman John Ketcham, seaman John Chambers, seaman John Burns, seaman Gray McCallum, seaman Thomas [...], captain's tailor Vaughan Williams, surgeon's assistant John Hill, seaman John Geddes, seaman James Reid, seaman William Miller, seaman Antonio Costa, seaman John Hooper, seaman James Gray, seaman Robert Avery, seaman John Simmons, seaman William Nash, seaman Francis Harrison, seaman William Darcy, seaman Abraham Lee, seaman Thomas Hamilton, seaman Thomas Griffiths, seaman Patrick Corbett, seaman Thomas Forbes, seaman John Brunner, seaman William Baldwin, seaman Lawrence Cassidy, seaman William Shortt, captain's servant David Alston, captain's servant John Millar, chief mate's servant Nathaniel Butler, surgeon's servant John Arkell, boatswain's servant Thomas Nairn, carpenter's servant John Bate, captain's cook John Hutton, seaman Cato, second mate's servant Mocha, gunner's servant John Reid, seaman Passengers Mr [...], supercargo Major Gowan and his wife Captain Scott and his wife Captain Burr Miss Brice Mr Ogilvie Richard New Kenneth Bayne [...] Patrick Maitland signed the roll. **Interpretations** Two of the servants, Cato and Mocha, were entered by a single name, unlike every other man on the roll. Names of that kind were commonly given to slaves, and "Mocha" suggests a man brought from the Red Sea port of that name. The second mate and

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			the gunner probably owned them outright. Ships' officers often kept a slave or bonded servant on the India voyage. Listing them on the roll was as important to the Council as listing the seamen. A slave landed on St Helena without leave, or left behind when the ship sailed, could not be sold or kept without the Council's permission. The passengers showed the *Bute* carrying people of standing home from Bombay. A supercargo managed a ship's trading cargo on behalf of the owners, and army officers travelled with their wives. Such passengers were usually entertained at the Castle while their ship lay in the road, one reason the Company's table drew so heavily on meat and wine whenever the homeward fleet arrived.
446	439	1769 Muster Roll of Ship Royal Captain Natl. Tanner Commr. Edw. Bevan Chief Mate Jams. Quick 2d Do. Josh. Hy. Haddleston 3d Do. Saml. Williamson 4th Do. Ar. Geary Surgeon Robt. Pudsey Purser Jno. Abb. Blanchford 5 Mate Saml. Carnell 6 Do. Josh. Webb Boat. John Ayr Carpenter Jno. Willy Gunner Matt. Coyle Mids. & Cox. Richd. Nowe Mids. Saml. Watson Do. Robt. Madden Do. Bentley Young Do. Danl. Baker 2d Mas. Jams. Forsyth Do. Jno. Aylsbury Surg. Mate Edw. Speed Boat. Do. Thos. Dick Carp. Do. Jno. Anderson Gunr. Do. Edw. Scott Caulker Mark Pring Do. Mate Thos. Bass Cooper Wm. Pilbury Do. Mate Geo. Cook Ships Steward Lawr. Hayes Capt. Do. Alex. Walker Do. Cook Jno. Anderson Ships Do. Jno. Howard Sail maker Jno. Merkle Armour. W. Birch Butcher Lew. Nichols Bout. Mos. Meredith Taylor Thos. Moody Seamen Jams. Kibra Jno. Watson Jno. McCarty Jno. Neveld Jno. Pulson Jams. Boulton Danl. Powell Wm. Jones Thos. Marshall Jams. Bowen Josh. Augustine Geo. Brown Josh. Shaw Wm. Buchanan Edw. Pottinger Robt. Thompson Michl. Hallow Jno. Davidson Jno. Nichols Thos. Ferguson Peter Roberson	Muster roll of the ship *Royal Captain* Nathaniel Tanner, commander Edward Berrow, chief mate James Quick, second mate John Haddleton, third mate James Williamson, fourth mate Alexander Geary, surgeon Robert Pulley, purser John [...], fifth mate James Carnell, sixth mate John Webb, boatswain John Ayer, carpenter John Willy, gunner Matthew [...], midshipman and coxswain Richard Rowe, midshipman James Watson, midshipman Robert Madden, midshipman Bradley Young, midshipman Robert Baxter, quartermaster James Forsyth, quartermaster John Aylesbury, surgeon's mate Edward Speed, boatswain's mate Thomas Duck, carpenter's mate John Anderson, gunner's mate Edward [...] Mark Ring, mate Thomas Bass, cooper William Pilbury, cooper's mate George Cook, ship's steward Lawrence Hayes, captain's steward Robert Walker, captain's cook John Anderson, ship's cook John Howard, sailmaker John Mackle, armourer William Birch, butcher Lewis Nichols, baker Moses Meredith, tailor Thomas Moody, seaman James Kilner, seaman John Mattson, seaman John McCatty, seaman John Nixon, seaman John Palmer, seaman James Boulton, seaman David Powell, seaman William Jones, seaman Thomas Marshall, seaman James Bowen, seaman John Augustine, seaman George Brown, seaman Joseph Shaw, seaman William Buchanan, seaman Edward Pottinger, seaman Robert Thompson, seaman Michael Fallows, seaman John Davidson, seaman John Nichols, seaman Thomas Ferguson, seaman Peter Peterson, seaman Daniel Hobbs, seaman

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		Danl. Hobbs Geo. Wilson John Mills Wm. Ward Thos. Cornelius Richd. Masters Dav. Bell Phil. Powell Robt. Orr Seamen Jno. Rutherford Jas. Todd Saml. Dutch Jams. Bollard Jno. Telford Richd. Austin Jas. Gibbons Geof. Jackson Jno. Lamb Jno. Canty Phill. Brown Geo. Dean Matt. Thompson Capt. Servt. Thos. Laytor Do. Christ. Harris 2 Mates Do. Jno. Saunders Surg. Do. Isaac Hall Boat. Do. Jno. Auna Carpt. Do. Wm. Maden Gun. Do. Jno. Smith Seam. Passengers Dob. Lieut. Wm. Webb Soldier Thos. Hayley Do. Chas. Webb Do. Saml. Taylor Do. Jno. Ashfp Do. Jno. Eden Do. (signed) Nat. Tanner	George Wilson, seaman John Mills, seaman William Ward, seaman Thomas Saunders, seaman Jacob [...], seaman David Bell, seaman Philip Powell, seaman Robert Orr, seaman John Rutherford, seaman James Todd, seaman Samuel Dutch, seaman James Bellard, seaman John Telford, seaman Richard Austin, seaman Joseph Gibbons, seaman Joseph Jackson, seaman John Lamb, seaman John Canty, seaman Philip Brown, seaman George Dean, seaman Matthew Thompson, captain's servant Thomas Taylor, captain's servant Christopher Morris, second mate's servant John Saunders, surgeon's servant Isaac Hall, boatswain's servant John Owen, carpenter's servant William Madden, gunner's servant John Smith, seaman Passengers Robert [...] William [...], soldier Thomas Hayley, soldier Charles [...], soldier Samuel Taylor, soldier John Ashby, soldier John Oden, soldier Nathaniel Tanner signed the roll. **Interpretations** The *Royal Captain* carried six soldiers as passengers from Bombay. They were probably men of the Company's Bombay forces whose service had ended, or invalids sent home. Their presence made the muster all the more necessary. Soldiers on board a ship in the road could easily mix with the St Helena garrison ashore. A deserter from the island might have tried to pass himself off as one of them when the ship sailed. Listing each passenger by name fixed the number who had arrived, so that the same number, and no more, left with the ship.
447	440	The 13 March The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stewards Accounts for the Month of February last, were this day laid before Us which have been examined approved of and are as follow viz. Artillery Stores Expend. in Feby. 1769 Guns fired, 6 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Expend. lb, Powder Expend. oz 7th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 8 Do. At Turks Cap for ye Valentine: Guns fired 2, 6 Pr 2, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 6, Powder Expend. oz 0 Do. At Prosperous Bay: Guns fired 6, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Arrived the Valentine: Guns fired 9, 6 Pr 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 13, Powder Expend. oz 8 14 Departed Do.: Guns fired 9, 6 Pr 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 13, Powder Expend. oz 8 20 An Alarm for six Ships that went by: Guns fired 15, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 6, 3 Pr 6, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 3, Powder Expend. lb 22, Powder Expend. oz 8	The gunner's and steward's accounts for February were laid before the Council. It examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. Artillery stores used in February 1769 7 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired, comprising 2 [...]-pounders, 2 [...]-pounders and 2 [...]-pounders, with 12 pounds of powder 8 February, an alarm at Turk's Cap for the Valentine: 2 [...]-pounders fired, with 6 pounds of powder 8 February, an alarm at Prosperous Bay for the Valentine: 6 guns fired, comprising 2 [...]-pounders, 2 [...]-pounders and 2 [...]-pounders, with 12 pounds of powder 8 February, arrival of the *Valentine*: 9 [...]-pounders fired, with 13 pounds 8 ounces of powder 14 February, departure of the *Valentine*: 9 [...]-pounders fired, with 13 pounds 8 ounces of powder 20 February, an alarm for six ships that passed the island: 15 guns fired, comprising 6 [...]-pounders, 6 [...]-pounders and 3 [...]-pounders, with 22 pounds 8 ounces of powder 21 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired, comprising 2 [...]-pounders, 2 [...]-pounders and 2 [...]-pounders, with 12 pounds of powder

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		21 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 2, 3 Pr 2, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 2, Powder Expend. lb 12, Powder Expend. oz 0 Do. Arrived the Bute: Guns fired 9, 6 Pr 9, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 13, Powder Expend. oz 8 22 Fired to salute Major Grant coming on Shore: Guns fired 11, 6 Pr 11, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 16, Powder Expend. oz 8 Powder for Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 6 Pr 0, 4 Pr 0, 3 Pr 0, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 0, Powder Expend. lb 141, Powder Expend. oz 10 Total: Guns fired 73, 6 Pr 40, 4 Pr 12, 3 Pr 12, 2 Pr 0, 1 Pr 9, Powder Expend. lb 263, Powder Expend. oz 2 Paper for ye Office 1 Quire Lead Ball to Shoot Goats 3 lb. 7 oz. Handspikes 8 Match 2 lb. Tallow for the Works 6 lb. (signed) Ar. Mitchell Sundry's Expend. at the Honble. Company's Table in February 1769 6 Bottles Port Wine " 9 - 24 Do. Lisbon 1 16 - 12 Do. Mountain " 18 - 24 Do. Beer " 5 - 30 Gall. Arrack 7 10 - Carrd. Over£ 10 18 -	21 February, arrival of the *Bute*: 9 [...]-pounders fired, with 13 pounds 8 ounces of powder 22 February, salute for Major Gowan coming ashore: 11 [...]-pounders fired, with 16 pounds 8 ounces of powder Powder used in various services, 141 pounds 10 ounces Total: 73 guns fired, with 26[...] pounds 2 ounces of powder Paper for the office, 1 ream Lead ball for shooting goats, 3 pounds 7 ounces Handspikes, 8 Slow match, 2 [...] Tallow for the works, 6 pounds Archibald Mitchell signed the account. Sundries used at the Company's table in February 1769 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 24 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 0d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 24 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 30 gallons of arrack, £7 10s 0d Carried forward, £10 18s 0d **Interpretations** The account shows the island's warning system at work as the *Valentine* approached. Lookouts first sighted her off Turk's Cap and Prosperous Bay on the windward coast, and each post fired its alarm guns. The signal passed round the island to the Castle long before the ship could round into the road. Only once she was identified and anchored did the batteries fire the welcoming salute. The same pattern followed for the *Bute*, while the six Dutch ships that passed on 20 February drew a heavier alarm of 15 guns, since a foreign squadron had to be treated as a possible threat until it was gone. Major Gowan, a passenger in the *Bute*, was saluted with 11 guns when he came ashore on 22 February. The number of guns in a salute was fixed by the rank of the person honoured. A major of the Company's army received fewer than the 15 guns fired for the captain of a King's ship in January. Each salute was a public statement of where the visitor stood in the order of precedence.
448	441	1769 Brought Over£ 10 18 - 312 lb. Beef 6 10 - 324 Mutton 6 15 - 1 Lamb " 10 - 2 Kids " 10 - 4 Turkeys 1 " - 12 Fowls " 18 - 12 Ducks " 18 - 30 lb. Butter 1 10 - 100 Candy 2 1 4 300 Flour 2 16 3 £ 34 6 7 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short recd. from Ship Royal Captain viz. Accot. of Stores short recd. from Ship Royal Captain viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 4.. 3.. 15 Rice short Weight Occasd. by Wastage 49.. 2.. 6 Paddy received	The account of sundries used at the Company's table in February continued from a running total of £10 18s 0d. Brought forward, £10 18s 0d 312 pounds of beef, £6 10s 0d 324 pounds of mutton, £6 15s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 12 ducks, £0 18s 0d 30 pounds of butter, £1 10s 0d 100 pounds of sugar candy, £2 1s 4d 300 pounds of flour, £2 16s 3d Total, £34 6s 7d The storekeeper delivered an account of the stores received short from the *Royal Captain*. Account of stores received short from the ship Royal Captain Rice, 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 15 pounds short, caused by wastage Paddy received, 49 hundredweight 2 quarters 6 pounds James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 13 March 1769, reserving the right to correct any errors. Governor John Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Company's table cost £34 6s 7d in February, the highest monthly figure in the record so far. The month brought the *Valentine*, the *Bute* and their

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		E. Excepted (signed) p Js. Powell Storekpr. St. Helena 13th March 1769 John Skottowe Purling	passengers into the road, among them Major Gowan, his wife and other officers' families from Bombay. They were entertained at the Castle while their ships watered and took on stores. The beef, mutton, poultry and arrack rose accordingly. Feeding the Company's visitors was part of the island's role as a port of call, and its cost fell on the table account. The *Royal Captain*'s rice had lost nearly 5 hundredweight in the voyage from Bombay, a heavier shortfall than the *Valentine*'s. The longer passage round the Cape from western India gave the grain more time to dry out and the bags more chance to burst or be pilfered. The storekeeper again recorded the loss before taking the cargo into his charge.
449	442	The 17 March At a Consultation held on Friday the 17th day of March 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 13 March 1769 Monday the 13 Sailed the Honble. Company's Ships Royal Captain & Bute for England Mr. Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Verelst & Kent to Muster their Company's and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz. Muster Roll of Ship Verelst Thos. Baddison Commr. Edw. Ellison Chief Mate Dav. Baldock 2d Do. Mathias Walker 4 Do. Fran. Stewart Purser Mr. Cunningham Surg. Michl. Foster Gunner Josh. Willock Boat. Willm. Thomson Ships Stewd. Geo. Hodges Cooper Geo. Cooley Sail maker Jos. Bates Armour. Jams. Hopson Bout. Jno. Reynolds Butcher Jno. Phillips Gunrs. Mate Jas. Tollet Boats. Do. Thos. Milles Carpt. 1 Do. Alex. Smith Do. 2 Do. Wm. Ford Caulk. Mate Jams. Seddon Capt. Do. Chrisr. Maclaren Midsh. Thos. Manley Wilkes Midsn. Jno. Lewis Do. Thos. Maille Do. Jno. Henry 2d Master Jno. Hare Do. Do. Robt. Monroe Do. Richd. Nicoler Seamen Robt. Dixon Henry Shearman Jno. Leddon Richd. Boyce Jno. Webb Jno. Jacobs Jno. Reid Wm. Watson Jno. Herring Jno. Chapman Thos. Moss Fran. Yollis Josh. Hyleh Fran. Wynner Mark Benson Seamen Geo. Lowey	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 17 March 1769. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 13 March 1769 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ships *Royal Captain* and *Bute* sailed for England on Monday 13 March. Purling reported that he had gone on board the *Verelst* and the *Kent* to muster their crews and search for deserters, but found none. Their muster rolls were entered as follows. Muster roll of the ship *Verelst* Thomas Baddison, commander Edward Elliston, chief mate David Baldock, third mate Mathias Mullen, fourth mate Francis Stewart, purser Mr Cunningham, surgeon Michael Foster, gunner Joseph Willock, boatswain William Thomson, ship's steward George Forbes, cooper George Cooley, sailmaker Joseph Bates, armourer James Hooper, baker John Reynolds, butcher John Shelton, gunner's mate Joseph Talbot, boatswain's mate Thomas Mellon, carpenter's first mate Alexander Smith, carpenter's second mate William Ford, caulker's mate James Addison, captain's steward Christopher Mousdale, midshipman Thomas [...], midshipman John Lewis, midshipman Thomas Maille, midshipman John Henry, quartermaster Joseph Hoar, quartermaster Robert Monroe, quartermaster Richard Weeder, seaman Robert Iles, seaman Henry Shearman, seaman John Leddon, seaman Richard Boyce, seaman John Webb, seaman John Jacobs, seaman John Reid, seaman William Watson, seaman John Henning, seaman John Chapman, seaman Thomas Moss, seaman Francis Gollin, seaman Joseph Hatch, seaman Francis Wynne, seaman Mark Benson, seaman George Lowry, seaman Richard Smith, seaman John Tilley, seaman Edward Collins, seaman John Campbell, seaman George Balfour, seaman

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		Richd. Smith Jno. Tilley Chas. Collins Jno. Campbell Geo. Balfour Peter Grant Alex. Graves Danl. Lawrence Willm. Nelson Wm. Jobes Thos. Howell Jno. Herbert Jno. Strong Geo. Buck Robt. Briggs Jno. White Jno. Ery Danl. Hutchins Jno. Bonner	Peter Grant, seaman Alexander Graves, seaman David Lawrence, seaman William Nelson, seaman William Jobes, seaman Thomas Howell, seaman John Herbert, seaman John Strong, seaman George Buck, seaman Robert Briggs, seaman John White, seaman John Coy, seaman David Hotchkiss, seaman John Bonner, seaman **Interpretations** The Council met on a Friday instead of its usual Monday. With the *Verelst* and the *Kent* still in the road and preparing to sail, it could not wait for the next regular meeting. Their muster rolls had to be recorded, their deserter search confirmed and any bills of exchange or letters for England settled before they weighed anchor. The ships' departure, not the Council's calendar, set the pace of business during the homeward season. The *Royal Captain* and the *Bute* had stayed only a week and three weeks respectively. A homeward East Indiaman called at St Helena to take on water, fresh food and any repairs she needed, then sailed as soon as she could. Every week in harbour added to the costs of the voyage and delayed the sale of her cargo in London.
450	443	1769 Richd. Farrow Seamen Jams. O'Harra Geo. Simmonds Ships Cook Peter Lindesay Captns. Do. Jno. Theodor Capt. Serv. Thos. Hyle Do. Jno. Webster Boats. Do. Jams. Mingay Gunrs. Do. Jams. Millar Carpt. Do. Andw. Martin Seamen Wm. Julius Chief Mates Serv. Wm. Hornby Seamen Martin Blinque Pet. Cezar 2 Mates Serv. Josh. France Seamen Cornng. Hickson Josh. Marshall De Goy Josh. Richards Michl. Bright Jan Gerhadt Jno. Johnson Seamen Wm. Hanton Jno. Witterden Felip Bennud Wm. Lamb Peter Fernandez Jno. Crew Charles McCarion Pet. Pierre Pet. Anderson Passengers Mr. Thos. Lewis Mr. Geo. Hunt Mr. Thos. Hewit Mr. Grant Mrs. Lewis Miss Vernon (signed) Thos. Baddison Muster Roll of Ship Kent Jno. Mills Commander Jno. Hewett Chief Mate	The *Verelst*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew and her passengers, and the roll of the *Kent* followed. Richard Farrow, seaman James O'Hara, seaman George Simmonds, ship's cook Peter Lindesay, captain's cook John Theobald, captain's servant Thomas Ryle, captain's servant John Webster, boatswain's servant James Mingey, gunner's servant James Miller, carpenter's servant Andrew Martin, seaman William Julius, chief mate's servant William Hornby, seaman Martin Olinsque, seaman Peter Cesar, second mate's servant John Francis, seaman Cunningham Hutson, seaman Joseph Marshall, seaman De Goy, seaman Joseph Prichard, seaman Michael Bright, seaman Jan Gehadt, seaman John Johnson, seaman William Hanton, seaman John Bittordon, seaman Philip Bennett, seaman William Lamb, seaman Peter Fernandes, seaman John Crew, seaman Charles McCarron, seaman Peter Pierre, seaman Peter Anderson, seaman Passengers Mr Thomas Lewis Mr George Hindt Mr Thomas Hewitt Mr Grant Mrs Lewis Miss [...] Thomas Baddison signed the roll. Muster roll of the ship *Kent* John Mills, commander

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		Danl. Thompson 2 Do. Edw. Jones 3 Do. Henry Dennes 4 Do. Phillip Burquine 5 Do. Jno. Gordon Purser Josh. Toesworth Surgeon Wm. Brown Gunner Jno. Wheatly Ships Stew. Thos. Sampley Midsh. & Cox. Chas. Gordon Midsh. Thos. Oldman Do. Chris. Hay Do. Wm. Wellesley Midsh. Mathew Singleton Do. Josh. Richard 2d Mast. Jas. Conway Do. Robt. Bernard Do. Oliver Hartin Do. Wm. Walbrick Do. Edw. Stinson Do. Benj. Steele Boat. Mate Bartl. Sergier Capt. Stew. Wm. Hilson Do. Cook Wm. Smith Carpt. Mate Pet. Anderson Do. Do. Saml. Turner Carp. Jno. Joyce Caulkr. Richd. Stevenson Ships Cook Wm. Chapman Sail Maker Geo. Simpson Gunrs. Mate Abm. Dickson Caulk. Do. Saml. Hoblone Armour. Pat. Collins Bout. Geo. Walker Coop. Mate Wm. Ford Taylor Christ. Simpson Capt. Servt. Jno. Townsend Do. Do. Jno. Findley 1 Mates Serv. Robt. Hayes 2 Do. Do. Jno. Hay Surg. Do.	John Hewett, chief mate David Thompson, second mate Edward Jones, third mate Henry Dennis, fourth mate Phillip Burgoine, fifth mate John Gordon, purser John Farnworth, surgeon William Brown, gunner John Wheatley, ship's steward Thomas Sampson, midshipman and coxswain Charles Gordon, midshipman Thomas Oldman, midshipman Christopher May, midshipman William Wellesley, midshipman Matthew Appleton, midshipman Joseph Pritchard, quartermaster Joseph Comey, quartermaster Robert Barnard, quartermaster Oliver Harlow, quartermaster William Walbrook, quartermaster Andrew Stevenson, quartermaster Benjamin Steele, boatswain's mate Samuel [...], captain's steward William Jephson, captain's cook William Smith, carpenter's mate Peter Anderson, carpenter's mate Samuel Turner, cooper Joseph Joyce, caulker Richard Stoneham, ship's cook William Chapman, sailmaker's mate George Simpson, gunner's mate Abraham Dobson, caulker's mate Samuel Robinson, armourer Patrick Collins, butcher George Walker, cooper's mate William Ford, tailor Christopher Simpson, captain's servant John Townsend, captain's servant John Findley, fourth mate's servant Robert Hodges, second mate's servant John Hay, surgeon's servant **Interpretations** The *Verelst*'s crew included a number of seamen with Portuguese, Dutch and French names, among them Peter Fernandes, Jan Gehadt, Peter Pierre and Martin Olinsque. East Indiamen lost men to disease and desertion in India and filled the gaps with whatever sailors could be found in the ports of the East. By the homeward voyage a ship's company might be far more mixed than the crew that left England. The servant Peter Cesar, entered by a classical name like Cato on the *Bute*, was probably a slave or bonded servant belonging to the second mate.
451	444	The 17 March Chas. Johnson 3 Mates Servt. Wm. Craig Pursers Do. Chas. Page Capt. Boy Michl. Lockington Bk. Boy Jas. Holgate Boat. Do. Jas. Dennell Gunr. Do. Josh. Cornish Carpent. Do. Anty. Dear Seamen Jno. Baptiste Wm. Findley Chas. Biddies Wm. Hoy Jno. Gibson Patk. Conner Robt. Mullen Alexr. Anderson Geo. Hays Thos. Blair Saml. Ross Seamen Benj. Walgrave	The *Kent*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew and her passengers. Charles Johnson, third mate's servant William Craig, purser's servant Charles Page, captain's boy Michael Nackington, boatswain's boy Joseph Holgate, boatswain's servant James Dennell, gunner's servant Joseph Cornish, carpenter's servant Anthony Dear, seaman John Baptista, seaman William Findley, seaman Charles Beddoes, seaman William Hay, seaman John Gibson, seaman Patrick Conner, seaman Robert Mullen, seaman Alexander Anderson, seaman George Mays, seaman Thomas Blair, seaman Samuel Ross, seaman

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		Robt. Munro Phill. Wade Wm. Sinclair Jno. Clark Jas. Spencer Jno. Lilley Chas. Dunmore Christ. Johnson Jas. Brown Jas. Moorhead Geo. Yarrick Geo. Barrborough Jno. Wray Chris. Bond Geo. Harvey Thos. Emerson Seamen Wm. Prothero Edw. Douglas Thos. Bulford Jno. Jones Richd. Hamilton Wm. Hamilton Phillip Ward Jas. Johnson Jos. McHensey Wm. Crook Jno. Grayham Jno. Miller Erick Broughton Rob. Lavender Bandillo a Black Chas. Gray Seamen Thos. Paul Surg. Mate Passengers Mr. Jas. Learm Mr. Jno. Davison Mast. Wm. Shearin (signed) J. Milles The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ships Verelst & Kent viz.	Benjamin Walgrave, seaman Robert Munro, seaman Philip Wardle, seaman William Sinclair, seaman John Clark, seaman Joseph Spencer, seaman John Tilley, seaman Charles Dunmore, seaman Christopher Johnson, seaman Joseph Brown, seaman James Moorhead, seaman George Garrick, seaman George Scarborough, seaman John Wray, seaman Christopher Bond, seaman George Harvey, seaman Thomas Emerson, seaman William Prothero, seaman Edward Douglas, seaman Thomas Bulford, seaman John Jones, seaman Richard Hamilton, seaman William Hamilton, seaman Phillip Ward, seaman John Johnson, seaman John McHenry, seaman William Crook, seaman John Grayham, seaman John Miller, seaman Christopher Broughton, seaman Robert Lavender, seaman Bandillo, a black man Charles Gray, seaman Thomas Pearl, surgeon's mate Passengers Mr James Lamy Mr John Davison Master William Shewin J. Mills signed the roll. The storekeeper delivered an account of the stores received short from the *Verelst* and the *Kent*. **Interpretations** One man on the *Kent*'s roll was entered only as "Bandillo, a black", with no rank or duty set against his name. Every other member of the crew was listed by trade or as a seaman. The entry suggests Bandillo was a slave or a free black man shipped in India. The clerk described him by his colour, not his work. The Council's interest in recording such men was the same as for Cato, Mocha and Peter Cesar. Black men arriving on a ship were watched closely so that none was landed and left on the island without leave.
452	445	1769 Account of Stores short received from the following Ships viz. Ship Verelst viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 3.. 3.. - Rice -.. -.. 9 Paddy 1.. 1.. 12 Sugar -.. -.. 5 Candles Short Weight Occasioned by Wastage Ship Kent viz. Cwt. qrs. lb. 5.. 3.. 1 Rice -.. 1.. 25 Paddy -.. 3.. 18 Sugar -.. -.. 2 Candles Do. Do. (signed) p Jams. Powell Storekpr. St. Helena 16th March 1769	The account of stores received short from the two ships was entered as follows. Account of stores received short from the ship *Verelst* Rice, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 pounds Paddy, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 9 pounds Sugar, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds Candles, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 5 pounds Cause of the short weight: wastage Account of stores received short from the ship *Kent* Rice, 5 hundredweight 3 quarters 1 pound Paddy, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 25 pounds Sugar, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 18 pounds Candles, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 pounds Cause of the short weight: wastage James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 16 March 1769. The Council received 80 sheep from the Cape from the *Kent* and the *Verelst*, paid for on the following bills. Owed by the Company to Captain John Mills 60 Cape sheep at 15s each, £45 0s 0d

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		We received from the Ships Kent & Verelst Eighty Cape Sheep as p the following Bills viz. The Honble. Compy. Dr. To Capt. John Milles To 60 Cape Sheep @ 15/ £ 45 - - (signed) Jno. Milles 16th March 1769	John Mills signed the bill on 16 March 1769. **Interpretations** Every ship of the season brought sheep from the Cape. The *Valentine* had landed 45 in February, and the *Kent* and the *Verelst* now brought 80 more between them. All were bought at the same price of 15s a head. The Company had evidently asked its commanders to call at the Cape and take sheep on board for St Helena, paying a fixed rate on delivery. More than 120 animals arriving in a single season would rebuild the flock that had shrunk during 1768. The rule of 17 October 1768 had kept sheep off the commons to protect the grazing those animals now needed. The rice shortages on the *Kent* and the *Verelst*, though both ships loaded the same consignment in Bengal, differed by nearly 2 hundredweight. Wastage depended on how each ship stowed her cargo and how damp her hold became on the voyage.
453	446	The 17 March Honble. Company Dr. To Captn. Baddison For 20 Cape Sheep Corn &c. 15/ £ 15 - - St. Helena 16th March 1769 (signed) Thos. Baddison John Skottowe Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th day of March 1769 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esq. Governor Mr. Mattw. Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 17th March 1769 Friday the 17 Sailed the Honble. Company's Ships Verelst and Kent for England Saturday passed by seven Dutch Ships Yesterday Arrived the Grosvenors Boat at Banks's at three Quarters of an Hour past nine o'Clock in the morning Do. Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Grosvenor from China This day Do. The Duke of Gloucester's Boat at Banks's at one o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. The Honble. Company's Ship Duke of Gloucester from China The Grosvenor and Duke of Gloucester brought us the following Supply viz.	Owed by the Company to Captain Baddison 20 Cape sheep, with their corn and other costs, at 15s each, £15 0s 0d Thomas Baddison signed the bill at St Helena on 16 March 1769. Governor John Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 March 1769. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 17 March 1769 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ships *Verelst* and *Kent* sailed for England on Friday 17 March. On Saturday 18 March seven Dutch ships passed the island. At a quarter to ten in the morning of 19 March a boat from the *Grosvenor* landed at Banks's, and the Company's ship *Grosvenor* arrived the same day from China. At one in the morning of 20 March a boat from the *Duke of Gloucester* landed at Banks's, and the Company's ship *Duke of Gloucester* arrived the same day, also from China. The *Grosvenor* and the *Duke of Gloucester* brought the following supplies. **Interpretations** The *Duke of Gloucester*'s boat landed at Banks's at one in the morning. The batteries kept watch through the night, and a ship approaching in darkness had to identify herself before she came within range of the guns. Sending a boat ashore at that hour, rather than waiting for daylight, let the commander anchor in the road without being fired upon. It also gave the Governor notice of a second China ship arriving within a day of the first. The China ships formed a separate stream of traffic from the India fleet. They left Canton with the winter monsoon and reached St Helena in March and April, laden with tea, silk and porcelain for London. They brought the island its supplies of tea and china, and their passengers included the Company's Canton supercargoes returning home with large private fortunes. That made them a likely source of bills of exchange to replenish the treasury.
454	447	1769 Invoice of Ship Grosvenor No. 1/4 4 Chests of Superfine Sugar Candy No. 1.. 27.. 294 2.. 27.. 294 3.. 28.. 292 4.. 25.. 290 107 1170 107 1063 Pls. or Pec. 7.. 97½ @ T. 9.. 500 p Pecul 75 7 1 5 No. 5/14 10 Chests of Sugar Candy No. 5.. 23.. 292	Invoice of the ship *Grosvenor* Superfine sugar candy, chests numbered 1 to 4 Chest 1, tare 27 pounds, gross 294 pounds Chest 2, tare 27 pounds, gross 294 pounds Chest 3, tare 28 pounds, gross 292 pounds Chest 4, tare 25 pounds, gross 290 pounds Total tare 107 pounds, total gross 1,170 pounds Net weight 1,063 pounds, or 7.976 piculs, at 9.500 taels a picul, 75 taels 7 mace 1 candareen 5 cash Sugar candy, chests numbered 5 to 14 Chest 5, tare 23 pounds, gross 292 pounds Chest 6, tare 25 pounds, gross 291 pounds Chest 7, tare 29 pounds, gross 292 pounds

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		6.. 25.. 291 7.. 29.. 292 8.. 29.. 291 9.. 28.. 293 10.. 26.. 293 11.. 29.. 294 12.. 29.. 292 13.. 26.. 291 14.. 27.. 293 276 2922 Tare 276 2646 Pls. or Pec. 19.. 84 @ T. 7.. 500 148 8 " " Taels 224 5 1 5 Canton 1st Decr. 1769 Errors Excepted (signed) Henry Revell Henry Browne Josh. De Lisme John Searle Francis Wood Junr. Benj. John Thos. Thomas Wm. Vrons Jno. Walton Thos. Bevan W. Hanson	Chest 8, tare 29 pounds, gross 291 pounds Chest 9, tare 28 pounds, gross 293 pounds Chest 10, tare 26 pounds, gross 293 pounds Chest 11, tare 29 pounds, gross 294 pounds Chest 12, tare 29 pounds, gross 292 pounds Chest 13, tare 26 pounds, gross 291 pounds Chest 14, tare 27 pounds, gross 293 pounds Total tare 276 pounds, total gross 2,922 pounds Net weight 2,646 pounds, or 19.84 piculs, at 7.500 taels a picul, 148 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 224 taels 5 mace 1 candareen 5 cash The invoice was signed at Canton on 13 December 1768 by Thomas Thomas, William Prows, John Walton, Thomas Bevan, R. Harrison, Henry Revell, Henry Browne, Joseph de Lafons, John Searle, Francis Wood junior and Benjamin John, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The *Grosvenor* brought the island's supply of sugar candy from Canton, where it was made in quantity and sold cheaply. The warehouse had held only a modest stock by late 1768, and the Company's table, the hospital and the servants all drew on it heavily. Candy came in two grades. The superfine, at 9.5 taels a picul, was bought for the Castle, while the ordinary grade at 7.5 taels went to the servants and the stores. The invoice was reckoned in Chinese weights and money. A picul was about 133⅓ pounds, the standard weight of the Canton trade. The tael was a weight of silver, divided into 10 mace, each mace into 10 candareens and each candareen into 10 cash. Each chest was weighed gross and its empty weight, the tare, deducted to give the net weight on which the price was charged. The invoice bore the signatures of the Company's council of supercargoes at Canton, who managed the China trade each season. Their joint signature made the invoice an official act of the factory, binding on the Company's accounts at home. The year written on the invoice was 1769, but the goods were shipped in the 1768 season.
455	448	The 20 March Invoice of Ship Duke of Gloucester No. 1 Dishes to Table Setts B & W 1 Size 10 Do. 2 Do. 10 Do. 3 Do. 10 Do. 4 Do. 10 Do. 5 Do. 10 Tureen dishes Do. 5 Tureens Do. 4 Tops Do. 4 2 Plates to Table Setts 200 Soup Plates Do. 96 3 Baking Dishes 13 Salled Do. 13 Tureens to Table Setts 1 Tops 1 Chamber Pots 13	Invoice of the ship *Duke of Gloucester* Box 1 Blue and white dishes for table sets, first size, 10 Blue and white dishes for table sets, second size, 10 Blue and white dishes for table sets, third size, 10 Blue and white dishes for table sets, fourth size, 10 Blue and white dishes for table sets, fifth size, 10 Blue and white tureen dishes, 5 Blue and white tureens, 4 Blue and white tureen covers, 4 Box 2 Plates for table sets, 200 Soup plates for table sets, 96 Box 3 Baking dishes, 13 Salad dishes, 13 Tureens for table sets, 1 Tureen covers, 1 Chamber pots, 13 Teapots, 6 Soup plates for table sets, 24 Box 4 Bowls, first size, 3 quarts, 10 Bowls, fourth size, 3 pints, 16 Guglets and basins, 15 Box 5 Cups and saucers, 150 pairs, comprising: Breakfast cups and saucers, 100 pairs Teacups and saucers, 50 pairs Box 6

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		Tea Pots 6 Soup Plates to Table Setts 24 4 Bowls 1 Size 3 Quarts 10 Do. 4 Do. 3 Pints 16 Guglets & Basons 15 5 Breakfasts 150 Breakfast Cups & Saucers Pr. 100 Tea Cups & Saucers Do. 50 6 Bowls 2 Size 2 Quarts 16 Do. 3 Do. 1 Do. 30 No. 1/6 6 Boxes of China Ware Blue & White	Bowls, second size, 2 quarts, 16 Bowls, third size, 1 quart, 30 Boxes 1 to 6: 6 boxes of blue and white china **Interpretations** The *Duke of Gloucester* brought a complete restock of blue and white porcelain for the island. Dishes came in five graded sizes, so that a full table service could be assembled from them. Plates, soup plates, tureens and covers were packed to match. The China ships alone supplied such ware, which was cheap in Canton and costly to replace once broken on St Helena. Breakage was constant in the Castle's kitchens and at the officials' tables. The September inventory had held several hundred octagonal plates and soup plates, but the servants and the Company's own table had drawn heavily on them since. Most of the order was tableware for formal dining: dishes for a laid table, tureens for soup and baking dishes for the oven. The bowls came in four sizes, from 3 quarts down to 1 quart. The largest were punch bowls, central to the hospitality of the Castle and to every household's entertaining. The breakfast and tea cups showed the place tea drinking had taken in the island's daily life.
456	449	1769 Table Setts D. P. S.P. 5.. 20.. 12 10 Setts @ 3.. 9 T. 39 - - Tureens 5 @ 8 4 - - Baking Dishes 3 in a Sett 6 Setts @ 5 3 - - Salled Dishes 13 @ 8 1 4 4 Chamr. Pots 13 @ 2.. 6 3 3 8 Tea Pots 6 @ 1 " 6 - Bird Snakes 150 @ 4 6 - - Breakfast Cups & Saucr. 100 Pr. @ 7.. 5 7 5 - Tea Cups & Saucers large 50 Do. @ 4.. 3 2 1 5 Bowls 1 Size 3 Qrts. 10 @ 2.. 5 2 5 - Do. 2 Do. 2 Do. 16 @ 2 3 2 - Do. 3 Do. 1 Do. 30 @ 1.. 5 4 5 - Do. 4 Do. 3 Pints 16 @ 1.. 2 1 9 2 Guglets & Basons 15 @ 3 4 5 - T. 83 6 9 Deduct for breakage 2 p Ct. 1 6 7 4 82 - 1 6 No. 2/4 4 Chests of Hyson Skin No. 1.. 12.. 170 2.. 4.. 173 343	The *Duke of Gloucester*'s invoice continued with the prices of the china and the chests of tea. Table sets, each of 5 dishes, 20 plates and 12 soup plates, 10 sets at 3 taels 9 mace a set, 39 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Tureens, 5 at 8 mace each, 4 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Baking dishes, 3 to a set, 6 sets at 5 mace a set, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Salad dishes, 13 at 8 candareens each, 1 tael 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Chamber pots, 13 at 2 mace 6 candareens each, 3 taels 3 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Teapots, 6 at 1 mace each, 0 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Pint basins, 150 at 4 candareens each, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Breakfast cups and saucers, 100 pairs at 7 candareens 5 cash a pair, 7 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Large teacups and saucers, 50 pairs at 4 candareens 3 cash a pair, 2 taels 1 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Bowls, first size, 3 quarts, 10 at 2 mace 5 candareens each, 2 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Bowls, second size, 2 quarts, 16 at 2 mace each, 3 taels 2 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Bowls, third size, 1 quart, 30 at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 4 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Bowls, fourth size, 3 pints, 16 at 1 mace 2 candareens each, 1 tael 9 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Guglets and basins, 15 at 3 mace each, 4 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total for the china, 83 taels 6 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Less 2 per cent for breakage, 1 tael 6 mace 7 candareens 4 cash Net total for the china, 82 taels 0 mace 1 candareen 6 cash Hyson tea, chests numbered 1 to 4 Chests 1 and 2, gross 170 pounds Chests 3 and 4, gross 173 pounds Total gross 343 pounds, less tare at 18 pounds a chest, 72 pounds Net weight 271 pounds, or 2.03 piculs, at 25 taels a picul, 50 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Congo tea, chests numbered 1 to 5 Chests 1 and 2, gross 194 pounds Chests 3 and 4, gross 193 pounds Chest 5, gross 96 pounds

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		Tare @ 18 72 271½ or Pec. 2.. 03 @ Ts. 25 p Pecl. 50 7 5 No. 3/5 5 Chests of Congo No. 1.. 4.. 194 3.. 4.. 193 5.. 96 483 Tare @ 22 110 373 or Pecl. 2.. 79 @ Ts. 25 Do. 69 7 5 Carrd. Over Taels 202 5 1 6	Total gross 483 pounds, less tare at 22 pounds a chest, 110 pounds Net weight 373 pounds, or 2.79 piculs, at 25 taels a picul, 69 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Carried forward, 202 taels 5 mace 1 candareen 6 cash **Interpretations** The Canton supercargoes took 2 per cent off the price of the china as an allowance for breakage. Porcelain packed in chests often arrived cracked or chipped after a voyage of several months. Instead of claiming for each broken piece on arrival, the Company accepted a fixed deduction at the point of purchase. The arrangement was standard in the China trade and avoided endless disputes over damage between Canton, the ship and the warehouse at St Helena. China was strikingly cheap in Canton. A full table set of 37 pieces cost under 4 taels, roughly £1 6s 0d in sterling. Tea was far dearer by weight. Hyson and Congo each cost 25 taels a picul. The island paid for most of its tea and china through the Company, at prices far below what the same goods fetched in London.
457	450	The 20 March Brought Over Taels 202 5 1 6 No. 6 6 Chests of Bohea No. 1.. 33.. 131 2.. 43.. 133 3.. 40.. 137 4.. 40.. 138 5.. 40.. 196 6.. 37.. 187 233 1122 233 884½ or Pecl. 6.. 63 @ Ts. 12.. 8 84 8 6 4 Taels 287 3 8 0 Canton 13th Decr. 1768 Errors Excepted (signed) Henry Revell Hillary Torriano Josh. De Lisme Jno. Searle Francis Wood Junr. Benj. Elton Thos. Thomas Willm. Bean Jno. Walton Thos. Bevan W. Hanson Mr. Nathan Campell this day presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esq. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Nathan Campell Sheweth That there is a Slip of the Honble. Company's Waste Land lying in the East Division of this Island adjoining to your Petitioners Land, which would be very Convenient to your Petitioner on Account of Fencing	The *Duke of Gloucester*'s invoice concluded with the chests of Bohea tea. Brought forward, 202 taels 5 mace 1 candareen 6 cash Bohea tea, chests numbered 1 to 6 Chest 1, tare 33 pounds, gross 181 pounds Chest 2, tare 43 pounds, gross 183 pounds Chest 3, tare 40 pounds, gross 187 pounds Chest 4, tare 40 pounds, gross 188 pounds Chest 5, tare 40 pounds, gross 196 pounds Chest 6, tare 37 pounds, gross 187 pounds Total tare 233 pounds, total gross 1,122 pounds Net weight 889 pounds, or 6.63 piculs, at 12.8 taels a picul, 84 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 4 cash Total, 287 taels 3 mace 8 candareens 0 cash The invoice was signed at Canton on 13 December 1768 by Thomas Thomas, William Prows, John Walton, Thomas Bevan, R. Harrison, Henry Revell, Hillary Torriano, Joseph de Lafons, John Searle, Francis Wood junior and Benjamin Torin, reserving the right to correct any errors. Nathan Sempill presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. A strip of the Company's waste land lay in the East Division next to his own land. It would be very convenient to him for fencing. **Interpretations** Bohea was the cheapest of the three teas at 12.8 taels a picul, half the price of Hyson or Congo. It was the everyday tea of the island, sold mainly to the servants and issued to the guards, the groom and the Company's slaves. The tare on its chests was much heavier than on the finer teas, often 40 pounds a chest. Bohea was packed loose in large wooden chests lined with lead, while the finer teas travelled in smaller, lighter boxes. Nathan Sempill, the Artillery Company's lieutenant, had retired on half pay on 14 November 1768 because of his age and infirmity. Four months later he was asking for more land to round off his holding in the East Division. Retirement from the garrison left him free to manage his farm. On an island where a pension depended on the Court's approval, land offered him a more secure income for his remaining years.
458	451	1769 humbly requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray	Nathan Sempill asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of the strip of waste land. He signed the petition on 20 March 1769. The Council ordered the land to be inspected.

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		(signed) Nat. Campell 20th March 1769 Ordered the said Land to be Viewed Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz. Island St. Helena 20th March 1769 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 proper person for a Constable Per Order of Council (signed) Mattw. Bazett Secy. Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of February last, which is as follows viz.	The Council ordered a notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 20 March 1769. It required all the island's inhabitants to meet in vestry at the chapel in the valley the following Monday to choose the parish officers for the coming year. They were also to nominate three of the leading inhabitants, one of whom would be chosen to serve as sheriff, and to choose a suitable person to act as constable. Matthew Bazett, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of February. **Interpretations** The vestry meeting gave the inhabitants a small share in governing the island. As in an English parish, they gathered at the church once a year to elect churchwardens and other parish officers. These were the men who, under the notice of 17 October 1768, would decide when the commons were fit for grazing again. For the post of sheriff, however, the inhabitants only put forward three names. The Council made the final choice from among them. The arrangement let the planters propose their own leading men while keeping the appointment of the island's chief law officer in the Company's hands. The constable chosen at the vestry would have a heavier task than usual in the coming year. Under the bounty of 28 November 1768, he was the officer who received the dead rats and mice, paid the rewards and saw the heads cut off before the marshal. A parish office that had once meant keeping the peace now carried a share in the Council's campaign against vermin.
459	452	Cash Dr. 1769 Feby. 1st To Balance remaining£ 8159 13 11 13 To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable as follows One Set to Alexr. Hume Esq. £ 800 - - One Do. to Hutchn. Mure Esq. 87 15 3 887 15 3 To Ship Valentine 9 8 3 £ 9056 17 5 Per Contra Cr. 1769 Feby. 28th By Balance remaining viz. In Specie£ 8517 2 5 In Cash Notes 539 15 - £ 9056 17 5 **Margin Notes:** 20th March	The Company's cash account for February 1769 recorded the following. Received 1 February 1769, balance remaining, £8,159 13s 11d 13 February 1769, received in exchange for two sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, payable as follows: One set to Alexander Hume, £800 0s 0d One set to Hutcheson Mure, £87 15s 3d Total for the bills, £887 15s 3d From the ship *Valentine*, £9 8s 3d Total received, £9,056 17s 5d Paid 28 February 1769, balance remaining in coin, £8,517 2s 5d 28 February 1769, balance remaining in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £9,056 17s 5d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange granted to Mitchell and Wrangham on 13 February 1769 raised the treasury's coin from £7,619 18s 11d to £8,517 2s 5d. They restored almost half of what the December quarter's wages had drawn out of the chest. Mitchell's £800 alone was the largest sum paid into the treasury that winter. The engineer's private savings, converted into a bill payable in London, kept the island supplied with the coin it needed to pay the garrison. The small payment of £9 8s 3d from the *Valentine* was probably for water, fresh provisions or stores supplied to the ship while she lay in the road. Each homeward Indiaman paid the island for what it took on board. The cash from these sales helped offset the cost of the goods the ships delivered.
460	453	1769 We this day Executed the four following Leases viz. One to Mr. William Young for a piece of Land containing four Acres, at 5/ p Acre	The Council that day completed four leases. William Young, 4 acres at 5s an acre Robert Gurling, 15½ acres at 2s an acre Simon Whaley, 2¼ acres at 2s an acre Gabriel Alexander Harper, ¾ acre at 2s an acre

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		One to Mr. Robt. Gurling for a piece of Land containing fifteen Acres & an half at 2/ p Acre One to Mr. Simon Whaley for a piece of Land containing two Acres and a Quarter at 2/ p Acre And one to Mr. Gabl. Alexr. Harper for a piece of Land containing three Quarters of an Acre at 2/ p Acre, all lying in the East Division of the said Island John Skottowe Purling	All four plots lay in the East Division of the island. Governor John Skottowe and Purling signed the minutes. **Interpretations** These four leases completed the division of the waste land that Harper had first asked for on 17 October 1768. The inspection Purling reported on 7 November 1768 had set the terms. Young received the grassy upper ground at the full rent of 5s an acre. The Gurling orphans, Whaley and Harper received the poorer slopes and strips at 2s. More than five months passed between the first petition and the sealing of the leases. Rival claims, inspection, division and the drawing up of each lease all took time. The Council moved carefully because a grant of Company land, once sealed, bound it for the full term of the lease. The orphans' lease was made out in the name of Robert Gurling, not of their executor John Desfountain. Robert was probably the eldest of the orphans and had come of age. The land passed directly to the heir instead of being held in trust, a sign that the Gurling estate was now being settled.
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468	461	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1768-1769 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 48.5cm x 32.5cm x 6cm No. written pages: 453 No. blank pages: 7 Spine and cover Good condition Boring insect damage on spine Inside pages Good condition No numbering on pages Additional comments Very tightly bound making some of the left side pages writing go into the gutter Time taken to photograph (hours) 3 hours	